

# DREADNOUGHT

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## OUR ELECTION CRY. By Keir Hardie

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[The situation has changed since this article was written, and there is now reason to hope that votes for all men and women will be secured before the next General Election. But this article is, nevertheless, of great interest at the present time.]

There is one aspect of the present political situation which is not without significance.

As a rule the approach of a General Election witnesses the emergence of the issues upon which the contest is to be waged, and their discussion in the Press and on the platform. Thus far, however, not a single big reform of any kind has been mooted. With Tariff Reform discredited, the Unionist Party is left wandering aimlessly in a barren wilderness with neither chart nor compass to guide its footsteps. The glamour of Imperialism and Jingoism, under which Toryism won for itself twenty years of almost unlimited power, has, for the time being, been dispelled, and the Party has nothing to offer in its stead. Opposition to Home Rule is a dead issue. No one will turn a hair whether Ulster be included in or excluded from the Irish Parliament, though, personally, I believe opinion both in Ireland and this country is steadily setting in against exclusion. The Unionists, and their manifold kindred organisations, will pour out money like water on the contest, but that counts for comparatively little without a popular election cry.

Nor are the Liberals in better plight. They will, of course, ask for the confirmation of Home Rule. That, however, is not something for which to fight for the future, but a mere confirmation of something done. The Reform of the House of Lords must also have a place in their programme again and in all likelihood their proposals for this purpose will see the light next session in the form of resolutions. These will need careful watching lest they propose setting up a Second Chamber with all the vices, but without the picturesque redeeming features, of the present House. Both parties will talk the usual platitudes

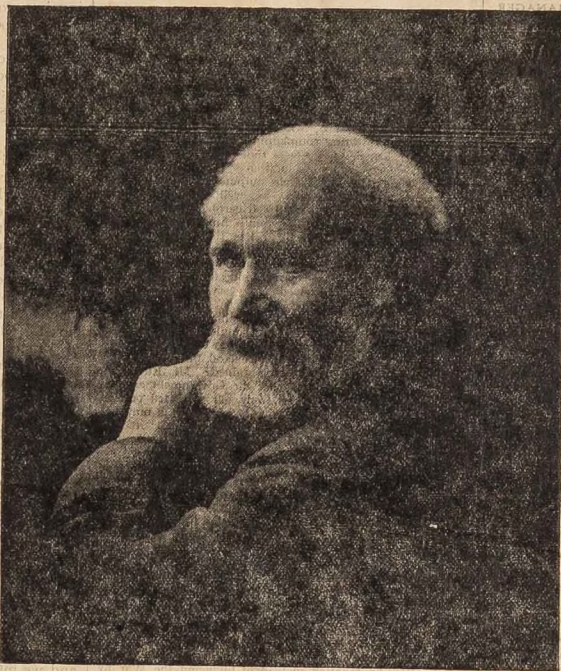
about Social Reform, but, I repeat, there is no present prospect of any great clear-cut democratic issue being raised round which the battle might be waged: Neither party will want to raise any big question of social reform. Housing, Wages

The Labour Party will not, needless to say, lend countenance to a non-committal contest of the kind foreshadowed. It will formulate its own demands, and these will be kept to the front wherever the banner of Labour Representation is raised. In places where there is no candidate, our friends and supporters will see to it that the candidates of other parties are well heckled on the Labour programme, and the educational value of all this will be great. But here, also, the big issue will be wanting. There will be no fierce advocacy on one side and keen opposition on the other. Everything will be placid and lukewarm, and that state of things always favours reaction.

Is there, then, any question which the Labour Party could force to the front as a big fighting issue? What is the topic upon which, next to militarism, the Socialist and Labour Parties of Europe have in the forefront of their programmes? Franchise reform. In France, Germany, and Belgium, the election policy of the Socialist and Labour Parties is dictated almost exclusively by the determination to make democracy more effective for its political task. The same is true of Russia, Hungary and the Eastern countries of Europe generally.

One of the truest instincts of democracy is that which leads it on to the conquest of political power. In America, the Socialist Party, in one State after another, has thrown itself unreservedly into the movement for the enfranchisement of women, and in the ten or twelve States in which this reform has already been won, much of the credit has been freely given to the special support of the Socialist Party through its Press and from its platform. For weeks on end the Socialist Party has, in some States, sacrificed everything in its great fight for votes for women. What the experience of our movement in Europe and abroad, goes to show, is that a fully enfranchised democracy is an essential to

(Continued on page 556, col. 3)



KEIR HARDIE

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Boards, praise or criticism of the Insurance Act; these and kindred topics will bulk largely in most of the speeches, but no really great measure will overtop all the others and rouse the fighting spirit of the masses.

## SOME REMINISCENCES OF J. KEIR HARDIE. By Alex. Gossip

It is now a year ago since we lost our dear comrade, Keir Hardie, and although Time is undoubtedly our friend in so far as it generally softens the blow which everyone feels on the death of a dear and respected friend, the passage of twelve months does not seem to have made much difference in his case, and we feel his loss as keenly to-day as we did in those dark days of 1915, and his presence in our midst in these days of falling away from principles of so many who were recently our comrades, would be an inestimable gain.

Those who were not intimately acquainted with our late comrade were apt to run away with the idea that he was of a very austere and stern type of mind, wholly lacking in a sense of humour, and one who rarely, if ever, smiled, and such persons would scarcely believe us if we were to tell them that none could be blither or gayer, or more at home in a jolly dance than he.

The first time I met him was in a small Ayrshire town, where he came to speak to the members of the Furnishing Trades at their annual reunion, some thirty years ago, mainly as the result of the efforts of a few of us young enthusiasts, who wanted to break away from the usual affair with the largest employer in the chair, and the local clergyman to tell us how good the employers were in finding us work, etc.

At the conclusion of the tea, concert and meeting, we had a dance, which lasted from 11 p.m. right into the early morning hours, and I do not think Hardie missed more than one dance or two at the most, and those who know anything of the

Scottish dances in those bygone days, know the amount of energy one had to put forth, to say nothing whatever of the snapping of fingers and the "Hooching" which was such a prominent feature then, if not so much now.

Football was greatly in vogue in the little town, and I remember saying to him what a pity it was the workers were not prepared to put some part of the energy and enthusiasm displayed in football, into the Labour movement, and his reply was, "Why you are the fourth or fifth man who has said so to me to-night, but just wait, all will come our way yet, you are just a lad, but you will see things." A year or so after that, I, along with two other young comrades, went to Kilmarnock to meet Hardie along with Peter Muir, the then Agent for the Ayrshire Miners, our business being to interview the Liberal candidate, Sir Wm. Wedderburn, and to press on him the advisability of giving his support to certain important questions, amongst which was the eight-hour day. Our late comrade was dressed then in a short velvet jacket with a long flowing necktie, and a more picturesque appearance I have seldom seen. He was the very picture of robust health, and his whole appearance and style were well calculated to capture us young lads and rouse our enthusiasm.

After the interview with Sir William, we had in the reporters, and Hardie laid down some principles of taxation which he was specially interested in at the time, and though I do not remember the details, the taxation was to start with those whose incomes exceeded five hundred per year, and I well remember the reporter's

"Thank goodness, it won't affect me," which made us all laugh and none heartier than our Friend.

Some years later, on going down to some small town in Lanarkshire during a General Election, in which I think our Comrade Smillie was standing as the Labour nominee, there I found Hardie hard at work, addressing circulars and folding and enclosing literature in envelopes, and his cheery voice and hearty laugh, helped us on with the work. He was not one of the stand-off kind, who was above doing such work, such as some of our present-day misleaders are.

During the Amsterdam International Socialist Congress, we held an impromptu concert one night at the hotel where we were staying, and none exerted themselves more to make the evening a pleasant and happy one, than the old Scottish warrior, and of course he sang "Bonnie Mary of Argyll," and none applauded him more heartily than the German comrades present.

He introduced me to Herr Bernstein, who was anxious to gain some information about wood-working in Britain, as "one of his Scottish bairns," though I think he was just about fifty years of age at the time, but somehow he always appeared to be a Father, even in those comparatively early days, to those not much younger than himself.

A night spent with him in his romantic house in Neville's Court was one not likely to be forgotten in a hurry, he sitting there in his chair with his pipe going like a kiln, spinning yarns of "Auld Scotland."



THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

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Bravely and willingly we bear our share of the World's burdens. Why, then, deny us the right to Vote, which would dignify our labour and increase our Power of Service?

"Behold! Spring comes, tho' we must pass, who made The promise of its birth From its dark gulph of chains, Earth like an eagle springs." —Shelley.

In these days of War, when the minds of multitudes in every nation are engrossed by hatred of their fellows in other lands, who are struggling with the self same evils by which they themselves are oppressed, it is well that we should remember one whose whole energies were fixed upon the ideal of brotherhood for humankind.

Keir Hardie was the workers' champion. By his steadfast toil he, more than any other, created the independent political existence of the Labour movement. His message to his fellows was not that they should secure higher pay or shorter hours, but that the system which divides us into employers and employed should be abolished; that each one of us must work or fail to justify our existence, and that as brothers and sisters we must arrange all labour so that it shall be an entirely pleasant part of life.

To the organised Labour movement Keir Hardie preached complete independence of the capitalist parties. He worked to establish the Parliamentary Labour Party, because he knew that as the workers, with their immense majority of votes, should come to realise the wisdom of supporting it, it must grow until the entire Parliamentary machine should be under its control.

In these days, when the Labour Whip, Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P., and others of the Party, are advocating "understandings" between employers and employed, when Mr. Bowerman, a Labour M.P. and Trade Union official, is suggesting, as though the forecast were a bold one, that the "ultimate strength" of the Labour Party in Parliament will represent one-third of the House, it almost seems as though Keir Hardie's work were undone and its foundations swept away.

But it is not so. Officials in high places may have failed us, but the seed that has been sown in the hearts of the people is growing and spreading still.

So it is with the Woman's Movement, of which Keir Hardie was ever the steadfast friend, because he knew it to be but another closely connected phase in the same age-long struggle for human development. To some it may seem that the movement has flagged and dwindled since war broke out. But all that has happened is that the narrow stream, swift and violent, has found for itself a broader and deeper channel. Its outlook has widened and become more human.

We are overwhelmed by the War; we are pained by the hate engendered, by the refusal to judge events from any but one angle. This results in boastful declaiming of the doctrine, "My country, right or wrong," and yet angry denunciation from the opposing side. Our hearts ache for the slaughter, the reprisals claiming their helpless victims, the misuse of the human intelligence in devising wonderful means to kill, and the infringements of popular liberty that proceed apace. It seems that the reaction which is upon us has either swept the evolution of the human race many centuries backward or that the race has fallen into decadence.

But it is not so. The spirit that is creating the atrocities in this War has been always with us. It is the spirit that conquered Poland, snatched Alsace and Lorraine, dominated Egypt, Morocco, Persia, created the wars of all time.

This spirit is naked barbarism—the old fear, cunning and acquisitiveness of the savage, who believes that either he must kill and plunder his fellows or they will kill and plunder him, and who,

unawakened as yet to the higher call of the intellect and the spirit, believes that the measure of an individual's happiness increases with the growth of his material wealth.

It was this same ancient barbarism that ostracised and vilified Keir Hardie, because he was ever the champion of those who were exploited, and because in India he met the Indians with the ordinary courtesies that one individual should show to another and with the brotherly love that was in his heart for all mankind.

Keir Hardie hated war and violence, but he was no passive observer of events. He was ever a fighter, not with militarism, but with the mightier forces of ideas. He loved the contest—overwhelming odds never daunted him, but only increased his buoyancy and his zeal. That cheerful courage of his—how much we need it! But if we would be worthy to be his comrades, we must be vigorous and hopeful even as he.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

TO OUR READERS

BEGINNING WITH THE ISSUE OF OCTOBER 7TH, THE "WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT" WILL BE ENLARGED TO SIX PAGES AND COST ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

MR. RUNCIMAN AND THE FOOD PRICES.

In reply to Mr. Yeo, who forwarded a letter from a Poplar Town's Meeting complaining of the increase in food prices, Mr. Runciman protests that the Government has not been inactive in this matter. He states that the Government bought the whole output of frozen meat of New Zealand and Australia, as well as much South American meat, and almost all refrigerated tonnage in the Australian, New Zealand, and South American trades has been requisitioned. Why, then, has the price of frozen meat risen? We know that the Government of Australia and New Zealand have insisted that the farmers shall sell the meat at a low fixed price; indeed, Mr. Runciman admits that they have helped "in every possible way by raised the price of frozen meat in this country but the British Government itself? Why should the Government sell at high prices the meat which it has bought at a fixed low price in Australia and New Zealand unless it desires to enable the price of frozen meat to be maintained? Mr. Runciman also refers to wheat, but has not the Government assured the private traders that it will only sell a limited portion of the wheat which it has bought, in order that it may not embarrass them, and has it not stated that its intention is to store the bulk of its purchase until after Peace has been declared?

Mr. Runciman is too sympathetically inclined towards the private speculator to be able to find it in his heart to deal justly with the mass of the people!

A Canadian soldier's wife, writing to the Daily Chronicle, complains of the high food prices, and says: "How the poor wives of the Imperial soldiers live on their meagre allowances is a constant theme of conversation among the Canadian women over here. . . . It wants a branch of the American Housewives' League over here to start something!"

Mr. Pethick Lawrence, in a letter to the Press, points out that the general rise in prices would not have taken place if the Government had adopted the policy of paying for the War by taxation instead of financing the War by loans, and especially by bank money and other book-made credit.

THE POLISH QUESTION

The Polish question is a European question. The great conquering Powers have looked upon it as decided once and for all; but the present war has revived it again. Besides Russian Poland, Prussian and German Poland must also be considered. In the necessary readjustments right to discuss the future of the Polish provinces in the Austro-German Empire. No doubt Russia is particularly interested in it; but the question is a European and international one.

In October, 1809, the Czar Alexander intended to add to the treaty of Vienna the proviso: "The Kingdom of Poland shall never be re-established." Napoleon refused to agree. In 1810 he said to the Czar's ambassador: "The Polish situation is a disgrace to France, out of friendship for the Russian Czar I have left it untouched, but I will never sanction an action which would make France indignant. French blood shall not be shed for Poland, but neither shall it be shed against that unhappy nation, to implicate myself so far would be too bad."

At the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, Talleyrand wrote to Metternich that the king, "his master," regarded the Polish question "as the first most imminent European question." Poland had nothing to expect from a congress where France arrived beaten and humiliated, and where Austria, Prussia, and Russia had decisive power. The partition of Poland was ratified; but under conditions which have never been observed. Religion, language, and the free development of national culture had to be respected, and old privileges maintained. It was promised that Poland, under the sovereignty of Russia, should be autonomous, having its own representatives and army.

In 1846, when Austria incorporated the free town of Cracow, France and England protested; Lord Palmerston declared that the three Powers, Russia, Austria, and Germany had no right to decide on this measure without the other signatory Powers, and he invoked the agreements of the Congress of Vienna, which had established certain guarantees for Poland and had given an international character to the Polish question.

After the Crimean War the Polish question again arose at the Paris Congress of 1856, but the Russian ambassador put it aside under the pretext that his "master," the Czar Alexander, wished that nobody should anticipate him in his generous intention of giving back to Poland all the liberties promised in 1815. The conclusion of these beautiful promises are the famous words: "No dreams, gentlemen!"

At the present moment the Polish territory is entirely occupied by the Austro-German armies. These armies can only be driven out by the common efforts of the Allies, the Russians from the Dvina, the French from Verdun, the English from the Somme and Yser, the Italians from Isonzo. Poland belongs to nobody, and the time has perhaps come when she will be returned to herself.

GABRIEL SEAILLES, Le Journal du Peuple.

OUR ELECTION CRY—

success in the fight for Socialism. The struggle for the vote has always roused the fighting spirit of the working class as nothing else has done. In 1832 they were prepared to fight for a Bill which did not give them votes, but which, at least, encroached upon the political monopoly of the ruling propertied classes. In 1866, and again in 1884, public feeling was at white heat over the Franchise Bills of those years, and since then nothing whatever has been seriously attempted further to strengthen the political power of the masses. Our absurd registration laws and antiquated semi-property franchise qualifications keep between three million and four million men off the voters' list every year, whilst all women are shut out by their sex. Clearly this cannot be allowed to continue. Sooner or later, the franchise must be completely popularised and applied to both sexes alike.

The Labour Party has frequently declared for adult suffrage. Why not make this the big fighting issue of the coming General Election? It would appeal to the fighting instincts of our members, and raise the whole issue of adult suffrage from the academic to the actual sphere of practical politics. Such a measure would require to find a place in the first session of the new Parliament, so as to ensure it the privileges of the Parliament Act.

Already, Mr. Arthur Henderson has on several occasions introduced such a measure on behalf of the Labour Party, though it has never been fortunate enough to find a first place in the ballot. Some of its clauses may require revision, especially those dealing with proposals for some form of proportional representation. That, however, is a detail which could easily be adjusted. Were this Bill to be forced upon the attention of the Government and the country with sufficient energy, in Parliament and the constituencies; were we, that is to say, to follow the example set us by our comrades of France and Belgium, we could make it impossible for the Liberal Party, and difficult for the Unionists to refuse the measure a prominent place upon their programmes.

I commend the matter to the serious attention of all who are interested in the welfare of the Party. Another annual Conference of the Labour Party will be held before another session opens—that is if we don't have a dissolution meanwhile. For the moment the question can be discussed and considered, and the way prepared for a decision. With the resolutions already passed at the ordinary conferences, and at least one special conference, the Party and the Executive may even find itself justified in taking the initiative in the matter. But, that apart, my present object is to try to draw from the movement itself some expression of opinion.

Time slips past, and the election draws near, and we must not allow the orthodox parties alone to decide the issues on which it has to be fought. I believe an Adult Suffrage Campaign would enlist great masses of the electors on our side, and would, besides, lead to an early and complete victory.

THE TRADE BANK

MONYLENDERS AGAIN

The committee, mainly composed of directors of joint stock banks, appointed by Mr. Runciman to consider the question of establishing a British Trade Bank, has issued its report. It recommends that a Trade Bank shall be established with a capital of £10,000,000, to lend money for enterprises, in the case of which, either because of the long credit required or for other reasons, the existing banks consider it imprudent to make advances. They insist that the Trade Bank shall not interfere with existing banks, and shall pledge itself for a specified period not to open branches or agencies, even where no British foreign bank exists.

Government money to set the affair going is not asked for, but we expect to learn, when the details of the scheme are produced, that the Government will be expected to take the risk of paying up in case of failure.

A significant sentence in the report states that: "If financial assistance is given by the Government to under-takings in connection with what are known as 'key' industries, the business should, if possible, be done through the medium of the institution." We must keep clearly fixed in our mind the fact that "financial assistance by the Government" means that the workers, out of their scanty earnings, are to pay for the commercial ventures of their masters, for the bulk of the revenue raised by taxations is drawn from the working class.

The bankers on the committee, who no doubt intend both to take shares in this new Trade Bank and to borrow from it when it suits them to do so, emphatically state that the Government must have no share of control in the management of either the Trade Bank itself or the ventures to which it lends money, though in Germany, from whence the Trade Bank idea has been borrowed, a representative from the Trade Bank usually sits on the board of directors of any concern to which it lends money.

It is recommended that the Board of Trade and Foreign Office shall place all their information at the disposal of the Trade Bank, and that the British Embassies and Legations shall put the representatives of the Trade Bank in touch with all commercial attachés, consuls, &c., and shall make it known that the institution enjoys "the full confidence and approval of the Government."

All the nation's prestige, and even its Army and Navy, in the last resort, are to be put at the disposal of the money-lenders when money is to be made. When money is to be risked, as at the outbreak of War, the State stands behind the moneylenders, and then it agrees to borrow money from them at very high interest.

Let the State be its own banker—that is the only way to safeguard the interests of the people!

A YEAR AGO: By Frank Smith

As I pen these lines Keir's kindly eyes look down upon me from his place on the wall of my room. Some people speak of him as having "gone." It is true, he went away from us a year ago. And yet, in reality he has not "gone," for his spirit is with us for all time.

There are many phrases glibly spoken which are accepted as embodying truth, because of the persistence with which we use them. For instance, "familiarity breeds contempt," which, as commonly interpreted, suggests that the more intimately you know a person the less you think of that person. However much truth there may be in this concerning some people, it could never apply to Keir.

After twenty-five years of unbroken intimacy with him, the qualities which stand out clear and distinct in my mind are, his courage, steadfastness, and clear-sighted devotion to the cause of humanity, and an utter disregard for personal advancement.

How much we need his forceful character to lead and direct us in these days when humanity is being swept along on a tide of hate and selfishness to destruction.

I think of him as he stood comparatively alone a little more than two years ago, at the time when the debris of shattered hopes met his weary eye, and broken vows clashed harshly on his ears, when, instead of the Socialists of the world standing solid and triumphant in the face of danger, they allowed themselves to be swept off their feet by false patriotism, and joined hands with the enemies of humanity, and so made possible the misery and slaughter which prevails to-day.

I see him standing unmoved and immovable amidst a taunting, and jibing, and buffeting it has been the lot of few men to endure. Spat upon, and while inwardly bleeding wiping away the excrement with dignified personal unconcern.

How hard he worked to cement the foundations of international brotherhood; to bring about a condition of things that would prevent Kaisers, Tsars, and Kings, yellow journalists and "patriotic" profiteers from demanding that workers should deliver up their sons, wives their husbands, or girls their lovers to the War God, "which shows how superficial was his outlook," some unthinking ones have declared. Nay, rather does it show how magnificent was his faith in the men and women of the working world. And when, as one after another of the warning sentinels who, for a time, stood by his side, dis-

appeared in the mad stream, he continued to stand, as we knew he would, firm and unmoved.

Six months before the storm burst he wrote: "An international ring of sordid armament and naval contractors is adding its fiendish influence to the great conspiracy for keeping the working class in subjection. And thus, in the year 1914 of the Christian era, the nations apt being converted into huge armed camps. The fear of the growing power of organised labour is behind it all. Let the workers have no misunderstanding on that point. Kings, Emperors, Tsars, and Presidents, Barons, Financiers, Landowners, Capitalists, see and fear the coming of the common people into their own. And they hope by their cunning methods to protect themselves behind a cordon of machine guns, and to create afresh the old-time spirit of working-class servility. In practically every nation in the world militarism is now being played off against the rising power of the working class."

How clear-sighted and true this pronouncement was, we now know. How much the world has lost as the result of the workers everywhere failing to rally to their own standard in response to his call cannot, even approximately, be estimated.

And we shall realise when the storm of hell, now raging, has passed, how true was another of his statements, that "War is a ruinous game in which victor and vanquished are equal losers."

In these days, when people are moved by so many, and varying influences, it is well to find out why it was that Keir remained so steadfast and true and never changed his course. It was upon which all his efforts were based. It was this that saved him from being turned aside by artfully prepared political traps. I remember on one occasion when he was helping me in one of my election campaigns, when I was attempting to deal with current political questions he pulled me up by saying, "Stop all that political hair-splitting and get on with things that really matter, the well-being of the women and the children," and he was right. What matters anything so long as the women and the children are neglected? What shall we have gained worth having, if the women of our nation are still without a voice in Government and the future of the children is left to chance?

It was to remove these fundamental blunders

SCOTTISH LABOUR PARTY DEMAND PEACE: By P. J. Dollan

The Scottish Labour movement has never at any time during the past two years been a war movement; and all through the period of organised slaughter has maintained a sane internationalism and a profound belief in the ultimate victory of Humanity over Force. Scottish Labourists have learned long ago that war is a barbaric futility, and have wasted no efforts in assisting the prosecution of a futility. They have acted as men and women should act who believe that Labour has been too long oppressed by those whose power is buttressed by exploitation and war. The Scots have opposed war all through.

Whatever regrets normal Socialists may have experienced regarding the vague and sentimental decisions of the Labour Party and Trade Union Congresses held at Bristol and Birmingham, those regrets are more than atoned for by the Humanitarian and International convictions expressed in the resolutions which were adopted at the first annual conference of the Scottish Advisory Council of the Labour Party held at Edinburgh on Saturday last. Despite the eloquent and lachrymal appeals of orators who had aroused, we have heard, great "national" enthusiasm at Birmingham, the Scottish delegates remained firm to their principles and convictions, and on every occasion endorsed those resolutions opposing militarism and favouring Peace.

The delegates were given the right lead by the Executive Committee of the Advisory Council which has refused to take any part in recruiting, thrift, or other alleged patriotic campaigns. In their report, which was adopted unanimously, the Executive Committee recorded that: "On the question of Recruiting for the Army, it was unanimously resolved by your E.C. that the invitation of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee should be declined; and further, the Secretary was requested to convey to Headquarters the unanimous opinion of the Committee that the Scottish Secretary should take no part in recruiting as an individual, but should confine himself to his ordinary work." That attitude has been general in the Scottish local Labour organisations, all of which have refrained from active participation in recruiting campaigns. On this point Scotland is at complete variance with the Henderson

policy. The delegates, however, improved on the lead given by the Executive. By 50 votes to 33 they passed a resolution, opposing military and industrial compulsion, and demanding "the immediate repeal of the Military Service Acts." By 66 votes to 13, they approved of a motion: "That the Labour Party urge the International Bureau to call together at the earliest moment the Labour and Socialist Parties of all European countries with a view to the discussion of joint proposals of importance to the cause of Labour." That decision is an absolute reversal of the Birmingham resolution, which was hailed by the jingo press as a Labour renunciation of Internationalism. The conference, by 57 votes to 29, also decided "that having regard to the military situation, and the enormous wastage of human life and treasure, this Council urges the Government to take the earliest possible opportunity to commence negotiations for Peace."

The adoption of the above three resolutions by such convincing majorities makes it absolutely clear in Scotland that organised political Labour (1) retains its faith in Internationalism; (2) favours an early settlement of the war by negotiation; and (3) is uncompromisingly opposed to conscription. The conference was in every way representative of the "Labour" side of the movement, and out of 100 delegates who attended, only four were directly representing the I.L.P., and two the B.S.P. Thus the avowedly Socialist bodies had only six delegates at the conference, which is a point worth noting in combating any attempt made to minimise the decisions of the conference as "being due to pacifist intrigue." The conference simply maintained the traditions of Scottish Labourism which, Heaven be praised, has never been a movement that side-slipped when the sentimentalists went off the track.

On social and industrial questions the conference maintained its sane reputation. It was agreed to demand: (1) Increased pensions for the aged; (2) State grants, free of interest, for housing schemes by local authorities; the adoption of the Right to Work and a maximum "8-hours day" for all workers to prevent unemployment after the war; (4) the vote for all men and women who have reached the age of

and crimes against humanity that Keir laboured so ardently. It is to continue that work until it is accomplished that forms our task. Let us see to it that we, like Keir, fail not. And when the time comes, as it assuredly will, when the unjust burdens which press upon men and women alike are removed; when every child will have a fair opportunity to grow to happy, healthy manhood and womanhood, when wars shall have ceased and brotherhood rule the wide world over, then will Keir's hopes, aims, and work have been recognised and realised. It is our work to see that this comes to pass. Let us get on with it.

ADULT SUFFRAGE JOINT COMMITTEE. Chairman: Fred Bramley, 58 Theobalds Road, W.C.; Hon. Treasurer: Dr. A. Salter, J.P., 5 Storks Road, Brompton, S.E.; Hon. Secretary: E. Sylvia Pankhurst, 400 Old Ford Road, E.

GREAT DEMONSTRATION

For VOTES for ALL MEN and ALL WOMEN at Euston Theatre, Euston Road, Sunday, October 8th, at 6 p.m. (It will be moonlight.) Admission free.

Speakers—Mrs. Barton, Fred Bramley, Robert Williams, W. Carter, Harry Dübey, E. C. Fairchild, Sylvia Pankhurst.

Let all the people be voters at the next General Election whenever it comes! No Registration Bill, but a Franchise Bill to give Votes to All!

WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

(GLASGOW BRANCH)

A DEMONSTRATION

will be held in the CITY HALL, Candleriggs, Glasgow on Thursday, 12th Oct., at 8 p.m. (doors open at 7.15) SPEAKERS—Admission 3d. Miss E. SYLVIA PANKHURST, W.S.F., London Mr. JOHN SCURR, LONDON Mrs. EMMA BOYCE, W.S.F., London Mrs. HELEN CRAWFORD, W.L.F., GLASGOW Councillor P. J. DOLLAN, GLASGOW, and others Tickets on sale at Reformers' Bookstall, 126 Bothwell Street; or from members. COME! DEMAND THE VOTE FOR ALL

HUMAN SUFFRAGE

Get the Human Suffrage resolution signed by every organisation with which you are concerned! This meeting calls on the Government to introduce not a Registration Bill but a Franchise Bill to give a vote to every woman and man over 21.

The following organisations have passed the above resolution since our last list was published:—Stanley I.L.P., Huddersfield Central I.L.P., Cardiff I.L.P., Wimbledon and District Trades and Labour Council; Perth Trades and Labour Council; Woodford and District Trades and Labour Council, Hampstead I.L.P., All Hollows Miners, Leeds I.L.P. Federal Council, Annual Conference of the Scottish Advisory Council of the Labour Party.

21 years; (5) the nationalisation of railways with a share of the control for the workers; (6) Home Rule for Scotland; and (7) the general enforcement by local authorities of the Notification of Births (Extension) Act. In connection with the latter proposal it was stated that for every British soldier killed in the war eight babies died whose lives could have been saved by proper treatment.

Altogether the conference was a great triumph for Labour and Internationalism, and the results, it is hoped will not be disregarded by the National Labour Party, which has been hopelessly inept for the past two years. Mr. G. J. Wardle, M.P., Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, was present, and was told several times by delegates that "it was time the Labour Party was doing something." The conference atmosphere seemed too rebellious for Mr. Wardle, who should be able to inform his colleagues that Scotland at least has no use for a faint-hearted Labour Party. The Scottish Labourists cannot be expected to wait always on a backward Labour Party that is for ever lagging behind, and unless the National Executive improve their pace they may find the Scottish comrades too far ahead on the road to Socialism to be overtaken.

Much credit is due to Mr. R. Smillie, Chairman of the Scottish Advisory Council of the Labour Party, for the courage and independence he has shown in warding off the attacks of militarism from the Scottish movement. Smillie has kept his head and his principles all through the war, and his influence has certainly steadied the rank and file. If there had been a few more Smillies among the English trade union leaders Labour would not be occupying the ignoble position into which it has fallen, because of blundering guidance. Robert Smillie is a man whose worth is not excelled in all the Labour movement.

Dr. Vernon, who has been investigating conditions in munition factories, reports that shorter hours increase output. He says that a "reduction of the working hours to 55 per week would have no adverse effect on output." Frequent rest periods are also recommended. The Health of Munition Workers' Committee states that it is not yet in a position to express a final opinion on Dr. Vernon's report!

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND



WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To secure Human Suffrage, namely, a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People.

LONDON MEETINGS.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 29th. Custom House, 6 p.m., Miss Lynch. Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 p.m., Lecture, (Name of the...)

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 1st. Osborn Street, 11.30 a.m., Miss Lynch, Mr. Arnall, Mr. Grundy Street, 11 a.m., Miss Lynch.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 2nd. White Cross Street, 1 p.m., Miss Price. Charlton Street, Euston, 6.30 p.m., Miss Lynch, Mr. Mackinlay.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3rd. Charlton Street, Euston, 6.30 p.m., Miss Price. Outside Jones Brothers, Holloway, 7 p.m., Miss Lynch, Mrs. Withers.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 4th. Bow Women's Hall, 8 to 10 p.m., Reading Room. Poplar Women's Hall, 8.30 p.m., Lecture.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 5th. 53 St. Leonard's Street, 3 p.m., Mrs. Drake. Outside Jones Brothers, 11.30 a.m., Miss Lynch, Miss Price.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6th. Charlton Street, Euston, 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier. Cobden Statue, 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker, Mr. Mackinlay.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7th. Outside Jones Brothers, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Miss Lynch. Grandy Street, 11 a.m., Miss Price.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 8th. Hyde Park, 3 p.m., Miss Rickards, Mrs. Somers. Euston Theatre, 6 p.m., Votes for All Demonstration.

HYDE PARK MEETING. Mrs. Walker had a splendid meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, September 29th. A huge and enthusiastic crowd gathered.

Bow, 400 Old Ford Road. Secretary: Miss Price. Dreadnought sales for week ending September 23rd, 814.

CAXTON HALL EXHIBITION. The Exhibition to be held in the Caxton Hall on December 7th, 8th, and 9th, from 3 to 10 daily will include...

COMPARATIVE VALUES. We learn that Mr. Robert Williams, General Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, has received a notice calling him up for military service...

"DREADNOUGHT" SOCIAL. A Social and Dance will be held in aid of the DREADNOUGHT Fund at the Women's Hall, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, on Saturday, October 14th, at 7 p.m.

Readers and Friends are reminded of the Special "Dreadnought" Week, in aid of the funds of the paper, from October 6th to 16th.

W.S.F. FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Mr. John Scurr has kindly arranged to give a course of lectures entitled, "The Growth of the English People," on Wednesday evenings, at 8.30 prompt, in the Women's Hall, 400 Railway Street, Poplar, E.

- Oct. 4th. "The Wars with France."
15th. "The Break up of Feudalism."
18th. "The Reformation."
25th. "The Spacious Day of Elizabeth."
Nov. 1st. "The Ending of the Constitution."
8th. "The Beginning of Empire."
15th. "The Industrial Revolution."
22nd. "The Triumph of the Middle Class."
29th. "The Uplift of Labor."

We hope that members and friends will make a point of attending. Admission free.

A series of educational lectures on Economics, Trade Unionism, History of Socialism, National Guilds, etc., has been organised by Mrs. Herbergoova to take place at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E., on Friday evenings at 7.45.

The opening lecture is on Friday September 29th, at 7.45 p.m., when Miss M. S. E. Milton, of the Fabian Society, will speak on "Women as Citizens." The other lectures are...

Oct. 6th. Mrs. Peter Thompson, "The Weakness of Ignorance; Moral Education."
13th. Mr. E. C. Fairchild, "How to Secure a Permanent Peace."
20th. Mr. Walton Newbold, "The Conquest of Economic Power."

27th. Miss Mabel Lawrence, "The History of British Socialism."
Nov. 3rd. Mr. J. Fineberg (B.S.P.), "Theory of Karl Marx."
10th. Mrs. Lafitte-Cyon, "French Revolution."
17th. Mrs. Lafitte-Cyon, "French Revolution."
24th. Miss Mabel Lawrence, "International Socialism."

Dec. 1st. Mr. G. D. H. Cole, "Trade Unions. Next Step, National Guilds."
15th. Professor Masaryk, "Tolstoy's Philosophy of Religion."

Poplar Women's Hall, to-morrow, Sunday, October 1st, 7 p.m. Debate, "Should the War be Stopped Now?" Mr. G. E. Smith (League of Peace and Freedom) will take the affirmative, Miss Nina Boyle (Freedom League) the negative. Admission free.

On October 5th, 3 p.m., at 124 Barking Road, Canning Town, Mrs. Peter Thompson (Association for Moral and Social Hygiene) will speak on "Sex Education." Admission free.

An adjourned conference on "Industrial Problems after the War" will be held on October 7th, from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m., and 6.30 p.m. to 9 p.m., at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow.

Every Thursday in October and November At Home will be held at Chandos Hall (21a Maiden Lane, W.C.), at 3.30 p.m. Thursday, October 5th, 3.30 p.m., the speakers will be Miss Eva Gore-Booth, "Supremacy of Conscience"; Mr. W. F. Watson (A.S.E.), "Industrial Organisation of Women"; Chair, Miss S. Pankhurst.

Thursday, October 12th, 3.30 p.m., Mr. Arthur Field, "Woman in Turkey, Past and Present"; Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, "The Present Outlook." Chair, Mrs. Bouvier.

Caxton Hall Exhibition, December 7th, 8th, and 9th, from 3 to 10 p.m. daily.

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WHO WILL SPEAK FIRST? The Swiss Federal Council, having been petitioned to take steps to hasten the coming of peace, states that, while understanding and sharing the desire for peace, it does not believe that the hour has come to make the representations demanded in view of the loss of national prestige which would result if the Government, acting on its own responsibility, met with a rebuff.

TOWARDS A SANE FEMINISM. By WILMA MEIKLE. Crown 8vo. (7 1/2 by 5 inches) 3s. 6d. net.

This Book contains chapters on "The Break up of the Lady"; "The Home and the Labour Market"; "How to be moral though Married"; Simplifying Sex problems and on other matters of special interest to women at this stage of the Woman's Movement, concluding with a straight tip to Feminists. It will be ready in the first week of October.

GRANT RICHARDS, Ltd. Publishers. St. Martins Street, Leicester Square

Many complaints reach this office in regard to notices proceeding from a shell-filling factory not far away, where gas bombs are made, and it is thought that these fumes may have contributed to the marked rise in the infant death-rate in this district. Readers who are interested in this question and know anything of the factory are asked to communicate with the Editor, at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

WANTED. Woman bookkeeper. Apply Workers' Suffrage Federation, 400 Old Ford Road, E.

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Tchaykovsky, Langham House, Harrow, or Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED. GENERAL FUND.—Geoffrey Thorp, Esq., £2; Mrs. Dawson Clark, £1; Miss Pelly (10s. monthly), £1; Miss E. Gore-Brown (7s. monthly), 14s. COLLECTIONS: Mrs. Holloway (Hampstead Heath), 15s. 6d.; Mrs. Walker (Hyde Park), 6s. 9d.; Bow Women's Hall, 5s. 11d.; Miss Lynch (Woolstone Meeting), 3s. 9d.

DREADNOUGHT FUND.—Miss Joachim, £5; Miss Gore-Brown, £2; Mrs. E. H. Glover, £1; Mill Hill Barracks, a "C.O.", 10s.; Mrs. Zangwill, 10s.; Mrs. Crosland Laylor, 10s.; Miss Pelly, 5s.; "A.D.", 5s.; James Leakey, Esq., 4s.; Mrs. E. Heathcote, 2s.; Miss E. Sykes, 1s.

MEN AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Mrs. Zangwill, £2 10s.; Miss Clemence (Housman), £2 11s. Talbot, £2 10s.; Mrs. Rohrs, £1; Nurse Hebbes, 12s.; Mrs. Lawes, 10s.; Mrs. A. M. Burton, 10s.; Mr. Thomas Wharton, 10s.; Rev. T. West Adams, 8s.; Mrs. Heywood Bright (weekly), 5s.; Miss Schwartzman, 1s.; A. Gaubert, Esq., 12s. CONTRIBUTIONS: L.S.A. Tool Room, £1. 10s. 24d.; Per Miss Udy, £1 6s. 2d.; Miss C. Reed's Recital, £1 5s. 3d.; L.S.A. Stocking Dept., £1 4s. 6d.; Mrs. Crabb, £1 8s. 11d.; Misses K. Lagsding and D. Morley (Cahill Town), 9s. 6d.; Misses E. Lagsding and French (Green's Yard), 8s.; Miss Jessie Mackay, 5s.; Mrs. A. M. Burton, 4s.; Miss Catill, 2s.

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THE PLOUGHSHARE. A Quaker Organ of Social Reconstruction for October, now ready.

"The World after the War" No. 2, "Franchise Reform" By Mrs. H. M. Swanwick.

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WAR FINANCE AND THE WORKER. By FREDERICK TEMPLE. (Author of "Interest, Gold, and Banking.") London: The Commonwealth Press, 118 Cannon Street, E.C.

Glasgow: The Reformers' Bookstall, Ltd., 126 Bothwell Street. Huddersfield: The WORKER Press, 47 Market Street.

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Bound Volumes and II of "Woman's Dreadnought" shortly ready, price 6/6 each. To be obtained at 400 Old Ford Road, E.

Always deal with our Advertisers, and mention the "Dreadnought."

Printed by the Blackfriars Press Ltd., 74 Swinton St., London, W.C. 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 Waste Paper.

THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

Published by the WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

Vol. III.—No. 28 SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7th, 1916 Price One Penny

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

Mrs. Boyce has been doing splendid work in the West of Scotland in connection with our campaign for Adult Suffrage. During the past week successful dinner-hour meetings have been held at Springburn, Anniesland, and Bridgeton; while ordinary propaganda meetings have been held at Langgo,

"The present moment is enormously important, and a 'limited measure of Women's Suffrage' is not the thing; the unique moment when all trivialities should be swept away and a larger, grander movement substituted has arrived and should be seized—but, oh! the detail! the strength, time, clear sight needed!"

"It would indeed be peculiarly unjust if women were excluded by Government action from profitable employment as a result of political pressure brought to bear upon Ministers by men who have votes against women who have none."—Mr. Harold Cox, in the "Sunday Times." Is Mr. Cox prepared to advocate Votes for Women?

BRITISH SUFFRAGETTE BEMERKUNGEN

THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION. 400, OLD FORD ROAD, BOW, LONDON, E.3.

MILITARISM IMPARTIALLY OBSERVED

Karl Liebknecht, the brave leader of the German Minority Socialists, has become one of the most popular of Inter-Allied heroes. When Mr. Arthur Henderson, at the Blackpool Trade Union Congress, referred to Liebknecht a storm of cheering burst forth from the War-men, no less than from the Peace-men. Even the Allied capitalist jingo press has lavished its praises upon Liebknecht. But the standpoint of Liebknecht is the same standpoint as that of the

power of the "upper classes" was maintained and in the German Peasant Wars as in Watt Tyler's rebellion in England, the workers were defeated. The armies of to-day and the battle-fleets of to-day correspond with modern capitalism, with the factory system and the great constructional undertakings which have developed under it. A Russian inventor recently told us that he had submitted to the British War

Price TWOPENCE. reduction and "trampling underfoot all the duties of civilisation towards the less developed peoples," whom the capitalists are enslaving behind the screen of the cant phrase "bearing the white men's burden." So much for the war against the external enemy, the war against the internal enemy is the war against the disinherited who writhe half consciously under the burdens of capitalism and against those who

This pamphlet reproduces the contents of the Workers' Dreadnought of October 8th. Without approaching the editor or W.S.F. or giving any reason for their action, the authorities ordered the printer to destroy all copies of the paper and melt down the type.

months' imprisonment. When Liebknecht saw that this War was "not for the defence of national integrity, nor for the liberation of down-trodden peoples, nor for the benefit of the masses," he was not referring alone to Germany's part in the War for he says:

with which these men were associated. The Russian Revolution, the Eastern question, and Pan-Islamism.

worst form. But his description of Prussian militarism reveals at every turn militarism as we know it in this country. In creating the military spirit in the soldiers the first step, as Liebknecht tells us, is to cut the recruit off from his family and comrades, and remove him to barracks. That is precisely what is done here. It would have been perfectly possible to arrange that the London recruits should be trained in the neighbourhood of London, the Glasgow recruits in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, but as a rule the men have been trained very far from their homes, even when lack of barrack accommodation necessitated billeting in private houses. When men come home wounded they are rarely sent to hospitals near their homes. Liebknecht refers to the glorifying of the military caste which is trumpeted as most important and respected:— "They cannot dispense with bright uniforms, glittering buttons and helmets, the flags, parade drills

"To this the working class of all countries can give but one answer: A harder struggle, the international class struggle against capitalist Governments and the ruling classes of all countries for the abolition of oppression and exploitation, for the termination of the war by a peace in the Socialist spirit."

Militarism. Militarism or naval militarism, which he held to be not only the consequence of the policy of expansion, but a more dangerous predisposing influence for War even than militarism.

Liability. The ever growing economic rivalry between Britain and Germany.

In Militarism and Anti-Militarism Liebknecht shows that militarism belongs to all the systems of class society and that the capitalist system has developed its own special variety of militarism, a variety with which unfortunately we are all too familiar to-day. He explains that in the primitive communism of agricultural peoples militarism did not exist, and that in feudal times the knights were well armed, the esquires but poorly so, and the "lower orders" scarcely at all. Thus

Karl Liebknecht, in Germany, like Keir Hardie in England, saw looming the danger of War, and hoped that it might be averted.

Of the function of militarism abroad Liebknecht explains that though it is called a national function it does not correspond with the interest, welfare, or will of the people of the nation, but serves only the interests of capitalism, paving the way for recklessly chaotic pro-

The Sheffield W.S.F. held a most successful meeting in the Temperance Hall on Sunday, October 1st. Mrs. Barton took the chair, and the speakers were Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Miss Stephen. We expect great things of the Sheffield Branch!

Let all the people be voters at the next General Election whenever it comes! No Registration Bill, but a Franchise Bill to give Votes to All!

Others have promised to collect in the charming box which has been designed by Mr. Herbert Cole. Those who do not get a box with this week's paper should apply to us for it. The most original feature of the week will be the barrel organ campaign, organised by Miss Lynch. What are you going to do to help? If you have no other plan, perhaps you would volunteer to sell some "DREADNOUGHTS."

At the Votes for Men on Service meeting, at Queen's Hall on Sunday last, Mr. Leo Maxse remarked: "It is said that if they enfranchise the fighting men they must enfranchise the munition women. As a life-long opponent of women's suffrage, I would far sooner see the women voting than the fighting men disfranchised." This from an anti-Suffragist sounds hopeful.

WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION (GLASGOW BRANCH) A DEMONSTRATION will be held in the CITY HALL, Candleriggs, Glasgow on Thursday, 12th Oct., at 8 p.m. (doors open at 7-15) SPEAKERS: [Admission 3d.]

Drummond, magistrate; Henry Macnaughton, magistrate; Thos. H. Hutchison, magistrate; William Nicol, magistrate; Wm. Davidson, magistrate; John Muir, magistrate; Jas. Stewart, magistrate; E. Rosslyn Mitchell, magistrate; David Mason, police judge; K. Mitchell, magistrate; Jas. Barrie, J.P., police magistrate; Wm. Maclure, magistrate; J. D. Morton, magistrate; Thos. J. Irwin, magistrate; James Stewart, magistrate.

Mrs. Pankhurst said, "Mr. Asquith used the men to dish the women," and now he was "trying to use the women to dish the men." If it is so, it is the business of the Suffragists to see to it that he does not succeed!

Miss E. SYLVIA PANKHURST, Mr. JOHN SCURR, Mrs. EMMA BOYCE, W.S.F., LONDON Mrs. HELEN CRAWFURD, GLASGOW Councillor P. J. DOLLAN, GLASGOW, and others Tickets on sale at Reformers' Bookstall, 126 Bothwell Street; or from members.

COME! DEMAND THE VOTE FOR ALL TICKETS on Sale at Reformers' Bookstall 126 Bothwell Street at Metropole on Sunday, (Casey's Meeting) and from Members

Miss Jeannette Rankin, of Missouri, U.S.A., has been nominated for Congress in the Montana Republican Primary.

Intellectually women are meeting every test of business, art and science, and to-day are as much a part of the defence of the nation and of its power for good and progress as they are a part of the security of every home.—Senator O'Gorman, of New York.



THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

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Bow, 400 Old Ford Road. Secret DREADNOUGHT sales for week ending 5 Miss Harriet, 207; Miss O'Brien, 26.

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Nov. 13th. Mr. E. C. Fairchild, "How to Secure a Permanent Peace." 20th. Mr. Walton Newbold, "The Conquest of Economic Power."

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All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

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Nov. 13th. Mr. E. C. Fairchild, "How to Secure a Permanent Peace." 20th. Mr. Walton Newbold, "The Conquest of Economic Power."

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THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

Published by the WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

Vol. III.—No. 28

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7th, 1916

Price One Penny



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Mrs. Boyce has been doing splendid work in the West of Scotland in connection with our campaign for Adult Suffrage. During the past week successful dinner-hour meetings have been held at Springburn, Anniesland, and Bridgeton; while ordinary propaganda meetings have been held at Lango.

"The present moment is enormously important, and a 'limited measure of Women's Suffrage' is not the thing; the unique moment when all trivialities should be swept away and a larger, grander movement substituted has arrived and should be seized—but, oh! the detail! the strength, time, clear sight needed!

"It would indeed be peculiarly unjust if women were excluded by Government action from profitable employment as a result of political pressure brought to bear upon Ministers by men who have votes against women who have none."—Mr. Harold Cox, in the "Sunday Times."

Is Mr. Cox prepared to advocate Votes for Women? BRITISH SUFFRAGETTE RE-

Price TWOPENCE.

THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION.

400, OLD FORD ROAD, BOW, LONDON, E.3.

MILITARISM IMPARTIALLY OBSERVED

Karl Liebknecht, the brave leader of the German Minority Socialists, has become one of the most popular of Inter-Allied heroes. When Mr. Arthur Henderson, at the Blackpool Trade Union Congress, referred to Liebknecht a storm of cheering burst forth from the War-men, no less than from the Peace-men. Even the Allied capitalist jingo press has lavished its praises upon Liebknecht. But the standpoint of Liebknecht is the same standpoint as that of the Socialist Internationalists of this country, who because they have opposed the War just as Liebknecht opposed it are so bitterly abused by the capitalist press.

Liebknecht was one of the strongest anti-militarists in Europe before the war. His book "Militarism and Anti-Militarism," now most opportunely issued in English by the Socialist Labour Press, which was published in the early part of 1907, and confiscated in August of the same year, earned for its author a sentence of 18 months' imprisonment. When Liebknecht said that this War was "not for the defence of national integrity, nor for the liberation of down-trodden peoples, nor for the benefit of the masses," he was not referring alone to Germany's part in the War for he says:

"To this the working class of all countries can give but one answer: A harder struggle, the international class struggle against capitalist Governments and the ruling classes of all countries for the abolition of oppression and exploitation, for the termination of the war by a peace in the Socialist spirit."

In Militarism and Anti-Militarism Liebknecht shows that militarism belongs to all the systems of class society and that the capitalist system has developed its own special variety of militarism, a variety with which unfortunately we are all too familiar to-day. He explains that in the primitive communism of agricultural peoples militarism did not exist, and that in feudal times the knights were well armed, the esquires but poorly so, and the "lower orders" scarcely at all. Thus

the power of the "upper classes" was maintained and in the German Peasant Wars as in Watt Tyler's rebellion in England, the workers were defeated. The armies of to-day and the battle-fleets of to-day correspond with modern capitalism, with the factory system and the great constructional undertakings which have developed under it. A Russian inventor recently told us that he had submitted to the British War Office a moveable gun carriage, to which various guns could be adapted and by which 500 guns could be fired by machinery released by a single man. Probably the inventor was a madman, but modern warfare is trending in that direction. Militarism, as Liebknecht shows, is for use both against external and internal enemies. He thought when he wrote in 1907 that War in Europe itself was becoming less probable in spite of the following causes of danger:—

"Alsace-Lorraine and the anxiety caused by the French trinity, Clemenceau, Pichon and Picquart," the anxiety caused by the North African policy of conquest with which these men were associated.

The Russian Revolution, the Eastern question, and Pan-Islamism.

Friction hanted down in the first place by Pan-Islamism and the Eastern question, and arising out of the colonial policy and the commercial and political aims of expansion of the so-called civilised States.

Militarism, or naval militarism, which he held to be not only the consequence of the policy of expansion, but a more dangerous predisposing influence for War even than militarism.

The ever growing economic rivalry between Britain and Germany.

duction and "trampling underfoot all the duties of civilisation towards the less developed peoples," whom the capitalists are enslaving behind the screen of the cant phrase "bearing the white men's burden." So much for the war against the external enemy, the war against the internal enemy is the war against the disinherited who writhe half consciously under the burdens of capitalism and against those who consciously desire to move on from Capitalism into Socialism. For the internal war Liebknecht rightly affirms the defenders of the existing order would prefer soldiers of low intellect in order to secure complete subservience, but the modern technique of arms and strategy now makes great demands upon the intellect of the soldier. In this dilemma militarists endeavour to create in the intelligent soldier the "military spirit."

Liebknecht discusses militarism in many lands, but he takes as "the exemplary model" the Prussian-German which he regards as the worst form. But his description of Prussian militarism reveals at every turn militarism as we know it in this country. In creating the military spirit in the soldiers the first step, as Liebknecht tells us, is to cut the recruit off from his family and comrades, and remove him to barracks. That is precisely what is done here. It would have been perfectly possible to arrange that the London recruits should be trained in the neighbourhood of London, the Glasgow recruits in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, but as a rule the men have been trained very far from their homes, even when lack of barrack accommodation necessitated billeting in private houses. When men come home wounded they are rarely sent to hospitals near their homes.

Liebknecht refers to the glorifying of the military caste which is trumpeted as most important and respected:—

"They cannot dispense with bright uniforms, glittering buttons and helmets, the flags, parade drill

Speakers—Mrs. Barton, Fred Bramley, Robert Williams, W. Carter, Harry Dubery, E. C. Fairchild, Sylvia Pankhurst.

Let all the people be voters at the next General Election whenever it comes! No Registration Bill, but a Franchise Bill to give Votes to All!

WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION (GLASGOW BRANCH)

A DEMONSTRATION will be held in the CITY HALL, Candleriggs, Glasgow on Thursday, 12th Oct., at 8 p.m. (doors open at 7-15)

Speakers: Miss E. SYLVIA PANKHURST, Mr. JOHN SCURR, Mrs. EMMA BOYCE, W.S.F., LONDON

Mrs. HELEN CRAWFURD, GLASGOW Councillor P. J. DOLAN, GLASGOW, and others

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Intellectually nation are meeting every test of business, art and science, and today are as much a part of the defence of the nation and of its power for good and progress as they are a part of the security of every home.—Senator O'Gorman, of New York.

The Sheffield W.S.F. held a most successful meeting in the Temperance Hall on Sunday, October 1st. Mrs. Barton took the chair, and the speakers were Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Miss Stephen. We expect great things of the Sheffield Branch!

At the Votes for Men on Service meeting, at Queen's Hall on Sunday last, Mr. Leo Maxse remarked: "It is said that if they enfranchise the fighting men they must enfranchise the munition women. As a life-long opponent of women's suffrage, I would far sooner see the women voting than the fighting men disfranchised." This from an anti-Suffragist sounds hopeful.

Mrs. Pankhurst said: "Mr. Asquith used the men to dish the women," and now he was "trying to use the women to dish the men." If this is so, it is the business of the Suffragists to see to it that he does not succeed!

Miss Jeannette Rankin, of Missouri, U.S.A., has been nominated for Congress in the Montana Republican Primaries.

THE PLOUGHSHARE

A Quaker Organ of Social Reconstruction, for October, now ready.

"The World after the War" No. V. "Franchise Reform" By Mrs. H. M. Swanwick. "The Literature of Peace." By H. N. Brailsford. "Who will be the victors? A Call to Industrial Possessors." "Perfect Love, an All-sufficient Ethic."

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WAR FINANCE AND THE WORKER. BY FREDERICK TEMPLE. (Author of "Interest, Gold, and Banking.") London: The Commonwealth Press, 128 Cannon Street, E.C.

Glasgow: The Reformers' Bookstall, Ltd., 126 Bothwell Street. Huddersfield: The WORKER Press, 47 Market Street.

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WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To secure Human Suffrage, namely, a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People.

Entrance Fee ... Id. Minimum Subscription ... Id. a month

LONDON MEETINGS.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 29th. Custom House, 6 p.m., Miss Lynch. Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 p.m., Lecture, Mrs. Walker. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30th. Grundy Street, 11 a.m., Miss Lynch. Philipot Street, 3.30 p.m., Miss Price. SUNDAY, OCTOBER 1st. Osborn Street, 11.30 a.m., Miss Lynch, Mr. Arnall, Mrs. Hyde Park, 4 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Mrs. Bouvier, The Square, Woolwich, 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker. Bow Women's Hall, 7 p.m., Debate. MONDAY, OCTOBER 2nd. White Cross Street, 1 p.m., Miss Price. Green Gate, 7 p.m., Mrs. Cressall. TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3rd. Charlton Street, Euston, 6.30 p.m., Miss Price.

W.S.F. FORTHCOMING EVENTS

Mr. John Scurr has kindly arranged to give a course of lectures entitled, "The Growth of the English People," on Wednesday evenings, at 8.30 prompt, in the Women's Hall, 30 Railway Street, Poplar, E. The subjects are: Oct. 4th "The Wars with France," 11th "The Break up of Feudalism," 18th "The Reformation," 25th "The Spanish Day of Elizabeth," Nov. 1st "The Signing of the Constitution," 8th "The Disintegration of Empire," 15th "The Industrial Revolution," 22nd "The Uplift of Labour." We hope that members and friends will make a point of attending. Admission free. A series of educational lectures on Economics, Trade Unionism, History of Socialism, National Guilds, &c., has been organised by Mrs. Herbergh to take place at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E., on Friday evenings at 7.45. The opening lecture is on Friday September 29th, at 7.45 p.m., when Miss M. S. E. Milton, of the Fabian Society, will speak on "Women as Citizens." The other lectures are:

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Tchaykovsky, Langham House, Harrow, or Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

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LORD RHONDDA'S MINERS PAID 13/6 A WEEK

ANOTHER SOUTH WALES STRIKE.

The public is under the impression that the South Wales Miners all earn exceedingly high wages. Very startling, therefore, is the following list of payments taken at random from amongst many other, similar which was issued on Saturday, September 15th, to colliers employed at the pits formerly owned by the firm of D. Davies & Sons, and still bearing that name though now taken over by the Cambrian Combine, of which Lord Rhondda is the head:—

- No. 8 COLLIERY. £1 1s. 5d. for 5 days work. £1 6s. 7d. " " " 13s. 6d. " " " No. 7 COLLIERY. 13s. 6d. for 6 days work.

It is true that £3 4s. 3d. is the minimum wage for the collier, and that if the men who are employed on piece work fail to earn the minimum when employed in abnormal working places they have a legal right to demand that their earnings shall be made up to the minimum. In this case the legal claim has not proved strong enough to secure this right to the men, and therefore the miners employed at this colliery decided to hand in notices on October 1st to take effect in a fortnight's time.

In the South Wales Valleys coal is cheap, housing is cheaper than in London—a six-roomed cottage costing about 8s. to 10s. a week; but everything else is more costly than in the big towns, and it is manifestly impossible for families to subsist on wages such as those quoted above.

Whilst Lord Rhondda's great Cambrian Combine is thus robbing the miners of their due, the Irish paper "Nationality" is protesting that the Coal Controller is putting up the price of the Grand Inflater's Coal in Ireland. It says:—

A recent order has been issued allowing British shippers to charge 1s. 3d. per ton extra on Irish Shipments, while the Controller has prohibited Irish Shipments from Stafford, Derby, Notts, and most of Lancashire. This leaves practically South Wales to supply with a monopoly as well as an increase in the price of shipments.

Incidentally we may observe that in spite of the high price of coal the shortage suffered by the

people last winter and the ration system which is being set up for this winter, large numbers of colliers have been working short time throughout the War.

A VICTIM OF FORCIBLE FEEDING.

A Sinn Fein prisoner died in Mountjoy Prison under circumstances disgraceful to any Government, but most of all the one which poses as the model of the world. The English daily press does not see the wrong done to the prisoner from a humane standpoint; but urges that this incident will have a bad effect on the Convention which has been progressing favourably. It certainly will make more converts to the Sinn Fein policy. Who will not realise now, that there is nothing for Ireland but complete separation from a Government which has always failed to do the right thing in Ireland? Now that another life has been lost, the Sinn Fein prisoners are to be treated as political prisoners. Will the British Government wait until Ribeiro, the C.O., meets with a similar fate before releasing all the Absolutists?

BOMBARDMENT.

"On the morning of Sept. 18 the dug-out containing seventeen men was shot to pieces over our heads. I am the only one who withstood the maddening bombardment of three days and still survives. You cannot imagine the frightful mental torments I have undergone in those few hours... After crawling out through the bleeding remnants of my comrades and the smoke and debris and ascending and fleeing in the midst of the raging artillery fire in search of a refuge, I am now awaiting death at any moment. You do not know what Flanders means. Flanders means endless endurance. Flanders means blood and scraps of human bodies. Flanders means heroic courage and faithfulness even unto death."

—Note by an unknown German officer on the battlefield and given by Phillip Gibbs in the "Daily Telegraph," October 3rd.

The battle front is terrible, and the terror of London daily approximates more closely to that of the battle front. By night and by day the sound of guns which occasionally crashes out sends people with blanched faces rushing for cover.

cavalry attacks, and all the rubbish needed to create the necessary spirit in the struggle against the enemy at home. In war against the external enemy these things may become downright fatal or simply impossible. All this is familiar to us, the King's birthday review in peace times, the recruiting posters of war time. Useless military parades in Germany hold up the traffic, Liebknecht cites an occasion when they held up the fire-engines hurrying to save life. In Blackpool during the Trade Union Congress week, Sir F. E. Smith arrived to speak at a War aims meeting. He was given a military welcome, and for a considerable time a double line of soldiers was drawn up right across the centre of the town. The soldiers stood about six feet apart, but civilians were ordered not to pass between them to cross the road; crowds of angry protesting people were held up by them. We may seek to discount these things, but undoubtedly they create an effect which tends to mould the opinion and character of the masses. Do we not find that London, where the chief military display is lavished, is the most jingo quarter in the British Isles?

Liebknecht protests against the slight punishment of officers who commit offences against soldiers and the excessive punishment of soldiers for tiny faults, he says that the Prussian authorities first denied the existence of barbarous punishments; then justified them. The same indictment can justly be made here. The ill-treatment of conscientious objectors which has been condoned by the authorities, the pouring of hot coffee over a soldier in a railway station by an officer, who was "reprimanded" only after a Parliamentary protest had been made are cases in point. The existence of the field punishment called crucifixion was at first denied by the Parliamentary representatives of the War Office, then justified, it being merely promised that the punishment should be standardised so that the legs and arms of a short man should not be stretched to fit the torture apparatus to which a tall man is tied with arms extended above his head and legs apart. These punishments Liebknecht describes as the whip, which he says is used "sparingly." "Sweetmeats" are also used. Men selected as corporals and non-commissioned officers who agree to serve two extra years in the German Army receive a bonus of £5. Such "sweetmeats" are the rule here (Continued on page 864).

Friends are asked to help in stocking these stalls and in making the Exhibition known. Communications should be addressed to the Exhibition Secretary, Miss Sonia Rodker, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

COMPARATIVE VALUES. We learn that Mr. Robert Williams, General Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, has received a notice calling him up for military service, although his Federation refuses to his indispensability. Yet on the appeal of Mrs. Inge, the Lady Master of the Atherston Hunt, five servants were exempted the other day.

"DREADNOUGHT" SOCIAL. A Social and Dance will be held in aid of the DREADNOUGHT Fund at the Women's Hall, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, on Saturday, October 14th, at 7 p.m. Tickets, 3d. Refreshments at popular prices. There will be a moon that night, so friends need not fear the Zepps!

Readers and Friends are reminded of the Special "Dreadnought" Week, in aid of the funds of the paper, from October 6th to 16th.

THIS BOOK CONTAINS CHAPTERS ON "The Break up of the Lady," "The Home and the Labour Market," "How to be moral though Married," "Simplifying Sex problems and on other matters of special interest to women at this stage of the Woman's Movement, concluding with a straight tip to Feminists. It will be ready in the first week of October.

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Many complaints reach this office in regard to noxious fumes proceeding from a shell-filling factory not far away, where gas bombs are made, and it is thought that these fumes may have contributed to the marked rise in the infant death-rate in this district. Readers who are interested in this question and know anything of the factory are asked to communicate with the Editor, at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow.

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Printed by the Blackbird Press Ltd., 74 Swinton St., London, W.C., and Published by the Workers' Suffrage Federation, at their Offices, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E. Printed by T.U. Labour in all departments (48 hour week), on Trade Union Made Paper.

When evening comes crowds congregate outside the police stations watching for news, and at the entrances to underground stations and cellars waiting to take cover. The Tube stations and other places of shelter are not open to the public until warning of an impending raid is actually received. When it does come, a vast crowd has assembled, and there is grave danger of panic as the people rush down. At Liverpool Street Station on Saturday this danger became a hideous reality, and a woman was killed. It was stated at the inquest that only one of the various entrances to the station had been opened to admit the crowd. This was a grave error which we hope may not be repeated. We also urge that the stations and other places of shelter shall be opened each evening whether a warning is received or not. Where this is done such panics as that at Liverpool Street would be averted, for the people would have an opportunity to descend before receiving news of the immediate approach of the raiders. Moreover, whether a warning is received or not, the people assemble outside the places of safety and wait hour after hour for the doors to be opened. Children, and women with babies in their arms crouch on the cold stones, which in these misty autumn evenings are wet with the heavy dew. The poor little wan-faced mites look up with haggard eyes longing to go to bed. At twelve o'clock the stations are closed. If the air raid comes later the people must shift for themselves as best they can. But many leave at eleven o'clock to catch the last 'bus home. In our view the advantage of leaving home to take shelter is very doubtful; a surprise raid may take place whilst the refugees are returning when the last 'bus leaves, the Tube closes, or the danger is thought to have passed. Moreover, the children especially are subjected to cold, fatigue, and jostling, and the terror is more sharply impressed upon their minds than if they were put to bed quietly as usual. The demand for reprisals continues, for people cling desperately to the hope that they will stop the air raids if only the Government can be induced to put them into effect. But the hope is absolutely vain. Reprisals will not stop the air raids. The bombing of German towns is continually taking place, but it makes no difference. "The Times" of October 3rd reports that during September British aeroplanes dropped 150 tons of bombs on the Germans. It also reports the following incidents:—

"September 30th.—British bomb St. Denis, Westrem Aerodrome, Ghent and Zebrugge. "Germans bomb Dunkirk and Toul. "October 1st.—British bomb St. Denis, Westrem, Contro and Carniere Aerodromes, and German soldiers' billets. "French bomb German towns of Stuttgart, Trèves, Coblenz and Frankfurt-on-Main, depots at Roulers, railway stations at Metz Sud, Woippy and Thionville, aerodrome at Chambley, bivouacs of Spincourt and Tilly, and dumps at Longeau Farm. (When the bombing of aerodromes and munition factories is reported, always remember that the homes of the workers are near by.) Reprisals will not stop the air raids; on the contrary, we fear they will merely increase their frequency and size. The more Germany is bombed, the more certain sections of opinion in Germany will emulate those of similar temperaments here in demanding more reprisals. Thus the vicious circle will continue. Month after month, year after year, this dismal history of attack and counter-attack has continued in the air and at the front. And still we are urged to clamour for more internments and reprisals instead of for Peace. Meanwhile the situation grows daily worse for the people, both of the neutral and belligerent nations. It is now announced that nothing is to be exported to Sweden, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands except printed matter and personal luggage accompanied by its owner. The neutral nations will probably retaliate by refusing to send us the butter, cheese, and so on that we import from them. The people of this country (except the producers of butter, who will secure a monopoly of the trade) will thus probably suffer most of all. Another blow at the solidarity of Labour has been dealt by Allied Trade Unionists, who have refused to attend the International Trade Union Congress at Bern which was organised by the Swiss trade unions, but the spirit of internationalism is spreading everywhere. In Italy especially the demand for Peace grows more and more insistent. Austrian newspapers demand that a more explicit reply shall be sent by the Central Powers to the Pope's Peace Note. The Vienna "Zeit" complains that compulsory arbitration and the limitation of armaments are not the question for the day, which are Belgium, Alsace Lorraine and other disputed territories. The Pope is evidently determined to persevere in his Peace move. This is shown by his statement to the Allied Governments that he infers Germany

to be ready to evacuate Belgium and Northern France, and his question whether the Allies desire him to inquire of Germany the precise conditions of evacuation. The belligerent Governments are all reluctant to speak plainly; they do not wish to tie the hands of their negotiators; but the Pope is patiently endeavouring to break down their reserve and to open negotiations. May his efforts prosper! LET THE SOLDIERS VOTE ON PEACE. The War Office has taken a plebiscite of the soldiers at the front to discover what proportion of them desires to settle on the land after the War. The proportion is only 17 per cent. Trench warfare has probably given the majority a distaste for a life of exposure, and the minimum wage of 25s. a week, even supplemented by the possibility of a pension, hardly presents an inviting prospect. The big vote against land settlement may justly be interpreted in part as a condemnation of the Corn Production Bill. But something still more important emerges from the fact that a plebiscite has been taken in the trenches. As it has been found possible for the soldiers to vote on a question affecting their future occupation—an issue which must seem almost frivolously remote to men who are hourly expecting death—surely it is the soldiers' right to vote on the question as to whether the War shall be continued, and on what terms! Has the Government the courage to take a referendum vote of the whole people on this question? E. SYLVIA PANKHURST. Militarism Impartially Observed. (continued from front page 2) though we have not yet the "certificates of provision in civil life," which entitle those who have served a certain time in the army to be provided by the Imperial or Federal authorities with civilian work. Prior to this War British soldiers often found difficulty in obtaining employment, employers usually declaring them to be "spoilt for work." Liebknecht rightly observes that whilst militarism exists for the defence of capitalism, capitalism and militarism are apt to regard each other with jealous dislike. In this country the methods of capitalism have hitherto been more slipshod, less thoughtful and efficient than those of Germany. The idea that there might ever be a scarcity of workers never dawned here till the War. But already exempted men are

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Speakers—Mrs. Barton, Fred Bramley, Robert Williams, W. Carter, Harry Dufbery, E. C. Fairchild, Sylvia Pankhurst. Let all the people by voters at the next General Election whenever it comes! No Registration Bill, but a Franchise Bill to give Votes to All!

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Entrance Fee ... 1d. Minimum Subscription ... 1d. a month LONDON MEETINGS FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 29th ... SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30th ... SUNDAY, OCTOBER 1st ... MONDAY, OCTOBER 2nd ... TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3rd

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Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Tchaykovsky, Langham House, Harrow, or Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

General Fund—Geoffrey Thorp, Esq., £2; Mrs. Dawson Clark, £1; Miss Pelly (10s. monthly), £1; Miss E. Gore-Browne (7s. monthly), 14s. COLLECTORS: Mrs. Holloway (Hampstead Heath), 15s. 6d.; Mrs. Walker (Hyde Park), 6s. 6d.; Bow Women's Hall, 5s. 11d.; Miss Lynch (Wealdstone Meeting), 3s. 9d.

THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

Published by the WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

Vol. III.—No. 28 SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7th, 1916 Price One Penny

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

Mrs. Boyce has been doing splendid work in the West of Scotland in connection with our campaign for Adult Suffrage. During the past week successful dinner-hour meetings have been held at Springburn, Anniesland, and Bridgeton; while ordinary propaganda meetings have been held at Langco.

"The present moment is enormously important, and a limited measure of Women's Suffrage is not the thing; the unique moment when all trivialities should be swept away and a larger, grander movement substituted has arrived and should be seized—but, oh! the detail! the strength, time, clear sight needed!"

"It would indeed be peculiarly unjust if women were excluded by Government action from profitable employment as a result of political pressure brought to bear upon Ministers by men who have votes against women who have none."—Mr. Harold Cox, in the "Sunday Times."

BRITISH SUFFRAGETTE BECOMES A VOTER IN CANADA.

finding themselves dismissed to make way for soldiers. It is essential that discharged soldiers should have employment found for them and that the work they left to enlist should be restored, but to allow a special claim to employment to be attached to any form of military service would be to place a most dangerous weapon in the hands of the militarists and those who desire to suppress the movement for international working-class emancipation and solidarity.

Another accompaniment of militarism hitherto unknown here which Karl Liebknecht reports from Prussia is the existence of ex-soldiers organisations which are mobilised during elections and call upon their members to leave the progressive organisations. He quotes the decision of the ex-soldiers of the XVI. Army Corps of Dunsberg-Beek to boycott an hotel which had been hired for a miners' meeting and to expel from the military societies of Saxony publicans who let halls to working class organisations.

Our author tells us that in Prussia the authorities give the young soldier some sort of education:

"They start to instruct him and attempt to cram into him a childish presentation of the world distorted and whittled down to suit the aims of militarism."

The British Military authorities have made a practice of teaching the young soldier nothing but war drill. In the intervals between drills, bayonet practice and other military exercises he has been left with nothing to do save scrubbing the barrack floor, cleaning his kit, and loafing about in an environment in which card-playing and smoking and drinking seem almost the only things to do.

But in England, as in Prussia, militarism threatens to enter the educational field. Our author quotes a statement made by Lord Haldane during his visit to Germany in 1906:—

"A valuable phenomenon which accompanies militarism is that through coming in closer touch with the army and the preparation for War the nation learns sober mindedness and loyalty."

Because Lord Haldane has left the Cabinet there is sometimes a tendency among pacifists to hail him as a friend. He is no friend to peace. He was a member of one of the Governments which brought Europe into War. Liebknecht in 1907, summed up his conduct very aptly:—

"... all the alleged plans for disarmament for the time being appears merely as tomfoolery, empty talk and attempts to hoodwink. They bear the stamp of the Hague comedy. Quite recently the soap bubble of the alleged disarmament by England had burst in a ludicrous way; the War Minister, Haldane, the alleged promoter of such intentions, has bluntly expressed his opposition to a reduction of active forces and has been exposed and proven to be a militarist firebrand."

Lord Haldane is now interesting himself in British Education, and other militarists are displaying a like interest. The Naval and Military Pensions Act gives the authorities power to direct that a child's pension may be withdrawn from its parents and paid to a Naval and Military institution if the authorities see fit to have the child educated there. Mr. Fisher, the President of the Board of Education, in explaining his scheme for compulsory education for children between 14 and 18 years, expressed approval of Scouts corps training for boys.

In the use of military force against the industrial struggles of the workers, Liebknecht of course names the Czarism as the chief offender.

Except in Russia he asserts that nowhere have the soldiers been such willing tools in the hands of the employers, or have behaved in such a blood thirsty and ruthless way, as in France and Belgium. The book was written before the famous French railway strike of 1910, in which the Minister, Briand, a one-time Socialist, ordered the strikers to return to work as soldiers. It was before the British coal and railway strikes of 1911 in which Mr. Asquith said to the railwaymen:—

"His Majesty's Government will place the whole civil and military forces of the Crown at the disposal of the Railway Companies."

Liebknecht cites blacklegging by the military in the Dutch Railway strike of 1903, the Bulgarian Railway strike of 1907 also 23 massacres in Italy in which 78 people were killed and 218 wounded between June 1901 and May

1906. In Spain the same state of affairs obtained. In Austria-Hungary things were not much better. Unpleasant records are also given of Canada, Switzerland and America where the employers enrol armed "Pinkertons" to attack the strikers. In Germany as in England the military are not often used in industrial struggles because the police are held to be capable of subduing the workers and because of the workers' "moderation, stern, self-control, training and enlightenment." But Germany has made frequent use of militarism to crush the political aspirations of the people, and even so late as January 1906 guns were fired in Berlin on the occasion of a demonstration against the Prussian three class electoral system.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY NAVAL AND MILITARY PENSIONS.

We welcome the Government's decision to increase the separation allowances of the wives and dependants of soldiers by amounts which have hitherto formed the soldiers' compulsory allotment, leaving the soldiers' wages intact. The old system was very unjust towards the men who could ill afford any deductions from their paltry wages. It was still more unjust to the dependants who were robbed of the allotment whenever the O.C. saw fit to punish the soldier for the alleged commission of some trivial fault. In congratulating both the soldiers and their families we urge the authorities to see to it that the value of this small concession to the soldiers is not destroyed by the provision of still worse food for the soldiers who are often so poorly supplied that, having spent their weekly wage on extras, are constantly obliged to apply to their relatives for supplies. Whilst some concessions are also made to sailors and their dependants, we regret that they are not placed in the same position as soldiers. Various other small increases are made in the pay of both soldiers and sailors, but it is all very niggling. We are glad to note that hospital stoppages are to be abolished in most cases, but the proviso "except where a man is responsible for the complaint" is unfortunate and will cause disputes.

Mr. Hodge has been telling the disabled soldiers at the Cowen Training School that "nothing we can do for them is too great." He promised

if a man who had written to the Pension Ministry six times without reply would write to John Hodge he would "get the right sow by the lug." We have written several times direct to Mr. Hodge, but even that course does not appear to accelerate matters. Mr. Hodge added that he as Pensions Minister would not be satisfied with the assistance of "big hearted women or men" in training the disabled men; the State must do it. And now comes the news that the disabled men at Lord Roberts Memorial Workshops are striking for 25s. a week!

A BRAVE MAGISTRATE.

Henry Thomas, of Merthyr, was sent home from Dartmoor, where he was employed under the Home Office Scheme and re-arrested at the instigation of the military authorities as an Army absentee. He was brought before the Merthyr stipendiary, Mr. R. A. Griffith, who discharged him on the ground that as informed by the Central Tribunal Thomas's acceptance of work under the Home Office Scheme had removed him from military control. The military authorities then applied for a warrant to arrest Mr. Thomas, but the magistrate refused to issue it, and the military proceeded against Thomas by summons only. When the case came before him the magistrate dismissed the summons expressing the view that the outstanding fact that the military could not get over was that the Central Tribunal found defendant to be a conscientious objector and released him for work under the Home Office Scheme. If that body did not exercise its function under the Military Service Act, 1916, he was at a loss to know whence it did derive its authority. If the military were not satisfied with the decision of June 19th they ought to have appealed. As they did not, they must be taken to have accepted it, and they could not ask him to try the same matter a second time. Still less could they reasonably expect him to reverse his judgment. The summons was accordingly dismissed. In conclusion, he said:—

"I cannot help expressing my surprise that so much time should be wasted on this Pacifist young man, whose value to the Army as a soldier is absolutely nil. A million conscientious objectors will not hasten the day of victory by one hour. This case raises the question of good faith and fair dealing, which is, to my mind, far more vital than any legal subtlety. It has pleased the Legislature to insert a conscientious objection clause in the Military Service Act, and it would be infinitely better to have cut it out entirely than to attempt to

treat it as a mere scrap of paper. At all events, it is the duty of this court to apply the law to the facts of the case, and, in view of all that has happened, it would be a travesty of legal procedure and an outrage of justice to hand over defendant as an absentee from military service."

MILK AND BUTTER SCANDAL.

Mr. R. A. Anderson, Secretary of the Irish Organisation Society, Plunkett House, complains that the Food Controller has fixed 206s. per cwt. as the maximum price which the Irish farmer may charge for his butter, but has refused to fix a maximum selling price for the English retailer who can charge as much as he pleases for Irish butter. Mr. Anderson says that the wholesale price of Danish butter is 300s. a cwt., and that it is retailed at 2s. 10½d. per lb. (i.e., 322s. per cwt.) in English shops. Irish butter is 2s. 4d. per lb. (i.e., 261s. 4d. per cwt.) in English shops. The profit on Irish Butter is therefore 55s. per cwt. and on Danish butter only 22s. per cwt. Thus we are paying at least 33s. per cwt. more for Irish butter than for Danish. Irish butter is probably palmed off as Danish butter at times, in which case the excessive profit is 94s. per cwt. Incidentally Mr. Anderson states that to be placed on a parity with the price of milk in Ireland, the farmers' price for butter should be 280s. per cwt. Pretty obviously therefore the milk price is too high, for the Irish farmer will not sell his butter at a loss and it should be noticed that the farmers' representative only demanded 230s., not 280s. Resolutions demanding a reduction in the price of milk should be sent in to the Government without delay.

[N.B. The Food Controller has now increased the price of Irish butter from 219s. to 234s. 8d. per cwt., English butter is 10s. per cwt. more. Our arguments still apply.]

WANTED—COST PRICE MILK.

The formation of a commercial milk combine which promises to prevent overlapping and waste is not what we desire. We want the L.C.C. and the Borough Councils to arrange for a municipal cost price supply.

To the Editor of "The Workers' Dreadnought." Sir (or Madam).—May I commend the action of "a woman representative of the N.U.C." who is reported in your issue of the 22nd to have urged at the Food Conference of the L.F.C. that communal kitchens should not be confined to the poorer districts. The lady who opposed it surely cannot have considered the ultimate possibilities of such a scheme. I try to imagine London

without the odour of cooking food exuding from every door and window; with smokeless chimneys for at least half the year; with its citizens well nourished upon food cooked by practised chefs; with an unspeakable saving of the waste involved by the present method; with its women freed from the slavery of the stove; and I think I see, as a result of a well organised scheme of communal kitchens (and ultimately communal restaurants), the sanitation of town life improved to a degree hitherto unattainable. The ladies would very soon shed their prejudices against the food being "cooked out."

A. H. BOYD.

TRADE UNIONISTS AND CO-OPERATION.

Great developments are taking place with regard to co-operation in London, and the practical realisation of the scheme of a London Co-operative Council—first put forward by Mr. W. H. Brown at a Co-operative Union conference in 1895—is bringing trade unionism and co-operation into close contact. Societies like those at Edmonton and Stratford make it a condition of employment that their workers shall be members of their trade Unions, and now the latter has been brought forward and similar proposal at the meetings of the Co-operative Wholesale Society. This has been discussed at the various business meetings at Manchester, London, Newcastle, Bristol and other centres, with the result that decision is postponed till after the conference between representatives of the Co-operative Union and the Trade Union Congress Parliamentary Committee. This will seek to secure a more effective means of propaganda between the two sections and doubtless if co-operators agree to employ only trade unionists, the latter will reciprocate by insisting that all trade unionists shall be actual purchasing members of co-operative societies. Should such a policy be evolved, there is little doubt of the acquiescence of the C.W.S. in the policy proposed by the Stratford Society. Trade unionists have a good opportunity of helping this forward by joining Co-operative Societies immediately, and registering for sugar supplies from their own store.—From the Co-operative Press Agency.

THE INTERESTS OF BELGIUM LIE IN AN IMMEDIATE PEACE.

"Such was the declaration of Judge Albert van Steenberghe, the honoured Antwerp barrister, at Geneva and Bern. In his address at Geneva, partly cried down by delegates of the Entente Association, and received at Bern with animated applause, the Belgian visitor brought to the Swiss fraternity the expression of the will of the Belgian people for peace. "Belgium wants peace," said M. van Steenberghe, "and that not a German peace, nor an English peace, but a Belgian peace. The Belgian peace must be a peace that will not admit of a complete victory either to the one or to the other of the belligerents, but one which is built up on agreement and conciliation. It must be an immediate peace, since Belgium can suffer neither a too long occupation, nor fresh battles in its territories. She must break with all the false neutral politics hitherto pursued, which the secret diplomacy of Palmerston's country forced upon her and which offered

Friends are asked to help in stocking these stalls and in making the Exhibition known. Communications should be addressed to the Exhibition Secretary, Miss Sonia Rodker, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

COMPARATIVE VALUES. We learn that Mr. Robert Williams, General Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, has received a notice calling him up for military service, although his Federation testifies to his indispensability. Yet on the appeal of Mrs. Inge, the Lady Master of the Atherston Hunt, five servants were exempted the other day.

"DREADNOUGHT" SOCIAL. A Social and Dance will be held in aid of the DREADNOUGHT Fund at the Women's Hall, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, on Saturday, October 14th, at 7 p.m. Tickets, 3d. Refreshments at popular prices. There will be a moon that night, so friends need not fear the Zepps!

Readers and Friends are reminded of the Special "Dreadnought" Week, in aid of the funds of the paper, from October 6th to 16th.

This book contains chapters on "The Break up of the Lady"; "The Home and the Labour Market"; "How to be moral though Married"; "Simplifying Sex problems and on other matters of special interest to women at this stage of the Woman's Movement, concluding with a straight tip to Feminists. It will be ready in the first week of October.

GRANT RICHARDS, Ltd. Publishers St. Martins Street, Leicester Square

Many complaints reach this office in regard to noxious fumes proceeding from a shell-filling factory not far away, where gas bombs are made, and it is thought that these fumes may have contributed to the marked rise in the infant death-rate in this district. Readers who are interested in this question and know anything of the factory are asked to communicate with the Editor, at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

WANTED, woman bookkeeper.—Apply Workers' Suffrage Federation, 400 Old Ford Road, E.

Street, Huddersfield: The Workers' Press, 47 Market Street.

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"The Birthrate." Notes and Views on the Report of the National Birth-rate Commission, by E. Sylvia Pankhurst. Price 1d. 9d. per dozen

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W.S.F. FORTHCOMING EVENTS

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Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Tchaykovsky, Langham House, Harrow, or Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND.—Miss Pelly (10s. monthly), £4; Miss E. Gore-Browne (7s. monthly), 14s. COLLECTORS: Mrs. Holloway (Hamstead Heath), 15s. 6d.; Mrs. Walker (Hyde Park), 6s. 6d.; Bow Women's Hall, 5s. 11d.; Miss Lynch (Wealdstone Meeting), 3s. 6d.

THE WOMAN'S DREADNOUGHT

Published by the WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

Vol. III.—No. 28

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 7th, 1916

Price One Penny

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

Mrs. Boyce has been doing splendid work in the West of Scotland in connection with our campaign for Adult Suffrage. During the past week successful dinner-hour meetings have been held at Springburn, Anniesland, and Bridgeton; while ordinary propaganda meetings have been held at Lango,

"The present moment is enormously important, and a 'limited measure of Women's Suffrage' is not the thing; the unique moment when all trivialities should be swept away and a larger, grander movement substituted has arrived and should be seized—but, oh! the detail! the strength, time, clear sight needed!

"It would indeed be peculiarly unjust if women were excluded by Government action from profitable employment as a result of political pressure brought to bear upon Ministers by men who have votes against women who have none."—Mr. Harold Cox, in the "Sunday Times."

Is Mr. Cox prepared to advocate Votes for Women? BRITISH SUFFRAGETTE BECOMES A VOTER IN CANADA.

THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

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absolutely no security, because the compacts of 1831 and 1839 were worthless. The barrister, well versed in the Belgian archives, then showed how through the compact of 1831 by English intrigues the guarantee of inviolability had been torn away, and that by a series of secret manipulations Belgian neutrality had never had the existence that it had in Switzerland.

of the children are charged with stealing—most of them for stealing food or for stealing things that they immediately traded for food. Punishing hungry children for stealing is to my mind unjust, unintelligent, and cruel.

with stealing has increased in proportion to the increased price of food. Many people say you should stop children stealing by increasing the punishments, but I say that the proper way to prevent hungry children stealing is to feed them. HENRY NEIL.

THE KEY TO BEAUTY

"THE DREAM SPLENDID." By John Langdon Davies.—A relief from the "Advice Notes" of the National Council for Civil Liberties, which reach some of us very constantly from the same author, who, writing from "Nightingale Hollow," says "I have come here to re-discover my soul."

Blessing the stars that uncover thy form to my eyes, The trees that bend over thee, Thy wistful worshippers, the flowers; But thee most of all, who bringest the key of all the beauty of the world.

SECOND NOCTURNE.

"Oh, thou that hast drunk in the spirit of the night, And taken to thee the abiding way of the stars, Thou art the very breath of the forest darkness, And a whispered song upon the midnight wind.

"SON OF MINE." By Mrs. C. Oliver Dobell (London: C. W. Daniel, Ltd., Graham House, Tudor Street, E.C. 6d. net), tells a tragic story of a widowed mother's effort to train her son for the service of humanity, and to procure for him knowledge of the highest human achievement in art, science, religion, ethics, by self-discipline and study, and by labours by:

Need have I of thy body's purity, And the warmth of thy breasts, And the laughter of thy limbs.

"... weary fingers that would seem Unable to resume again The tasks unended, when the gleam Of daylight's herald flush would creep Over the city's streets and marts And all his being craved for sleep."

"I have bidden farewell to the thought-wearied town, To the shame and the sorrow; To the hills, to the hills at nightfall will I wend my way, And seek the mystery of the dark-hid forest glades.

The effort is ended by the lad's death in prison as a Conscientious Objector.

"For I hate the unholy night of town, Where the worship of false gods veils the holy stars, And the ghosts of gods long dead have choked the mid-night air.

Whilst sympathising with the mother in her pride that her son had been undeterred by persecution from standing by his belief in the brotherhood of man, we cannot echo her when she says:—

"Sad, sad is the night of the town, With the sadness of ravished maidenhood And the tears of defiling lust.

"I glory in the sacrifice; Shall I be less in mother pride Than those dear women with brave eyes Whose sons have 'mid the carnage died?"

In the woods, in the woods will I build me my palace Where the forest daughters hold up my roof of stars, And murmur softly half-forgotten things, And I will taste of the green earth's nakedness, And wash me in the mountain streams.

We wish to arouse in parents, not pride in the sacrifices made by their children, but determination that such sacrifices shall cease. The mowing down of youth whilst middle age looks on complacently, fills us with shame and horror. But we must not split hairs, the writer is doing her best to arouse in mothers a higher ideal for their sons than those of militarism or mere worldly success.

Above my palace gate have I hung the moon, To guide thee to our home, And, coming thou shalt lay thy limbs on the soft grass; Close to me in the silence of the night will I hold thy body

AGRICULTURAL WAGES BOARD. The Agricultural Wages Board is to consist of 30 persons of whom 7 shall be appointed members, 10 representatives of workers. Of the workers 8 are to be members of the executive committees of the Agricultural Labourers' and Workers' Unions, the other 8 will be appointed by the Ministry of Labour.

WHY NOT EQUALITY? The Hat-Trade prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drink to Women for consumption on the premises should be applied to both sexes. No doubt the authorities would like to do so but are afraid to offend the men.

JUVENILE CRIME. I find that the common idea in England of the cause of the great increase in juvenile crime since the war began—that it is the absence of the fathers, is not the real cause at all. The absence of the fathers has nothing to do with it; in fact the absence from the house of the average under-paid, over-worked father tends to decrease juvenile crime rather than increase it.

If the financial conditions were the same the mothers will raise their children better without the fathers than with them in all cases where the fathers have no leisure and opportunity for culture.

I find that the real cause of the great increase of juvenile crime in England is the high price of food. Food is scarcer, more guarded and more children are hungry, so more steal food, or money and other things that they trade for food, and more children get caught.

I have watched the trials in the children's court in London—and I find that ninety per cent.

stalls and in making the Exhibition known. Communications should be addressed to the Exhibition Secretary, Miss Sonia Rodker, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

COMPARATIVE VALUES. We learn that Mr. Robert Williams, General Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, has received a notice calling him up for military service, although his Federation testifies to his indispensability. Yet on the appeal of Mrs. Inge, the Lady Master of the Atherston Hunt, five servants were exempted the other day.

"DREADNOUGHT" SOCIAL. A Social and Dance will be held in aid of the DREADNOUGHT Fund at the Women's Hall, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, on Saturday, October 14th, at 7 p.m. Tickets, 3d. Refreshments at popular prices. There will be a moon that night, so friends need not fear the Zepps!

Readers and Friends are reminded of the Special "Dreadnought" Week, in aid of the funds of the paper, from October 6th to 16th.

"The Break up of the Labour Market"; "How to be moral though Married"; Simplifying Sex problems and on other matters of special interest to women at this stage of the Woman's Movement, concluding with a straight tip to Feminists. It will be ready in the first week of October

GRANT RICHARDS, Ltd., Publishers, St. Martins Street, Leicester Square

Many complaints reach this office in regard to noxious fumes proceeding from a shell-filling factory not far away, where gas bombs are made, and it is thought that these fumes may have contributed to the marked rise in the infant death-rate in this district. Readers who are interested in this question and know anything of the factory are asked to communicate with the Editor, at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

WANTED, woman bookkeeper.—Apply Workers' Suffrage Federation, 400 Old Ford Road, E.

Huddersfield: The WORKER Press, 47 Market Street.

ELECTRIC MACHINE BAKERY 91 BURDETT ROAD, MILE END W. WOODS & SONS, Family Bakers

"The Birthrate," Notes and Views on the Report of the National Birth-rate Commission, by E. Sylvia Pankhurst. Price 1d. 9d. per dozen

Bound Volumes I and II of "Woman's Dreadnought" shortly ready, price 6/6 each. To be obtained at 400 Old Ford Road, E.

Always deal with our Advertisers, and mention the "Dreadnought."

Printed by the Blackfriars Press Ltd., 74 Swinton St., London, W.C. and Published by the Workers' Suffrage Federation, at their Office, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E. Printed by T.U. labour in all departments (48 hour week), on Trade Union Made Paper

THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

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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 to: Meetings, to Mrs. Bouvier. W.S.F. Branches, Miss P. Lynch.

The W.S.F. appeals for members and workers and invites friends 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 Muriel 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 p.m. Cost Price Restaurant, &c.

53, 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 Smyth.

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

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

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.—"Socialist," £2; Miss E. M. Southey, 10s.; Mrs. Southey, 10s.; "In Memory of Mary Clark," 5s. 1d.; Miss E. M. Morrison (monthly), 5s.

PEACE CAMPAIGN Mr. A. Perlmutter, 3s.; "Anon," 2s. 6d.; H. Goldie, Esq., 1s.; Mrs. Brimley, 1s. COLLECTION: Miss Lynch, 3s. 7d.

"PAPER" FUND.—Mrs. Crabb (card), 8s. Archibald R. Brown, Esq. (card), 5s.; Mrs. Baines, 5s.; Mrs. Marie Winton Evans, 5s.; Barking Women's Labour League, 5s.; Miss Queenie Preston-Holt, 5s.; Miss Dora Lazarnich (card), 5s.; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 2s.; Mrs. Torrance (card), 2s.; Miss Brown 2s.; David Halliday, Esq., 2s.; Miss Bennett (card), 6d.

GUARANTEE FUND.—Previously acknowledged: Weekly, £2 12s. 6d. New Guarantors: L. P. Richards (1s. weekly), £2 12s.; A. Perlmutter (monthly), 4s.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Per Miss Grainiger Kerr, £30; J. Robson Paige, Esq., £5; Miss Elsie A. Mason, £3; Miss Isabel M. Harvey, £2; Mrs. E. M. Southey (Montessori), £1; Miss Alice Green, £1; Mrs. W. E. Edwards, £1; B. A. Nash, £1; Mrs. Richmond (fortnightly), 10s.; Mr. and Mrs. Fellows, 10s.; Mrs. M. C. Pearce-Serocold, 10s.; Miss Simes (Montessori), 10s.; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 10s.; Teddy Du Vergier, 5s. 6d.; Miss Phil. Morris (Montessori), 5s.; Mrs. M. Bate, 5s. 6d.

COLLECTIONS: L. S. A. Tool Room £1 4s. 5d.; Misses E. Lagsding and Mrs. Bertram (Cubitt Town), 6s. 11d. CLOTHES.—Mrs. Lelacheur.

FRUIT.—Mrs. Napier, apples, Mrs. Clark, pears.

WHAT'S ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUTDOOR

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6th. Meetings at 12 (noon) and 3 p.m., see "Great Push."

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 7th. Osborn Street, 11.30 a.m., Mr. L. Hogben. Highbury Corner (United Socialist Council), 12 (noon) Mrs. Bouvier.

The Flagstaff Hampstead, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker. The Flagstaff Hampstead, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker. Hyde Park, Marble Arch, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. Drake.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 12th. Meetings, Highbury Corner, 7 p.m., Mrs. Walker.

The Sheffield W.S.F. held a most successful meeting in the Temperance Hall on Sunday, October 1st. Mrs. Barton took the chair, and the speakers were Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Miss Stephen. We expect great things of the Sheffield Branch!

At the Votes for Men on Service meeting, at Queen's Hall on Sunday last, Mr. Leo Maxse remarked: "It is said that if they enfranchise the fighting men they must enfranchise the munition women. As a life-long opponent of women's suffrage, I would far sooner see the women voting than the fighting men disfranchised." This from an anti-Suffragist sounds hopeful.

Mrs. Pankhurst said: "Mr. Asquith used the men to dish the women," and now he was "trying to use the women to dish the men." If this is so, it is the business of the Suffragists to see to it that he does not succeed!

Miss Jeannette Rankin, of Missouri, U.S.A., has been nominated for Congress in the Montana Republican Primaries.

When Threatened by Attack

TAKE COVER in Smoking only 'STRIKE' or 'UNITY' Cigarettes and 'twill be ALL CLEAR With your Trade Union Principles

These Nervy Times!

Your Best Protection is a GOOD Cigarette The "RED FLAG" packets contain CIGARETTES warranted to CALM, COOL, CLEAR, and actually SOOTHE.

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THE WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' COUNCIL. The voting for the election of the district representatives of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council has resulted in the following being elected for the districts indicated:—District III. (N.E. Coast)—Mr. G. H. Warner.

- IV. (Yorkshire)—Mr. D. B. Foster. V. (Lancashire, Cheshire and North Wales)—Mrs. C. A. Findlay. VI. (N. and E. Midlands)—Ald. Geo. Banton, J.P. VII. (S. and W. Midlands)—Private C. James Simmons. VIII. (East Anglia)—Councillor H. E. Witard, J.P. IX. (London and Home Counties)—Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. X. (Southern Counties). Councillor F. Perriman. XI. (Wales and N.-W. Monmouth)—Mr. Jas. Winstone, J.P. XII. (Western Counties)—Councillor G. W. Brown.

Let all the people be voters at the next General Election whenever it comes! No Registration Bill, but a Franchise Bill to give Votes to All!

WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION (GLASGOW BRANCH) A DEMONSTRATION will be held in the CITY HALL, Candleriggs, Glasgow on Thursday, 12th Oct., at 8 p.m. (doors open at 7-15) SPEAKERS: (Admission 3d.) Miss E. SYLVIA PANKHURST, Mr. JOHN SCURR, Mrs. EMMA BOYCE, W.S.F., LONDON Mrs. HELEN CRAWFORD, GLASGOW Councillor P. J. DOLLAN, GLASGOW, and others Tickets on sale at Reformers' Bookstall, 126 Bothwell Street; or from members.

COME! DEMAND THE VOTE FOR ALL TICKETS on Sale at Reformers' Bookstall 126 Bothwell Street at Metropolitan SUNDAY (Casey's Meeting) and from Members

"DREADNOUGHT" WEEK "Dreadnought" week, in aid of the funds of the paper, begins to-day and ends October 16th. A Social and Dance is being arranged by Miss O'Brien and other friends to take place at the Women's Hall, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, on Saturday, October 14th, at 7 p.m. Tickets, 3d. Refreshments at popular prices. There will be a moon that night, so friends need not fear the Zepps!

Others have promised to collect in the charming box which has been designed by Mr. Herbert Cole. Those who do not get a box with this week's paper should apply to us for it. The most original feature of the week will be the barrel organ campaign, organised by Miss Lynch. What are you going to do to help? If you have no other plan, perhaps you would volunteer to sell some "DREADNOUGHTS."



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To secure Human Suffrage, namely, a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People.

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

**LONDON MEETINGS**

**FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 29th.**  
Custom House, 6 p.m., Miss Lynch.  
Bow Women's Hall, 7.45 p.m., Lecture.  
**SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30th.**  
Grundy Street, 11 a.m., Miss Lynch.  
Phipost Street, 3.30 p.m., Miss Price.  
**SUNDAY, OCTOBER 1st.**  
Osborn Street, 11.30 a.m., Miss Lynch, Mr. Arnall.  
Hyde Park, 4 p.m., Mrs. Cressall, Mrs. Bouvier.  
The Square, Woolwich, 6.30 p.m., Mrs. Walker.  
Poplar Women's Hall, 7 p.m., Debate.  
**MONDAY, OCTOBER 2nd.**  
White Cross Street, 1 p.m., Miss Price.  
Charlton Street, Euston, 6.30 p.m., Miss Lynch, Mr. Mackinlay.  
**TUESDAY, OCTOBER 3rd.**  
Charlton Street, Euston, 6.30 p.m., Miss Price.

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Mr. John Scurr has kindly arranged to give a course of lectures entitled, "The Growth of the English People," on Wednesday evenings, at 3.30 prompt, in the Women's Hall, 30 Railway Street, Poplar, E. The subjects are—  
Oct. 4th. "The Wars with France."  
11th. "The Break up of Feudalism."  
18th. "The Reformation."  
25th. "The Socratic Day of Elizabeth."  
Nov. 1st. "The Building of the Constitution."  
8th. "The Beginning of Empire."  
15th. "The Industrial Revolution."  
22nd. "The Triumph of the Middle Class."  
29th. "The Light of Labour."  
We hope that members and friends will make a point of attending. Admission free.  
A series of educative lectures on Economics, Trade Unionism, History of Socialism, National Guilds, &c., has been organised by Mrs. Herbergh to take place at 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E., on Friday evenings at 7.45. The opening lecture is on Friday September 29th, at 7.45 p.m., when Miss M. S. E. Milton, of the Fabian Society, will speak on "Women as Citizens." The other lectures are—

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**DREADNOUGHT FUND.**—Miss Joachim, £5; Miss Gores Browne, £2; Mrs. E. H. Glover, £1; Mill Hill Barracks, a "C.O.," 10s.; Mrs. Zangwill, 10s.; Mrs. Crosland Taylor, 10s.; Miss Pelly, 5s.; "A.D.," 5s.; James Leakey, Esq., 4s.; Mrs. E. Heathcote, 2s.; Miss E. Sykes, 1s.  
**MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.**—Mrs. Zangwill, £7 10s.; Miss Clonence Housman, £4; Miss Talbot, £1; Miss Rohrs, £1; Nurse Hobbes, 12s.; Mrs. Laws, 10s.; Mrs. A. M. Burton, 10s.; Mr. Thomas Wharton, 10s.; Rev. T. Gore-Browne, 8s.; Mrs. Heywood Bright (weekly), 5s.; "West Adams," 3s.; Mrs. Cobb, 2s.; Mrs. Salmon, 2s.; Miss Schwartzman, 1s.; A. Gaubert, Esq., 1s. **COLLECTORS:** L.S.A. Tool Room, £1 10s. 2d.; Per Miss Uday, £1 6s. 2d.; Miss C. Reed's Recital, £1 5s. 3d.; L.S.A. Stacking Dept., £1 4s. 6d.; Mrs. Crabb, £1 0s. 11d.; Misses K. Lagsding and D. Morley (Cubitt Town), 6s. 6d.

**THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION**

The election of the two Scottish representatives is now proceeding. A full meeting of the Council will be held within the next week, at which the policy of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council will be formulated and a vigorous campaign inaugurated.

From Newcastle, Mrs. Hutty writes that a peace meeting addressed by herself and Miss Haley on Saturday 20th, the crowd became hostile. Miss Haley had water and ice-cream thrown over her. Both speakers were kicked and jostled by the crowd. A young girl of twenty was the only one to help to keep the crowd off. Two very successful meetings were held the next day by the same speakers.

**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.

**SOUTHEND:** Furnished Apartments, 8 minutes from sea and train; a Furnished House conveniently situated.—Apply 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

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

**EXPERIENCED MACHINISTS,** wanted at once. Finishers, must be good at needlework. Apply Toy Factory, 45, Norman Road, Bow, E.

**MONDAY SOCIALISM.**

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.**

stalls and in making the Exhibition known. Communications should be addressed to the Exhibition Secretary, Miss Sonia Rodker, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

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**INDOOR**

**MONDAY, OCTOBER 8th.**  
53, St. Leonards Street, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.  
Bow Women's Hall, 8 p.m., Mrs. Ever, "National Guilds." Chair: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

**WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 10th.**  
Poplar Women's Hall, 8.15 p.m., Mr. Ph. Frankford, "Some Current Facilities"

**THURSDAY, OCTOBER 11th.**  
St. Stephen's Shop, 86, Hoxton Street, 8.30 p.m. Edward Fuller, "Sex and Social Liberty."

**OTHER ORGANISATIONS**

**TUESDAY, OCTOBER 9th.**  
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

**BROTHERHOOD CHURCH,** Southgate Road, N. **OPENING CONFERENCE OF THE SESSION, OCT. 7** at 3.30. Mr. Bertrand Russell on "The International Outlook." Vocalist, Wilfred Barry (Eric Chappelow).

**FEDERATION NOTES**

**BIG PUSH.**

On Saturday a dinner hour meeting was held in Greenwich. At first our audience consisted of children, to whom Mrs. Walker talked in such a way that she soon attracted the grown-ups as well, who showed their appreciation of our advocacy of Adult Suffrage and peace by negotiation by buying a large number of "Dreadnoughts." In the afternoon a large and representative audience containing many men in khaki and wounded soldiers gave an excellent hearing to Mrs. Walker who dealt with industrial and economic problems and to Mrs. Bouvier, who spoke on the different phases of the Russian Revolution, and urged that great Britain who had suffered least through the War should take the first step to end the agony of the peoples in the invaded countries by a Peace by negotiation. A good collection was taken and papers and leaflets sold well. Mr. H. G. Russell also spoke. This Saturday the meetings will be held in the West Central District.

**PEACE PICKETS.**

Our Peace Pickets were outside Westminster Abbey on Sunday afternoon, and, excepting a few disparaging remarks from the thoughtless and callous, met with a cordial reception. More volunteers are required and those willing to help in this way are asked to write to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, 400, Old Ford Road, Bow, E. 3. Contributions towards purchase of new banners should be sent to Miss N. L. Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road

**BRANCHES.**

**BOW.**

Bow members are reminded of the Public meeting at 400, Old Ford Road on Monday, October 8th, 8 p.m., when Mrs. Ever will speak on "National Guilds." Miss Pankhurst in the chair. Branch business will be transacted before the speeches start.  
The General meeting (London Session) will be held at 7.45 p.m. on Monday, October 15th, preceding Mrs. Cedar Paul's lecture on "Militarism and Birth Control," Mrs. Drake in the chair.

**LEYTON.**

On October 13th our Big Push will be in Leyton also at an At Home at which Miss Pankhurst will speak in the B.S.P. Rooms, 42, Forest Lane. Edward Fuller will take the chair at 7.30 p.m.

**KENSAL RISE.**

Kensal Rise W.S.F. Secretary, Mrs. Edwards has arranged an At Home for Thursday evening, October 18th at the Co-operative Guild Room. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst will speak.

**WALES.**

Large and enthusiastic meetings at Watt's Town, Ynysyhir and Porth, under the auspices of the Rhondda Miners' Federation and Trades and Labour Council were addressed by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst on September 28th and 30th on Peace, Socialism, Mothers' Pensions, Adult Suffrage, etc. Several new members were made for the W.S.F. in each place. Mr. Edgar Evans, 1, Cross Street, Ynysyhir, Miss Sarah Griffiths, 1, Elm Street, Ferndale, Glam., and Nurse Hayes, Danygraig, Gilfach Goch, South Wales, have agreed to stock the "Paper" and those desirous of obtaining it or joining the W.S.F. should apply to them. Miss Pankhurst will be in Wales again on Sunday, November 11th, at Aberdare, and on Monday, November 12th, at Brynmawr, where the W.S.F. Secretary is Mrs. Haywood Brynhyfryd, Coedcae, Nantyglo, Mon.

**LEICESTER.**

On Sunday, October 7th, an Adult Suffrage Conference under the auspices of the Workers' National Adult Suffrage movement will be held in the Co-operative Hall, Leicester. The speakers will be Mr. A. W. Carter N.U.R. and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

**LEEDS.**

LEEDS.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hunter, 7, Sugdenfold, Armley. Branch Meeting, Clarion Cafe, Tuesday 8 p.m. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 10d.

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