ONE PENNY

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR GOING TO THE ROOT.

Vol. X. No. 39. December 15, 1923. WEEKLY.

Women Members of Parliament.

By Sylvia Pankhurst.

The return of eight women to Parliament marks an advance in public opinion. People have realised at last that women are pers ns with all the human attributes, not merely some of them and that women have an equal right with men to take part in makng the social conditions under which they live.

This country has not been first in admitting women to political equality with men; other countries preceded us in admitttitng women to the legislatture, and we have not yet reached political equality in the franchise here, although the women of this country led the way in agitating for political and legal equality.

It is interestng to observe that the legal barriers tto women's participation in Parliament and its elections were not removed until the movement to abolish Parliament altogether had received the strong encouragement of witnessing the overthrow of Parliamentary Government in Russia and the setting up of Sovietts.

Those events in Russia evoked a response throughout the world not only amongst the minority who welcomed the idea of Soviet Communism, but also amongst the upholders of reaction. The latter were by no means oblivous to the growth of Sovietism when they decided to popularise the old Parliamentary machine by giving to some women both votes and the right to be electetd.

Election to Parliament is always much more a question of the strength of the party machine than of the qqualities of the candidate. An archangel would be defeated at the polls if he lacked a strong party backing. The majority of the electors vote without having heard or seen the candidate, who actually plays but a minor part in the election. Nevertheless, there was undoubtedly some prejudice to be overcome by the first women candidates, which acted as a makeweight against them, outbalancing what would otherwise have been the normal strength of the party behind them.

This election is the first in which the electors have voted for the successful women candidates to any appreciable extent on the merits of those candidates. Lady Astor, Mrs. Wintrngham, and Mrs. Phillipson entered Parliament merely as deputies of their husbands. This fact, from a democratic standpoint, was particularly objectionable in the case of Lord Astor, since he was thus given a voice in ruling the people through both Houses of Parliament.

The women who entered Parliament in place of their husbands introduced no original policies, nor do we anticipate that their successors will do so. They were nominated candidates and have been elected to represent certain parties, and, in the main, their Parliamentary doings must follow that of their men colleagues in the party, otherwise the party will cast them out, as it would Most of these hardships, and the more serious of them, cannot be remedied within the system. Most of them, too, cannot even be mitigated without tampering with economic conditions; and there, at once, the general party policy will certainly obtrude itself, and the party woman will be called to heel by the whips like a party man if she stray too far from the party plan.

Nevertheless, on questions of the special hardships of women and on questions specially related to sex the women members of the various parties may sometimes show themselves a trifle before or a trifle behind the general standard of their party by adhering in some respects to what has come to be generally regarded as the accepted programme of feminism. It is so regarded because it was adopted by certain women of the middle and upper classes, who were, for their day, more or less advanced though narrow and prejudiced in many respects, but who were of forceful energetitc personality and built up a movement reflecting their conception of what should be the legal status of their sex and primarily of their class. That programme is, in many respects, retrograde and, in all respects, incompatible with Socialism.

One should not expect to find new policies on any subject springing up from Parliament; the atmosphere there is arid, the life stultifyngg to thought. At best—at very best—the Members of Parliament carry on the politics they adoptetd before they entered there, or catch up some vibrations or movements going on outside. Parliament is a decaying institution: it will pass away with the capitalist system: it will be replaced by the industrial soviets, when production, distribution and transport pass out of the hands of the capitalist, to become the joint concern of the whole people, each branch of industry being administered by those who are engaged in it.

Women can no more put virtue into the decaying parliamentary institution than can men: it is past reform and must disappear.

Once the special legal disabilities of women in politics were in large measure, though not wholly, removed, it became inevitable that there should be little difference between the woman in politics and the man in politics. That is as it should be.

The woman professional politician is neither more nor less desirable than the man professional politician: the less the world has of either the better it is for it.

The time to look forward to is that in which there will no longer be a body of persons whose business it is to rule or to listen to the speeches of the rulers and their puppets and to while away hour upon hour waiting to record their votes in division lobbies to the call of the party whips.

The soviets, under Communism, will meet for the administration of the services of the community, not to carry on the party warfare which is inevitable to present-day society, because it is based on competition and torn by the struggles of warring classes.

To the women, as to men, the hope of the future lies not through Parliamentary reform, but free Communism and the soviets.

Election Hopes and Fears.

"Perhaps one of the most romantic parties in the whole of London was that of the six men who dined in the Savoy restaurant and watched the results with a special interest. If the final result of the Election had shown a majority of not less than 150 for any one of the parties, they would have been at liberty to broach the bin of '63 port, which has been waiting for them since 1906. They had been barred from drinking it by a quaint pledge made on the final night of the General Election of that year, and they have dined at the Savoy at every General Election night since, hoping for the result which will relieve them from their pledge."—*Savoy Hotel Press Circular.*

ALL WORKERS'
MUTUAL AID UNION
FOR MUTUAL SERVICE
AND EDUCATION

We will build the house of joy
and gladness, and the new city
shall rise from the foundations

IMPORTANT!

We urgently suggest that comrades should endeavour to secure new subscribers to the "Workers' Dreadnought" and that they should collect at meetings and from their friends whatever is possible. However, small the sum you can collect, it will be welcomed. Send it in stamps or postal orders. The "Dreadnought" is not self-supporting: the editing and managing is unpaid.

One of the New Voters.

(Written by Richard Jefferies after the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise of 1885, it is still appropriate.)

II.

In August the unclouded sun, when there is no wind, shines as fiercely in the harvest-field as in Spain. It is doubtful if the Spanish people feel the heat so much as our reapers; they have their siesta; their habits have become attuned to the sun, and it is no special strain upon them. In India our troops are carefully looked after in the hot weather, and everything made as easy for them as possible; without care and special clothing and coverings for the head they could not long endure. The English simoon of heat drops suddenly on the heads of the harvesters and finds them entirely unprepared; they have not so much as a cooling drink ready; they face it, as it were, unarmed. The sun spares not; it is fire from morn till night. Afar in the town the sunblinds are up, there is a tent on the lawn in the shade, people drink claret-cup and use ice; ice has never been seen in the harvest-field. Indoors they say they are melting lying on a sofa in a darkened room, made dusky to keep out the heat. The fire falls straight from the sky on the heads of the harvesters—men, women, and children—and the white-hot light beats up again from the dry straw and the hard ground.

The tender flowers endure; the wide petal of the poppy, which withers between the fingers, lies afloat on the air as the lilies on water, afloat and open to the weight of the heat. The red pimpernel looks straight up at the sky from the early morning till its hour of closing in the afternoon. Pale blue speedwell does not fade; the pale blue stands the warmth equally with the scarlet. Far in the thick wheat the streaked convolvulus winds up the stalk, and is not smothered for want of air though wrapped and circled with corn. Beautiful though they are, they are bloodless, not sensitive; we have given to them our feelings, they do not share our pain or pleasure. Heat has gone into the hollow stalks of the wheat and down the yellow tubes to the roots, drying them in the earth. Heat has dried the leaves upon the hedge, and they touch rough—dusty rough, as books touch that have been lying unused; the plants on the bank are drying up and turning white. Heat has gone down into the cracks of the ground; the bar of the stile is so dry and powdery in the crevices that if a reaper chanced to drop a match on it there would seem risk of fire. The still atmosphere is laden with heat, and does not move in the corner of the field between the bushes.

Roger the reaper smoked out his tobacco; the children played round and watched for scraps of food; the women complained of the heat; the men said nothing. It is seldom that a labourer grumbles much at the weather, except as interfering with his work. Let the heat increase, so it would only keep fine. The fire in the sky meant money. Work went on again; Roger had now to go to a nother field to pitch—that is, help to load the wagon; as a young man, that was one of the jobs allotted to him. This was the reverse. Instead of stooping he had now to strain himself upright and lift sheaves over his head. His stomach empty of everything but small ale did not like this any more than his back had liked the other; but those who work for bare food must not question their employment. Heavily the day drove on; there was more beer, and again more beer, because it was desired to clear some fields that evening. Monotonously pitching the sheaves, Roger laboured by wagon till the last had been loaded—till the moon was shining. His brazen forehead was unbound now; in spite of the beer the work and the perspiration had driven off the aching. He was weary but well. Nor had he been dull during the day; he had talked and joked—cumbrously in labourers' fashion—with his fellows. His aches, his empty stomach, his labour, and the heat had not overcome the vitality of his spirit. There was life enough left for a little rough play as the group gathered together and passed out through the gateway. Life enough left in him to go with the rest to the alehouse; and what else, oh moralist, would you have done in his place? This, remember, is not a fancy sketch of rural poetry; this is the reaper's real existence.

He had been in the harvest-field fourteen hours exposed to the intense heat, not even shielded by a pith helmet; he had worked the day through with thew and sinew; he had had for food a little dry bread and a few onions, for drink a little weak tea and a great deal of small beer. The moon was now shining in the sky, still bright with sunset colours. Fourteen hours of sun and labour and hard fare! Now tell him what to do. To go straight to his plank-bed in the cow-house; to eat a little more dry bread, borrow some cheese or greasy bacon, munch it alone, and sit musing till sleep came—he who had nothing to muse about. I think it would need a very clever man indeed to invent something for him to do, some way for him to spend his evening. Read! To recommend a man to read after fourteen hours burning sun is indeed a mockery; darn his stockings would be better. There really is nothing whatsoever that the cleverest and most benevolent person could suggest. Before any benevolent or well-meaning suggestions could be effective the preceding circumstances must be changed—the hours and conditions of labour, everything; and can that be done? The world has been working these thousands of years, and still it is the same; with our engines, our electric light, our printing press, still the coarse labour of the mine, the quarry, the field has to be carried out by human hands. While that is so, it is useless to recommend the weary reaper to read. For a man is not a horse: the horse's day's work is over; taken to his stable he is content, his mind goes no deeper than the bottom of his manger, and so long as his nose does not feel the wood, so long as it is met by corn and hay, he will endure happily. But Roger the reaper is not a horse.

Just as his body needed food and drink, so did his mind require recreation, and that chiefly consists of conversation. The drinking and the smoking are in truth but the attributes of the labourer's public-house evening. It is conversation that draws him thither, just as it draws men with money in their pockets to the club and the houses of their friends. Any one can drink or smoke alone; it needs several for conversation,, for company. You pass a public-house—the reaper's house—in the summer evening. You see a number of men grouped about trestle-tables out of doors, and others sitting at the open window; there is an odour of tobacco, a chin kof glasses and mugs. You can smell the tobacco and see the ale; you cannot see the indefinite power which holds men there—the magnetism of company and conversation. *Their* conversation, not *your* conversation, not the last book, the last play; not saloon conversation; but theirs—talk in which neither you nor any one of your condition could really ojin. To us there would seem nothing at all in that conversation, vapid and subjectless; to them it means much. We have not been through the same circumstances: our day has been differently spent, and the same words have therefore a varying value. Certain it is, that it is conversation that takes men to the public-house. Had Roger been a horse he would have hastened to borrow some food, and, having eaten that, would have cast himself at once upon his rude bed. Not being an animal, though his life and work were animal, he went with his friends to talk. Let none unjustly condemn him as a blackguard for that—no, not even though they had seen him at ten o'clock unsteadily walking to his shed, and guiding himself occasionally with his hands to save himself from stumbling. He blundered against the door, and the noise set the swallows on the beams twittering. He reached his bedstead, and sat down and tried to unlace his boots, but could not. He threw himself upon the sacks and fell asleep. Such was one twenty-four hours of harvest-time.

Germinal

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Our View.

THE ELECTION RESULT.

The increase in the Labour vote is pleasing to us, because we regard it as a sign that the popular opinion is on the move, and ere long will have left the Labour Party far behind. We cannot say that the vote recorded for the Labour Party were votes for Socialism, because the Labour Party did not advocate Socialism, but only some reforms. Yet we believe the denunciatio of the Labour Party by the Capitalist Press, as a Socialist Party, actually generated enthusiasm for the Labour Partty, and made masses of people hope that it might work some drastic and beneficial changes. Masses of people voted, not for the paltry programmes put forward by the Labour candidates, but against the evils of Capitalism, and for the emancipation of the poor, though perhaps they did not clearly consider what form that emancipatio would take. The pity is that the whirlwind election propaganda was largely a propaganda of vote catching expediency, without any permanent educational value. In our opinion propaganda for reforms of the Capitalist system is sheer waste of efforts. The only fundamental and useful propaganda is that for free Communism and the Soviets

* * *

SHOULD THE LABOUR PARTY NOW TAKE OFFICE?

It is astonishing, and we think regrettable, to find the 'Daily Herald' which is presumed to express the Labour Party official policy, claiming that the Labour Party should now form a Government without the support of one of the Capitalist parties. Such support would only be bought at the price of adopting capitalist policies and sacrificing Labour principles. To assume that the Labour Party, which has a smaller number of seats than the Tory Party, can hold office when the Tories cannot, is to assume that the Labour Party has more kinship with Liberals than have the Tories. To justify that assumption one would have to declare Free Trade versus Protection to be a bigger question than anything in the Labour Party programme and to dismiss the issue of Socialism versus Capitalism altogether.

The *Daily Herald* gave space on its front page to an article entitled "What a Labour Government could do." It argued that the Labour Party should secure office now to carry out certain reforms. A Labour Government taking office now would, of course, only do what its Liberal supporters permitted.

In spite of the *Daily Herald's* demand for a Labour Government without a majority behind it, we find difficulty in believing the Labour officials to be so lacking in astuteness as to risk their political reputations by endeavouring to take office on the sufferance of a Liberal-Tory majority. Mr. MacDonald's success as a Labour leader would be short-lived indeed were he to accept the Premiership under such conditions.

* * *

Tories or Centre Block?

WE DO NOT ANTICIPATE, HOWEVER, that the Labour Party will be given the chance of forming a Government till it possesses an actual Parliamentary majority. the most it is likely to be offered at present is some seats in a Coalition Government. To accept that would be the height of folly, though the Labour Party committed that folly during the war, and probably will again, it probably would refuse to do so if invited at this juncture.

The *Manchester Guardian* is advocating a Liberal - Labour Government; but Mr. Asquith's declaration, as soon as the result of the election could be judged, was that the main tasks of the Liberal Party are to fight Protection and Socialism. That seemed to indicate a refusal to coalesce with either Tories or Labour. The most likely alternatives at the moment appear to be either that the Tories will continue as the Government for a few months till another General Election is called, or that a Centre Block Government will be formed of some Tories, the Lloyd Georgian Liberals, and a few Asquithians.

On the other hand, a Labour-Liberal Government could be secured if the powers that be thought it opportune to show that the Labour Party cannot solve the present economic muddle.

If, as we anticipate, the Labour Party keeps clear of Government office now, a Labour Party majority, and consequently a Labour Party Government, will not be long delayed in our opinion. We look forward eagerly to that eventuality because we know that the resultant failure will prove to numerous people that Labour Partyism is by no means enough.

* * *

The Baldwin Government stays in for the present, but how long will it last?

To Make the Frenchman Pay.

ONE of the first utterances of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, flushed with partial victory, was one that boded early war with France. It was made to the London correspondent of the Paris "Matin." By no means what one expects from a Socialist was his statement that the British people are not well disposed towards France, that nothing would be easier than to rouse opinion against her, that British opinion cannot understand why a flourishing France takes no steps to pay her debt to England, that a large section of the public regards French policy as one of the causes of unemployment, and that "if France wants the Entente to be maintained she should make the first steps towards us." The last phrase is typically non-Socialist, non-international. That Mr. MacDonald should have chosen the hour when the loss of the Tory majority caused his own Premiership to be discussed to make this statement shows clearly enough that he will be no pacifist in office. The marked friendliness with which Mr. MacDonald is treated at Court speaks the same truth more subtly, yet more surely. The Emperor reserves his favours for Imperialists.

* * *

Putting Down Democracy.

MR. MUSSOLINI has dismissed the Italian Chamber until the next election, which may or not be in April. That sort of thing has become quite customary in Italy.

The German Powers Bill.

THE Social Democrats of Germany have again displayed their amazing weakness by supporting the Powers Bill to give Dr. Marx, the new Chancellor, and his Cabinet, absolution from Parliamentary control till February 15th. Only 18 members voted against the Bill. These included Communists, Bavarian Peasants and Independents. The Powers Bill provided for a committee of 15 M.P.'s to watch the situation and report, but without power to act or influence the Government in any way. The Social Democrats accepted the Bill on securing the appointment of this committee, and the III. International Communists have accepted a seat on it. Such is the united front!

* * *

British and French Aggression at Canton.

ANOTHER little fight for freedom and democracy apparently took place when French and British admirals landed marines at Canton, in Southern China, to occupy the Custom House. Sun Yat Sen, a believer in constitutional democracy, who is fighting to establish Parliamentary government in China on West European lines, or something a trifle more advanced, had declared his army would seize the Custom revenues because the administration, which is under British and French control, is handed over to the autocratic Pekin Government for its war against the democratic forces of the south. Sun Yat Sen gets no foreign subsidies in his struggle; he depends on the support of Chinese people who wish at least to be free of the old autocracy.

Our liberty-loving rulers, as usual, are backing the reaction. They are doing it in the name of freedom and progress, no doubt.

Embankment.

There in a grey green ground,
Murky with mist and rain
Little lights gleam—
There is a faint far sound
As of a soul in pain
And hate supreme.
Small sad flowers of flame
Glint from the formless mist
On the still deep—
And he without home or name
Whose pale lips passed unkissed
Seeks long, long sleep.
Then in the silent night
The soft swish of the wind,
Like a deep breath
Stays in its hurried flight
And whispers to my mind
Strange things of Death.

A. YOUNG.

Churchill's Record.

FROM RUSSIA.

Revolutionaries Imprisoned.

The Russian Government some time ago declared an amnesty for the Kronstadt sailors who had participated in the heroic uprising of 1921, and who had succeeded in leaving Russia, after Kronstadt had been brutally suppressed. A large number of these sailors, trusting the promises of the Bolsheviki, returned to Russia. But no sooner had they entered Soviet Russia when they were all arrested, and after long imprisonment were on September 20th sentenced to three years concentration camp in the far north.

Amongst the returned sailors sentenced to Solovetsky Camp are members of the Russian Communist Party, who left it in the days of the Kronstadt uprising. The Secretary of the Kronstadt Revolutionary Committee. Participants in the 1905 Revolution. Peasants who were imprisoned under the Czar. Members of the Red Army. They were sailors on liners and men of war, working men, peasants, electrical workers, art workers. One of them was taken to Moscow early in September and his fate is unknown. Some of them had participated in three Revolutions.

M. Mratchny, Secretary of the Joint Committee for the Defence of Revolutionists Imprisoned in Russia, reports:—

Comrade David Kogan (Lev Rubin), a very exceptional personality and a well-known revolutionary anarchist, who had been frequently imprisoned by Denikin, was arrested in Moscow in October, 1922, together with another comrade, Ivan Akhtirsky. Since then both have disappeared. It is worth mentioning that the sister of Kogan—Kuibisheva—the wife of a very high Communist official, is also unable to get any information. Comrade Kogan is suffering from heart disease.

The well-known Anarcho-Syndicalist, and manager of "Golos Truda," the only Anarchist publication in Russia—Comrade Rubintshik—was arrested in September and still remains in prison, very sick with scorbut.—From the Bulletin of the Joint Committee for the Defence of Revolutionaries Imprisoned in Russia.

South African News.

Jubilation for the Chamber of Mines.

The Chamber of Mines is shouting for joy, that the Transvaal Supreme Court, presided over by Dr. Krause, has decided that the regulations under the Mining Act (familiarly known as the colour bar), which excludes natives from certain branches of skilled labour, is *ultra vires*, and that no discrimination based on colour can be enforced without the explicit sanction of an Act of Parliament. The appeal has its origin in the unsuccessful prosecution brought by the Crown against Mr. Hildick Smith (Crown Mines).

The Attorney-General applied for a ruling on a question of law in the case in which the respondent was acquitted by the magistrate in Johannesburg. He was charged with the contravention of the Mines, Works and Machinery Regulations, in that, as manager, in the eastern section of the Crown Mines, he permitted an electric locomotive to be in charge of one Stevens, a native.

The magistrate acquitted the respondent on the grounds that the regulation (No. 179 of 1911) itself was *ultra vires*, mainly because it was unreasonable, and also because it did not apply to all classes alike. The Court was therefore asked to say whether the magistrate was right, whatever the grounds may have been, on which he based his finding.

In concluding his summing up, his lordship said: In all the circumstances of this case I have come to the conclusion that Regulation 179 is *ultra vires* under the provisions of the Enabling Act, No. 12, of 1911.

Mr. Justice Findall and Mr. Justice Morice concurred.

On the all-important native question, Colonel Creswell, leader of the S.A.L. Party, seems to have nothing to advise but segregation, which is simply running away from the problem to catch votes. It is not a colour question, but one of economics. The native is employed not because he is better, but because he is cheaper and therefore provides more profits.

The basis of the S.A.L. Party is the fact that all wealth is produced by labour, manual or mental, and to secure to the producer the benefits of his labour.

In South Africa the whole of the manual work is done by the native, which puts the S.A.L. Party in the difficult position of having, either to declare that the native worker shall enjoy the fruits of his labour, or else that economic principles do not apply where skins differ.

The result of the above legal decision by the Supreme Court is the forerunner of the complete elimination of the white workers (with the exception of a few whites as supervisors) from the mines, and sweeping reduction of wages in the mining industry, and increased dividends for the cosmopolitan shareholders.

While the Trade Union movement in South Africa is in its present chaotic state, no progress can be made towards the realisation of our objective—the revolution. The problem is how can we develop solidarity in the minds of both Europeans and coloured workers? How can we guide the economic activities so that the greatest results can be obtained in furthering the social revolution? It should be plain to every intelligent man and woman in South Africa that their conditions are getting worse, that the exploitation is increasing year by year, and that only the destruction of Capitalism in South Africa can mean freedom from exploitation.

ISAAC VERMONT.

Government the Workers' Enemy.

By A. B. Howie.

As we are the eve of a new Government, it would be wise, fellow workers, to ask ourselves: "What is Government? Do we, as workers, need it? Are we not governed too much already?"

Surely you must be sick of being taxed, exploited, law-crushed, and robbed.

I am sure, if you think seriously, you must feel the heavy burden of taxation continually on your back. It is the Big Ugly Machine, Government, that does no useful work, and just exists by taxes, whether you can afford them or not. It has no feeling, no sympathy; it is there to govern, to rule, to dictate. You have only to obey.

That is the reason we Free Communists want you to do a littl ethinking of your own.

Government is based or organised violence. It is the monster that keeps the toilers in subjection, toiling for the drones—the capitalists.

The politician's promises are never put into operation, and never will be, as they are tools of a machine that only operates to keep the system of robbery running in the interest of the rich:

You may vote Liberal, Tory, Labour, Socialist, or State Communist; it is all the same—government is only to defend the rich against the poor.

So long as the rich own the means of production, distribution and exchange, the labourer, whether he has a vote or not, depends upon an employer for his means of livelihood.

Government speaks not with the voice of the worker; it is the master who has the power, in spite of any party in Parliament. We, the workers, have to beg of him to give us leave to toil.

Working people do not understand what Freedom and Liberty really consist of. They shout themselves hoarse on election day: for what? For the mere privilege of choosing their master.

What is your ballot good for?

Can a man vote himself bread, or clothes, or work? The ballot is neither a protection against hunger nor against the bullets of the army. Government never protects the honest labourer. Since their earliest inception Governments have always been the protectors of the privileged classes, and the oppressors of the wealth-producer.

Every step in progress the world has made has been by Direct Action, from scaffold to scaffold, and from stake to stake.

At the doors of Governments are to be laid all the evils that exist in society, its path is strewn with countless millions of human wrecks, its operations result in a sea of blood and tears.

There is only one definition of Government: it means compulsion, coercion, tyranny and slavery.

The spirit of the age is in revolt against all forms of authority. Human beings of refined sensibilities spurn dictation. For them one law exists, the law of nature; and that will only be in existence when we have our ideal Free Communism.

OUR BOOKSHOP.

THE ANCIENT LOWLY: A History of the Ancient Working People from the Earliest Known Period to the Adoption of Christianity by Constantine. By C. Osborne Ward. Two vols., 12s. 6d. each.

ANCIENT SOCIETY; or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress; from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilisation. By Lewis H. Morgan. 7s. 6d.

THE ART OF LECTURING. By Arthur M. Lewis. A condensed manual of practical information for those who wish to fit themselves to become public speakers, particularly on economics and social science. 3s.

CAPITAL TO-DAY. By Herman Cahn. A study of recent economic development. 8s. 6d.

THE CHANGING ORDER. By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph.D. A study of Democracy, of the rising tide of revolution, and of the ways in which the future self-rule of the working class will react upon literature and art, upon philosophy and religion, upon work and play. 5s. 6d.

THE DEPORTATIONS DELIRIUM OF 1920: A Personal Narrative of an Historic Official Experience. By Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labour of the United States from 1913 to 1921. This book deals with the notorious deportations at the time of the so-called "Palmer Red Raids." 6s. 6d.

THE ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WAR. By Achille Loria, translated by John Leslie Garner. 5s. 6d.

ECONOMIC DETERMINISM; or, The Economic Interpretation of History. By Lida Parce. 5s. 6d.

THE EIGHTEENTH BRUMAIRE OF LOUIS BONAPARTE. By Karl Marx. A history of France showing the economic forces behind the warring factions, starting with the triumph of the financial capitalists over the feudal lords in 1830, explaining the subsequent victory of the bourgeosie over the financial capitalists in 1848, and showing in detail the events leading up to 1851 when Louis Bonaparte became emperor. 3s.

THE END OF THE WORLD. By Dr. M. Wilhelm Meyer. Tells us of the dramas of sun, world and moon disasters in the heavens, how worlds explode, collide and are destroyed; what causes earthquakes, volcanoes, mountains. We learn that all planets grow cold or are destroyed, sometimes after living tens of millions of centuries, and Dr. Meyer assures us that our own earth is in the bloom of youth, likely to continue to exist for unknown ages, while our moon is now in its decrepit old age. Illustrated. 3s.

Lessons for Young Proletarians

The locomotive engine which Stephenson constructed for Killingworth Colliery in 1815 continued working usefully for many years. Its author continued his experiments, and next applied himself to the improvement of the road. He considered the rail of great importance, and spoke of the rail and the wheel as man and wife. In 1816 he took out a patent for rails in conjunction with Mr. Tosh, a wealthy iron-founder. Stephenson early declared the advisability of tunnelling through hills and raising low ground in order to make the railways level, and thus economise power. In 1817 he built a locomotive for the Duke of Portland for use in Ayrshire. In 1819 he built a railway for the Holton Colliery in Sunderland.

In 1819 his son Robert left school and became an apprentice viewer in Killingworth Colliery. In 1822 Robert Stephenson went for six months to Edinburgh University, where he won a prize for mathematics. Having learnt shorthand before going to Edinburgh, Robert took down the notes of the lectures verbatim, and copied them out word for word for his father's benefit.

The railways we have hitherto referred to were for the private use of certain coal-owners and iron masters.

The first public Railway Act was passed in 1801, authorising the construction of a public railway from Wandsworth to Croydon called "The Surrey Iron Railway."

Twenty-six miles of railway were constructed, and any person was at liberty to put wagons on the line and to carry goods within the prescribed rates. The wagons were worked by horses, mules and donkeys. The railway did not prove a paying proposition, but continued to be worked till 1837, when the London and Brighton line was constructed.

It should be observed that when railways first came into use they were not regarded as the roadways for locomotives but for horse drawn vehicles. In those early days of railways the battle of argument and interest was between them, the canals, and the turnpike roads. Sir Richard Phillips, in a book written in 1813, advocated double lines of railway from London to Edinburgh, Glasgow, Holyhead, Milford, Falmouth, Yarmouth, Dover, and Potrsmouth, declaring that horse-drawn mail coaches would travel by them at ten miles an hour and Blenkinsop's steam engine at 15.

From 1766 there had been discussion of a canal project between Stockton and Darlington. The canal was not made, but later a railway began to be suggested and a Stockton Committee was appointed to consider it in 1810. Nothing happened. Then a Darlington Committee was appointed with Edward Pease., a Quaker, as one of its members. Nothing but talk eventuated till 1818, when a company was formed to build the railway. It applied to Parliament for permission, but was defeated by the opposition organised by the Duke of Cleveland, whose fox covers would have been interfered with. The railway Bill was re-drafted so as to avoid the fox covers and reintroduced, but was opposed by those who had vested interests in the tolls charged on turnpike roads.

Capitalism was barring the way to progress; but whilst the engineers and inventors stood helpless, money replied to money. Edward Pease issued a circular that the railway company would purchase the toll mortgages at the price originally given for them. This somewhat placated the interests, and though still strongly opposed the Bill went through.

The railroad was to be free to all persons for the haulage of coal and merchandise, but the company was empowered to charge 4d. per ton per mile for coal intended for land sale. Only a halfpenny per ton was allowed for coal intended for shipment at Stockton, this provision being secured by the man who later became Earl of Durham, because he desired to prevent competition with his coal loaded at Sunderland and did not believe that any one could afford to carry coal at a halfpenny per ton per mile. The low rate led, however, to the great success of the railway.

Doubts as to the advisability of the railway delayed commencing it for some time. George Stephenson had learnt of the project, and in 1821 he went with Nicholas Wood, the viewer at Killingworth, to interview Edward Pease in Darlington.

He told Pease that he was "only the enginewright at Killingworth," but begged him to come there "to see what my engines can do." Pease did not accept the invitation then, but the result of Stephenson's visit was his appointment to survey the land for the Stockton and Darlington railway, and in May, 1822, the first rail was laid.

The intention of the directors was to use horse power on the railway, but Stephenson pressed for locomotives, and continued urging Pease to examine his engines at Killingworth. At last he prevailed, and from that day Pease supported the locomotive, and inserted in the amended Stockton and Darlington railway Bill a clause empowering the use of locomotives. The Act was secured in 1823. Stephenson had hitherto worked with ordinary mechanics working at the collieries of the North of England. To perfect thes tructure of the locomotive he considered it necessary to concentrate a number of good workmen on locomotive work and to enable them to increase their skill. He conceived the idea of establishing an engine factory in Newcastle, and did so with the £1,000 he had received for inventing the safety lamp and £1,000 contributed by Edward Pease and Thomas Richardson. This later became a gigantic enterprise, but it passed through many trials first.

Stephenson had a financial interest in supplying to the company the cast-iron rails that he and Losh had patented in 1816, but he advised company to have mallable rails, which he had since discovered to be much better. Mallable rails cost £12 per ton, cast iron rails £5 10s.; the company only agreed to half the rails being malleable on that account.

The question of the tractive power to be used on the railway was even yet not decided by the directors. The press denounced the proposal to use steam engines. Finally, however, it was agreed that Stephenson should construct three locomotives, the first of which was named "Locomotion."

The railway was opened on September 27th, 1825, having taken three years to construct. On the opening day Stephenson took a meal at an inn with his son Robert and John Dixon. He opened a bottle of wine, which was unusual with him, to drink success to the railway, and said:

"Now,, lads, I venture to tell you that you will live to see the day when railways will supersede almost all other methods of conveyance in this country—when mail coaches will become the great highways for the king and his subjects. The time is coming when it will be cheaper for a working man to travel on a railway than to walk on foot. I know there are great, almost insuperable, difficulties to be encountered; but what I have said will come to pass as sure as you now hear me.

"I only wish I may live to see the day, though that I can scarcely hope for, as I know how slow all human progress progress is, and with what difficulty I have been able to get the locomotive introduced thus notwithstanding my more than ten years' successful experiment at Ricklingworth."

A great concourse of people were present to see the opening of the railway. A procession was formed on the line, headed by "Locomotion," driven by George Stephenson and drawing twelve wagons laden with coal, twenty-one wagons filled with passengers, and a covered coach for the directors. A man on horseback, carrying a flag, headed the procession. The train was only expected to go from four to six miles an hour. Men, women, and children ran and gentlemen on horseback rode alongside the train. At a favourable point in the road Henderson called to the man on horseback to move aside, and the engine rushed off at fifteen miles an hour, leaving behind all that were trying to keep pace with it.

The "Whitehaven Gazette" had dismissed as "too chimerical to be entertained" the idea that "steam carriages could travel at a rate almost equal to the fleetest horse!"

The coach in which the directors travelled was named by Stephenson the "Experiment." It resembled a caravan, had a row of seats on each side, and a deal table in the centre.

A fortnight after the opening of the line the "Experiment" began to run regularly to carry passengers. It was given out to a contractor, and like other coaches which also began to run it was drawn not by locomotive power but by a horse. Several private companies were organised by the inn keepers of Stockton and Darlington for taking passengers on the railway. The railway company bought up old stage coach bodies and mounted them on an underframe with flange wheels.

Old Dixon, who drove the "Experimental," used to place a lighted candle on the table of the "Experiment" t night, and so was the first to start railway carriage lighting.

The railway was so much used, the trains grew so long, and the traffic was so profitable that the company, which had first allowed all comers to use the line on payment of the fees, stepped in to monopolise the working of the traffic. The dividends obtained by the railway sh areholders were so satisfactory as to give great encouragement to proceed further with railway undertakings.

In order to provide further accommodation for the rapidly increasing coal traffic Mr. Edward Pease bought about 500 or 600 acres of land on the Tees and there founded the seaport of Middlesbrough, where had been only a solitary farm house.

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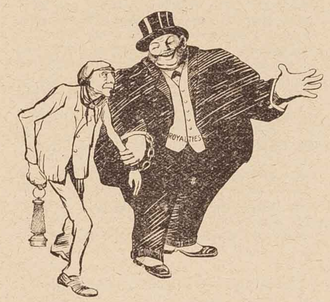

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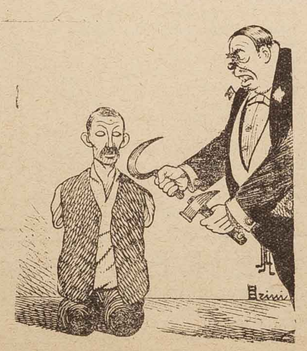

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* * *

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Mr. Churchill is being put through a sharp examination, but his late colleagues will see that he is whitewashed.

* * *

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* * *

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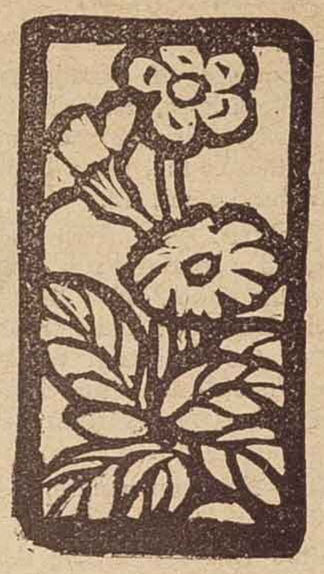

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