

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. V.—No. 6

SATURDAY, MAY 4th, 1918

Price Twopence.

KARL MARX IN FLEET STREET, 1865-1867.

By SILVIO CORIO.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Their driving power is immense!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

from the Italian section was read, in which it was stated:—

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

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

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

The same paper stated that at that time the International had already "four" affiliated

societies and that it was the prevailing opinion of the members of the General Committee that the independence of Poland was "of paramount interest for the peace of Europe."

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on page 997.)



THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

EDITOR: SYLVIA PANKHURST. Published by the Workers' Suffrage Federation. 400 OLD FORD ROAD, LONDON, E.3

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HOUSE OF LORDS "REFORM."

We are opposed to any reform of the House of Lords: we demand the abolition of that institution. We are opposed to the creation of any second chamber, whether elected or otherwise.

There is, however, a gleam of hope in the dark clouds of reaction. The abject failure of the leaders is compelling the workers to realise their own responsibility in achieving their emancipation, and the most encouraging sign is the springing up of Marxian educational classes in every industrial centre.

But this is not all! There is further to be a Joint Committee on Financial Bills, composed of seven members chosen by each House at the beginning of each session.

After the "Free Conference" has reported on the Bill, with or without amendment, neither House may amend it; they must take it or leave it as it stands.

INTELLECTUAL UNIONISM. By W. F. WATSON.

The Editor of THE DREADNOUGHT has asked me for "something good" for the Marxian issue, but for once in a while I am at a loss for something to write about.

There is, however, a gleam of hope in the dark clouds of reaction. The abject failure of the leaders is compelling the workers to realise their own responsibility in achieving their emancipation, and the most encouraging sign is the springing up of Marxian educational classes in every industrial centre.

And I would here say that it is not essential that there should be a special teacher for the classes. It is not good that we become the slave of a teacher any more than it is good that we become the slave of a book.

should reason things out for themselves. We have no teacher at our classes at 7 Featherstone Buildings. The Students decide the subject and draw lots for the one to open the discussion and it is very successful.

The one great thing "bosses" fear is that the workers will not only closely study Marxian economics, but in applying them to everyday life will disregard the orthodox capitalist machinery of the State and will proceed to erect their own machinery.

THE FRENCH WORKING WOMEN. By MARIANNE RAUZE.

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

When the war came French working women were ignorant and quite unorganised. There were no special groups of women workers; the most that could be said was that a few isolated women were to be found, inert and practically lost, in the trade unions and in the political organisations of the working class.

But now, all of a sudden the night of their ignorance has been dispelled as by a lightning flash. They know now what politics means, that it involves the alternatives of peace or war, of life or death.

Conference" in the following session, and then, if the Conference passes it by a majority of more than three and if the House of Commons accepts it, it will become law.

aim is to use the vote in order to effect a fortunate, enlightened, and complete social transformation. The working women have in their turn become suffragists, and have grasped the value of organisation.

"All that you want," answer the working women, "is to make use of the vote for the maintenance of your own privileges, and you would like to hoodwink us, to induce us to join your army of social conservatism. Your hope is vain. Your interests are not ours.

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

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

THE INDIAN DEPUTATION.

The Times publishes a circular issued by the Bombay National Union calling on Indian Home rulers to arrange for a stream of telegrams to be sent to Mr. Llak who was coming with a deputation of his fellows to this country, authorising him to demand Home Rule.

IMPORTANT.

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

THE SOCIETY OF NATIONS. By Charles Rappoport.

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

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

These few years of disturbance and pain cannot efface the activities of an entire epoch. How can we sum up in a word, the general tendency of the life of Vaillant and Guesde? It has been devoted to the search for tangible economic and social realities; it has ever been characterised by contempt for vain and stilted phrases, for bourgeois ideology.

Are we to believe that the French Socialist Party is in such a case, now that it has replaced its programme based upon unsparring analysis of realities by the catchword "Society of Nations"?

moment, indeed, the party is affected by the prevailing current of political and doctrinal reaction. In allying itself with the bourgeoisie, in allying itself with all the parties of reaction, the French Socialists, whom Guesde all his life has been warning against such dangerous alliances, adopt the whole stock of bourgeois phrase-making, sacrifice the substance for the shadow.

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

The use of the word "society" does not suffice to annul the existence of a situation whose essence

is struggle. The struggle will continue as long as the causes which have led to it. Capitalist society, like feudal society, exists only by and for struggle. As long as the ownership of the globe remains open to dispute, the Great Powers, here constituting the owners, will strive one with another for dominion.

Our criticism of the Society of Nations has nothing in common with the criticisms uttered by the reactionary parties. The champions of the international reaction declare that war is eternal, just, and divine. In their presumption they believe themselves to be eternal, and they infer the eternity of human folly and bad feeling.

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

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

academic degree. There is W. R. Cremer of the Joiners, who ended with a seat in Parliament, Ecarius and Jung, both of whom in later years left Marx and went over to Bakounin's side.

The prospectus, prepared by Marx, says— "The Directors want to establish a newspaper devoted to the interests of the Working Classes and to secure for them a truthful exponent of their wrongs and a faithful champion of their rights."

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

His entry into "Fleet Street" corresponds therefore with a period of his renewed activity; for, some ten days after, he participated at a Conference of the International held in London at 8 Adelphi Terrace, the home of the Reform League, to prepare the Congress of the following year, to celebrate the founding of the Association, and to congratulate the people of America on the abolition of slavery and the triumph of the Republic.

To be concluded in our next issue.

MAY CELEBRATION.

GREAT RANK & FILE LABOUR DEMONSTRATION IN FINSBURY PARK, Sunday next, MAY 5, 3.30 p.m.

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

8 Platforms 50 Speakers 7 Processions

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GREAT PROCESSIONS

With Bands and Banners will start from the following points:— Edmonton Town Hall, 1.30 p.m. Camden Town N.L. Railway Station, 2.15 p.m. Hackney Town Hall, 1.30 p.m. Highgate Archway Tavern, 2.30 p.m. Holloway Prison, 2.45 p.m. Tottenham, Northumberland Park, 2 p.m. Walthamstow, Standard Corner, Blackhorse Road 1.30 p.m.

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

RALLY! RALLY!! RALLY!!!

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

WHATS' ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUT DOOR

FRIDAY, MAY 3rd.
St. Stephen's Road, Bow, 11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
Pretoria Road, Walthamstow, 5.30 P.M., Mrs. Cressall.

SATURDAY, MAY 4th.
Great Push for Peace, Socialism and Votes for All in Hammersmith.—Meet at the Grove (near both Stations), at 3 P.M. and 6 P.M. Speakers: Miss Birch, Miss Horsfall, Miss Price, Mrs. Walker.

SUNDAY, MAY 5th.
Finsbury Park, 3.30 P.M., May Day Demonstration.

FRIDAY, MAY 10th.
Rathbone Street, Canning Town, 11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
Queens Crescent, Kentish Town, 6 P.M., Mrs. Cressall.

SATURDAY, MAY 11th.
Great Push.

INDOOR

FRIDAY, MAY 3rd.
400, Old Ford Road, Bow, 7.30 P.M., Mr. J. W. Williams, 'The Great Menace and the Necessity for Sex Education.' Chair: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

MONDAY, MAY 6th.
44, Malden Road, St. Pancras, W.S.F., 2.30 P.M., Business Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 8th.
44, Malden Road, St. Pancras W.S.F., 7 P.M., Rev. Wm. Piggott, 'Let an Old Woman Speak.'

THURSDAY, MAY 9th.
29b, Lincoln's Inn Fields, 7.30 P.M., Mr. John Arnall, 'France and Militarism'; Mrs. Walker, 'The Present Outlook.'

SUNDAY, MAY 12th.
400, Old Ford Road, Bow.—The Lady Margaret Sackville will read her War Plays; Mr. Ph. Frankford, 'The Importance of Organising the Young.' Chair: Mrs. Bouvier. Admission, One Penny.

OUR FUNDS

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3
All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, E.3

Gratefully Acknowledged

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

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

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

CLOTHES: Mrs. White, Miss Spencer. RHU-BARB: Miss Napier. POTATOES: Mrs. Unwin.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

THE MOTHER'S ARMS CLINIC, DAY NURSERY, AND MONTESSORI CLASS; also CLINIC, 20 RAILWAY STREET, POBJAR, and CLINIC, 53 ST. LEONARD STREET, SOUTH BROMLEY.—Garments for Babies, Children, and Adults, Maternity Outfits, etc., Children's Toys, Pot Plants, Flowers and Branches, etc., always wanted.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. —Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

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

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

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

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

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INTERNATIONAL YOUNG AGE PENSIONS

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

The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from our different Governments now, before it may be too late.

S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY. [Adv't.]

CITY OF LONDON I.L.P.

TOM MANN at the Memorial Hall SATURDAY, MAY 11th, at 2.45 (Doors open at 2.15)

Full particulars and 6d. tickets from ARTHUR FIELD, 28 Ilminster Gdns., Battersea, S.W.11

Jewish Socialist Labour Party, Poale Zion. EAST LONDON BRANCH.

A GRAND CONCERT AND BALL AT THE MONNIENHAM ROOMS, GREAT ALIE STREET, LEMAN STREET, E.

On SATURDAY, MAY 11th, 1918, at 6 p.m. Mr. TOM MANN will give a Short Address

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

Printed by J. E. Francis, 11 and 13 Beames' Buildings, London E.C.4 and Published by the Workers' Suffrage Federation, 400 Old Ford Road, London, E.3

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

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

WHITLEY REPORT.

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

THE BUDGET.

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

NO MUSIC FOR C.O.S.

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

COMPENSATION FOR WOMEN AND CHILDREN

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

FOOD PROFITS.

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

MUNITIONS.

April 25th.—Mr. Churchill made a long statement about the work of the Ministry of Munitions and the various feats it had performed during recent months. Although men are being "released" at the rate of more than 1,000 a day, increased production has been assured! One of the reasons of this is that women have become more efficient. Great waste of energy

must have taken place somewhere! Mr. Anderson (Lab.) in a very detailed circular speech pointed out that the principles of circular L2 had been violated; that it was due to the fact that the Government had differentiated between men and women workers. He said: "My own view is that sex should not enter into workmanship at all. It does not matter in the least whether a piece of work is done by a man or a woman. You ought to pay for the work done. . . . It is complained less by the women than by the men, that the spirit of that circular is being violated by the fact that women are being excluded from all national advances. Advances which are being given to the men are not being given to the women." We agree whole-heartedly with Mr. Anderson, and urge that women should use this unique opportunity of placing their services on the basis put forward in Mr. Anderson's statement.

KEIGHLEY.

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

NAVAL AND MILITARY PENSIONS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

TO OUR READERS.

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