

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. IV.—No. 37

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8th, 1917

Price One Penny

ABOUT POLITICAL ACTION: By W. N. Ewer

That old wearisome controversy of industrial versus political action is beginning once more to make some little noise in the world of Labour. With the Labour Party reconstructing itself, and preparing a new programme and a "Big Push," it is only natural and right that the disbelievers in political action should again become vocal, uttering warnings to Labour that this Parliamentarism is all vanity, leading nowhither. And simultaneously the Political Actionists—rather under a cloud these last five or six years—have taken new heart and are expecting big things.

Now, of course, at bottom, one's views on political action and industrial action are quite inevitably conditioned by the ends for which one is working. Your reformist believes rather mildly in both—believes, as it were, in political inertia, supplemented by industrial inertia. But your revolutionary groups divide pretty definitely into three types.

The Collectivist, thinking of national ownership and control as the goal, naturally looks towards political action. Industrial action has little to do with his final objective, and tends to appear to him as abortive and rather wasteful of energy; while he is apt to regard trade unions as primarily—or most importantly—political associations.

Conversely, the Syndicalist or Industrial Unionist, who gives the State no place at all in his final scheme of things, but envisages a society performing all its functions through industrial organisations, naturally comes to condemn political activity as a means as well as an end—and would reach his purely industrial Utopia by a purely industrial revolution.

Between them stands the Guildsman, looking forward to a society which will function through both industrial and political organs—working for democratic guilds in conjunction with a democratic State, and so inclining naturally to favour both political and industrial action, each in its own proper sphere.

And I suppose that really it is because I am a Guildsman that I do quite unrepentantly believe in political action. It is because I believe in the separation of functions, and that the jumbling of functions leads to inefficiency and unfreedom, that I want the industrial strength of Labour left free for industrial uses, and that I want it to develop and use political machinery for political purposes.

But, say my Industrial Unionist friends, there are no political purposes that concern Labour. Politics is a vile business: the State is a capitalist instrument; let the beastly thing alone.

Now, with these premises I, on the whole, cordially agree. Politics—capitalist politics—is a dirty business. The State is the instrument of our masters—and a devilishly dangerous instrument, too. And that, for me, is precisely one of the most cogent of reasons for *not* letting it alone. It is entirely necessary that we should get it out of their hands, and so, at the least, make it impotent for harm. We must capture the State, were it only that we might destroy it.

And, indeed, destroy it, in one sense, we must. For the State machine, as it exists to-day, is a machine devised for the purposes of oligarchy, and so entirely useless for democracy. It would be as sensible to try to fly with a steam roller as to try to do the work of revolutionary Labour with the machinery of Conservative capitalism. And the very first task of Labour politics must be political revolution.

To expand and expound that would, however, take me far beyond the possibilities of this article. And I will only say that it is largely the failure to realise this, largely the endeavour to do new work with the old machine, that is responsible for the failure of the Labour Party in the past.

I have said "failure"; but perhaps it would be truer to say that the Labour Party has not failed: that it has carried out, at any rate in some measure, the task it set itself. And our real quarrel with it is not that it failed to achieve, but that it

never endeavoured; not that it was unsuccessful in revolution; but that it was not, and never aspired to be, revolutionary at all.

And that, of course, is the second condition of useful political activity—that it be definitely and consistently revolutionary in aim. The Labour Party, if it is to have any justification at all for its existence, must have—not as an expression of pious opinion, but as a real and immediate objective, a definitely revolutionary programme.

And that leads me to the last thing I have to say to any of the Left who are hesitating on this issue of political action. The Labour Party machinery and the Labour Party programme are both under reconstruction. If the Left declines in large measure to take a hand, both the new machine and the new programme will be designed

Of Special Interest This Week

Peace on the Horizon

How to Bring Down the Milk Price

by the Right—will be reformist and not revolutionary, and Labour will be led back into the Liberal wilderness for another decade. If we are wise, we shall not, at this of all moments, eschew politics, abandon the field to the reformists, and then complain of the futility of political action.

Only—if we are to do anything effective, we ought first of all to be pretty clear in our minds as to what we want to do. We have got to think out our programme in order to get it, as far as may be, accepted by the party.

But that task, as I remarked before, lies quite beyond the frontiers of this article.

A REPLY TO CLEM EDWARDS

By a Miner's Wife

Dear Editor,—Some weeks ago a contribution from "A Docker's Wife" appeared in the DREADNOUGHT, describing the economic conditions of Dockland. Its value to the readers of the DREADNOUGHT living in South Wales lay in the fact that it conveyed to us the terrible struggle the unfortunate East End women have in their endeavours to maintain a standard of decency and comfort. Our hearts' sympathy goes out to them in their struggle, and prompted by the impression that a somewhat similar contribution, this time from "A South Wales Miner's Wife," would be of some little interest to our Dockland comrades, I forward for insertion in the DREADNOUGHT a few facts as to conditions as they really exist in the "Land of Bolsoism," where, according to Mr. Clem Edwards, M.P., the Welsh pacifist miner, apart from contributing from £15 to £40 per week to propagate pacifist ideas, is receiving on an average about £4 per week in wages. It is with the latter I desire to deal, leaving the scandalous libel on the Welsh miner in more competent hands. Now to the gross misrepresentation re the £4 per week wage. The miner who hews the coal is the best paid worker in the mines; his wage rate per day works out at a trifle less than 13s., or about £3 18s. for a week's work of six days. Out of this he has to pay his doctor and National Health Insurance, and hospital, and check weigher. All of these items are stopped at the pay office, and amount to about 4s. Mr. Clem Edwards's £4 is a diminishing quantity, is it not? But the stoppages or payments referred to are merely details; what reduces the miner's weekly wage to an almost negligible quantity is the fact that he is only able to work alternate days, and three days at 13s. per day makes a weekly wage of about £1 16s. after the stoppages before referred to have been deducted. This, mark you, refers to the best paid of the underground workers. Some others are very much worse off; for instance, there is the labouring man whose average per day is about 9s., and who is subject to the

same stoppages (apart from check) as is the better paid worker. In face of these facts, can you, by any stretch of imagination, conceive of any Taffy (who the song says is a thief) distributing money to the extent of £15 or £40, German or otherwise? I contend that any man who would do this would not only be a pacifist, but, like the man who made the statement, a fool. No, the fact is the miner's £4 per week exists only in the wild imagination of Mr. Clem Edwards. The bitter experiences of our sisters in Dockland is our experience. Perhaps we do not suffer quite to the same extent, but you may be quite sure that the standard of living in South Wales has been substantially reduced during the past three years. The remedy, in our opinion, is to bring the War to an end, and thus to a great extent remove the peculiar opportunities its presents for profiteers to exploit the miseries of the people.

S. J. HAYWARD.

THE "DREADNOUGHT"

The Christmas number of the WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT will excel all previous issues. You will require an extra number of copies; order them as soon as possible.

The DREADNOUGHT Christmas number is better than a Christmas Card; send it to your friends instead of a Christmas Card this year. The Christmas number will contain a form conveying the season's greetings, with a space for inserting the name and address of the sender. If you can supply us with the names and addresses of those to whom you desire the DREADNOUGHT to be sent, we shall be pleased to put your name in the space and dispatch the DREADNOUGHT direct to your friends on receipt of the necessary payments for the paper and postage.

An annual subscription for the DREADNOUGHT makes a most acceptable Christmas Gift. Order it for your friends. Remember that this beautiful illustrated Christmas number cannot be produced without the aid of special donations, and send a subscription to the DREADNOUGHT Fund.

OUR CHRISTMAS DOUBLE NUMBER

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15th.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

CONTENTS.

"Concerning the Referendum." By George Bernard Shaw.

"Human Suffrage." By Israel Zangwill.

"Montessori Method." By Muriel Matters.

"Views on Italy." By Signor Corio (correspondent of the "Avanti").

Other Articles by George Lansbury, Miles Malleon, E. Sylvia Pankhurst and others.

Poems by Eva Gore Booth, Regina Miriam Bloch and W. N. Ewer.

Illustrations by Hilda Jefferies, Herbert Cole and A. A. Woolfstein.

Of all Newsagents, or from the Manager, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

FROM THE TRENCHES

"Frequently I am where hundreds and hundreds of infantry pass, going to and from the trenches, and never the semblance of a smile on any face is to be seen. It is almost heartbreaking to witness them and to think that the War 'must go on until ———'. You may tell your last ditchers that it is their tribe which now gets the blame and has scornful odium cast upon it by us out here. Funny, isn't it, that more hatred and fury should be levelled against them by us than against those 'very wicked, wicked Huns'?"

"Things out here are indescribably awful. Hell is no name for it; day after day in misery and—yes, terror. . . . To think of the people in England clamouring for the continuance of such a nightmare, and cheering—as the papers tell as they do—when they are told that peace is still a long way off! May God forgive them, for we out here never shall! I noticed the casualty lists in two successive issues of the "Daily News": 'Dead, 822!' 'Dead, 1,020!'"

"I read the Prime Minister's speech of the 4th in the Queen's Hall. He seems to ignore the terrible lists of casualties. . . ."

—Extracts from a soldier's letters.

WEST CENTRAL W.S.F. BRANCH.

AT HOME.

FABIAN HALL, 25 TOTHILL STREET, S.W., at Three p.m.

Speaker: Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Invitation Cards from Mrs. and Miss Casey, 26b Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.2.

Music.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST. Published by the Workers' Suffrage Federation, 400 OLD FORD ROAD, LONDON, E.

Vol. IV., No. 37. Sat., December 8th, 1917.

PEACE ON THE HORIZON.

Peace has at last become an immediate possibility! The Austrian Government has answered the Russian proposal for an armistice to negotiate a Peace on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities, the right of the peoples to decide their own destinies; it has declared its readiness to negotiate for an immediate armistice and general Peace, and expressed the view that: "The guiding lines announced by the Russian Government" present "a suitable basis" for the negotiations.

Kühlmann, the German Foreign Secretary, also described the terms as "entirely satisfactory" by inviting Russian representatives to meet German representatives behind the German lines. The momentous negotiations began on Monday, December 8th. Trotsky announces that the German Government has agreed to open negotiations on all fronts.

According to Haase, of the German Internationalist-Socialist Party, the first condition of the Russian Socialist Government's offer of an armistice is that the Germans shall evacuate all the Russian territory that they have occupied. But the Russians go further than that; it appears that they intend to accomplish the tremendous feat of securing the withdrawal of German troops from France and Flanders also. Phillips Price, in the "Manchester Guardian," quotes the "Pravda," the organ of the Bolsheviks, as saying: "It is in our power to prevent German troops from being sent to the west, and we will insist on this in the armistice negotiations."

If the Russians demand as a condition of the armistice that Germany shall evacuate all occupied territory, Germany will probably retaliate with the condition that the German colonies and Turkish territory occupied by the Allies shall also be evacuated! Would the Allies agree?

But if, with or without this condition, the German Government agrees during the armistice to withdraw its troops from the territory it has invaded, will the Allies still refuse to negotiate? Will the people of the Allied nations tolerate such a deliberate refusal to end the War on the just terms which Russia has laid down?

To refuse to negotiate when the other side has agreed to negotiate and when the basis of negotiation is the denial of conquest is to take a hideous responsibility. It may be suggested by way of excuse for such a refusal that the German and Austrian Governments have no intention of agreeing to the Bolshevik terms, but are seeking to hoodwink the inexperienced Russian workers. If that be their intention they will find the Bolsheviks more difficult to deal with than they imagine, as the Governments of the Allies have good reason to know.

As yet the Allied Governments have held sulkily aloof from the negotiations, and have dealt only with General Dukhonin, who had revolted against the Russian Government. The British Government keeps interned Mr. Tchitcherine, whom the Russian Socialist Government has appointed as its Ambassador in London.

Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador, widely accused in Russia of intriguing to restore the Czarism, and representing a Government which deliberately refuses all information on foreign policy to the people of this country, hypocritically taunts the Russian Socialist Government as an unrepresentative body of usurpers, stating that: "Governments, which, like His Majesty's Government, derive their powers direct from the people, cannot take a decision on a matter of such supreme importance without first assuring themselves that the decision will meet with the approval and sanction of the people."

Buchanan is playing with fire, for the Socialist Government is able to imprison him as the British Government has imprisoned Tchitcherine. The claim that the majority of the Russian people has been made by all those who have sought to discredit it. Mr. Henderson, who, as a Labour official, ought to welcome the Russian workers' triumph, their exposure and repudiation of the disgraceful secret treaties and their courageous efforts to secure a people's peace, has declared that they are guilty of "unprecedented treachery," and that they "merit the denunciation of every working-class representative throughout the world." Scheidemann, of the German Majority Socialist Party, is a similar

type to Henderson; he has been as plant towards the German Government as Henderson has been towards the British Government. He, too, denounces the Bolsheviks, calling them "murderers" and "usurpers," and so falls into line with Count Reventlow and the other extreme German Jingoos, whose objection to the negotiations between their Government and the Russian Socialist Government is animated both by a deeply rooted antagonism to Socialism and by the desire for territorial gains. If the Bolsheviks represented no one but themselves, we should still applaud their righteous efforts for peace and Socialism, but, as a matter of fact, the partially taken elections for the Constituent Assembly already prove that they have a great and growing following amongst the people. In Petrograd they have polled a substantial majority of the votes, the figures being:—

Table with 2 columns: Category and Votes. Bolsheviks: 415,587; Cadets (supporters of capitalism): 245,628; Social Revolutionaries: 149,644.

In Petrograd the Bolsheviks have polled a majority of 20,315 votes over both the other parties, whilst if both Socialist parties combine they will command a majority of 310,607 votes over the supporters of capitalism. The returns for other parts of Russia which are so far published here show a majority for the Bolsheviks.

It was generally stated in the British Press that the bulk of the troops was opposed to the Bolsheviks, and would refuse to support the armistice proposals, but as soon as the word was given to cease firing the truce became largely an accomplished fact. The "Daily Chronicle" of December 4th stated that the Ukrainian War Secretary (Ukraine has set up a Government of its own now) had "issued orders to the troops to refuse support to the Bolshevik peace manoeuvres." In the same issue of the "Chronicle" a paragraph in small type records that "the Ukrainian soldiers have left the Russian front and gone to their homes."

The story that the soldiers support General Dukhonin, not the Socialist Government, is abruptly discredited by the fall of headquarters without fighting and the death of Dukhonin. Krylenko rightly regrets his murder, which he attributes to popular anger and fear at the escape of the dangerous counter-revolutionary, General Korniloff. But it is not for the upholders of the military system, which shoots lads of eighteen for leaving the trenches from fear or illness, and which maintains the wholesale slaughter involved in three years of War, to condemn the revolutionaries for this act.

One of the stories most industriously circulated to give courage to those who desire to see the Bolsheviks overthrown is, that though they have a following amongst the industrial workers the workers on the land, who form the majority of the Russian population, are opposed to the Bolsheviks. But the All-Russia Conference of Peasants' Deputies has now met to speak for itself, and has issued a manifesto giving enthusiastic support to the steps which the Bolshevik-Socialist Government has taken to give the land to the people, and calling on the peasantry:—"To support with all their strength and all the means at their command, their land committees in their work of carrying out the transfer, without payment, of the lands, with their living and dead stock, to the administration of the land committees, and to defend the committees against any acts of repression or violence on the part of the representatives of the deposed Kerensky Government."

Petrograd public opinion in support of peace and Socialism has grown tremendously since the Municipal Council was elected. The Government is therefore wisely acting in the interests of democratic representation in calling new elections. The Initiative, Referendum and Recall would provide the people with the means of meeting the situation without the intervention of the Government.

We are filled with joy and hope by the great steadfastness of purpose and tremendous organising power displayed alike by the Socialist leaders of Russia and by the mass of the population. A valuable indication of the wondrous evolutionary growth now taking place in the vast nation is given by the illuminating series of articles which are appearing in the "Manchester Guardian" by Mr. Phillips Price, who is investigating in Russia. He records that, though hushed up and concealed by the censorship, in 1916 there was civil war in the steppes of Asiatic Russia because the Moslem people were systematically deprived of their land and ordered to perform military duties; 500,000 Kirghiz people were massacred, and a million fled into China out of a population of 2,000,000. The Socialist Government has now to contend with the disorders created by the Czarism, the Kirghiz who fled into China are returning to find that their lands have been occupied by Russian settlers according to the deliberate policy of the Czarism. The old-standing feud cannot be wiped out all at once, but already in a growing number of districts the Russians and Moslems are settling down together, electing their joint land committees, and creating in harmony a Socialist-Communist

type to Henderson; he has been as plant towards the German Government as Henderson has been towards the British Government. He, too, denounces the Bolsheviks, calling them "murderers" and "usurpers," and so falls into line with Count Reventlow and the other extreme German Jingoos, whose objection to the negotiations between their Government and the Russian Socialist Government is animated both by a deeply rooted antagonism to Socialism and by the desire for territorial gains. If the Bolsheviks represented no one but themselves, we should still applaud their righteous efforts for peace and Socialism, but, as a matter of fact, the partially taken elections for the Constituent Assembly already prove that they have a great and growing following amongst the people. In Petrograd they have polled a substantial majority of the votes, the figures being:—

Table with 2 columns: Category and Votes. Bolsheviks: 415,587; Cadets (supporters of capitalism): 245,628; Social Revolutionaries: 149,644.

In Petrograd the Bolsheviks have polled a majority of 20,315 votes over both the other parties, whilst if both Socialist parties combine they will command a majority of 310,607 votes over the supporters of capitalism. The returns for other parts of Russia which are so far published here show a majority for the Bolsheviks.

It was generally stated in the British Press that the bulk of the troops was opposed to the Bolsheviks, and would refuse to support the armistice proposals, but as soon as the word was given to cease firing the truce became largely an accomplished fact. The "Daily Chronicle" of December 4th stated that the Ukrainian War Secretary (Ukraine has set up a Government of its own now) had "issued orders to the troops to refuse support to the Bolshevik peace manoeuvres." In the same issue of the "Chronicle" a paragraph in small type records that "the Ukrainian soldiers have left the Russian front and gone to their homes."

The story that the soldiers support General Dukhonin, not the Socialist Government, is abruptly discredited by the fall of headquarters without fighting and the death of Dukhonin. Krylenko rightly regrets his murder, which he attributes to popular anger and fear at the escape of the dangerous counter-revolutionary, General Korniloff. But it is not for the upholders of the military system, which shoots lads of eighteen for leaving the trenches from fear or illness, and which maintains the wholesale slaughter involved in three years of War, to condemn the revolutionaries for this act. One of the stories most industriously circulated to give courage to those who desire to see the Bolsheviks overthrown is, that though they have a following amongst the industrial workers the workers on the land, who form the majority of the Russian population, are opposed to the Bolsheviks. But the All-Russia Conference of Peasants' Deputies has now met to speak for itself, and has issued a manifesto giving enthusiastic support to the steps which the Bolshevik-Socialist Government has taken to give the land to the people, and calling on the peasantry:—"To support with all their strength and all the means at their command, their land committees in their work of carrying out the transfer, without payment, of the lands, with their living and dead stock, to the administration of the land committees, and to defend the committees against any acts of repression or violence on the part of the representatives of the deposed Kerensky Government."

Petrograd public opinion in support of peace and Socialism has grown tremendously since the Municipal Council was elected. The Government is therefore wisely acting in the interests of democratic representation in calling new elections. The Initiative, Referendum and Recall would provide the people with the means of meeting the situation without the intervention of the Government. We are filled with joy and hope by the great steadfastness of purpose and tremendous organising power displayed alike by the Socialist leaders of Russia and by the mass of the population. A valuable indication of the wondrous evolutionary growth now taking place in the vast nation is given by the illuminating series of articles which are appearing in the "Manchester Guardian" by Mr. Phillips Price, who is investigating in Russia. He records that, though hushed up and concealed by the censorship, in 1916 there was civil war in the steppes of Asiatic Russia because the Moslem people were systematically deprived of their land and ordered to perform military duties; 500,000 Kirghiz people were massacred, and a million fled into China out of a population of 2,000,000. The Socialist Government has now to contend with the disorders created by the Czarism, the Kirghiz who fled into China are returning to find that their lands have been occupied by Russian settlers according to the deliberate policy of the Czarism. The old-standing feud cannot be wiped out all at once, but already in a growing number of districts the Russians and Moslems are settling down together, electing their joint land committees, and creating in harmony a Socialist-Communist

type to Henderson; he has been as plant towards the German Government as Henderson has been towards the British Government. He, too, denounces the Bolsheviks, calling them "murderers" and "usurpers," and so falls into line with Count Reventlow and the other extreme German Jingoos, whose objection to the negotiations between their Government and the Russian Socialist Government is animated both by a deeply rooted antagonism to Socialism and by the desire for territorial gains. If the Bolsheviks represented no one but themselves, we should still applaud their righteous efforts for peace and Socialism, but, as a matter of fact, the partially taken elections for the Constituent Assembly already prove that they have a great and growing following amongst the people. In Petrograd they have polled a substantial majority of the votes, the figures being:—

Table with 2 columns: Category and Votes. Bolsheviks: 415,587; Cadets (supporters of capitalism): 245,628; Social Revolutionaries: 149,644.

In Petrograd the Bolsheviks have polled a majority of 20,315 votes over both the other parties, whilst if both Socialist parties combine they will command a majority of 310,607 votes over the supporters of capitalism. The returns for other parts of Russia which are so far published here show a majority for the Bolsheviks.

It was generally stated in the British Press that the bulk of the troops was opposed to the Bolsheviks, and would refuse to support the armistice proposals, but as soon as the word was given to cease firing the truce became largely an accomplished fact. The "Daily Chronicle" of December 4th stated that the Ukrainian War Secretary (Ukraine has set up a Government of its own now) had "issued orders to the troops to refuse support to the Bolshevik peace manoeuvres." In the same issue of the "Chronicle" a paragraph in small type records that "the Ukrainian soldiers have left the Russian front and gone to their homes."

The story that the soldiers support General Dukhonin, not the Socialist Government, is abruptly discredited by the fall of headquarters without fighting and the death of Dukhonin. Krylenko rightly regrets his murder, which he attributes to popular anger and fear at the escape of the dangerous counter-revolutionary, General Korniloff. But it is not for the upholders of the military system, which shoots lads of eighteen for leaving the trenches from fear or illness, and which maintains the wholesale slaughter involved in three years of War, to condemn the revolutionaries for this act.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

THROW OUT THE FRANCHISE BILL

The disfranchisement of conscientious objectors ought surely to be the proverbial last straw to any democratically-minded people who have hesitated to condemn the Government's Franchise Bill as unworthy to be placed on our British Statute Book in this twentieth century! We urge such people now to take their courage in both hands and call on all Members of Parliament whom they can influence to vote against the remaining stages of the Bill. We urge the Members, both of the Lords and Commons, to vote against this measure, warning them that the Bill, besides being one of the most ridiculous and unjust, is likely to be one of the least popular ever introduced. We refuse to believe that the Bill will ever be enacted.

Many other nations have flung open the franchise to all men and women without any such weighting of the scales to the advantage of the rich and the disadvantage of the poor, such as is provided by plural voting, the pauper disqualification, and registration that is not continuous. This objectionable measure contains the following evil provisions:—

- 1. For Parliamentary purposes the woman's vote is based on property; the man's is not complete adult suffrage. For Local Government purposes both the man's and woman's votes are based on property.
2. A woman loses her Parliamentary vote if she or her husband accepts Poor Law relief, her husband losing his Local Government and retaining his Parliamentary vote.
3. A woman loses her Local Government vote if she ceases to live with her husband, unless she is able to qualify separately; in most cases she is too poor.
4. The voting age for women is 30, though civilian men vote at 21 and soldiers and sailors at 19, and though compulsory attendance at school does not continue universally even to 14 years.
5. Conscientious objectors to military service are to be disfranchised.

When at last this War, which was advertised

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

THE FRANCHISE.

On November 28th and 29th the Representation of the People Bill was further discussed. The alternative vote was again the subject of much futile discussion. The decisive topics which must either mar or scrap the Bill altogether, such as redistribution in Ireland, the C.O. disfranchisement and duration of the same, are being discussed as we go to press.

FREE DOCTORING FOR ALL?

It was announced that Dr. Addison, with a salary of £5,000 a year, was to preside over a new Ministry of Health, and that we are all to have free medical attention as a result. We thought this was too good a proposal for this Government. Next day the report was denied.

THE RAILWAY DISPUTE

The railwaymen have agreed to accept an advance of 6s. a week for themselves with 2s. a week increase for women and boys. The railwaymen started out with the wise and just demand for equal pay for men and women, but unfortunately this original demand is not being maintained.

THE ENGINEERS' STRIKE

The standpoint of the old-fashioned Trade Unionist is revealed by the answers made by the Dewsbury Trades Council to a Royal Commission of Inquiry into Trades Unions which sat in the eighteen states. The Dewsbury Trades Council was of opinion that "Trades Unions have tended materially to facilitate and improve the dealings and relations between workmen and their employers," and that the policy of the Trade Unions was tending to improve the condition of the workmen and... has been to the interests of employers and the trade generally."

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

November 27th.—Mr. King (L.) pointed out that the French law holds that it is against humanity and family affection to deprive a man of the protection of his mother or his wife's shelter. He advocated similar leniency in his country in regard to deserters. Mr. Bruce could do nothing but defend the British method of prosecuting those who harbour deserters, without taking family ties into account.

CENSORSHIP AND MATCHES.

November 28th.—Commander Wedgwood (L.) again returned to the attack on the Government about "Young India." He stated that every member of the House and Mr. Montagu had been sent a copy of the book on publication, yet the Government only seized it two months afterwards, when Mr. Montagu was on the high seas. Mr. Snowden (Lab.) protested against the raid on the No-Censorship Fellowship, when such things as the lists of delegates of trade unions were taken, thus interfering with trade on work; he also stated that a privy bag had been broken open and four boxes of matches stolen by the police! Sir G. Cave reaffirmed his statement about Regulation 27c not applying to any leaflets issued by or under the authority of the Government.

SWISS CONFERENCE.

Mr. Outhwaite (L.) and Mr. Ramsay MacDonald brought to the notice of Lord R. Cecil that the present Russian Government has issued a State document revealing the fact that a director of a British bank was present at a conference of financiers held in Berne on September 27th. Lord R. Cecil again protested that no information could be procured about the said conference!

FOOD DEBATE.

Mr. Anderson (Lab.) asked for a day to consider the food question. Mr. Bonar Law objected at the moment, but we are glad to see that Mr. Anderson has since gained his point. All those who can be helpful in any way by suggestions or exposing grievances should communicate with their Members of Parliament, and thus make the voice of the people heard.

NO FRENCH EXAMPLE.

The fact that the French Government has issued instructions authorising one of the members of the court to be a private when a private is being court-martialled was pointed out by Mr. Outhwaite (L.). Mr. Macpherson, however, argued that legislation would be necessary for such a change here, and, further, avowed his satisfaction with the present system here. It seems we can only imitate the arbitrary methods of the Prussian, the democratic example of the French can find no echo here.

WAGES.

Mr. Churchill announced that the 12 per cent. increase to munition workers on time work was necessary owing to the abolition of the leaving certificate! It affects about 90,000 men at an ultimate cost of about £14,000,000. So far good; but where do the women come in?

SECRET TREATIES.

November 29th.—Referring to the secret agreements now being published in Russia, Lord R. Cecil said: "Some of them may be authentic and some not." How illuminating! It is practically an admission of guilt.

COAL MINES CONTROL.

The Committee stage of the Coal Mines Control Bill was taken on November 27th and December 3rd. Much the same wrangling about profits went on as on the second reading. Mr. Adamson (Lab.) really went to the root of the objection to the Bill. "It does not go far enough, I want nationalisation." We second his wish, but must add not on the same basis as control and nationalisation have been carried on during the War.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF RIGHTS A CONCERT AND DANCE

On behalf of the above will be held at the W.S.F. HALL, 400, OLD FORD ROAD, BOW, E. 3, on SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8th, 1917. The Concert will be given by the Paddington (No. 2) N.L.R. Concert Party.

Commence 6.30 p.m. M.C.: A. A. WATTS Tickets (including Tax) EIGHTPENCE Refreshments at popular prices.

leader who was emancipated from the ranks of the workers and too often easily lost his sense of class solidarity with them, his passing and his place is being taken by the shop stewards, who remain at the bench and who are the elected delegates of those who work beside them. The Coventry strike involving 50,000 men and women broke out because the employers refused to recognise the shop stewards. "The Times" declared the strike to be "murder," asking the workers "to say flatly whether their strike is worth the price the nation must pay for it." The strikers might well have asked "The Times" to put the same question to the employers. The shop steward movement is irresistible, and the employers have been obliged to negotiate, whilst a similar situation has arisen in the Birmingham district, where 150,000 workers are involved.

PRO-GERMAN OR PRO-POCKET

Those who believe that for the nation's sake the War should be ended and try to convert others to that view are ridiculed, harassed, and imprisoned. The action of the Provincial Cinematograph Exhibitors' Federation in declining to show any of the Government's War aims films till the cinema tax is repealed, is received as a legitimate means of protecting trade interests.

Women Bring Down Milk Prices

At Padiham, in Lancashire, recently the milk price was 6 1/2 a quart. The price in Nelson was 5 1/2. Padiham women struck work at the cotton factories, and met the farmers' milk carts. As each man drove in, they asked the price of milk, and when the answer was more than 5 1/2, they led the horse to the Food Controller's. So the price of milk was brought down to 5 1/2. But one woman drove into Padiham, and when she was asked the price of her milk, she said, "Fourpence ha'penny a quart; it won't be any more, for I can make a good profit at that price." Padiham women should adopt the same method of reducing the price to 4 1/2. But why should the movement stop at Padiham? And why not eliminate private profit altogether?

WHY PAY MORE?

The "Bakers' Record" tells of bread being sold at Fusham, Clapton and Islington for 8d. a quarter loaf, and for 7d. and 8d. at Wembley. Why, then, should any bread cost more?

W.S.F. PEACE PICKETS

Mrs. Brimley and Miss Tollemache picketed Dr. Horton's chapel with peace banners on Sunday. They were congratulated by several sympathisers, but a soldier snatched Mrs. Brimley's banner away and tore it into shreds. A man followed Mrs. Brimley away; she asked him why he was following her; he said, "To give you in charge when we meet a policeman." Mrs. Brimley then asked him to come with her to a police-station, where she gave in her name and address as one who had been displaying a peace banner, informing her tormentor that she was not afraid, and that she had as much right to her opinions as he had to his. The brave women who have carried out this picketing week by week are performing a public service. We want more volunteers.

The Government proposes to turn cotton mills into aircraft factories. So an interest which might begin to cry "Peace" is to be bought off.

"Does it occur to you that by the time England is through with the emancipation of all the oppressed peoples, with the trifling exception of the oppressed people of Lambeth, Shore-ditch, Ancoats, the slums of Liverpool, and so forth, her own affairs may have fallen into some confusion?"—Bernard Shaw, interviewed by the "Sunday Observer."

THE "APAPA"

We tender our sympathy to the relatives of those who were drowned in the torpedoed steamer "Apapa." We urge them to join with us in agitating for an early peace in order that no more lives may be thus sacrificed.

KENSAL RISE W.S.F.

All friends in Kensal Rise, Paddington, North Kensington and Bayswater are urged to join this newly-formed branch. The cause can only be won by organisation and hard work. Hon. Secretary, Mrs. F. Edwards, 30 Cliford Gardens, Kensal Rise. Meetings held alternate Wednesdays at 7.30 p.m. in Co-operative Guild Room, 21 Stanton Road, Kensal Rise.

TO YOUNG SOCIALISTS

The Young Socialist Club, 420 Commercial Road, E. 1, wishes to enlarge its membership. It would welcome new members of either sex between twelve and fourteen years of age.

"SATIRE"

Scotland Yard, not content with breaking into the locked publishing offices of "Satire," on November 30th, entered the private dwelling of the Editor ten minutes after he had left and took, among other things, copies of "Satire," blocks, office books, MSS., cyclostyle, correspondence, a typewriter, a picture or two from the walls, and £81. The police who raided the Peace Negotiations Committee's Office and Miss Wilson Wilson's office, also took money away in each case. Does the Government countenance such robbery?

International Young Age Pensions

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

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

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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

GREAT PUSH FOR PEACE! SOCIALISM! VOTES FOR ALL!

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8th.
Levensham Market Place, 3 p.m., Mrs. Walker.
SUNDAY, DECEMBER 9th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m., Miss Price.
Hoxton, 11.45 a.m., Mr. L. Hogben.
Cannon Street Road, 3 p.m., Mrs. Walker.

INDOOR

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8th.
Fabian Hall, 25 Tothill Street, S.W., 3 p.m., At Home.
Speaker, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.
St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, N., Social, 8.11 p.m.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 9th.
Bow Women's Hall, 5 p.m., General Meeting (London Section). Business: "Old Cockney Fair."

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12th.
20b Lincoln's Inn Fields, 8 p.m., Speakers' Class.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 13th.
20b Lincoln's Inn Fields, 3.30 p.m., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, "The Present Outlook"; Mrs. Clara Cole, "Flashlights of the War."

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

Special meeting at Kingsley Hall, Sunday, 9th, at 8.15 p.m., "Dedication of Infants," Stanley James; "A Tolstoy Story," Lily Mortimer.

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 11th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Seizer and others.

FEDERATION NOTES

MANCHESTER W.S.F.
The Manchester W.S.F. held a well-attended meeting in the Onward Hall, Manchester, on Saturday, December 1st, which was addressed by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mr. Caney being in the chair. Several new members were made. Hon. Secretary, Miss Wassilevsky, 18 Broughton Street, Manchester.

NELSON W.S.F.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst spoke at a meeting of upwards of 600 persons held by the Nelson W.S.F. in the L.P. Hall. Resolutions were unanimously carried calling on the Government to accept the Russian armistice proposal, and calling on the Nelson Town Council to send a deputation to Westminster to urge this course upon the Government. A resolution was also passed unanimously, demanding the rejection of the Franchise Bill and the substitution of a complete adult suffrage measure. A further unanimous resolution urged that the British housing problem should be solved as the Russian Bolsheviks have solved it, by giving municipalities power to commandeer empty houses and to install in them those who are living in insanitary and overcrowded dwellings. Hon. Secretary, Miss Kershaw, 370 Railway Street, Nelson.

HULL AND LEEDS W.S.F.

Mrs. Bouvier has been addressing meetings organised by these branches during the week-end. Hon. Secretaries, Miss Kent, 16 Ellesmere Avenue, Holderness Road, Hull, and Miss Ethel Lewis, 23 Blundell Street, Leeds.

BRYNMAER AND NANTYGLO W.S.F.

This branch is affiliated to the local L.R.C., and has applied for representation on the local Food Control Committee. The committee asked Lord Rhondda's permission to co-opt more members, but he refused permission! The W.S.F. branch is sending a deputation to the schools to investigate underfeeding amongst the children, as many colliers in the district are only employed on half-time.

Hon. Secretary, Mrs. Hayward, Brynhyfryd, Coedcae, Nantyglo, Mon.

Gratefully Acknowledged.

GENERAL FUND.—Mrs. M. B. H. Ellis, 5s.; Lower Duffryn Lodge, S.W.M. Fed., £2 2s.; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly), £1; A. J. Marriott, Esq., 3s. 9d.; Mrs. M. L. Bull, 2s. 6d.; Miss Helen Lindsay, 2s.; Mr. A. Gaubert, 1s.

PEACE CAMPAIGN.—Mrs. Ella E. Palmer, 10s.; Mrs. Brimley, 9s. 6d.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—Leeds W.S.F. (profit from Whist Drive), 10s.; G. Walton, 9s.; A. J. Marriott, Esq., 3s. 9d.; Mrs. Baille Weaver (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Dawson Clark, 2s.

"DREADNOUGHT" GUARANTEE FUND.—Previously acknowledged (weekly), £2 15s. 7d.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRICTS.—Miss L. V. Yeoman (10s. weekly), 8s.; Anon, Birmingham, 4s.; Mrs. Baille Weaver (monthly), 3s. 10s.; Miss Florence Roberts, 2s.; Contessa Tomasi Isolani (monthly), 4s. 1s.; per Miss J. E. West (monthly), 4s.; Miss Burroughs, 4s. 1s.; Mr. Maurice Liverman, 10s. 6d.; Miss L. Violet Hodgkin, 10s. 6d.; Miss Lone Levy, 10s.; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10s.; Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, 4s.; Mrs. E. M. Morrison (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. Leon, 3s. 6d.; Miss E. Crabbe (monthly), 3s. 6d.; A. J. Marriott, Esq., 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Fisher, 2s. 6d. COLLECTIONS: Miss A. Uday (two-months), £3 2s. 4d.; L.S.A. Toolroom, £2 3s. 1d.; Misses E. and K. Lagsding, J. Watts and Mrs. Bertram (Green's Yard and Cubitt Town), 15s. 10d.; Mrs. Casey (Churn), 9s. 3d.; Misses Dell, 5s.; Mrs. Pascoe (farthings), 2s. 6d.; Miss Molly Newman, 2s.

CLOTHES, Etc.—Mrs. Watt, Mrs. Boswell, Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Trevelyan, and Mrs. Robertson.

FRUIT.—Mrs. Napier.

OLD COCKNEY FAIR.—Mrs. Parry, 10s.; Mrs. Natell, 10s.; Mr. F. W. Shorrocks, 4s.; Miss Ada Woolley, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Hooper, 1s.

GARMENTS.—Mrs. Barley, Mrs. Buckley, Mrs. Whitwell, Miss Richardson, Miss Barker, Mrs. Cole, Mrs. Lauritzen.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.—Mr. and Mrs. Bracher, Mrs. Dolah, Miss Catherine Marshall, "W. I. L." Mrs. Whitwell.

VEGETABLES AND FRUIT.—Mrs. Burke.

TOYS, SWEETS AND SCENTED SOAP.—Mrs. Whitwell, W. F. Moss, Esq., Mrs. Cole, Mrs. Pascoe.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 14d. Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

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

FURNISHED BED-SITTING ROOM with attendance; 5s. a week; Central London.—Apply, Box 400.

TO LET—HALL for meetings, etc., holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, N.

TYPEWRITING REQUIRED at home; MSS. and Plays; Duplicating accurately done. Terms on application.—Apply Miss A. O. Beamish, 85 Hoxton Street.

MONDA SOCIALISMO.

Free Food, Law Love, Temple Truth, Sovran Self. Songs and Recitals by ALEXANDER HUNTER, 37 Collingwood Road, Coventry.—"Fine Voice." "Powerful Reciter."

ANTIQUES

For Genuine Old English Furniture and China

Mary Casey, 29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.2

ELECTRIC MACHINE BAKERY

91 BURDETT ROAD, MILE END

W. WOODS & SONS,

Family Bakers.

TOYE & Co. Established 1855

57 Theobalds Road, London, W.C. Sole Manufacturers of Banners and Flags for Demonstrations Metal and Enamelled Badges for all Societies. Medals, Celluloid and Buttons. Flags for Charity Collection Days.

WRITE for CATALOGUE, DESIGN & QUOTATION

Printed by the National Labour Press Ltd. & 9 Johnson's Court, Fleet St, E.C.4 and Published by the Workers Suffrage Federation, at their Office 400 Old Ford Rd, Bow, E. Printed by T.U. labour in all departments (48 hour week) on Trade Union Made Paper.

OLD COCKNEY FAIR HOLBORN HALL
FRIDAY, 14th DECEMBER; SATURDAY, 15th DECEMBER, 2.30 p.m. till 11 p.m.

LIST OF STALLS AND STALLHOLDERS.

- Fruit, Vegetables, and Flowers—Mrs. Pascoe.
- Toys—Mrs. Hercbergova.
- Curios & Jewellery—Mrs. Casey.
- Children's Garments—The Mothers' Arms helpers.
- New Garments—Poplar Branch.
- Second-hand Garments—Mrs. Payne.
- Books, New and Second-hand—Miss Macdonald.
- Fancy Goods—Novelty Stall—Miss Di Benningfield.
- Grocery—Mrs. Crabb.
- Tobacco—Pottery—Mrs. Wood.
- Hats—Miss Horsfall.
- Bran Pie—Roast Potatoes, Whelks and other East London delicacies. Come and try them!



SPECIAL ATTRACTIONS!

☐ Aunt Sally, Cheap Jack, Penny Shies, Chuck Halfpenny, Palmist, Cockney Recitations, London Cries, Pearly King, Costers and their barrows.

☐ COME TO THE FAIR! You will be able to imagine yourself in the "Land of Cockaigne" as it used to be. Save up to buy your Christmas presents there. Bring your children and your friends!

☐ Stall-holders still needed for Tobacco and Fancy Goods stalls and Bran Pie.

Send your contributions towards stalls, children's dresses, scenery, or general expenses to Miss Æ. Tollemache, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3.

- ☐ The boys of the London College of Choristers will sing after the opening ceremony each day.
- ☐ Friday at 8 p.m. and Saturday at 5 p.m. the Children from Bow in Miles Malleon's Fairy Play "Paddy Pools" and "Cock Robin."
- ☐ CONCERT, Saturday 15th, 8 p.m., M. EDOUARD SOERMUS (Violinist); Russian Dances, Songs, Miss IRENE BOUVIER, Mr. GRISHIN.

TICKETS: Two days, 1/- (including tax); One day, 8d.; One evening, 5d., from 400 OLD FORD ROAD, BOW, E.3.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT CHRISTMAS, 1917

GOVERNMENT

The Rulers of the Earth, savage and blind,
Have dug Gethsemane for all mankind,
For their honour and their glory and their pride
In every age the heroes of all nations died.
Thus Joan of Arc and Socrates were slain
By the World's Bane;
Jesus Christ, a thousand years ago,
They served so;
And Roger Casement, just the other day,
Went the same way.
Now is their hour of power and life's despair,
From blasted earth and desecrated air.
The Universal death that is their dream
Flows o'er the earth in a great lava stream,
Whelming men's thoughts in floods of liquid fire
To light the old world's funeral pyre.
Shall then our hearts in hell fire burn
To serve their turn;
God's splendid rebels and men's stupid slaves
Earn the same graves.
Oh, rather let us scorn life's baser gains,
The joyless spoils of death-strewn battle plains,
Where for our riches, glory and their lust
Some million human brains are bloodstained dust.
Far better labour for that purpose known
With the Gods alone,
That hides behind the darkness and the storm
In every human form,
If but to die on God's dear battle plain,
Where daisies mount to life through sun and rain,
Whilst the wild winds their rapturous tumults
Rouse,
And the trees fight for beauty in green boughs.
Peace be to those who rule and hate and kill—
The world's true will
Has brought, in this black hour of pain and strife,
A violet to life.

EVA GORE-BOOTH.

FOR OF SUCH IS THE KINGDOM OF MAMMON"

"There is considerable opposition on industrial grounds to the raising of the school age."—Daily Paper.

Children, we have need of you;
Put your books and toys away;
No more time for school or play;
You have other things to do.

You must come to fill the room
Of your elders that are dead;
You must do the work instead,
In mine and mill, at lathe and loom.

You must bear yourselves as men;
Till and sow and spin and weave
From dawn to dark, nor ever grieve
Or wish your childhood back again.

Though you forfeit youth and health,
Be your recompense and pride
To fill the place of them that died,
And to rebuild their masters' wealth.

So shall England still endure
Supreme amid her sister-lands,
Upheld by children's weary hands,
And so our riches be secure.

You've had time enough to learn:
You must toil that we may thrive;
'Tis yours to work, and ours to live,
Ours to enjoy and yours to earn.

Children, there is work to do;
No more time for school or play;
Put your books and toys away;
We have urgent need of you.

W. N. EWER.

THE SEASON'S GREETINGS

From _____
To _____



By HILDA JEFFERIES.

Christmas Vision, 1917
"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men."

[St. Luke, ch. 2, v. 8-20.]

A SONG OF MARY MAGDALENE. By Regina Mtriam Bloch.

On the terraces of Heaven I saw Mary Salome, Mary Magdalene and Mary the Mother of Jesus walking together.

The Magdalene went in their midst and they held a long canopy of white brocade fringed with crystal by rods of silver over her head. Their garments were as white mountain mists, their faces lily-pale, and their feet as clusters of camphire when the heat of the censor touches them.

I heard Mary of Magdala weeping, and the sound was strange in Heaven.

And behold! Christ came toward them over the blossom-drifts of the terrace, and they paused in their pacing and stood as three white tapers with flames of golden hair.

On the feet of Christ the wounds flickered like rubies, but the thorn-crown on His brows had borne red roses, and a fire burnt from his bosom with a perfume of offerings and incense.

He said to the weeping one: "Sweet sister, howbeit?"

She said: "Ah, well-away, Thou Crown-jewel of all Majesty; it is no pain, for there is none in this place of surcease. But hast Thou seen a little flower hidden in the heath-grass when careless feet have trampled thereon? It closeth its petals and lieth low, and it is many hours before it raiseth up its crushed head. Yet the sun draws it and it openeth again its chalice to the light."

"Even so it was with me, and though the sins of earth are purged from my soul and I am in the hyssop of absolution; some time there is with me, as now, the memory of my awakening, and it saddens my heart."

And she cupped her tears within her tender hands, so that there was both a fringe of crystal above her head and a living one upon her eyelashes.

Christ said: "Magdalena, and ye sweet sister Maries, can ye guess which was my bitterest hour of anguish?"

Then Mary Salome said: "Thy Agony in the Garden."

But Christ said: "Nay, not so."

Mary Magdalene, the midmost Mary, said: "Thy Calvary, when Thou didst bear the Cross up Golgotha, broken and taunted of men in that abysmal humiliation."

Christ said: "Not this."

And Mary the mother of James said: "The moment of Thy crowning sorrow was surely when Thou didst hang crucified and cry to God with that exceeding torment, 'Eli, Eli, lama sabbachthani!'"

Yet Christ said: "Not even this—it was my Resurrection."

I heard the weeping of Mary Magdalene cease suddenly, as they turned toward the sanctuary of Mary the Virgin.

Dr. MONTESSORI AND HER EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES

By Muriel Matters

One cannot give an outline of this new educational method without reference to the founder, "the Dottoressa," as her students call her. Born in Rome, the only child of an "unclouded union," as she herself expresses the fact in the dedication of "Pedagogical Anthropology," she grew to womanhood with a heart and brain harmonised—"fruit of the spirit of love and contentment" with which her parents inspired her. Were it necessary to look beyond her form and face, one has proof of her perfect heritage in the contribution she has made to the world on behalf of less fortunate children. She was one, if not the first, of the women Suffragists and Socialists of Italy, and was also destined to be the first woman doctor of her country.

After graduating, she became the assistant doctor in the Psychiatric Clinic in the University of Rome. She specialised in children's diseases, and became interested in the idiot children in consequence of her visits to insane asylums to tend the sick and in search of subjects for the clinics. Following up her interest, she became conversant with the special educational method that Edward Séquin had devised and experimented with in Paris, and later in America, half a century earlier. She came to the independent opinion that "mental deficiency presented rather a pedagogical, rather than a medical, problem." So she began her own preparation for the rôle of teacher. The result of, and preparation for, this is told in her two works, "The Montessori Method" and "Pedagogical Anthropology."

One striking incident of her work amongst the defective children was when she entered "my idiots"—as she pathetically called them—for an examination with normal children, and they passed successfully! This led to the conclusion that the difference in the methods employed by her for the defectives and by the teachers of the normal children must be very great. For why had the normal child not done better?

Evidently, in the one case, "they had been helped in the psychic development, and the normal children had, instead, been suffocated, held back." This and other experiments by Dr. Montessori drew the attention of the educational world to her efforts. She passed from experiments with defectives to experiments with normal children, believing that her methods were not peculiarly suited for, and should not therefore be restricted to, defectives, for they contained educational principles more rational than those in use. The results were astonishing, and have since been emulated by students of the child throughout the world. A close study of her works and actual contact with demonstrations by herself and her students convince us that we are in the presence of a Darwin in Education—for she has given—as the famous zoologist did—a new direction to science. Darwin, in his study of living things, proceeded to investigate the origin of species; Montessori, in her study (in the com-

* Publishers, William Heinemann.

plete sense of the word) of the child, speculates not on the origin, but on the ultimate destiny of the race, and thus conceives it to be her duty to trace out a path that will lead to the regeneration of humanity. In her own words—"if some practical line of action is to result, it will undoubtedly have to be exerted upon humanity in the course of development; in other words, at that period of life when the organism, being still in the course of formation, may be effectively directed, and consequently corrected, in its mode of growth. Accordingly, the possible solution of the most momentous social problems, such as those of criminality, predisposition to disease and degeneration, may be hoped for only within the limits of that space which society sets aside for guiding the new generations in their development."

And so she likens the mission of the teacher—and this cannot be accomplished by merely reforming the school and the educational methods in a limited way—as the "proud duty of universal



Dr. MARIA MONTESSORI

motherhood, destined to protect all mankind, the normal and abnormal alike. This is a reform, not only of the school, but of society as a whole, because through the redeeming and protective labours of pedagogy, the lowest human manifestations of degeneration and disease will disappear; and, more important still, it will make it henceforth impossible for normal human beings, conceived from germs that promise strength and beauty, little by little to lose that beauty and strength along the rough paths of life, through which no one has hitherto had the knowledge to guide them."

Maria Montessori has in truth and humility followed the example of Christ, who took a little child and stood it in the midst of the worldly wise men. Throughout her book such passages as this occur: "I watched them, seeking to understand the secret of these souls, of whose greatness

I had been so ignorant! As I stood in meditation among the eager children the discovery that it was knowledge they loved filled me with wonder and made me think of the greatness of the human soul!" And she who went to that almost unknown kingdom (that of the child) has returned with knowledge that acts as a beacon to those of us who follow the track she has laid. We must as a result of contact with her hear a voice for ever in our ears, as though she cried, "Hands off! (in every sense) you parents, guardians and teachers, lest you should offend or transgress the rights of one of these little ones!" Her literal utterance of the words "Bambino" (baby child, "Bambini" (children) conveys more of mother love than I have ever got from most other women, even though they cover their children with kisses. One can only hope to indicate the nature of her love for the child, so deep it is, so tender, yet so utterly free from sentimentality.

Something of the completeness of her idea for human regeneration one gets from her inaugural address at the opening of the second Casa dei Bambini (Children's House) in the poverty-stricken quarter of San Lorenzo in Rome. And nothing ever spoken is a clearer, stronger indictment of the social system than her summary of the conditions under which the masses of the poor live isolated from the rest of the community. It is a modern condition, this isolation, as she indicates: "In the Middle Ages leprosy was isolated. The Catholics isolated the Hebrews in the Ghetto; but poverty was never considered a peril and an infamy so great that it must be isolated." Her thought of the woman question, too, has been long and deep, like that of the social question. It transcends, though it does not ignore, the demand for political enfranchisement. "The new woman, like the butterfly come forth from the chrysalis, shall be liberated from all those attributes which once made her desirable to man, only as the source of the material blessings of existence. She shall be, like man, an individual, a free human being, a social worker; and, like man, she shall seek blessing and repose within the house, the house which has been reformed and communised. She shall wish to be loved for herself, and not as a giver of comfort and repose. She shall wish a love free from every form of servile labour. The goal of human love is not the egotistical end of assuring its own satisfaction—it is the sublime goal of multiplying the forces of the free spirit, making it almost divine, and, within such beauty and light, perpetuating the species." This ideal love is made incarnate by Nietzsche, in the woman of Zarathustra, who conscientiously wished her son to be better than she. "Why do you desire me?" she asks the man. "Perhaps because of the perils of a solitary life?" "In that case, go far from me. I wish the man who has conquered himself, who has made his soul great. I wish the man who has conserved a clean and robust body. I wish the man who desires to unite with me, body and soul, to create a son! A son better, more perfect, stronger, than any created heretofore!"

(This is the first of a series of articles.)

ITALY AND HER FUTURE. By Silvio Corio

At the reopening of Parliament, after the Italian defeat, in a declaration signed by the 43 Socialist Deputies, it was said: "Those who may attempt to trade upon our attitude would do well to remember that we are to-day—as yesterday—the comrades of Karl Liebknecht and Friedrich Adler; the sworn enemies of violence and annexations."

These words fairly give the position of the Italian Socialists at the present moment, who were against the War, when (though slightly and under favourable circumstances) the Italian Army was invading Austria, and who are against the War now, when the Austrian forces are again in possession of Italian provinces which they evacuated only fifty-one years ago almost to a day.

The upward forces of Humanity are not determined, the international solidarity of workers is not destroyed, by the temporary violence of armed force.

Six years ago the Italian Government, pursuing the empty dream of a still emptier Imperialism, went buccaneering to Tripoli, and, after having killed or captured Enver Pasha several times over, hoisted its flag on that African coast; to-day the Turkish flag floats high from the castle of Udine, the former headquarters of the Italian Army!

The fortunes of war—waged under compulsion by and at the expense of the workers—are not the signs by which we can measure the only thing that now matters in Europe: The emancipation of the workers from the serfdom of the wage system.

It is not opportune to-day to discuss on whose shoulders will finally rest the responsibility of the war; we would even run the risk of under-stating our case. Much as we know concerning the Imperialistic aims of the Italian Government, thanks to the Russian publication of secret treaties, much more is still obscure and uncertain. This, however, can be safely said: What little there was of Press-fostered enthusiasm for the War in Italy has totally disappeared; the longing for peace is intense, and it intensifies every day; and a feeling is growing that the day of reckoning is not very far off.

Owing to the systematic suppression of free speech, of free Press, even of free inter-Allied communications, little is known abroad of the suffering of the Italian working class; still less do they know of the fight that other democracies are putting up for the cause of real freedom. "We live," a well-informed Italian wrote the other day, "intellectually as in a cellar."

In Italy—as elsewhere—we see a retrogression to mediaeval forms of economics: the State uppermost, controller of everything, food, industrial production, transport; the masses, without independent political and economic organisations of their own, unable to make themselves heard.

Meanwhile, Italian Mayfair, between dances, condescendingly dons the holy habit of the Red Cross.

... when home on leave you smile at us,
You even stop to pat us on the back."
Italian Park Lane is as callous as ever towards

Italian East End. Towering above all, Rome, ignorant, inept, corrupt, with "cushy jobs" and profiteering; heroic fountain pens for knock-out blows; Bols.

What of the future? The future, Anatole France said, is unknown even to those who help in the making of it. Will the admonition of the errors of the present War work deep into the soul of the Italian peasant, and cause him to demand the land which is his? The worker of the town to demand the factory which is his? Will they return home, and fight their "hereditary enemy" or—when Peace comes—will dependency prevail and a desire for peace and rest? Again, taking the sorrowful road of emigration—voluntary, beaten exiles—will the Italian workers go abroad, seeking, as in former years, the bread denied at home; or, at last, make a stand and try, earnestly try, to conquer their native land? They will have to take that stand, for the alternative is—begging at the doorsteps of the churches, forgotten heroes of a bankrupt nation.

ST. STEPHEN'S SHOP,
85 Hoxton Street, London, N.1
(Old Street Tube Station and near Liverpool Street.)

The biggest Rebel Bookshop in East London.
All sorts of Socialist, Pacifist, Communist and Feminist literature in stock.

BUY ALL YOUR BOOKS AND PAPERS THERE!
Price List sent on application.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST.
Published by the Workers' Suffrage Federation,
400 OLD FORD ROAD, LONDON, E.
Telephone: EAST 1787.
Annual Subscription - Post free, 6s. 6d.

AGENTS:
INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE SHOP, 5 Duke Street, Charing Cross, W. C.; ST. BRIDE'S HOUSE, Salisbury Square; Messrs. W. H. SMITH AND SONS, Strand, W.C.; CITY AND SUBURBAN PUBLISHING CO., St. Bride's Churchyard, E.C.; Messrs. HORACE MARSHALL AND CO., Temple Avenue, E.C.; Messrs. TOLER, Savoy Street, Strand; MARLBOROUGH, 51 Old Bailey, E.C.; A. RITCHIE, Pemberton Row, Gough Square, E.C.; A. AND E. HARVEY, 5 Gough Square; SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON AND KENT, Paternoster Row, E.C.; A. BAGGETT, Clark Street, Stepney, E.; MAYOR BROS., Green Street, Bethnal Green; JOHN HEYWOOD, Manchester; THE WHOLESALE SOCIETY, 10 Johnson Street, Bolton; REFORMERS' BOOK STALL and HERALD LEAGUE, Glasgow.
Can be obtained at the Bookstalls of Messrs. W. H. SMITH AND SONS, and all Newsagents.
Back Numbers, 2d. post free.
All business communications should be sent to the MANAGER, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

Vol. IV., No. 38. Sat., December 15th, 1917.

ANOTHER WAR CHRISTMAS.

Must the soldiers spend yet another Christmas in the trenches? Must they still face death in the mud and slime on these grey, cold winter days?

Pathetic figures of weary ill-clad women stand in the queues, or hurry disconsolate from shop to shop. Must they suffer still more grievously the pinch of perpetual privation; less food, less warmth—always less food, less warmth?

Lord Lansdowne has cautiously sounded a note, half questioning, half warning; would it not be well, he suggests, to make some slight move towards Peace? Not one of his prominent capitalist colleagues has followed his lead.

It was thought that Mr. Asquith might second Lord Lansdowne, but he has not done so. Days have passed, in which perhaps he hesitated, and now he has come out and said, as definitely as is in him, that he desires no move towards Peace; that whilst he and his colleague, Sir Edward Grey, are the two men most responsible for bringing this country into the War, he regrets nothing. Although, as he rightly says, the vast majority of the population of the world is now involved in the war struggle; although the War is steadily "draining away and drying up the vital resources of the future," he is determined that it shall go on to the bitter end. With unimaginative cruelty he declares:

"We are all exultant at the magnificent success that has attended our Armies in Palestine, which has enabled General Allenby to do what Richard I. was never able to do—namely, to plant the British flag over Palestine."

He speaks of "the panorama of the War" and of its "encouraging and heartening spectacles"—oh, for the day when the people shall be freed from the grip of such elderly professional politicians with their calculating materialistic outlook in which the workers are but pawns!

The Russian Bolsheviks are struggling against tremendous odds. The reports from Russia are confused and contradictory, but we are learning to think that no news from Russia means good news for the people's cause. It is certain that whether the Bolsheviks have a clear majority or not, the various Socialist parties command a vast majority in the Russian Parliament. This fact gives cause for great encouragement and rejoicing.

With the majority of the people behind them, the Socialists must inevitably triumph before long. The British and American Ambassadors have been making flattering speeches to the Russians; Sir George Buchanan said that when Russia has a Government representing the majority of the Russian people the Allies will discuss War aims with her. This means that the Socialist power in Russia is recognised by its opponents.

The reports of German replies to the Russian negotiations are conflicting and extravagant; we await authentic news. But there is little doubt that the Russians have scored a success in winning the agreement that German troops shall not be rushed from the East to obtain an advantage on the West during the cessation of hostilities.

The Russians have opened the way to peace; the situation awaits a move from the peoples of the other belligerent nations; but the move does not come.

In this country the movement needs awakening. See the agenda of the Labour Party Conference, loaded with palliatives, without a hint of Socialism, which alone can emancipate the workers! Read the declaration of Mr. J. H. Thomas, the railwayman's Member of Parliament, that to repudiate the War Loan, with its exor-

tant interest, would be wicked, and that a levy on capital would be injurious to labour.

The British Labour movement is, alas, non-Socialist; the Socialist movement must take new deep breaths into its lungs, gain courage, reach out more widely, imbue itself more deeply with the spirit of Democracy, the love and understanding of the common people. Socialists must go with a surer faith to the cruelly exploited soldier, the overburdened mother, the worker whose vitality is sapped with perpetual toil. They must meet these with a faith that shall kindle anew the faith in those who are weary and discouraged, and shall light for the first time the flame of hope and enthusiasm in the hearts of those who have never known these things.

Great is the task of arousing the people to the love of the Socialism which can save them, and to the need for immediate peace.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

ARMY REGULATION OF VICE

We call the urgent attention of our readers to Commander Wedgwood's question concerning an alleged statement by the French Military Authorities, in reply to a protest from the townspeople, that the British Authorities have opened a brothel at Cayeux-sur-Mer for the use of British convalescent soldiers. Every woman's and every progressive organisation in the country should send its protest to the Government. Every parent of a son in the Army should do likewise. What will be the feeling of parents whose daughters are in the W.A.A.C. in France?

POLICE SUPERVISION OF SOLDIERS' WIVES AND WIDOWS

In 1915 an outcry was raised against the proposal to place soldiers' wives and widows under police supervision. Ostensibly the proposal was withdrawn, but if any complaint is made against the character or conduct of a soldier's wife (and as everyone knows that a soldier's wife's allowance may be stopped if a complaint is made, some busybody is likely to complain of her), the local police-constables are sent to investigate the matter. The woman is given no opportunity to reply to the charges against her. In a case that has come to our notice, a young wife, who lives with her mother, and works hard all day to maintain her child, has had her allowance stopped on the allegation that she is a prostitute. The charge is palpably absurd, but the authorities, in communicating the allegation to a member of the local War Pensions Committee, have marked the letter "Private," and the recipient feels bound not to disclose the facts either to the woman whose allowance has been stopped or to the public.

THE CENSORSHIP OF OPINION

On December 10th Sir George Cave announced a modification of Defence of the Realm Regulation 27c, which requires leaflets and pamphlets relating to the War to be passed by the Director of the Press Bureau. He announced that the leaflets and pamphlets would not now be "passed" by the Press Bureau, but must be submitted to it 72 hours before printing, publication or distribution, in order that the Censor may have an opportunity to place his ban upon it. In case of dispute the case will be decided by the courts.

The modification appears, in effect, to be a distinction without a difference, for the Censor will almost certainly prohibit the leaflets and pamphlets which he would have refused to pass. This issue is of very grave importance. We would remind our readers that "government rests on the consent of the governed."

PEACE SOCIETY LETTER

Many years ago the Peace Society instituted the observance of the Sunday preceding Christmas Day as "Peace Sunday." Each subsequent year as it approaches, a circular-letter is forwarded by the Society to clergymen and ministers throughout the country, urging them to devote some portion of the day's services to directing the thoughts of their congregations towards peace and goodwill. This year the Peace Society complied with Regulation 27c of the Defence of the Realm Act, and submitted its circular to the Press Bureau. The Press Bureau declines to pass the proposed letter, which runs as follows:—

Reverend and Dear Sir,—The coming of the fourth Christmas since the outbreak of War provides an unique opportunity for directing the thoughts of the Nation towards Peace and Goodwill among men. May we therefore remind you, as in former years, that Peace Sunday falls on December 23rd, and cordially invite you to join in its observance? We are living in one of the most decisive hours of the world's history, when even the existence of Christian civilisation is in jeopardy, and yet comparatively few seem to recognise that what we are witnessing is the natural consequences of an almost universal trust in material power and the acceptance of a philosophy in which Christ has been given no place. There are, however, in all countries many who hoped great things from the War, but have now seen that war itself can do little to remove the false ambitions, ancient hatreds, and desperate fears which have turned Europe into a vast cemetery, and made world peace so far impossible. To these our Appeal must be made, the meaning of Christ explained, the nature of His Cross revealed, for only a new love of our Lord and a new faith in God are sufficient for these things. Appalled by the sufferings and horror of the present struggle, distracted in mind and tortured in heart as the peoples are, it is too much to hope that the warring nations may even now turn from their battle cries, their threats of vengeance,

their boasts of victory—all of which mean more graves and further sacrifices—to find in Christ the solvent for all their ills? Upon Christian Ministers and Teachers a heavy responsibility rests, and, without intruding upon the private arrangements or convictions of anyone, we venture respectfully and in Christ's name to solicit your co-operation in this simultaneous effort to promote Universal Peace. Praying that all our decisions may be in accord with God's Holy Will, and that the Divine Spirit may lead us back again into the path of Peace from which, like lost sheep, so many in these last days have gone astray. I am, on behalf of the Committee, Yours in Christ's Name, HERBERT DUNNICO, General Secretary.

Family Limitation Doctrine

Post free, 11d.

MALTHUSIAN LEAGUE,
QUEEN ANNE'S CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER

WORKERS!
Have YOU read

"Industrial Unionism"

(What it is, and what it isn't).

If not, order a copy and get to know the reason why **organisation by industry** will supersede Craft and Section Unionism.

"We commend it to our readers' notice."—"Herald."
"As a brightly written appeal to the ordinary Trade Unionist, . . . it is very good."—"Plebs Magazine."

16 pages, price 2d. post free, 3s. 6d. per quire of 26 copies, or 15s. per gross.

Send your orders at once to—
J. D. HAMILTON, B.W.I.U. Social Club,
10 Mill Lane, Islington, Liverpool; or W. BURROWS, "The Cabin," 13 Braden St., Shirland Road, Paddington, London, W.9.

HUMANIST EDUCATION

(concluded from page 904.)

ing on the outbreak of War, this had come to England seeking work:—

"It was not easy to find. . . . At length I received a letter from a Scottish merchant who had business relations with my father, telling me that one of his employees had enlisted and that I could have the vacant place. . . . I made my way to Stirling. . . . I took a bed-sitting room. You can walk the length of it in two strides, and can cross it in one and a half. The bed is eighteen and a half times too large, and the pictures were awful. The last window looks over neighbouring roofs and chimneys and also over the stable of the adjoining house. . . . The landlady does my room and cooks for me. I pay fifty-six shillings or seventy francs a month for lodging, board, and light. No fire, except on Sunday evenings, as it would be too expensive.

"The firm for which I work deals in grain, hay and straw. There are ten of us in the office, and we work from half-past eight in the morning to the same hour in the evening, and sometimes to nine or half-past. The only breaks are half an hour for dinner and twenty minutes for tea. The rest of the time we work without intermission, and very hard indeed. We send out from 150 to 200 letters daily, and buy and sell from 10,000 to 15,000 cwt. of grain every week. Add 100 to 150 tons of hay every week and you can imagine how busy we all are. . . . In the morning I work in the office posting books and examining samples, until half-past eleven; then I go on my bicycle to visit neighbouring farms, three or four miles away, to buy newly-threshed corn. At one or half-past, I have dinner, and then set out for more distant farms, buying corn and hay if there is any, selling oatcake, bran, chemical manures, etc. At half-past five o'clock I return to Stirling, have tea, and stay at the office till quite late. In the evenings, three times a week, I give lessons to civilians and officers who are going to France. The officers pay nothing, but the civilians pay enough to eke out my salary, so that I am no expense to my parents."

So this is how one of the glorious youths from Berges was sweated; his highly trained faculties heedlessly dulled and exploited by a sordid commercialism. The youth continues:—

"I felt as though I were quite alone in the middle of a gloomy forest."
But he rises above his irksome surroundings. In a subsequent letter he tells that he is rising at five each morning in order to win two hours' work in a garden, the produce of which he will give away. His appallingly long hours of toil are therefore lengthened, but he has regained touch with nature and the outdoor life to which he has been trained. In a third letter he announces that he has enlisted. By now, poor lad, he probably is dead. Parents and educators may strive to make school life ideal, but their pupils must pass from it into a barbarous world.

In everything that belongs to the living present, not to the dead, changeless past, cause of criticism must be found whilst human brains strive after new truths and further development. So with Faria's New School. Criticise such experiments as we may, we must recognise that Faria's School and others of its kind are hopeful forerunners of the new age of humanist Collectivism, the manifestations of which are gradually appearing, not merely in political and industrial struggles, but in every region of thought and endeavour.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Join the Young Socialist Club, age 11-15.—For particulars, write A.D., 420 Commercial Road, Stepney, E.1.

Fifty thousand more men were voted for the Navy on December 10th. That suggests more naval battles and the loss of more lives at sea.

HUMANIST EDUCATION
(continued from page 900)

aptitude, in a lower class for certain subjects; in a higher class for others. He was expected to spend more time on the subjects in which he was weak than on those in which he was an adept. This rule, if rigorously applied, would lead to much weariness and rebellion in the breasts of little students, but at Faria's the danger was probably avoided, since his whole effort was to arouse interest, "to instruct as little as possible," and to present nothing to the child "until his intellectual development renders him competent to understand it."

Boys entered the carpenter's shop at 10 and the smithy at 14. The subjects of general instruction were uniform and obligatory in the preparatory stage, and included native and foreign languages, science, mathematics, history, and geography. No foreign language was begun before a fair knowledge of the native tongue had been acquired, and in no case before 12 years of age. At 14 years Latin was started; at 15, Greek. Between 14 and 17 new branches of study were introduced and chosen with a view to the predestined career. Between 17 and 18 instruction was specialised in preparation for after life.

Zoology and geology were the first of the sciences to be studied; Zoology, first from the external characteristics and habits of the animals which could be examined close at hand; geology, too, from the immediate surroundings. The study of history and geography arose naturally out of these two earlier studies. The dog had its primitive ancestors and its cousins overseas. There were far away lands and times where certain animals were held sacred. The quiet streams of Belgium might be compared with the torrents of Niagara, and notable rivers like the Nile and the Rhine; and on Belgium soil could be studied the changes wrought during aeons of time. The school-house might be compared with the dwellings of other peoples and other epochs. Thus the things which the child knows with a vivid every-day familiarity were used as a starting point for taking him on journeys through both space and time. The children were helped to pass swiftly through the successive stages of human development, studying both the habits and customs of extant savage tribes and of their own primitive Belgian ancestors, and being given the opportunity of personal rediscovery of knowledge and research into the past. Faria forbade the use of digests and compendiums; he desired the students to select and discover for themselves. He protests:

"When an experiment is merely made by the teacher in the presence of the students there is not, properly speaking, any instruction in experimental science at all."

To prove the world round, the Bierges students re-enacted Foucault's experiment from the casting of the bulb at the smithy forge and the final burning of the thread by which they had fastened the pendulum till they were ready to set it going on its long oscillating swing. Phenomena were reproduced experimentally in the laboratory, then examined in their actuality in sand dunes, mines, grottos and railway cuttings. Visits were made to museums and historical relics, to mines, factories and docks. Two days a week, four days a month were devoted to excursions, and three weeks of year to more distant excursions. One of these was to the Duchy of Luxembourg, another to the Belgian coast, and overseas to Dover.

Just as the management of the school was confided to the students, so, too, the initiation and management of the courses of study fell to them. The curator elected by the students had full charge of the workshop. He was responsible for the order and for keeping of tools, for the ordering of new materials, and for the keeping of accounts, for arranging the rotation of lessons and the disposition of working places; also for transmitting complaints from pupils and from teachers to the school management committee.

Of the two weekly manual classes, one was devoted to individually chosen work; the other to work chosen by the class as a whole and usually arising out of some general work on which the whole school was engaged by decision of the assembly. Thus, when the cowhouse was to be built, the drawing class surveyed the land, making careful geometrical drawings.

When any work of construction was contemplated, a student was commissioned by his fellows to prepare plans and specifications, detailing the kinds and quantities of materials to be used, the cost of these, the length of time required for the work, and the cost, if outside labour were to be hired. When plans and specifications ready, they were submitted for criticism by the teacher and the class and amended as required. In preparation for school journeys, one or more students were commissioned to make similar investigations.

How successful were such methods of instruction may be judged from the fact that, just as the students had their game clubs, so they had their

historical and geographical societies, which amplified and extended the class work, preparing lectures and exhibits to illustrate by paintings, maps and models the beings and things of the past.

Though the activities were so varied, concentration was obtained by correlating various branches of study. If the juniors were studying a group of animals, they did so from various aspects, learning through them zoology, geography, history, physics, and chemistry, and drawing, reading and writing about them. If the students were studying respiration, they learnt also, by chemistry, the properties of oxygen and carbon and the composition of bone, and, by physics, something of lever action, to explain the movements of the skeleton. They would work for 45 minutes on one branch of study; then, after ten or fifteen minutes' recreation, return to the same object, approaching it through another branch of study.

We have said little of spelling and grammar, those arts which most children have found so tedious and difficult to learn. Spelling at Bierges was not specially taught, except in the case of those who were unusually backward and whose fault was corrected by the copying of texts. Grammar was only studied as occasion arose until a certain degree of maturity and the knowledge of foreign languages enabled the pupils to make comparisons between languages and to learn something of their history.

One would judge from Faria's book that the tendency of the school was scientific rather than literary; practical rather than emotional. Faria says that the pupils went to Brussels to exhibitions of sculpture, to hear the best music, to see classical and fine modern plays, that the school was adorned with reproductions of paintings and statuettes, and that the pupils practised the various arts. But their compositions, which he quotes extensively, betray scientific knowledge, accuracy, common sense and much attention to detail rather than sensibility to beauty. By far the most pictorially descriptive and imaginative composition is by a nine-year-old boy:—

A COUNTRY SCENE IN PORTUGAL.
It is a fine day and the peasant women are washing linen in the river, using little wooden frames in which to kneel at their task. They never go alone, for while at work they keep an eye on their sheep pasturing in the meadow. The clothes already washed are stretched out to dry on the grass. Houses can be seen in the distance. The sun glares. The running water is saying: "glug, glug, glug," whilst the linen, as it is rubbed in the water murmurs, "vv, vv, vv, vv."—Mary, have you finished your washing? Give it to me to put in the basket. In some places the stream is wider than in others. Birds are singing, flowers are growing, and smell sweet. The women are reflected in the water. What a glorious day for washing! The clothes are dried and bleached in a trice.

What a wealth of accurate observation there is there, even to the "vv, vv, vv, vv." of the linen and the water's "glug, glug, glug!" Faria's pupils were neither vegetarians nor anti-vivisectionists; they studied anatomy by dissection, and preserved dead specimens of living things: tadpoles in spirit, beetles on pins. Is it not possible to study anatomy and natural history more naturally and less callously? A newer school will, we hope, discover that possibility and learn to observe more from the living animal than from the dead "specimen."

The sex question, Faria tells us, was treated at his school "tactfully and frankly." He adds: "A child living in the country undergoes in these matters an easy and wholesome initiation. The breeding of animals, gardening, flower culture, afford a natural introduction to phenomena and problems of this character. His teacher leads him to observe these phenomena and explains them doing so with the same simplicity with which the pupil is led to observe and to understand the phenomena of organic nature. When he is old enough, our medical men advise him concerning all the problems of individual and social hygiene bearing upon the matter."

So far, well. But the extract from a pupil's essay telling of the excitement of the pupils to be present to see the calf born, with Faria's note that, though on the first occasion the event took place whilst they slept, the pupils were present at a subsequent calving, leads us to ask whether here, too, the teaching was not somewhat brutal; whether the fact of the poor beast's suffering was not overlooked; and whether the teachers might not tactfully have insinuated the idea that even a poor cow has the right to be shielded when she is in labour from the prying eyes of any who are not actually engaged in serving her? Though we admit that a frank callousness may be infinitely better than an unwholesome mystery, we urge that a kindly humanity may be allowed to refine away the callousness, leaving frankness alone. Co-education and the co-operation of women teachers might have set the matter right.

Faria rightly dwells on the social value to the pupils of co-operative manual labour, the sharing of the roughest and hardest tasks of the farm, the taking turns to feed and water the animals, to turn them out to grass, to litter them at night, to clean out their habitations. Such experiences should banish for ever the habit which the well-to-do have acquired of looking down upon the labourer:—

"What an excellent thing it is that they should learn to feel and to understand how all kinds of work, even those which are most distasteful and most humble, contribute generously to the success of every enterprise. No longer do they give themselves airs, no longer are they animated by

false pride, for they now have a healthy appreciation of the value of work and the worker."

We hope that it may be so with the students of the New Schools; but though youth is proverbially thoughtless, and though it is not good that young hearts should be too tender lest they suffer too much pain, still we are surprised that amongst the various accounts by his pupils of visits to mines, factories and works of construction which Faria publishes, in one only does a sympathetic reference to the hard conditions of the workers occur, and that reference is but cursory, and is called forth by conditions of acute and exceptional hardship of which the writer had himself a brief experience. Here it is:—"At the end of the main gallery we entered a seam which was barely 2 feet thick, so that we had to slide on our backs and sometimes on our sides. In these narrow seams the miners' work is difficult. They look black and tired." After visiting other seams and passing through some more galleries we got back to the cage and were soon above ground again. We had a wash and a shower-bath, redressed and went away, having enjoyed our visit very much."

Perhaps it is only a chance that Faria has not chosen extracts in which the student-toilers have displayed some solidarity with other workers, some recognition of the fact that the conditions of the mass of lads of their own age, who have already become wage-earners, compare most unfavourably with their own. One does not expect such realisation from other schoolboys, but these lads had been taught to work, and as a part of their instruction had been taken to see work as it is carried on in actual industry. Yet the reasons for their callousness are obvious. Even the co-operative farm is not a Socialist enterprise; it is run on a basis of interest and profit; whoever desires a share in it must buy one, and his portion of the fruits of the joint enterprise depends, not upon his labour, but upon the amount of money that he has invested. How illogical are parents and teachers! They desire to instil in their young people the ideals and sentiments of Socialism; but they teach their pupils to base their faith upon the capitalist system, which is the negation of Socialism. What chance has the true venter of Socialist sentiment when the structure of ideas on which it is overlaid are those of capitalism?

And what chance has the venter of internationalism? Faria expresses fine international sentiments:—
The child which has been led to re-discover knowledge and technical competence by personal effort is in a position to understand how much effort has been necessary for generation after generation in order to bring humanity to the stage now reached. . . . The continuity of human struggle, the persistent love of truth which inspires scientific research—these things will have become real to the child. It will have learned, too, that in sharing the delights and difficulties of this upward evolution no country can take precedence of the others, for scientific endeavour is social endeavour. . . . human endeavour. Each nation contributes its own share to the construction of the joint edifice."

Finely and truly put; but Faria, in his references to the War, seems to imply that he has swallowed the official version whole; a strange feeble thing for a man of so scientific and constructive a mind to do. As a result of this War, men of his type will find it their duty to study politics and economics as earnestly as they have hitherto studied natural science!

Faria's account of the moral instruction of his pupils is most interesting. To religious instruction he makes no reference. He explains that in his view "morality and sociality are inseparable"; and that physical and mental training should equip the pupil with virile qualities, with steadfastness, patience and the love of truth, making him "a man master of himself, a self-governor and one whose heart vibrates in response to a sense of solidarity with his fellows." Of set moral teaching there was none; but just as the initiative of the pupil was appealed to in other branches of study, so in this. Says Faria: "We ask him to set out from his own experience, so that he may organise his moral life for himself." And as in other branches of study, so also in moral education, the co-operative spirit of the class is called forth. Each term a report of the pupil's work is sent to his parents, and this report, like the work itself, is the joint product of his individual self, his teacher and his class. His progress in moral effort, his proficiency in orderliness, care of the person, companionableness, straightforwardness, and so on, as well as in manual and intellectual labours, is compared, not with the progress of his comrades, but with his own. The values are assessed by numerical variation. First, the pupils are asked to express his view of the matter, then his class-mates, then the teacher, the resultant report registers the mean between the three views.

The method foreshadows tremendous possibilities; studied in this way, morality bids fair to attain to the dignity of a science of which no well-bred person will dare to be ignorant!

Bierges School is no more; the War has driven its teachers into exile and dispersed its students. What has become of those fortunate youths who enjoyed its wondrous training? Faria reproduces the letters of one of his senior students, who had spent two years at Bierges, and whose development there was "exceptionally gratifying." Leave (Concluded in col. 3, page 905.)

CONCERNING THE REFERENDUM. By Bernard Shaw

I have been called to account in the DREADNOUGHT for an answer I gave at King's Hall on November 9th. I was asked whether the problem of making democracy a reality instead of the sham it is at present could not be solved by the Referendum. I replied that the effect of substituting the Referendum for the representative system would be such a paralysis of legislation that the country would have to be governed by Orders in Council carried out by a bureaucracy, the net effect being, not the enthronement of democracy, but its abolition. I might have pointed out that this is what has actually happened under pressure of the War. When we were at peace, there were many things to be done of as great importance to the life of the nation as the present defence of the West front. For example, stopping the wholesale slaughter of children that was, and is, so much greater than the slaughter of soldiers. Nothing democratic was done. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky, on the strength of what they had themselves done for children, and what had been done by autocratic mayors in Huddersfield and Villiers le Duc, induced the Government to do a little, just as the Plunkett nurses in New Zealand, and a similar private venture in Cheltenham, ended in the public authorities taking them over. But democracy had nothing to do with it. And it came to very little of what was needed. Compared with what has been done by pure autocratic bureaucracy to organise the War, nothing was done: it is still far safer to be a soldier in Flanders than a baby in the majority of English homes, even out of range of the raiders.

What is more, almost all the effective and valuable part of that work had to be done virtually in secret. If the newspapers had known about it, they would probably have stopped it by rallying the democracy against it. If its successive steps had been submitted to a Referendum the answer would have been a scandalous and indignant NO. On the other hand, if a Referendum had been taken after the sinking of the Lusitania, or in London after the first big raid, on the question whether our German prisoners of war should be put to death, or at least treated as criminals under sentence of hard labour, the response would apparently have been a ferocious YES.

The truth is—and this was the main point of my address at King's Hall—the difficulty about governing with the consent of the people is that the people will not consent to be governed at all. They will obey the law as a horse obeys the reins and the whip. They will use the law, if it gets into their hands, as an instrument for the gratification of their vindictiveness and childish petulance and cruelty. But they will not make laws to govern themselves. The torture of Suffragettes and Conscientious Objectors, the shooting of prisoners of war and even of ordinary citizens, the acquittal of jealous murderers, are all highly popular when the victims are disliked; but it is the torture and the miscarriage of justice that please, not the legality of their forms. There are protests from people who do not dislike the victims, on grounds of pity and humanity, but none on the ground of the overwhelming importance of the maintenance of law and personal rights. It is always either "Serve them right!" or "Poor things!"

This is why every attempt to establish the millennium by giving more power to the people has failed. The Reform Bill of 1832 raised higher hopes than any other political measure before or since. The Reform Bill of 1885, which gave the working-class majority all the political power it was capable of using, simply re-established the oligarchy which the 1832 Act had broken. The more unconstitutionally the Government behaves, the more popular it is with everyone who is not personally hit by its mistakes and misdemeanours. The institution of Compulsory Service has revealed the fact that perhaps one per cent. of the colonels in the British Army are drunken ruffians, and possibly two per cent. illiterate snobs. Yet the praise and prominence given to these few disgraces to their profession by the popular press, and the positive enthusiasm with which they have been defended and cheered in Parliament, has created an impression among those who know no better that they are not only typical specimens of the army command, but saviours of their country.

How, in the face of all this, and of additional evidence enough to fill a whole number of the DREADNOUGHT, can any sane publicist advocate government by referendum? Do they want to see Miss Sylvia Pankhurst flogged, as her mother might have been done by process of initiative and referendum? Nobody who wants to extend the domain of law and public right would be safe. Take the case of Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

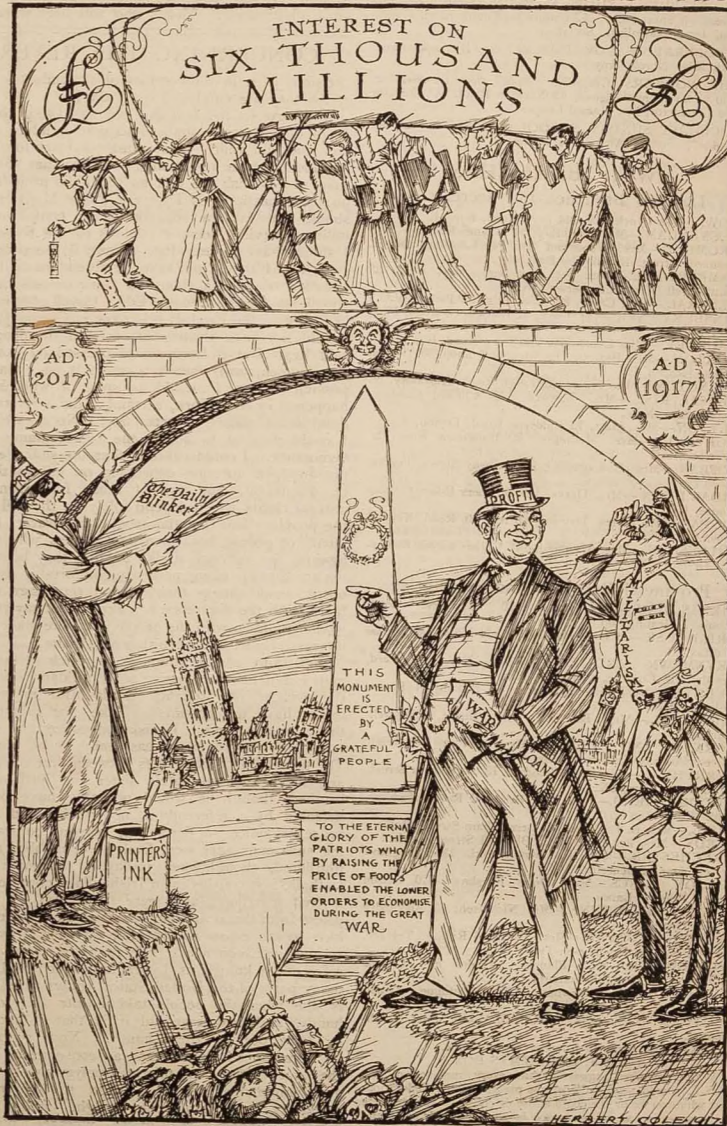
They have not broken windows, nor fought the police: possibly the reforms they advocate would be more advanced if they had. The whole business of their lives has been to find the appropriate and practicable political ways and means of escape for the people from the present miserable anarchy. Of their good will, their detestation of poverty and tyranny, their enormous industry and ability, their entirely pleasant, entertaining, and friendly personal qualities, they have given proofs enough, one would suppose, to have them canonised before their death by a grateful and enthusiastic people. But just simply because they are trying to replace our beloved anarchy by law, they are fanatically abused and denounced, not by ignorant people who know nothing of them, but by educated and brilliant writers as disinterested and as much on the side of the people as themselves. If you doubt it, read "The New Witness," which holds them up as fiends forging chains for the enslavement of a joyous, free and happy world. Mrs. Webb rages against the horror of flinging destitute children into the general workhouse among epileptics, syphilitics, idiots, prostitutes, tramps, and worn out and broken down old people. She demands that they shall be rescued from the Guardians and taken care of and depauperised by the education authorities. And instantly a benevolent man of genius like Mr. G. K. Chesterton foams at the mouth, and declares that he will never have an

innocent child delivered over to the educational tormentors by this abominable woman in her lust for "The Servile State," and that he, with God's help, will see to it, in spite of all the Webbs in creation, that the child shall still have its game of marbles in the workhouse yard, and its innocent laugh at Silly Billy, who thinks that the oyster shell he carries at the end of a string is a gold watch and chain. And this is only one illustration in a thousand. How can you govern a nation of born anarchists by referendum?

But even if you had a nation educated to understand the uses of law and the necessity for it, the referendum would be further off than ever; for no such nation would for a moment dream of giving people power to make laws or veto them without having heard them exhaustively discussed, for and against. Sixteen million adult men and women cannot sit in a legislative chamber and thrash out the pros and cons of the measures that have to be taken every session by the Government. The physical facts of space and multitude compel them to appoint a manageable number of representatives to obtain all the necessary information; hear all the arguments; and make the decision. Are they likely, having done this, to demand that the decision shall be over-ridden by people who have not obtained the information, have not heard the arguments, and are for the most part incapable of making a

(Continued on page 906.)

THE WORKERS' BURDEN OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION AFTER THE WAR



MILITARISM: "They seem to be taking very kindly to it!"
PROFIT: "Oh yes! with the help of our dear friend over there we can kid them into anything!"
MILITARISM: "How INTERESTING!"

THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To Secure a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People on the basis of a Socialist Commonwealth.

Entrance Fee—1d. Minimum Subscription—1d. a month.

Central Office: 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. Hon. Assistant Secretary: Mrs. Minnie Lansbury. Hon. Financial Secretary: Miss Norah Smyth.

Address Correspondence on— Meetings, to Mrs. Bouvier.

W.S.F. Branches, Miss P. Lynch.

"Dreadnought," Miss O'Callaghan.

Other Literature, Miss Bush.

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

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

THE MOTHERS' ARMS: 438 Old Ford Road, E.3.

Mother and Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays 2.30 p.m. Infant Clinic and Day Nursery, 8 a.m. to 7 p.m.

MONTESSORI SCHOOL: 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. (by appointment with Miss Maribel Matters) at the Mothers' Arms.

THE WOMEN'S HALL: 20 Railway Street (opposite South Bromley Station on the North London Railway)

Mother and Infant Clinic, Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays and Thursdays at 2.30. Cost Price Restaurant, &c.

55 ST. LEONARDS STREET, BROMLEY: Mother and Infant Clinic, Literature depot, &c. Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Friday 10.30 a.m.

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

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

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

THE WORKERS' CHOIR: Applications for Membership to Mrs. Herbergova, 45 Norman Road, E. Director and Conductor, Mr. Harold Cooper.

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

W.S.F. BRANCHES

London Branches and Secretaries

BOW.—Miss Lynch, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E. BECKENHAM.—Mr. Hambling, 34 Haynes Road. BROMLEY.—Mrs. Wood and Mrs. M. Lansbury, 53 St. Leonard's Street, Bromley-by-Bow, E.

CAMBERWELL.—Hon. Sec. pro tem., Mrs. Cole, 85 Camberwell Grove, Camberwell, S.E.

CENTRAL.—Miss Casey, 296 Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C. FINSBURY PARK.—Mr. Cave, 31 Blackstock Road, Finsbury Park, N.

HACKNEY.—Miss Lynch, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E. HOXTON.—Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, Hoxton, E.

ISLINGTON.—Miss Isaacs, 61 Leigh Road, Highbury, N. KENSAL RISE.—Mrs. Edwards, 30 Clifford Gardens, Kensal Rise, N.W.

LEYTON.—Mrs. Hart, 73 Calderon Road, Leyton, E. NORWOOD.—Mrs. Montague, 20 Bungalow Road, S. Norwood, S.E.

POPLAR.—Miss E. Lagsding, 20 Railway Street, Poplar, E.

TIDAL BASIN.—Mrs. Drake, 150 Butchers Road, Custom House, E.

ST. PANCRAS.—Mrs. Dawson, 68 Allerot Road, Kentish Town, W.C.

WILLEDEN.—Mrs. Shepherd, 141 Villiers Street, Willeden Green, N.W.

Provincial Branches and Secretaries

BIRMINGHAM.—Miss Boden, 10 Sandhurst Road, Moseley, Birmingham.

BRIGHOUSE.—Miss Woodhead, Wood View Shelf, near Halifax.

BRYNMAWR AND NANTYGLO.—Mrs. Hayward, Brynhyfryd, Coedco, Nantyglo, Mon.

BULWELL, NOTTS.—Mr. Lane, 17 Pilkington Street, Bulwell, Notts.

CHOPWELL.—Mrs. Bell, 62 Forth Street, Chopwell, Durham.

CORSNAY AND QUEBEC.—Mrs. Winter, 196 High Street, Corsnay Colliery, Durham.

FERRYHILL.—Miss Ruby Stoddart, 12 Hackworth Street, Dean Bank, Ferryhill.

HUDDESFIELD.—Miss Key, Bradford Road, Huddersfield.

HULL.—Mrs. E. J. Bryan, 91 Derringham Street, Hull.

LEEDS.—Mrs. Ebel Lewis, 23 Blundell Street, Leeds.

MANCHESTER.—Miss E. Wassilewski, 18 Broughton Street, near Manchester.

NELSON, LANCS.—Miss Doris Kershaw, 370 Nelson Street, Nelson, Lancs.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.—Mr. Nicholson, 19 Alexandra Road, Heaton.

PRUDHOE-ON-TYNE.—Mrs. Parks, 4 Riding Terrace, Mickley Square, Prudhoe-on-Tyne.

PORTSMOUTH.—Mrs. Flannery, Trades and Labour Club, Fratton Road, Portsmouth.

SHEFFIELD.—Mr. Newman, 87 Montague Street, Sheffield.

SOUTHAMPTON.—Mrs. Samuel, 33 Mount Street, Southampton.

YORK.—Mrs. Hall, 43 Lowther Street, York.

A W.S.F. CHRISTMAS BOX.

A Bow member suggested that every member of the W.S.F. should send a Christmas present to the Federation, just whatever he or she could afford or collect. We welcome this suggestion as we are much in need of funds to extend our organisation and carry on our propaganda for votes for all, Peace and Socialism.

THE CASH DRUG STORES,

224 ROMAN ROAD, LONDON, E.

Famous for Cough Cures, Hair Restorer, &c.

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. Emil Davis, £2 2s.; Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly), £1; Miss Marion Gibson, 10s.; Miss Annie Dawson, 5s.; Mrs. M. A. MacLagan, 2s. 6d.

COLLECTIONS: Central Branch, proceeds of "At Home," £3 13s. 4d.; Camberwell Branch, per Miss Lynch, 6s. 10d.; Mrs. Walker, 4s.; L.S.A. Polishing Dept., 7d.

PEACE CAMPAIGN.—Mrs. and Miss Lauritsen, 10s.; Miss L. Isaacs, 5s.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—Mr. Arnold Lupton, £10; Miss Mary Chesley, £4 10s.; Mrs. E. Barfield (card), 10s.; Mrs. and Miss Chappelow, 10s.; Mr. James Leakey, 10s.; Mrs. S. J. Hayward (card), 8s. 4d.; Mrs. Sanger, 6s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 2s.

"DREADNOUGHT" GUARANTEE FUND.—Previously acknowledged (weekly), £2 15s. 7d.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Miss M. Chesley, 14s.; Nurse Hobbes (weekly), 10s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 10s.; Mrs. L. Usherwood (5s. monthly), 10s.; Mrs. Kahn, 10s.; Misses Barrowman (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. J. Drewry (monthly), 5s.; Mr. D. Wilkie (monthly), 2s. 6d.

COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Tea-room, £1 7s. 3d.; Misses E. and K. Lagoding, J. Watts and Mrs. Bertram (Green's Yard and Cubitt Town), 11s. 2d.; Misses Vine and Levy, 7s. 10d.; Nellie Knudson, 2s. 11d.

OLD COCKNEY FAIR.—Mr. T. R. Mudie, £2 2s.; Mr. Clas Wright, £1; Mr. W. Carter, 10s.; Misses Beck, 10s.; Mrs. E. M. Fox, 5s.; Strickley (Birmingham) W.S.F., 4s. 6d.; Miss M. Stapleton, 3s. Mrs. Dangerfield, 2s.

CLOTHES, ETC.—Mrs. Robertson, Mrs. Clarke, Mrs. Sade Brown, Miss Durrant, Miss Marshall.

FRUIT.—Mrs. Napier.

FEDERATION NOTES

MRS. WALKER'S CHRISTMAS CAMPAIGN ON FOOD AND HOUSING.

Mrs. Walker is taking a series of open-air meetings on food and housing during the Christmas holidays, and volunteers will be welcomed to help her with speaking, paper selling and literature distribution. Those who will help should

CONCERNING THE REFERENDUM (continued from page 905)

decision, even in the conduct of the industry in which they are employed every day?

And now let me surprise you by saying that I am by no means opposed to a referendum on any question which is a suitable subject for it, provided that the result shall have no other effect than to establish the fact as to public prejudice on that question. If I were a Prime Minister I should not take a referendum on compulsory military service, because, thanks to the Kaiser, I should have to introduce it even if the people said No. I should not take a referendum on the question whether a thousand German prisoners should be shot to avenge Edith Cavell, because in mercy to the English prisoners in Germany, I should not have them shot, even if the people said Yes. But if I were hard pressed on Votes for Women, and wanted to stave it off by any possible means, I should, in spite of what has happened in New York, certainly take a referendum on the chance of extracting a No on which I could pretend to act in the sacred name of democracy. I could contend that the suffrage is not an open question depending on information or discussion, but one of those fundamental natural rights which depend solely on the will of the people. Not that this would hold water; for plenty of people, both men and women, who are against the suffrage to-day because they believe we are getting along perfectly comfortably without it, would change their minds if they knew the facts as to the difference it makes. But my plea would go down with the people if it were made as impressively as Mr. Asquith would make it.

Still, there are questions as to which a statesman might honestly desire some guidance as to the weight of prejudice a doubtful measure might have to encounter. Take, for example, the marriage laws. Legislation concerning the tables of affinity has occasionally to be faced. The toleration of marriages between first cousins and with deceased wife's sister and husband's brother, though it would probably have been defeated by a referendum, nevertheless did not rouse prejudice so fierce that persons contracting such marriages were likely to be mobbed and murdered, though even to-day, if a couple of Catholic first cousins in an Irish village contracted a civil marriage, and were denounced by the priest from the altar, they would at the very least have to move to a considerable distance to avoid serious consequences. There is a form of referendum known as Lynch law which still, in many parts of the United States, shows what law is like when the people take it into their own hands, and how essential it is that it should be kept out of their hands. Now suppose it became advisable, as a consequence of the war, either to tolerate polygamy or to give unmarried women a right to legitimate maternity! A statesman might well find himself unable to guess whether public opinion would stand such measures. A referendum would throw some light on this. But the decision should not be dictated by the majority. There would be a huge majority against, as indeed there would be on almost any conceivable question involving a startling modification of

write to Mrs. Walker at 158 East India Dock Road. The meetings are on Saturday, 22nd December; Sunday, 23rd; Monday, 24th; Christmas Day and Boxing Day.

SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Members of the Federation and of kindred organisations are invited to attend our speakers' class which will be held every Wednesday until Christmas at 296 Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C. at 8.30 p.m. Mr. L. Hogben is the instructor. A fee of 3d. each class is charged in aid of the General Fund. Several members have already made good progress and we hope that many more will join as we need more speakers.

RESOLUTIONS ON FOOD AND MILK.

The following resolutions have been passed by W.S.F. branches and forwarded to the Food Controller:—"We, the Holloway Branch of the W.S.F., protest against the high price of milk at the present time and consider it possible to reduce it to 6d. per quart."

"The St. Pancras branch of the W.S.F. protests against trades people sitting upon the Food Vigilance Committee, and demands that more working men and women be represented on it, as they understand from experience the conditions of the workers."

CAMBERWELL W.S.F.

The Camberwell branch has held good meetings at 85 Camberwell Grove. On Thursday, December 6th, a social evening was organised. A short Peace play by Mrs. Cole was greatly enjoyed. A good collection was taken for the General Fund.

SOUTH NORWOOD.

Mrs. Montague, 20 Bungalow Road, S. Norwood, is the new Branch Secretary. The branch is being helped by the Women's Social League to organise a Sale of Work in the New Year. Contributions of all kinds are urgently requested. Mr. Everett, the Literature Secretary, is doing well with the "Dreadnoughts." Many members are taking two copies weekly in order to get new subscribers. This branch is now affiliated to the Socialist Council at Croydon.

CENTRAL LONDON BRANCH.

This branch held a successful "At Home" at the Fabian Hall, 25 Tothill Street, Westminster, at 3 p.m., on Saturday, December 8th. There were speeches by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Mr. L. Hogben.

TONYPANDY.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is addressing those who desire to form a W.S.F. in Rhonda Valley at Tonypandy on December 22nd.

PEACE ON EARTH.

But this would not settle the matter. The question for the Government would be whether the minority was large enough to provide the indispensable minimum of social countenance for persons availing themselves of the contemplated measure. I wonder how many supporters and opponents of the referendum have foreseen that a majority of nine to one against a measure would have to be taken in many cases as a vote in its favour. The toleration of a religion, for instance, does not depend on its votaries being in a majority. There was a time when Quakeresses were whipped and imprisoned with disorderly women, and a later time when Salvation lasses were mobbed by "Skeleton Armies." Neither Quakeresses nor Salvationists yet number anything approaching a majority of the population; but a persecution of them to-day would be as ridiculous as a persecution of geologists or mathematicians, who are still more heavily outnumbered.

The referendum would thus put an end to a great deal of nonsense about democracy meaning the rule of the majority. There are measures which are justified by a single casting vote on an evenly balanced division. There are measures that would be barely justified by a majority of ten thousand to one in a population as large as ours. And there are all the gradations between the two.

The recent debate on proportional representation suggests another case. It may happen that a Parliament elected by a bad method may have a majority of members who could not retain their seats under an improved method. I cannot myself remember any election of the House of Commons after which the defeated party did not demonstrate that it had a majority of votes. Now in such a case the majority cannot reform the method of election without committing political suicide; and this is rather too much to expect politicians to do on principle. Here there would be a direct conflict between Parliament and the nation. In such a case a referendum would be at least interesting, and might be decisive. It must not be inferred, by the way, that I condemn under existing conditions the recent decision of the House of Commons as to Proportional Representation; but a glance through the complete report of the debate will show that some of the speakers against the change opposed it with the frankly corrupt object of saving their own bacon or that of their party.

My conclusion is that whilst government by referendum would be as impossible as it would be odious if it were possible, it does not follow that the referendum as a rough index to public prejudice is equally objectionable. By the way, somebody is sure to propose that when a question is referred—or shall I say, as we shall all certainly say, referred?—the press and platform should be compelled to treat it as *sub judice* by forbidding them to give the national jury a lead of any sort; so I hasten to say that this remedy would be worse than the disease. The citizen who takes in a newspaper is undoubtedly a public danger; but the remedy is to make him (or her) take in two, of opposite opinions.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

December 4th.—Mr. Richard Lambert (L.) could get no satisfactory reply from Lord R. Cecil as to whether Great Britain would still "hand over" Ispahan and Yezid, in Persia, to Russia. Lord Robert denied that 500,000 Kirghiz Tartars had been massacred by order of the ex-Czar's Government in the summer of 1916.

A series of questions was put by Mr. Snowden (Lab.) on the lack of defence granted to soldiers at courts-martial. He stated that in part of the month of October out of twenty-five executions confirmed by the Field-Marshal commanding in France only one case was defended. Mr. Macpherson refused to admit this, and, replying to other members, went on to say: "All these questions are governed by the Army Act passed by this very House. Soldiers will never get justice till they are punished by the law and the Courts which also apply to civilians, and until there is self-government in the Army."

RAIDS. Replying to Mr. Lees-Smith (L.), Mr. Brace stated that twelve raids had been made during the last month on societies and on individuals. No prosecutions had taken place. When Mr. Lees-Smith suggested that the Government dare not prosecute, Mr. Brace implied that there might yet be prosecutions. Wait and see!

MISS HOWSIN. As a result of a recent inquiry, it was decided that Miss Howsin—who has been interned for more than twenty-six months without charge or trial—might be released. The conditions being that her movements, correspondence, etc., be subject to restrictions. Bonds for "her good behaviour" in the sum of £1,000 were necessary, "each being entered into by three British subjects of good standing prepared to make themselves responsible for her." As the conditions could not be complied with, she has not been released! Yet Great Britain is out for Liberty and Democracy!!!

KILL OR CURE! It has been decided that medicines which hitherto contained glycerine shall in future have substitutes. Glycerine is to be reserved for "purposes for which efficient substitutes are not available." We do not often hear of a member of the Government speaking so plainly, and admitting that killing is more important than curing.

ARMY REGULATION OF VICE. Commander Wedgwood (L.) queried the truth of the statement made by the French military authorities that a brothel at Cayeux-sur-Mer had been opened at the request of the British military authorities; that when the townspeople tried to have the establishment closed, the Mayor justified its existence by pointing out that there was a large British convalescent camp in the town. Mr. Macpherson promised to make inquiries. Women should realise that this is what militarism means.

STARVATION PAY. The low rates of pay of the Army Ordnance Department in Ireland were excused by Mr. Forster as not falling below the local rate. If struggling Irish employers sweat their workers, it is no reason for the Government to aid them by sweating, too!

RUSSIA. December 6th.—Questions about Russia put by Mr. King (L.), Lord R. Cecil dubbed as "embarrassing His Majesty's Government at a moment of very great anxiety and difficulty," and therefore refused to answer. Mr. Houston (U.) pointed out that quantities of munitions and guns supplied by this country to Russia had fallen into the hands of the enemy, and were being used now against the Allies. The irony of Fate!

MILK. Mr. Clynnes stated that a circular is being issued to Food Control Committees drawing their attention to giving priority in milk supplies to children and invalids. Mr. Clynnes ought to be informed that this order is not being complied with, for extra supplies are only given to dairies when there is a question of an official dinner to the Prime Minister!

SUGAR WASTED. December 7th.—Mr. Smallwood pointed out that in the borough of Stepney alone 1,000 tons of sugar have been allotted up to April 20th, 1918, to manufacturers of beers and stouts, sugar confectionery, pastries, biscuits and mineral waters, whilst the same quantity has been allotted for the whole population of Stepney for domestic purposes. He further urged that thousands of tons of good food in the shape of fruit has been lost for want of sugar, whilst in one borough alone 4,000 tons of sugar were used for brewing. No satisfactory reply was given.

THE FRANCHISE BILL. The final debate on the Representation of the People Bill were held December 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th. Before being read a third time, it was recommitted on the C.O. amendment and the Irish redistribution schedule. Sir G. Cave, evidently made somewhat ashamed of the disfranchising of C.O.s, suggested that this should not last for life, but that a period of seven years after the War be chosen as the time of disqualification—this was afterwards reduced to five years. He also inserted a proviso that those who had done useful work—although C.O.s—should not be deprived of their votes—in short, merely the Absolutists are to be penalised. Lord Hugh Cecil (U.) made an effort to obtain the penalisation of all law-breakers, urging that the basest criminals are given the vote. Mr. Younger (U.) at this point reminded: "The one man is discharging his duty to his country, and the other is not." It is a strange thing to hear that committing a crime comprises "one's duty to one's country." Yet, as Lord Hugh

pointed out, that gentleman "is really driven mad, and has lost all sense of proportion," as many others have done. "Hon. members will come to regret the day that they have really supported the proposition that every law-breaker shall have a vote except the law-breaker who breaks the law on conscientious grounds." And we believe Lord Hugh to be right and logical in his argument. A rather novel suggestion as to the origin of the conscientious objector was Mr. Tim Healy's assertion that the soldiers at The Curragh, who said, "We decline to bear arms for His Majesty," were the first C.O.s. He stated as a reason for voting for Lord Hugh's amendment to disfranchise all law-breakers that by so doing he would help to disfranchise Sir Edward Carson and "The Curragh mutineers." Mr. Adomson (Lab.) pointed out that the profiteers, who in some cases would get two votes, had done more to undermine the "loyalty and patriotism of our people" than the small number of C.O.s. Mr. Dillon (I.N.), in common with other Nationalists who spoke, declared lack of sympathy with the C.O., but at the same time greatly condemned their disfranchisement. It is "a cowardly action," which the Government would not dare apply to men backed by trade unions and great influences. Mr. Thomas (Lab.) also spoke on similar lines, and pointed out that the Government was not dealing with a few insignificant cranks, but with men who would deliberately go to the stake for their conscience. But all these fine speeches and sentiments were of no avail, it was decided by a majority to deprive Absolutist C.O.s of the vote for five years. Mr. Dickinson (L.) did not forget their wives, and moved an amendment, which was carried, securing them against any similar penalisation.

The other great point of contention was the Irish redistribution. Inveictives of the most abusive and uncompromising nature were hurled at the Government and individuals suspected of working the introduction of this legislation. After debating it for three days and having a night, Mr. Bonar Law accepted Mr. Redmond's original suggestion that it should form a separate Bill. He added this codicil—that it should receive the Royal Assent on the same day as the Franchise Bill. This will probably mean the wrecking of the Franchise Bill. We should have thought that, since the Government agreed to wait, that it would have waited to hear the decision of the Convention, and thus avoid what we hope, is most probably unnecessary legislation. This redistribution scheme must surely have a bad effect on the Convention, since the assumption of its being necessary simply implies what most of the opponents of the Convention have repeatedly stated, i.e., that it is a farce, set up to pretend that the British Government means well!

Great compliments were paid to Sir G. Cave on his success in piloting this horrible mass of compromises through the House.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

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

FURNISHED BED-SITTING ROOM with attendance; 5s. a week; Central London—Apply, Box 400.

TO LET—HALL for meetings, etc., holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, N.

TYPEWRITING REQUIRED at home; MSS. and Plays; Duplicating accurately done. Terms on application.—Apply Miss A. O. Beamish, 85 Hoxton Street.

MONDA SOCIALISMO.

Free Food, Law Love, Temple Truth, Sovran Self. Songs and Recitals by ALEXANDER HUNTER, 37 Collingwood Road, Coventry.—"Fine Voice." "Powerful Reciter."

ASSOCIATION FOR MORAL AND SOCIAL HYGIENE.—Buy "The Shield" (7d. post free quarterly) for special articles on questions relating to prostitution and venereal disease. "Warning to Men Going Abroad" (11d.), a pamphlet on the dangers of regulated vice in France, Egypt, etc. Summary of Report of Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases (24d.).—Apply Secretary, 19 Tothill Street, S.W.1. for full list of publications.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

INCIDENTS OF THE WAR. By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST. Reprinted from the "Workers' Dreadnought."

THE EXECUTION OF AN EAST LONDON BOY. Price 1d., or 1s. 3d. per hundred.

THE BIRTHRATE: Notes and Views on the National Birthrate Commission. By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST. Price 1d., or 9d. per dozen.

W.S.F. FIRST ANNUAL REPORT. 2d.

MOTHERS' PENSIONS. Price 2d.; 1s. 6d. per dozen.

A LITTLE BOOK ABOUT THE "MOTHERS' ARMS." Price 2d.

AN APPEAL TO WOMEN. Price 1d.

ANTIQUES

For Genuine Old English Furniture and China MARY CASEY, 29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.2

Highest Prices given for Old China and Furniture.

pointed out, that gentleman "is really driven mad, and has lost all sense of proportion," as many others have done. "Hon. members will come to regret the day that they have really supported the proposition that every law-breaker shall have a vote except the law-breaker who breaks the law on conscientious grounds." And we believe Lord Hugh to be right and logical in his argument. A rather novel suggestion as to the origin of the conscientious objector was Mr. Tim Healy's assertion that the soldiers at The Curragh, who said, "We decline to bear arms for His Majesty," were the first C.O.s. He stated as a reason for voting for Lord Hugh's amendment to disfranchise all law-breakers that by so doing he would help to disfranchise Sir Edward Carson and "The Curragh mutineers." Mr. Adomson (Lab.) pointed out that the profiteers, who in some cases would get two votes, had done more to undermine the "loyalty and patriotism of our people" than the small number of C.O.s. Mr. Dillon (I.N.), in common with other Nationalists who spoke, declared lack of sympathy with the C.O., but at the same time greatly condemned their disfranchisement. It is "a cowardly action," which the Government would not dare apply to men backed by trade unions and great influences. Mr. Thomas (Lab.) also spoke on similar lines, and pointed out that the Government was not dealing with a few insignificant cranks, but with men who would deliberately go to the stake for their conscience. But all these fine speeches and sentiments were of no avail, it was decided by a majority to deprive Absolutist C.O.s of the vote for five years. Mr. Dickinson (L.) did not forget their wives, and moved an amendment, which was carried, securing them against any similar penalisation.

The other great point of contention was the Irish redistribution. Inveictives of the most abusive and uncompromising nature were hurled at the Government and individuals suspected of working the introduction of this legislation. After debating it for three days and having a night, Mr. Bonar Law accepted Mr. Redmond's original suggestion that it should form a separate Bill. He added this codicil—that it should receive the Royal Assent on the same day as the Franchise Bill. This will probably mean the wrecking of the Franchise Bill. We should have thought that, since the Government agreed to wait, that it would have waited to hear the decision of the Convention, and thus avoid what we hope, is most probably unnecessary legislation. This redistribution scheme must surely have a bad effect on the Convention, since the assumption of its being necessary simply implies what most of the opponents of the Convention have repeatedly stated, i.e., that it is a farce, set up to pretend that the British Government means well!

Great compliments were paid to Sir G. Cave on his success in piloting this horrible mass of compromises through the House.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

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

FURNISHED BED-SITTING ROOM with attendance; 5s. a week; Central London—Apply, Box 400.

TO LET—HALL for meetings, etc., holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, N.

TYPEWRITING REQUIRED at home; MSS. and Plays; Duplicating accurately done. Terms on application.—Apply Miss A. O. Beamish, 85 Hoxton Street.

MONDA SOCIALISMO.

Free Food, Law Love, Temple Truth, Sovran Self. Songs and Recitals by ALEXANDER HUNTER, 37 Collingwood Road, Coventry.—"Fine Voice." "Powerful Reciter."

ASSOCIATION FOR MORAL AND SOCIAL HYGIENE.—Buy "The Shield" (7d. post free quarterly) for special articles on questions relating to prostitution and venereal disease. "Warning to Men Going Abroad" (11d.), a pamphlet on the dangers of regulated vice in France, Egypt, etc. Summary of Report of Royal Commission on Venereal Diseases (24d.).—Apply Secretary, 19 Tothill Street, S.W.1. for full list of publications.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

INCIDENTS OF THE WAR. By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST. Reprinted from the "Workers' Dreadnought."

THE EXECUTION OF AN EAST LONDON BOY. Price 1d., or 1s. 3d. per hundred.

THE BIRTHRATE: Notes and Views on the National Birthrate Commission. By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST. Price 1d., or 9d. per dozen.

W.S.F. FIRST ANNUAL REPORT. 2d.

HUMAN SUFFRAGE. By Israel Zangwill

I.
What John Stuart Mill called "the subjection of women" is often described as a piece of the East left—like a fly in amber—in the constitution of the West. And in so far as the East has maintained more rigidly the primitive conception of "woman's place," the description is true. That place is now defined by the Anti-Suffragist as "the home." The definition overlooks that the place which means drawing-room in the West means harem in the East, and if the struggle of the Western woman is to escape from the drawing room, the struggle of the Eastern woman is to enter it. But "woman's place"—in the ancient conception—was not even "the home." If "place" implies, as it should, sphere of control, then the home was woman's prison, rather than her place. For even in the home man was master. In the old Indo-European civilisation (which embraced the Greeks and the Romans), the *paterfamilias* was at once despot and priest of the domestic cult. He could kill, punish or sell his wife, and he was not responsible for her actions. It was, in fact, a mono-sexual society, woman being only the necessary channel for carrying on the male sex.

II.
That conception, not without its rationale, or its religious value in the dawn of civilisation—"harem" still means a sanctuary—has been largely transformed in the West. But though the old powers of the *paterfamilias* have faded, the ideas and emotions attaching to them still lurk in the sub-consciousness. The Freudian psychology of "the suppressed wish" finds valuable illustration in the sullen opposition to Female Suffrage. The male delight in dominance and the female delight in being dominated have been driven underground, and the ridiculous situation of the Anti-Suffragists arises from the fact that they can find no overground reasons for their opposition. The avowed reasons are beneath contempt, because the real reasons are beneath consciousness. I have read and heard every possible argument against woman suffrage, and the sum and substance of each and all is that man and woman are one, and man is that one.

III.
It may be worth while in passing to note to what comical shifts the underground instinct is driven when challenged to explain itself rationally. Thus, the maxim: "Woman's place is the home" is meant to warn us that if we enfranchise woman she will immediately step outside. The humour of the position is that she had stepped outside long ago. Even before the War flooded every department of civil life with women, there were in England 600,000 women earning their living—and often that of dependants—outside the home. This economic exodus was, in fact, one of the main causes of the demand for the vote, female labour seeking its protection. Yet this cause *in esse* is actually put forward as an effect *in posse*. The old opposition to woman's leaving the home has persisted several generations after she has left it, and hatred being as blind as love, the opponents have not even seen what was passing under their noses. In the face of such a transformation of the social economy, under the irresistible evolution of Life, a society governed by Reason and Love would at once have striven to adjust its political institutions to the changed social order. So far, however, from making the readjustment, the bulk of society had not even observed the change. And even now, when Armageddon has made it impossible even for the Kaiser to limit woman's sphere to "Kids, Kitchen and Kirk," when even in the Male State *par excellence* the new status of woman has forced itself even upon the blindest Herr Professor, the opposition has only been driven further underground: the trenches are dug deeper, and the Anti-Suffragist will die in the last and lowest ditch.

VI.
It should be added that even *where* "woman's place the home," that is the supreme reason for giving her the vote. The home is no crag-throned eyrie, inaccessible and empyrean. It is the very centre of all national forces, the barometer registering all political pressures. All roads lead to home. It is home to roost that all political curses—and blessings—come: marriage-legislation, child-legislation, factory-legislation, drink-legislation, questions of food production and prices, conscription, taxation, everything in short that the male has so long monopolised—with results that may be read in the death-stricken and hungry homes of Europe. Even

bombs do not avoid the home, notwithstanding that it is "woman's place."

IV.
From that abysmal ditch where Anti-Suffrage now cowers comes up the last sepulchral rallying-cry: "Women could not enforce their votes." The ballot-paper is, in short, only paper for Force, as the dollar is paper for Gold, and lacking the substantial basis of Force the female vote is as valueless as a bank-note backed by no gold reserve. It is no longer that woman cannot "do her bit" in war—that argument would nowadays, in presence of the immense female factor in the war, not even excluding the official casualty list, be too shameless even for "the suppressed wish"—but that if she were to vote contrary to man on some burning question, she could not enforce her will against his revolt. This is a curious argument for those who are out to fight the Prussian doctrine that Might is Right. Looked at obversely, too, it implies that it is by right of Force that men hold their present rule over women, and that any caprice of tyranny would thus find its justification. The truth is, however, that the human sphere is not one of Force, but increasingly a spiritual sphere of Reason and Love, that super-physical realm which the human soul has built up, and which is man's distinction and glory. That "force rules the world" will indeed seem a singular proposition to anyone who knows how the household bows to the baby. Force resides in man, but does not rule him. He exercises it, but not unreasonably—unless he is a lunatic. And in replacing the sword by the ballot-box he designed to yield to the will of the majority, not because the majority could destroy the minority, but because the majority would probably be right, or, in any case, had the right to live conformably to its own idea rather than to that of the minority. The vote is a symbol not of Force, but of its suppression.

V.
Were the vote extended to women, it is impossible that any question would arise in which all the women would be arranged symmetrically on one side and all the men on the other, like the saints and sinners in the old Italian pictures: both majority and minority would always be mixed. Even the Pankhurst family has split up into two factions—the one Pacifist, the other Militarist. The only case which has ever been brought up to show the possibility of men being dragged down by women pure and simple is characteristically connected with liquor: even the late Mr. Stead wondered whether men would tolerate the closing of the saloons by the sex which could not physically enforce it. But even here, though saloons have been closed often enough in America, no absolute division of the sexes has ever been known in practice—it is even a party almost exclusively male that is demanding it in England for the period of the War—and one might just as readily wonder whether an exclusively male majority could enforce it against a desperate minority of toppers. Civil wars have always burst through the social pact, when passions became over-inflamed—British Peace meetings are broken up even to-day by the militarist majority. At the utterly improbable worst, therefore, a civil war of the sexes on a single point would be no novelty in essence and no reason for removing the pacific operation of the ballot from the rest of life.

Moreover, British Anti-Suffragists forget that, except in countries with the Referendum, questions never come up directly at all: it is men not measures that are selected at the polls. And does anybody suppose that when Brown is returned with 5,046 votes, he could enforce his position against Jones with 5,039, or that Jones could not combine with the third defeated candidate (Robinson, 4,075) to annihilate the Brown faction?

VI.
But when Reforms lag behind Life too long, they are apt to get belated, and new demands push on before them, as tenants that have never had gas may suddenly ask for electric light. Thus it is that the majority of Female Suffragists are now demanding, not Woman Suffrage, but Human Suffrage. For the War, carried on by the whole nation, has given the last impulse to democracy, and the cry is now: "Votes for All. *L'Etat c'est nous.*" Nor is this the only demand hatched by the War. The same Titanic event that has opened the eyes of men to the military value of women has opened their eyes, too, to their own impotence. Without their will or

knowledge the War was sprung upon them; they can neither deflect its course nor decide its termination. It was the monstrous progeny of secret treaties, and still other secret treaties, forged since its birth, determine its duration. If all roads lead to home, none is so thronged with fateful messengers as that which leads from the front. Indeed, one might well say: Let me make a nation's treaties, I care not who makes its laws.

VII.
Thus it is that Democracy now demands Human Suffrage, with the control of Foreign Politics. For if Armageddon is to be worth the ocean of blood and tears it has cost humanity, we must now clean up the planet, straighten out its tragic tangles, and adjust its chaotic politics by the application of Reason and Love. Never again must we wait till a sex, a class, or a country is driven by its wrongs to that old recipe of Force, which, even according to popular wisdom, is no remedy. A material victory over Germany is not enough. We must have a real democracy, a democracy of equal men and women; nay, a world-series of democracies, uniform in Liberty and Justice, for only out of such uniform organisms, as Kant profoundly saw, can you build up any real Federation of Mankind. A world-peace on the existing basis would only be a peace of the Devil in which Liberty and Justice would sink to the level of the Lowest Great Power.

VIII.
It is bad enough that Life should linger so far behind the Ideal; it is intolerable that institutions should linger even behind Life. To add to the tragi-comedy of humanity, while the Great Powers that once led mankind stand obstinately before the inevitable, Woman Suffrage is already at work in some of the lesser States; nay, some have even progressed further, so that while in Finland women actually sit in Parliament, in France—land of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity—they cannot even vote for the male. And while in Australia and New Zealand they are men's equals at the polls, in England they are still classed politically with idiots, lunatics, and criminals not yet out of gaol, so that a woman coming from the Colonies to the Motherland finds her rights—and men's minds—not enlarged but straitened. An Englishwoman, who travelled through the obscure interior of China, told me that when she visited a girls' school in a provincial town she was invited to address the girls, who, it appeared, had been taught English. She asked them what she was to speak about, and with one voice they cried out: "The Suffragettes." Possibly wisdom is again coming from the East, and the Western Powers, already left behind by the newest countries, may soon find themselves ignominiously distanced by the oldest.

(American and other rights reserved.)

The Seasons Wish



Peace On Earth

"OLD COCKNEY FAIR" in aid of the W.S.F. Funds

Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Road, Friday and Saturday, December 14th and 15th., 2.30 to 11 p.m. Tickets 2 days, including tax 1/-, one day 8d., one evening 5d. All the Fun of the Fair! The best chance of buying your Christmas Presents. Songs, Dances, Plays. The Best Show of the Season!