

# THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. IV.—No. 39

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22nd, 1917

Price One Penny

## THE REFERENDUM: A Reply to Bernard Shaw - By T. H. Ferris

George Bernard Shaw has all the characteristic vices of the governing class. The levity, the callous intellectualism, the reckless cruelty of method, the jealousy of popular control, the dexterous disingenuousness which confuses the issues, and divides counsel, in order to retain power—all these evil habits have fastened themselves upon the nimble-witted and cynical Irishman, whose luxuriant egotism "plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven," in the brief authority of print, in the columns of the Christmas number of the WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT.

I will give two instances of his levity and reckless cruelty of method. The first, his defence of England's assault by force of arms upon the Boer Republic—on the ground that England was further advanced towards Socialism than they were, an argument which would equally justify the ferocious outrages of German militarism! And the second, his defence of England's entrance into the present orgy of bestial savagery—on the ground that the Prussian needed to be taught manners, by getting his head punched! To these illuminating examples of Shavian mental and moral depravity may now be added his justification of conscription, which he alleges to be an imperative mode of defence against the Kaiser; and his attack upon the Referendum, for any purpose save as an index of popular prejudices.

Now, without in the least blinding ourselves to the inherent defects of any mode of government by imperfect peoples, imperfectly educated, we may rest assured that bureaucratic class-government, unchecked by such an instrument of the popular will as the Referendum, is *not* going to yield satisfactory results. And for this reason. The bureaucrat simply cannot understand two fundamental truths: (1) That the laws of nature cannot be improved upon by human enactments; and (2) that the said laws operate of themselves in each man's consciousness, and are quite sufficient to maintain his perception that he is a social animal, with social duties and responsibilities.

The fussy bureaucrat is, in fact, the aider and abettor of the predatory rich, for he sells his ability to the capitalist class-State, and not to the oppressed workers, who wouldn't at first understand, or pay him for doing so. He has to choose between being an honest and threadbare outlaw, subject to the meanest kind of jealousy, misrepresentation and misunderstanding—or accepting some paid work of organisation, which takes for granted the permanence of class-government and the unfair distribution of wealth. If a politician is not to become a mere hack of capitalism, he must be willing to stay in the wilderness and to beg his bread, unless he can earn it in some way which leaves him practically free.

The miserable servility of politicians to the system which feeds them, added to the servility of the pulpits to the same system and for the same reasons, is the root cause of the longevity of social

injustice. Then men bleat about the power of "the system" instead of their own abject want of courage and spiritual faith.

Take Shaw's illustration of the Webbs' fight for the alleged interests of destitute children, and their eagerness to have them provided for efficiently by the State. Yet it is that very same State that has made them destitute. That same State stole the land from their fathers, and to this hour keeps them disinherited, and guards—nay, enforces—the rents, profits and usuries of those who sweat and degrade the parent, and promote the destitution of the child.

Secure, first, to the parent, the wealth he creates, and then see what becomes of the "problem" of the destitute child! A dozen years of political palliatives have seen a steady decline in real wages, and a steady increase—consequent increase—in child-starvation. Public feeding is not the remedy. Wages will simply fall lower still. Behold the results of Webbism!

Before we contrast the results of Fabian bureaucracy with the fruits of the Referendum, let us realise first how evil they are, and how bureaucracy continues to manufacture want and ignorance faster than it can cure them. The Referendum, Shaw tells us, would be anarchic in tendency.

In Switzerland, where they have the Referendum, I believe they find its tendency to be conservative rather than anarchic. But no general conclusions can be drawn without taking into consideration other factors. For whether a people does, or does not, make an intelligent use of its political institutions, depends much less on the form of those institutions than on the integrity of the leaders of thought. Give me the sole power to explain the issues at an election, and I guarantee the people will vote right. But give a score of able and unscrupulous and interested parties the opportunity to offer competing explanations, and to raise cross-issues, and I guarantee that they will so fog the electors that they will reject the right course every time.

Even now, if a decent number of spokesmen and writers could be found, who would *really* believe in broad principles, and keep them steadily before the people, rapid progress would be made. But who believes in principle? How many politicians are principled, even against wholesale murder? How many are principled against rent, or interest, or profit, or any other payment for which an equivalent value is not given in return? How many are principled against flattery, or partisanship, or personal ambition, or coercion, or hypocrisy? How many, even, will accept the principle of arbitration as a principle? If the Pacifists, and Liberals, and Labourites had not, one and all, ratted from the principle of arbitration, the War would have been over long ago. If the Socialists had not ratted from the principles of Socialism, the War would

never have begun.

Now, there can be little doubt that the Referendum *does* tend to do two things: (1) To simplify issues; and (2) to prevent the people from being driven to do things that they neither understand nor desire. Probably it also stimulates political thinking. Those things it will do of itself.

But it will not of itself produce fidelity to principle. Neither will it, however, tend to *destroy* fidelity to principle as bureaucracy does. Quite the contrary. It offers such a field for experiment in the adoption of great principles, that it is difficult to believe that the field will not both be assiduously cultivated, and amply repaid cultivation.

## Of Special Interest This Week

### Official Labour's War Aims

### Women's Peace Demonstration

[The "Dreadnought" enthusiastically supports the principle of the Referendum, but we do not necessarily endorse all the arguments of our correspondents who also support it.]

### ANOTHER REPLY

By A. J. MARRIOTT.

I am more than a little disappointed with Bernard Shaw's article on the Referendum. It is illogical and self-contradictory. Speaking of trial by jury, I once heard him say juries might not always return sound verdicts, but, on the whole, it was the best possible system under the circumstances. The same may said of the Referendum. It is no doubt liable to Press and platform manifestation, but in that it only reflects the evils of the present electoral system, which is minus the advantages of the Referendum. A Socialistic system is required to perfect it. As to religious toleration, it has broadened with the broadening of the suffrage. References to lynch law or breaking up of peace meetings are quite beside the point. A minority of ruffians organised, especially if they have the connivance of those who ought to suppress them, can do as they darned please. All through the excitement of the Russo-Turkish War the great majority of the English people were against intervention, nevertheless meetings of that majority were difficult, and in the open in London were impossible. At the present moment the majority are willing to listen to peace orators, and meetings are never broken up even in London unless they are advertised. The Australian result on Conscription, in spite of the efforts of wealth and privilege, ought to commend the Referendum to all democrats.

## THE SOUTH WALES BOLOS - By Ex-Inspector Syme

On Saturday, December 8th, I arrived in Newport, Monmouthshire, and have since been to Abertillery, Cardiff, Blaenau, and Brynmawr. The people I saw in Newport were not so well dressed or apparently well off as the majority of our London working people. There are no outward signs of either Bolo money or the big wages which we in London are told the miners are receiving. Almost the first noticeable feature in Abertillery to attract my attention was a large queue of men, women, and children, struggling to get into Lipton's shop. Three stalwart members of the Monmouthshire Constabulary were trying to keep order and prevent undue crushing. They had their work cut out in restraining these Welsh miners from wasting their wealth in riotous living.

It may interest those of your readers who do not know coalfield conditions, to learn that the coal miner is not paid for every ton of coal he sends up from the bowels of the earth. The coal owner pays the worker on an average about 4s. 6d. for every ton of large coal, no pay being given for small coal. This is sent up free by the miner, but it is sold by the owner, as we in London know, at a good price. This small coal is about one-third of the total sent up—that means that the worker sends up 6 tons of coal and is paid for four tons. In one pit at Abertillery employing 600 men, 1804 tons of large coal and 855 tons of small coal were sent up in 4 days. The miners were paid for 1804 tons and received nothing for the 855 tons, yet the whole (2,659 tons) brings profit to the owner. It is easy to see that in this pit the workers cannot make fortunes.

I find that the average wages of a collier working six days a week is about £3 10s. to £3 15s. For many months, however, the miners have only been able to get on an average half a week's work, so that the Welsh miner's

average wage per week is under £2. Many men, not colliers, but employed in necessary work in connection with the coalfields as labourers, etc., do not receive even so much as £2. These daymen, as they are called, average about £2 15s. for a full week's work, and, working as they have been doing about half a week only or the average, their weekly money works out under 30s.

I have had a splendid welcome from these hard-working people, and if I may be permitted to write of my own more personal cause the National Union of Police and Prison Officers, I am happy to state that I have received unanimous support from the Miners' Federation in this district. I have been granted the privilege of addressing two of the Lodges in Abertillery, and both passed resolutions to be forwarded to Mr. Brace, at the Home Office and the Labour Party. The District Lodge also passed a similar resolution calling for recognition of the policemen and the warders' right to combine.

### A Cry From the Internment Camps

An inmate of the Radford internment camp writes that the accommodation for visits from wives and children has always been inadequate, but that prior to Sunday, December 2nd, one of the little sheds used for the purpose was pulled down by order of the Commandant, so that some of the husbands had to remain outside on the snowy ground with their wives and children during the visit. Our correspondent has only seen his children once during the three years of his internment as they cannot afford to pay the necessary railway fare. He, and many others, have asked in vain to be allowed out on parole at Christmas. The interned men are engaged on important work for the British Government.

## The Late Dr. GARRETT ANDERSON

Dr. Garrett Anderson was the first British woman doctor. She began the study of medicine fifty-seven years ago in 1860. She found great difficulty in obtaining the necessary education and was refused admission to the examinations of the Royal Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons of England and of St. Andrews and other Universities. The London Society of Apothecaries admitted her and she became a licentiate of the Society which afterwards temporarily shut its doors to other women by refusing to accept them except from a recognised medical school at a time when no recognised medical school would receive them. Dr. Garrett Anderson (Miss Garrett as she then was) took her M.D. degree in the less intolerant University of Paris in 1870. In 1866 she opened a dispensary for women and children in Seymour Place, London. In 1887 she began collecting for the New Hospital for Women which was opened in 1890. She also helped to organise the London School of Medicine for Women and the Association of Registered Medical Women. In 1892 she became the first woman member of the British Medical Association. She became a member of the London School Board in 1870, and became the first woman Mayor in 1908. Of course, she was a Suffragist; she worked for the vote during 50 years. She has been a pioneer in opening many avenues of useful activity to women.

## W.S.F. CALENDAR 1918

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THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Editor: SYLVIA PANKHURST. Published by the Workers' Suffrage Federation, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.

AGENTS: INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE SHOP, 5 Duke Street, Charing Cross, W. C. 2; ST. BRIDE'S HOUSE, Salisbury Square; Messrs. W. H. SMITH AND SONS, Strand, W. C. 1; CITY AND SUBURBAN PUBLISHING CO., St. Bride's Churchyard, E. C. 4; Messrs. HORACE MARSHALL AND CO., Temple Avenue, E. C. 4; Messrs. TOLIER, Savoy Street, Strand; MARLBOROUGH, 51 Old Bailey, E. C. 4; A. RITCHIE, Pemberton Row, Gough Square, E. C. 4; A. AND E. HARVEY, 5 Gough Square; SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON AND KENT, Paternoster Row, E. C. 4; A. RAGGETT, Clark Street, Stepney, E.; MAYOR BROS., Green Street, Bethnal Green; JOHN HEWWOOD, Manchester; THE WHOLESALE SOCIETY, 10 Johnson Street, Bolton; REFORMERS' BOOK STALL and HERALD LEAGUE, Glasgow.

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All business communications should be sent to the MANAGER, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

Vol. IV., No. 39. Sat., December 22nd, 1917.

THE FRANCHISE BILL

Lord Weardale, Lord Balfour and other anti-Suffragists are marshalling their forces in the Lords against Votes for Women. If the women's clauses are defeated in the Lords, the Bill will presumably be wrecked when it returns to the Commons. Mrs. Humphry Ward asks for a referendum. We are not afraid of the proposal, but we want the people to have the opportunity to decide that all women shall be enfranchised.

"REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS," BY SIDNEY WEBB, THE FABIAN SOCIETY, 25 TOTHILL STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.—We strongly disagree with this pamphlet, which urges that, whilst the present House of Lords should be abolished, a Second Chamber should be established thus:—

"Let the House of Commons elect, after each General Election, by Proportional Representation, say 400 men and women outside its own ranks to remain in office only for the time that Parliament to be paid the same as Members of the House of Commons, and to be styled Right Honourable."

The last trivial point appears to be important to Mr. Webb, as he twice refers to it. We are glad that Mr. Webb suggests the election of women as well as men to his Second Chamber, but even that tribute to womanhood cannot blind us to the dangers and imperfections of the scheme!

Overlooking the fact that every Parliamentary Bill goes through a first, second and third reading, as well as Committee and Report Stages, Mr. Webb insists that a Second Chamber is necessary, because:—

"The Legislature may often be passing Bills which ought not to pass into law in the form in which they leave the popular assembly."

He desires to give his Second Chamber power to "refer the bill back to the House of Commons for reconsideration in a subsequent session . . . or . . . to suspend it for reconsideration by the House for a period not exceeding two years, or until the first session after the next ensuing General Election."

One reason given for placing this appalling drag on the legislative wheel is that: "The House of Commons does not always represent the people. It may be under the domination of an imperious temporary majority itself controlled by a 'party caucus' and dominated by a particular interest."

This argument is most alluring at the present time. It is easy to foresee that at the close of the War or during its later stages a reactionary House of Commons might be elected and might cling to office during five long years of repressive legislation, during which the awakened people might be held fast under its yoke. The Second Chamber then might be the saviour of the people!

But, pause and consider a moment: when is the proposed Second Chamber to be elected, and by whom? It is to be elected immediately after the General Election, when the feeling that dominated the General Election is still running high. It is to be elected by the successful candidates in the General Election, whose return was the outcome of the dominant feeling, and those candidates will assuredly choose people of their own way of thinking. So far from representing the people rather than the views of the elected Members of Parliament, the Right Honourables chosen by the Members of Parliament will be still less amenable to the influence of the people, instead of having to seek re-election at the hands of the people, they must seek it at the hands of Members of Parliament.

Mr. Webb is convinced that the Members of the House of Commons, blind leaders of the blind though Bernard Shaw has called them, will

elect only "superior persons" to the Second Chamber; "persons of ripe wisdom and judgment," "known to and respected by the public for their personal qualities," "not representative of any one class or interest, not even of age or of property in general, and widely inclusive of legal and administrative training and experience" (we do not share this passionate desire for the representation of the legal profession, which seems to us to be grossly over-represented in both Houses as it is). "Popular election," says Mr. Webb, "does not produce such an assembly as is required. But this Second Chamber elected by Members of the Commons . . . would have at its command all the talent needed for revision in the largest sense, and none of the corporate ambition that might tempt its members to rivalry of what must, in any case, be and remain the supreme Legislature."

We are convinced that, so far from Mr. Webb's apparent expectations being realised, this Second Chamber, if ever it is established on the lines he suggests, will turn out to be merely an assembly of safe and subservient Party men—a Chamber still more reactionary and representative of property and Party interests than the House of Commons.

When the Intellectuals begin to dabble in politics, they are apt to think that all they have to do is to lay their schemes before the Masses who are waiting for a more exalted leader than that given by the old-fashioned Party leaders. When the Intellectuals discover that only a minority, probably a very small minority, takes any notice of their schemes, the Intellectuals are apt to dismiss the Masses as ignorant and soulless. Then the Intellectuals are apt to turn back to the old-fashioned politicians and to the middle and upper classes. These people, they say, have education; they are not intellectuals, but they can recognise the intellectual when they see him. These people must realise that we Intellectuals are the people who should be chosen to administer the affairs of State. Under the inspiration of this mood this particular Second Chamber scheme has been devised; it is even believed that by the magic of Proportional Representation a large number of Fabians, or, at least, some Fabians will be elected to the Second Chamber. If the scheme is tried the Intellectual will turn back to the people grown sadder and wiser men by the knowledge that, though the Masses are slow, very slow, to learn, the hope of the future world progress must still mainly rest with them. We cannot afford to agree to the creation of another Second Chamber in order to teach this lesson to the Intellectuals! Let the House of Lords be abolished, leaving no successor.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

PEACE PICKETS

On Monday night, December 17th, eight W.S.F. members went to the House of Commons at eight p.m. They sent for Mr. Butler, whose protest to the Speaker against the picket started the police activity against it. But Mr. Butler did not appear. Mr. John Burns, Mr. Samuel Samuel, Mr. J. M. Robertson and other Members were, however, interviewed, and banners bearing the familiar inscription were displayed. On their journey back to the East End three of the pickets unfurled their banners in the District Railway train. As soon as the inscription, "War is murder," was displayed, a workman said, "You're right, but they've been a long time finding it out." A young Scotch soldier then boarded the train, with boots muddy from the trenches and his regimental sponges stuck in the top of his leather leggings. He caught sight of the banner: "War is murder," he said; "yes, 'War is murder!' Shake hands. That's the truest thing ever said!" He gripped the picket's hand enthusiastically, "You're my friend; that is the first piece of sense I've heard since I came back. Yes; 'War is murder!'" Then he saw the next banner: "Peace on Russia's Terms. No Annexations. No Indemnities. The right of the people to decide their own destiny." "Yes, yes, that's what I want! Shake hands! Shake hands!" And then the third banner: "Soldiers in the trenches long for peace." "Ah! they do! I don't know a soldier that doesn't! If any soldier says he doesn't, he's a liar, but I never heard one say it out there; no, not one. Shake hands. Hurrah for peace; hurrah for peace!" He stood up and waved his cap: "I don't want to fight; I don't want to fight." He had been drinking, poor lad, and alcohol had unloosed his tongue; he was saying what he would not have dared to say at other times. He looked at the banners again, read them aloud, called to the people in the train to notice them: "Just my own ideas. So concise, so clearly put," he said, smiling and rubbing his hands together. "That's what I want! I don't want to go out there any more." He sat down, relapsing into pathetic sadness.

A big, stout man about fifty years of age spoke to the pickets: "Here, we've nothing against you,

but you put those things away. D'you hear? Put them away." The soldier sprang to his feet: "They are my friends; they want what I want, and whoever is against them is against me. If anyone touches them, they'll have me to reckon with!" He leaned over the big man. All the compartment was watching. Two conductors came to the soldier. "You've gone past your station," they said; "you ought to have changed at Aldgate." "Allez! Allez!" the soldier answered, and added, "I'm going along with them things. I'm staying here till they get out." Though he had been drinking, he was acute enough to guess that the big man might snatch the banners away if he were not there to prevent him.

SECRETY AND SUSPICION

The censorship of Parliamentary questions appears to be drawing nearer. Energetic protests should be made against this, as against the censorship of pamphlets and leaflets. On December 13th the session was made secret without previous notice, because "delicate matters" were being discussed. It may soon become almost a daily event for Members of the Government to "spy strangers," as Lord Robert Cecil did on Thursday, in order to muzzle the expression of public opinion and prevent Members of Parliament disclosing information. Fear induces the people to agree to it.

Robbing the Widow and Fatherless

Regulations provide that the widows of soldiers who are accidentally killed during their period of service shall receive only 15s. a week for the period of the War and twelve months afterwards, without allowances for children. A poor widow living in Stepney, whose husband was accidentally killed in February, 1915, and who has five little children, one of whom is a cripple suffering from tubercular hip disease, got no pension at all till three weeks ago, when she received a letter telling her that she should have 15s. a week "without allowance for your five children," and informing her that the arrears due to her were being "temporarily withheld." A widow, living in Birmingham, writes:—

"Dear Editor,—I had a ring paper a fortnight ago to draw 15s. a week. That is not the pay of a widow with four children. I cannot understand it, and they have not sent any arrears; it will be two years the 10th of next January since I had any allowance. I shall be grateful if you will look into the matter for me, as I have had to part with my home and go into lodgings, and I should like to get a home once more for me and my children. My husband joined at the outbreak of war. He was out on pass, and was going to barracks when he was drowned at the ferry at Devonport, 17th July, 1915."

Resolutions protesting against such gross delays and demanding full pension for those whose breadwinners have been killed should be sent to the Prime Minister and Minister of Pensions.

"UNFIT TO MAKE A SOLDIER"

Soldiers are sometimes discharged on the ground that they are "feeble-minded" or "unfit to make an efficient" soldier, pension being refused on the same ground. The soldiers who were fit and able to work when they enlisted come back to their relatives changed and broken men. In one case the man thus discharged was a miner who had worked for thirteen years down below, and for seven years for one employer. He was sent to a lunatic asylum on discharge, and it was twenty-two months before persistent agitation by the National League of Rights was able to secure a pension for his wife and children, the woman and her friends having been refused many times. We now hear from a mother whose young son has been returned to her as "feeble-minded," after being eleven months in the Army, and being moved from his home to Alton, Hants, Colchester, Brixton, Royal Oak, North Kensington, Peckham, Blackpool, Birmingham, and Sutton Coalfield.

TALK WITH STRANGE BEINGS

Talk with strange beings: let them tell What new spirits are in hell! What young soul of two or three Raises its voice, an anguished hymn, Beseeking the Almighty Whim, And is consumed in agony.

Talk with strange beings: let them tell What new spirits are in hell. By a sun-tendered, island spot, Ocean-born felicity! Where Eternity once brought Time, Sin and Hope, her children three, I was wandering, seeking Love: Darkness came, around, above: Came a voice from out the Dark— "Love is an extinguished spark!" And voices sweet in agony, Damned for all eternity, Groaned "Misery, Oh, Misery."

Talk with strange beings: let them tell What new spirits are in hell. J. P.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

OFFICIAL LABOUR'S WAR AIMS.

The Manifesto prepared by the Executives of the Labour Party and the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress contains the important, though obvious, statement that the peoples of Europe had no hand in the making of War. Nevertheless, with a grievous failure to think logically, official Labour supports a continuance of the War.

The details of the Manifesto are largely borrowed from the U.D.C., and express no distinctive working-class or Socialist point of view. A Super-National Authority International High Court and Legislature is asked for; it is not stated, though we think this essential, that its decisions must be submitted for ratification to the national Parliaments or referendum of the peoples of the nations. The Labour Party's original demand for the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France is wisely withdrawn, and it is urged that the issue be decided by a vote of the inhabitants under protection of the Super-National Authority. Far-reaching aims of Italian Imperialism are repudiated, but the demand for reunion of the people of Poland and Luxemburg to settle their own destiny; the Balkan problem to be settled in the same way, though there is a doubt as to whether official Labour will trust these peoples to vote. Official Labour is inclined to be somewhat insular in its views, and to think that only the Britons and their near neighbours are possessed of intelligence. Thus Armenia, Mesopotamia, Arabia and Constantinople are to be rent from Turkey, and, as official Labour holds "it is impracticable for these people to decide for themselves," they are

to be governed by Commission under the Super-National Authority. All the tropical African Colonies of European Powers to be administered in the same way, as a single State. The "Times" says this would be unjust to Belgium; of course, the "Times" cares nothing for British Colonies! British Labour has nothing to say of non-tropical Africa, India, Persia, Ireland, China.

The economic war after peace is declared is opposed, but the phrase "Customs duties being strictly limited to revenue purposes" does not exclude Protection, though it is an improvement on the original statement, which definitely countenanced it. Demands for payment of damages by Germany to Belgium, "reparation after judicial investigation for acts of cruelty, theft and violence against individuals" would, if complied with, lead to endless squabbling between the Governments; the Labour Party would be well advised to drop them. Monetary compensation can never make good the loss of life incurred in securing it by fighting. The original statement congratulated the Russia people on their great Social Revolution, and welcomed its declaration of "No annexations, no indemnities." Official Labour now timorously drops this out. Let us hope that in conference the rank and file will restore it, and make many other improvements in the Manifesto. It is a tame affair!

THE FOOD QUEUES.

Lord Rhondda and the "Times" agree that the food queues are dangerous centres of discontent. We believe that they will yet lead to the downfall of the Government and the stoppage of the War. Socialist-Pacifists, your place is in the food queues. They are the best field of propaganda for peace and social justice!

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

December 10th.—Not content with the disfranchisement of C.O.s, Mr. Jounson-Hicks (U.) advocated debarment from the teaching profession. Mr. Fisher, however, said he had no power to do so. The local authorities, he thought, would do the right thing. Yes, they have already dismissed some pacifist teachers to ensure against the "lasting peace"—for which we are fighting—ever being realised!

The Coal Mines Control Bill was read a third time and passed.

December 11th.—The food queues were the subject of questions put by Mr. Anderson (Lab.) and others. Mr. Clynnes explained that "schemes are being put into force as rapidly as possible to secure a better local distribution of butter, bacon, and other commodities. . . . Does Mr. Clynnes really think that the people who stand in queues ever see butter or bacon?"

COST OF LIVING. Replying to Mr. Whitehouse (L.) Mr. Clynnes stated: That the cost of food, according to the voluntary ration, may be estimated weekly at 9s. 9d. for a man; 8s. 2d. for a woman; 7s. for a child. Then rent, light, and fuel, not to mention clothing, are necessary. As Mr. Hogge (L.) pointed out a woman's separation allowance only leaves 4s. over for such necessities! How can Sir Arthur Yapp of a man who has four children and a wife to support on 2s. a week to "observe the strictest economy?" By his own showing it takes 25s. 0d. per week to keep husband and wife and one child in food!

A PEACE OFFER. According to Mr. Balfour, England was prepared to discuss terms of peace with Germany in September, when the latter sent a communication through a neutral channel asking England to do so. Since England asserted Germany was not to further. Can Mr. Balfour ask people to give credence to such a wild assertion?

BOYCOTT. The Non-Ferrous Metal Bill, after a long controversial debate, was a second reading. Mr. Dillon (I.N.) rightly styled the whole measure as "iniquitous." Mr. Anderson (Lab.) condemned it on the ground of monopoly—why should Britain or Germany have the monopoly of the metal trade? This Bill, he said, savours of State bureaucracy. It is something more, it is the beginning of a boycott of German trade.

SECRET TREATIES. December 12th.—Mr. Dillon (I.N.) suggested that a complete collection of the secret documents published by the Lenin Party in Petrograd be laid upon the table with Notes stating in how far they are authentic. Mr. Balfour protested that these documents ought not to have been published and therefore he would not republish them. This sounds as if the secret treaties were a sore spot with Mr. Balfour.

Mr. Anderson (Lab.) pointed out that two members of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, who overstayed their leave in London, were arrested on their return handed over to the police, kept two nights in the cells and afterwards had. Mr. Macpherson said that he was awaiting a report on this matter. Is this the reward of patriotism?

BUTTER. December 13th.—According to Major Hunt (U.) butter is bought at 1s. 4d. per lb. in Australia, and though the freight costs only one penny, it is retailed here at 2s. 6d. per lb. Who gets the extra 1s. 1d.?

SUGAR. Mr. Clynnes wants us to believe that age, day of birth, and similar particulars on the sugar card are required for a possible rationing scheme!

EDUCATION. An amended Education Bill will be introduced early next session.

DEATH OF C.O. Mr. Snowden (Lab.) alleged that Arthur Butler, a conscientious objector, who underwent a third sentence of

RUSSIA.

The Russian Socialist Government has arranged an armistice with Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey, to last from December 17th to January 14th, unless terminated by either side after seven days' notice. Both sides bind themselves not to re-group or move troops in consequence of the armistice. The Allied capitalist Press predicted that Germany would refuse to assent to this demand of Russia, but, as has happened repeatedly, the Allied capitalist Press was wrong. Intercourse between the opposing troops and the sale and exchange of newspapers is agreed to. This is an amazing concession, as the Russians openly avow their intention to carry on revolutionary propaganda in the German Army.

The Russian Socialist Government repudiates as "audacious falsehoods" the statements that the Germans have demanded from Russia as conditions of peace:—

- (1) The evacuation of Petrograd; (2) The evacuation of Finland; (3) The disarmament of the Russian Army; (4) The grant to the Germans of a monopoly of the export of grain.

This is what we expected.

It is stated that Chinese, and not Japanese, troops have been despatched by the Allies to secure order at "Harbin."

News of the struggle between the Socialist Government's troops and the counter-revolutionaries is meagre, but what news there is tends to support the view that the Government troops are winning. The Bolsheviks are blamed for not summoning the Constituent Assembly, but we understand that the elections are not complete, and it would surely be out of order to summon the Assembly till all its members are elected. The capitalist Press, enraged at the headway made by Socialism in Russia, circulates many calumnies against the Socialist Government. Our advice is to accept all news from Russia with extreme caution.

GLASGOW WOMEN AND PEACE.

The Women's Peace Crusaders gave Glasgow something to think about on December 15th. On that date the Town Council had been asked to receive a deputation of women on the question of Peace, but the request was refused. A large number of women, carrying Peace banners, appeared at the City Chambers at the hour of the Council meeting, but admission was denied them. Mrs. Helen Crawford and Mrs. Agnes Dolan, however, eluded the guard and made their way into the gallery of the Council hall, from which place they lectured the astonished councillors on their inactivity regarding Peace and showered them with a quantity of Peace leaflets which the Censor had not been asked to approve. The intruders were ultimately ejected but assisted by their comrades they were able to hold a Peace demonstration in George Square in spite of the injunction against meetings at that part. The police, aided by patriots, tried to put the speakers off the improvised platform, but the women held on and carried the meeting through to success so much so that a number of questions was asked and answered at the end. The speakers, Mrs. Crawford, Mrs. Dolan, and Mrs. Ferguson, were warned they would be prosecuted, after their addresses, for speaking to a meeting on the Square. A number of soldiers in the audience supported the women and, when necessary, offered their protection against the brutality of the patriotic hooligans who tried to upset the proceedings. However, the women were able to protect themselves and obliged the patriots to remove to another site. Four women were arrested and charged with giving out uncensored literature.—"ST. MUNGU."

A SWALLOW.

Dean Inge, a reactionary man in most things, has now come out strongly for peace, saying that the sword would be sheathed to-morrow if only we were not so much afraid of each other. He characterised the demand for the destruction of Prussian militarism as "hopeless" and "absurd," for "we cannot even destroy the German Army, and, if we could, we should not thereby destroy German militarism. You cannot break the spirit of a people by defeating its troops." As swallows do not make, but herald, the approach of summer, the declarations of Lord Lansdowne and Dean Inge show that even the most conservative opinion is veering round against the War.

LOYD GEORGE'S ADMISSION.

Mr. Lloyd George's speech to the benchers of Gray's Inn was chiefly remarkable for the admission that if the Allies are prepared to forego their desire to punish Germany and to secure annexations, peace can be secured at once. This is how he put the position:

"He (Germany) is not to be asked for reparation for damage done. He need not even apologise. He is simply invited to enter into a bargain to join with you in punishing the head of the next man who dares to imitate his villainies."

We might have peace; Mr. Lloyd George has said it, but he calls for "further sacrifice, further effort" and "a further drain on our man-power," in order to keep the War going till America can send a large Army to Europe—probably two years hence!

We are asked to state that the following advertisement was refused by the "Daily Telegraph," the words in inverted commas being objected to:—Robson Paige at liberty. "Times" released from Pentonville Gaol under the "Cat and Mouse" Act. Address, 159 Franciscan Road, Tooting, S.W.



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

MRS. WALKER'S OUTDOOR MEETINGS.  
SATURDAY, DEC. 22nd, Whitmore Head, Hoxton, 3 p.m.  
SUNDAY, DEC. 23rd, Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.45 a.m.  
MONDAY, DEC. 24th, Hague Street, Bethnal Green, 5 p.m.  
WEDNESDAY, DEC. 26th, The Flagstaff, Hampstead, 11.30 a.m.

### FEDERATION NOTES. CHRISTMAS CAMPAIGN.

Mrs. Walker is speaking at a series of morning open-air meetings on food and housing in relation to Peace, the Russian Revolution, Socialism, and Working Class needs during the holidays. Those who will help her by chairing, selling papers, and giving general support, should write to her direct at 158 East India Dock Road, Poplar, E.

### BOW CHRISTMAS SALE.

A sale of the goods left over from Holborn Hall and of those which arrived too late for the fair will be held at 400 Old Ford Road on December 22nd. Many of the entertainments which were so much enjoyed at Holborn Hall will be repeated in Bow.

### SPEAKERS' CLASSES.

A soldier member has made a special request for a Speakers' Class at 400 Old Ford Road on the Sunday evenings on which there is no meeting. We should like to hear from those who desire to become speakers concerning the place and time most convenient for attending such classes. Mr. Hogben is kindly taking a Speakers' Class at 29b Lincoln's Inn Fields on Wednesday evenings, which Mrs. Casey lends for the purpose.

### BOW MEETINGS IN THE NEW YEAR.

At the London members general meeting, held on Sunday, 9th, at 400 Old Ford Road, it was decided to hold Sunday meetings monthly in the New Year.

### JOINT, BOW AND POPLAR SOCIALS.

After Christmas Bow and Poplar branches are combining to hold monthly socials in aid of the General Funds on January 12th, February 9th, March 9th, April 13th, and May 11th. Tickets 6d. each from Miss Lynch, 400 Old Ford Road.

### MURIEL MATTERS' ON THE MONTESSORI METHOD.

Miss Muriel Matters is arranging to give lectures on the Montessori Method in the evenings and is willing to take engagements during the first three weeks of February and on Saturdays and Sundays throughout the year. Further particulars may be obtained from Miss Sylvia Pankhurst at 400 Old Ford Road, E.

### MRS. BOUVIER IN YORKSHIRE AND NOTTINGHAM.

Between November 30th and December 11th, Mrs. Bouvier visited the W.S.F. Branches in Hull, Leeds, and Bulwell. She met with a hearty welcome from members and friends. In Hull she addressed a well attended meeting held in the N.U.R. Institute on the "European Situation." Several people promised to join the local branch and "Dreadnoughts" and pamphlets sold well. Splendid support had been promised for Saturday's open-air meeting, but unfortunately a heavy rain made the holding of the meeting impossible. In Leeds, Mrs. Bouvier spoke at indoor meetings for our branch, for the Women Peace Crusaders and for the N.C.F. These meetings resulted in a closer union of these three organisations for Peace propaganda, which is to include Peace Pickets outside the churches. Members were visited and their interest in our paper and our manifold activities was stimulated or revived, additional contributions to the stalls of the London "Old Cockney Fair" were made. The Nottingham campaign started with an open-air meeting in Bulwell Market Place on Saturday night, which, in spite of the intense cold and darkness attracted about 200 people. The audience was

## "OLD COCKNEY FAIR"

The culminating point of interest and apex of enjoyment at the Old Cockney Fair was when the Russian artistes came out of the Concert Room into the Great Hall to finish their performance in the centre of the floor, with the stall-holders and visitors to the Fair sitting and standing in a ring around them. All eyes were turned on the musician in yellow satin blouse flashing with silver tinsel, and high scarlet leather boots, playing for the dancers, now on the guitar, now on the balalaika, singing to them in his glorious voice that thrilled us with thoughts of far away, encouraging the dancers and urging them on with his mobile, vivid glances. The dancers in gay blue and red, short-skirted, black shod, white stockinged, giddily whirling, stamping sharply with high heels, entered into a contest for the musician's favour and for his string of red beads. Around them men and women in the sombre modern garments of everyday, and stall-holders in the dishevelled tawdriness of Cockney fashions, all riotously applauded at every interval. "Teddy," in his pearly-trimmed Cockney suit lay on the floor at the edge of the ring, crying with voice hoarsened by much rattling, "That's the stuff to give them!" A distracting roar of appreciation, clapping and cheering, and still more disconcerting penny throwing, burst forth at the close. Then the supper tables were dragged out and the stall-holders renewed their strenuous efforts to double Friday's sales. Afterwards a little East End girl, barefooted and clad in poor clothes, astonished the Russians by her dancing so that they declared she might become a "second Pavlova, and pledged themselves to take her to the most famous teachers.

The Old Cockney Fair was less ambitious than the Caxton Hall Exhibition of last year, but it was the jolliest, friendliest, pleasantest exhibition the W.S.F. has ever held. The best thing about it was that it was a reunion of friends and comrades in the peoples' movement. It was mainly a workers' effort, and it was mainly visited by workers. The batters for the stalls were lent by Mr. Sampson, who has a timber yard in the Roman Road. The costers' barrows were lent by Mr. Jones, of Haxon Court, near Holborn Hall. Our Poplar members, girls who have to work hard for their living, made in their spare time over £25 worth of children's garments and women's blouses. Mrs. Clark, of Bow, had a pincushion and perfume stall, furnished by herself. Mr. Coppard, from the National Labour Press, and Master Richard Lunn sold Trade Union cigarettes from the strikers' own factory. "The Mothers' Arms" helpers, under the able and enthusiastic leadership of Miss Lucy Burgess also provided a well-stocked stall, and W.S.F. London and Provincial Branches and individual members sent generous contributions.

"Teddy the Flower Seller," as the "Pearly King," kept everyone amused and did great service as a salesman. The equipment for the Cockney games was made by Miss Lister, Miss Mary Carr, Miss Marks, and Miss Kooch. Miss Lister looked a genuine gipsy and untiringly

orderly and interested, and after the meeting broke up in groups discussed Adult Suffrage and Peace by negotiation. On Sunday morning there was an appreciative audience in the Bulwell Adult School, where Mrs. Bouvier's subject was "Russia Past and Present." On Sunday night she spoke in the same hall for the W.S.F. Branch on the activities of the W.S.F. and the present outlook. Monday's visiting resulted in a new regular subscriber for our paper and a donation towards the "Old Cockney Fair." Further visits by London and other speakers were arranged.

### W.S.F. OFFICE HOLIDAYS.

The Office, 400 Old Ford Road, E.3, will close on FRIDAY, 21st, at noon, re-opening on MONDAY, 31st December.

### Gratefully Acknowledged.

GENERAL FUND.—Miss M. Fox, per Mrs. Bertram, £1 18s.; Mrs. Edwards, 6s. 8d.; M. U. S. K., 2s. 8d.; Pte. J. W. Marchant, 6d. COLLECTION: Mrs. Bouvier, 1s. 4d.

PEACE CAMPAIGN.—Mrs. C. E. Payne, £6; Miss E. F. Dowling, 2s. 6d.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—Mrs. A. S. Coombes, £1 1s.; Mrs. Ruby Albery, £1; Mr. F. Lawes, 13s. 6d.; Mrs. F. H. Harris, 10s.; Mr. McGill (card), 8s. 6d.; Miss Mary M. Parker, 7s. 6d.; Mrs. Edwards, 6s. 8d.; Miss A. Frisby, 6s. 6d.; Miss A. M. Buchan, 5s.; Mrs. Kinton, 5s.; Mr. W. Toop, 5s.; Mrs. Brimley, 5s.; Mrs. Richmond (tonghtly), 2s. 7d.; Miss L. Adams, 2s. 6d.; Mr. Genge, 2s. 6d.; Miss Norah O'Shea, 2s. 6d.; Miss Balchin, 2s. 2d.; Mr. and Mrs. Robertson, 2s.; Mrs. Middleton, 1s.; Miss Barker, 1s.

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

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Mrs. Boswell (monthly), £3; W. E. L., per Miss M. J. Handley, £2 17s. 8d.; Miss Blacklock, £1 1s.; Mrs. Rintel, 12s.; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10s.; Mrs. Richmond (tonghtly), 10s.; Anon., 7s. 6d.; Miss Clemence Housman (sale of waste paper), 8s.; Mrs. Edwards, 6s. 8d.; Clapton Secondary School, 5s. 6d.; Mrs. Minton Scott, 3s. 6d.; Miss Clara Symonds, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Jarman, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Hardy, 2s. 3d.; G. C. Pitt, 1s.; Mr. Barrald, 1s. COLLECTIONS: Misses E. Lagdsing and J. Waits (Green's Yard), 10s. 10d.; G. S. P., 2s.; Misses K. Lagdsing and Mrs. Bertram (Cubitt Town), 5s. 6d.; Mary Carr, 2s. 3d.

OLD COCKNEY FAIR.—Miss M. Hay and Miss Renner, 10s.; A. W. Yeo, Esq., 5s.; Mr. E. C. Fairchild, 5s.; Mrs. Shepherd, 5s.; Mrs. Hill per Mrs. Bertram, 4s.; Mrs. Lawes, 3s. 9d.; Mrs. M. L. Drummond, 1s.; Miss Deighton, 6d. CLOTHES, etc.: Miss Marks, Mrs. Clark, Miss Oldershaw, Miss Durrant, Mrs. Fellowes, Mrs. Sudd Brown and friends, Mrs. Schurr, Miss Warren, Miss Marshall, Miss Tollemache, Miss Shipstone, Miss Lister, Mrs. Furby, Nurse Clark, Nurse Frost, Mrs. Welch, Miss Gilkstein, Nurse Hebbes, Miss Pearce, Mrs. Crosland Taylor, Miss Gilbertson, Mrs. Davies, Miss Lester, Mrs. Pascoe, Manchester Branch, Tidal Basin Branch, Miss Lynch, Leeds Branch, Misses Fischer, Miss Brass, Mrs. Kinton, Mrs. Hopkins, Mr. Moss, Mrs. Wheaton, Bulwell Branch, Miss Mardon, Mrs. Dollan, Mrs. Aiton, Mrs. Sanger, Eric Chamberlain, Miss Steffens, Mrs. Miller Kerr, Mrs. Percy Marshall, Miss Gore Brown, Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Boswell, Miss Frisby, Miss Fussell, Mrs. Whitehead, Mrs. VEGETABLES, FRUIT AND FLOWERS.—Mrs. Preloker, Mrs. Zangwill.

OTHER GIFTS FOR THE OLD COCKNEY FAIR.—Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Mrs. Hunter, Dorothy May Hunter, Mrs. Brotherton (a member in hospital), Miss Lewis, Mr. Cloughton, Mrs. Gill, Mrs. Cahill, Mrs. Robertson, Mrs. Clarke, Mrs. Napier, Mrs. and Miss Vine.

### MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

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

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 SOCIALISM.

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

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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

### BIRMINGHAM.

### FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION.

A Lecture will be given by

MRS. T. S. ATTLEE

on

"The Use of Compulsion in Social Reforms,"

on FRIDAY, DEC. 21st, at 7-30,

at the FRIENDS' MEETING-HOUSE, BULL STREET (upstairs).

Chairman: Rev. J. MORGAN WHITEMAN.

### JOIN THE YOUNG SOCIALIST CLUB.

"THE CLUB FOR YOUNG SOCIALISTS."

Football, Games, Sports, etc. Ages 11-15.

Write or call, A. Dubowski, 420 Commercial Road, E.1.

exactly like the doll which was given in her place to the winner.

On the first day the Fair was opened by Mr. John Scurr, in the regretted absence of Mrs. Scurr, who was unfortunately too ill to attend. On the second day it was opened by Mr. George Lansbury. As Miss Smyth, who took the chair, said: "No East London Fair would be complete without him!"

The Bow children, aided by the Misses Bridges, Miss Galton, and Miss Manicom, gave a happy rendering of Miles Malleson's "Paddy Pools," and a little operetta, "Cock Robin."

In the Concert Hall also Mrs. Stewart Everet and Mr. Jack Wilnot recited, and Miss Madge Hayden sang Cockney songs. On Saturday night a fine concert arranged by Mrs. Herchbergova, was given by Miss Ennie in Froxy, Miss Irene Bouvier, Mr. Grishin, Miss Grishin, and Miss Katya.

Mrs. Mary Layton played the organ for us at Friday's opening and before the speeches could begin a crowd of poor women from the neighbourhood burst their way in and rushed with such precipitate eagerness to the second-hand clothes stall that we feared the goods might be torn to shreds in the scuffle. Mrs. Payne, Mrs. Wood, and Miss Vine with great presence of mind, dismantled the stall and proceeded to put each garment up to auction. Seeing that all would have an equal chance of securing bargains in second-hand clothes later on, the women contentedly proceeded to give their attention to the opening speeches. The incident had its moral; it threw into light the fact of the economic distinctions which dictate that whilst some people can buy new clothes before their old ones are worn out, other people have difficulty in obtaining even second-hand ones.

In addition to the kind helpers, whose activities have been recorded above, we wish specially to thank Nurse Hebbes, Miss Levy, Miss Bush, and Miss Casey, who did duty in the cold, unattractive pay box. Mr. and Mrs. Hooper, Miss Smith, Mrs. Waring Smyth, Miss Isaacs, Lady Clara Annesley, and others who came to help with the preliminary work on Thursday. Mrs. and Miss Swinburne, Miss Warren, Mrs. and Mr. Martin, who gave a guitar and an organ and lent a gramophone. Mrs. Wolstenholme, who brought cakes and helped with the refreshments. Mr. Polshuk, Mr. Sydney Franklin, Mrs. Schutte, who organised the book-stall but was prevented by illness from coming to the Fair, and Mr. Thorpe, the caretaker at the hall, who helped us in innumerable ways. If any are left out we ask forgiveness, as our space is full.

Æ. TOLLEMACHE, Fair Secretary.  
E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.  
NORAH SMYTH.

### LOST.

LOST, at Holborn Hall on Saturday, a Pair of EYE GLASSES. Finder is requested to return same to 400 Old Ford Road, E.3. Reward given.

Printed by the National Labour Press Ltd., 8 & 9 Johnson's Court, Fleet St., E.C.4 and Published by the Workers' Suffrage Federation, at their Office, 400 Old Ford Road, E.3. Labour in all departments (48 hour week), on Trade Union Made Paper.