

# DORA FORBIDS

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## IRISH OPINION

# The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

NEW SERIES. Vol. 1, No. 45.

OCTOBER 5 1918.

ONE PENNY

History  
Repeats  
Itself.

Irish Labour's Election  
Programme.

High Wages  
and  
Better Business

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(To the Editor).

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Such are the fruits of Industrial Development. And the Industrial Developers are wondering why the English people, who have been the slaves of capital for three generations, are so abject and servile and slow to respond to the call of Russia! We did not escape the tyranny of feudal landlordism to put our necks in the yoke of capitalism.

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**A PLAGUE ON BOTH!**

35 Jocelyn Ave., Belfast,  
Sept. 21st, 1918.

To the Editor of "The Voice of Labour."

Sir,—Having read Councillor Logue's letter and your comments on same I desire to avail myself of the opportunity and invitation extended by you to free lances of the rank and file.

Two correspondents have come to the rescue of the Northerners, both shiver on the beach—afraid to plunge into the deep. For my part I really cannot understand this vacuous exaltation over Northerners or Southerners, there is far too much of this petty and puerile sentimentality with Irishmen. Labour is not confined to North or South—not even to Ireland; and until Irishmen adopt an international instead of a parochial outlook their chance of establishing a permanent democracy is very remote.

You all disagree as to whom belongs the honour of being most progressive. How many Labour or Socialist members represent Ireland (North or South) in the Imperial Parliament? Northerners are so afraid of losing their "religious liberty" that they let their economic and political liberty go to Hades; Southerners are so devoutly bent on retaining their "religious liberty" that they do likewise. The fact of the matter is that both parties are so busy wrangling and fighting over that old Bogey (Home Rule) that they haven't time to work out their political and industrial salvation.

I firmly believe in the principle of self-determination, but should I be so full of self-determination as to let my economic and political liberty be exterminated? If I'm to be exploited it matters little whether the Head-quarters of the exploiter be in Dublin, London or Berlin. It's most ludicrous to see the implicit faith that the Southerner has in "Home Rule" and the Northerner has in the "Union"—each regarding his Political Fetish as the Heaven-sent Panacea for the ills which Irishmen are heir to. Collectively, neither North or South is class or power-conscious.

One of your correspondents refers to British timorousness regarding the subjecting of Ulster "to a political course for which she had no taste." He attributes British timorousness to Ulster's aliveness, but if he reads the "Foreword" of "A Handbook for Rebels" he might modify his opinion.

No one would strive more earnestly than I for the unification of the Irish working-class; but this ignorant religious bigotry exhibited occasionally on both sides is detracting the energy which should be applied towards realising the essential—democratic control of the industrial and political machine. The Church, unfortunately, dominates on both sides, much to the satisfaction of the capitalists.

Neither Home Rule or the Union is an essential towards democratic emancipation. Ye foolish Irishmen! Hammer that into your skulls! The ascendancy party of either crew is bitterly anti-demo-

cratic, and so long as Irishmen remain in their state of imbecility and servility, bemused in a conglomeration of Sinn Fein, Unionist, and Nationalist verbosity, so long will the mental activity remain comatosed and the true Irish labour accents inarticulate. With best wishes for the "Voice," I am, yours faithfully,  
W. LORIMER.

**THE INSURANCE DISPUTE.**

The strike of Refuge Insurance Agents has now extended to Drogheda, Dundalk, Navan, Kingstown, and Bray, while the efforts of the superintendents to collect money on Dublin agents' books has been a failure.

The Refuge Company is an enormously wealthy company, which assures over £15,000,000 each year, and receives a premium income of over two million pounds per annum. Like all the capitalist insurance concerns, it has been trying to reduce expenses at the cost of the agents by limiting their collections to certain areas. Thus they have planned to confiscate the customers and commission which agents have acquired outside the area to which the company might allot them. This scheme was defeated in Dublin some time ago, but it was persisted with in Belfast, where its effects would have been to reduce agents' earnings to 30s. a week.

Having ceased work to defeat this "block system" finally, the agents are determined not to resume work unless on terms which give them a living wage. In this effort they rely on the support of the policy-holders, who are asked not to pay any premiums to blacklegs. As the agents' entire livelihood is dependent on his connection with policy-holders, they are asked not to transfer to other societies without first consulting the Refuge strike committee.

**IRISHWOMEN PRISONERS.**

The following resolution, proposed by Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, seconded by Miss Wyse Power, was passed unanimously at a reception held by the Irish Women's Franchise League on September 14th:—

"That we, the members of the I.W.F.L., as Irishwomen and voters, protest against the internment in Holloway Jail of three distinguished countrywomen (Countess Marcievicz, Mrs. T. Clarke and Mme. Gonne McBride), and that we demand from the Government their immediate release and return to their homes in Ireland. That we call upon Irish public bodies to support us in this demand."

**Release the Prisoners.—Attend the public meeting under Cumann na mban auspices Round Room, Mansion House, Friday, 27th September, 8 p.m.**

**PLOTTING.**

The prizes awarded to the plotters under the Land Cultivation Committee were distributed by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor at a public meeting in the Mansion House last Monday. The Lord Mayor, Mr. Cowan, Local Government Board Inspector, and other public men addressed the meeting.

**Prisoners as Strike-Breakers.**

Chas. Duncan, in the House of Commons on July 29th, stated that a farmer near Littlehampton has threatened the women workers, that if they asked for increased wages German prisoners would get their work!

"Daily News," Aug. 9th.—German prisoners are being employed in the stone quarries to take the place of the men on strike at Shepton Mallet.

On Aug. 10th the press announced that the Allied armies had captured 17,000 prisoners. Wonder whose job they'll get?—"Solidarity."

**We Agree With the "Mail."**

When the fighting is transferred to German soil we believe that the end will come quickly, the end of the war, and the end of Hohenzollernism.—"Evening Mail." But ask our readers to note the "when."

**Jack Carney in Trouble.**

For the offence of publishing in Minnesota the election programme of Victor L. Berger, Wisconsin, Jack Carney, editor of "Truth," who one time made Library Street, Belfast, ring with his oratory, is being prosecuted by the State Government.

Bolshevik Vladivostock likes the Allies so little that the Friends of Freedom have been obliged to declare Martial Law.

The Sacred Cause of Gallant Little Belgium had a severe set-back when the Turks chased Belgium's champions out of Baku.

N.B.—Look up Belgium and Baku on the map.

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The above prices have been  
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and are not to be exceeded.

MARTIN O'BYRNE,

Secretary.

17th September, 1918.

Printed for the "Irish Labour Press," 21 Dawson St., by Messrs. Cahill and Co., Ltd., Ormond Quay, Dublin. Registered as a Newspaper.

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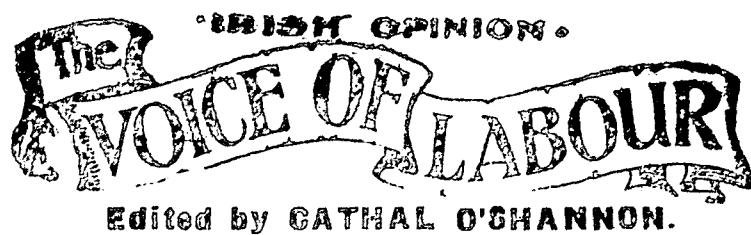
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## What Labour Wants.

We hope the organisations affiliated to the Irish Trades Union Congress, and as well those organisations which are not yet affiliated, will bring to bear upon the proposed new constitution and standing orders that careful thought and close examination which we believe the work of the Drafting Committee is entitled to. The revised draft as approved by the National Executive, is now in the hands of the unions, and it is for the unions to say, when they meet in special congress on November 1st, whether that draft has or has not the full authority of the whole Labour movement behind it.

For our own part we believe that the new Constitution reflects the aims and desires of organised Labour, and that in the main it will receive the hearty allegiance of the working-class in Ireland. It is based upon those principles which have the mainsprings of Labour's actions in Ireland these last ten years. It draws its inspiration from the teachings of James Connolly and Jim Larkin, the two leaders who, above all others, spoke out the thoughts of the workers of Ireland and expressed them in language and methods and moods which are the gospel of the organised workers in this country. It is, in short, a summary of all that Labour stands for in Ireland, and if it is adopted by the November Congress it will become one of the historic documents of Labour in Ireland. For it is in essence the charter of the Irish working-class.

The draft is not, of course, perfect, and will not please everybody in the movement. Some of us would want to plant our flag higher than this, some would plant it lower. But we have never found anything in this world to our complete and entire satisfaction, and we do not suppose we ever will. When men are completely and entirely satisfied with anything in life, that day they will cease to strive for anything, and when they cease to strive and climb starwards they might well quit this world and seek some other. Some of us will always be in a minority, that is seeking the unattainable, and it is the quest of the unattainable that compels all progress and sets the pace for humanity.

But when the objects of Labour as set forth in the revised Constitution are examined, it will be found that they embody a high and noble ideal, round which the young and vigorous manhood and womanhood of Ireland can rally with enthusiasm and with zest. They reach the highwater mark of national endeavour. They are so modern in their conception that they are in line with all the best and noblest and ablest thinking that has been done in the international Labour movement these many years. They are in advance of what most organised political parties in the Labour world have put before themselves as their goal, and they yield to none, here or elsewhere, either in idealism or in practicality. They are a centre round which can be massed all the young life and vigour and enthusiasm of this new, stirring young Ireland of ours, and we believe that the most idealist of Irish idealists need not surrender a single article of his faith before he can throw in his lot with the men and women who have emblazoned these objects on their banner,

Ay, we do believe that this simply-worded document embodies all that the noblest of Irish workers ever fought or struggled for, and that it points straightly and directly to that Republic of the Workers which we desire to see built up in Ireland to be the glory of this people, and a flaming example in the social order to the whole world.

The new constitution claims that to the nation, and to none other than the nation, not to any section or class either within or without the nation, belongs of right all and the whole natural sources of wealth in this country; that the nation is not now in possession of those sources of wealth; that the nation has been deprived of them; and that it is both the right and the duty of the nation to recover for itself complete possession of all of them. Taking its stand on this high ground, Labour claims that if the nation is the owner and possessor of the natural sources of wealth, then to the workers who exploit, by their sweat and blood, ought belong the whole produce of their labour, and sets before itself for the whole body of workers the winning of the ownership and control of all that produce. In practice this can be maintained in but one way, the way pointed out by the Waterford Congress, the democratic control and management of all industries and services by the whole body of workers, manual and intellectual, in the interests of the whole community. Labour proclaims no principle which it does not endeavour to carry out in practice.

But Labour recognises that long before these things are brought about the many obstacles which block its way must be removed, and their removal constitutes the body of the immediate aims of the re-organised Irish Labour Party. Chief among them are the inequality of rights in the present, and the tyranny of privileges which have grown up out of the

past exploitation of the working class. Irish Labour, therefore, proposes amongst the first of its endeavours, that of obtaining for all adults who loyally serve the commonweal, no matter what their sex, race or religion, equality of social rights and opportunities, and the abolition, once and for all, of all powers and privileges, social and political, of institutions and persons based upon property or ancestry, and not granted or confirmed by the freely-expressed will of the Irish people. We want neither monarchs nor lords to rule in Ireland, but the common people. To that end Labour insists that in the making and administering of the laws, in the pursuit of industry and commerce, and in the education of the young, property must always be subordinate to humanity, and private gain give place to the welfare of the people. Man is not a mere piece of machinery, but a human being with all the rights and duties, the feelings and wants and desires of a human being. That is not the gospel that is practised in Ireland to-day, but its practice must be the practice of the Ireland of to-morrow.

To advance those objects, to bring them within range of, as the cant goes, practical politics, is the purpose for which Irish Labour has re-moulded its machinery.

## The London Conference

The Conference called at the instance of Gompers of the American Federation of Labour has not set the Thames on fire. It was not a Socialist Conference, since many Socialist parties were expressly excluded. It was not an International Conference in the accepted sense, since several nations were expressly excluded. It was not an Inter-Allied Conference, since the S.P. of America was expressly excluded, and the Italian Socialists refused to send delegates. Neither were Russian or Irish delegates present, but that is easily explained by the Bolshevism of both. Gompers, who is notoriously anti-Socialist, reactionary and anti-internationalist, called the Conference, but he fared badly at the hands of the child of his own creation. To put it quite frankly, he was compelled to swallow several bitter pills, and after his medicine in London he is a sadder and wiser man. There was too much bounce about Gompers even for the poorly representative London conference. It was Longuet, now the leader of the overwhelming majority in French Labour, who was the bright particular star of the conference. Longuet fought hard and manfully for first principles, and Irish Labour will wish him the success in the international movement he has already won in the French movement. The French are not anti-Bolshevik. When are the workers in Great Britain going to prove by their deeds that they are not anti-Bolshevik either?

# The Workers' Republic. The great only appear great because we are on our knees: LET US RISE.

## Labour's Ticket for Dublin.

The Dublin Trades Council is the first of the affiliated organisations to decide to put forward Labour candidates at the General Election, in accord with the spirit and letter of the National Executive's recommendation. At Tuesday week's conference it was decided that Labour should contest four Dublin divisions. Nominations for the Labour ticket do not close until Monday of this week, and selections will not be made until Tuesday, too late for this week's issue of "The Voice." In the meanwhile the first nominees are:—William O'Brien for St. Michan's; Jim Larkin for the Harbour; Thomas MacPartlin for College Green (Miss Louie Bennett has withdrawn); and Thomas Farren for St. Patrick's. This is a good beginning, and if the new Irish Labour Party can keep the quality of its representatives up to the standard of these nominees the Irish Labour Party will be worthy of its high mission, and with a group of this calibre and character can face Ireland and the world with pride. When the final selections are made we hope to find space to give a brief character sketch of each of the candidates. Up, Dublin!

## Misneach na mBan.

When a bold and daring deed is to be done one turns unfailingly to Dublin, and Dublin answers proudly and defiantly. For some months the voice of Ireland has been stifled, and the people have been held in forced silence. Once again Dublin has torn the gag out of her mouth, and her voice has proclaimed to the world that Ireland wants her interned sons and daughters restored to her as a matter of right. Following the sudden and suppressed meeting organised on Sunday week by, we believe, Miss Moloney, Miss Mullen, and Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, Cumann na mBan rallied a big gathering of Dublin's citizens to the Mansion House on Friday night, and called the world's attention to the deportation and internment of Irish men and women. The meeting (was held without a permit, in defiance of all proclamations, and as befitted the occasion it was big and representative and enthusiastic. When we add that Mrs. Eamonn Kent presided, and the speakers included Miss Cashel, Countess Plunkett, William O'Brien, Miss MacSwiney (Cork), Cathal O'Shannon, Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington, G. Gavan Duffy, Eoin MacNeill, Dick Cotter, Dr. White (Waterford) and Alderman Tom Kelly, we need not say the speeches were just the pointed speeches the occasion demanded. Cumann na mBan are to be congratulated on the success of a very bold stroke.

## Two Hundred Thousand Shillings.

The National Executive has asked for a fighting fund of £10,000 for the General Election. Roughly, this represents a levy of a shilling a head on the affiliated membership. At first sight it seems a big sum to raise in a few months, but, given the will, it is easily possible within the time. The importance of the elec-

tion, and the fact that this is Labour's first general electoral battle demand that want of cash shall not handicap Labour's campaign. To raise this sum hard and enthusiastic work day after day will be required. That it will be given we do not doubt, for we believe the workers in Ireland are in the right temper for that kind of work, and that kind of sacrifice. More than as many pounds have been won in increased wages this last year as the N.E. is asking for in shillings. Turn out your pockets then, and roll in the 200,000 shillings, the workers' silver bullets for Labour's War Chest.

## The Capitalist Conspiracy.

Several Labour papers have printed the cipher telegram on recent events in Russia received by Maxim Lilvinoff (now released from prison, but held in England under "preventive detention") by wireless from the Soviet Government on September 3. It is an ample explanation of the measures the Soviet Government was compelled to take against certain British and French agents who were discovered in an attempt to bribe the Soviet's generals to assist in the overthrow of the Republic. In this conspiracy both French and British diplomatic agents were involved. The bribes were spurned by the Soviet's generals, who, in the interests of the Republic and freedom, exposed the whole plot. It was this which led directly to the killing of the British Captain Cromie. The Bolsheviks discovered that not only were the British involved in this plot, but both they and the French were at the back of the assassination of Uritski and the luckily unsuccessful attempt on Lenin's life. By a strange irony all these agents had remained in Russia by courtesy of the Soviet Government, with which their own Governments were at open war, and this is how they repaid Russian hospitality. The house in which Cromie resided was not the British Embassy, for the British have had no embassy in Russia since the Revolution, but it was the headquarters of the anti-Bolshevik conspiracy. When it was searched by the authority of the Soviet, Cromie forcibly resisted entry, and had actually killed three Russians before he lost his own life. This shows again that Western Imperialism will stop at no lie to achieve its capitalistic ends. We know it very well in Ireland, and it is becoming known over most of Europe now. What a list of assassinations and murders capitalism has to its record in this war—the Arch-Duke, Jaures, De La Rey, Casement, Pearse and Connolly and their comrades, Uritski and Lenin.

## A Challenge to Thought.

The "Irish Homestead" has stated truly enough, that whereas the ablest intellects of the world's best thinkers have been engaged in thinking out and planning policies for the solution of the industrial problems of the towns and cities, there has been little or no first-class thinking on the problems of rural life.

and the social and political questions affecting the agricultural labourers. The reason, we think, is not far to seek. The extension of education, the awakened consciousness of the urban proletariat, and, above all, the rapid and radical organisation of the workers in big manufacturing industries and distributive services, have compelled statesmen and politicians, and (what is more important) humanists and social students, to give close attention and reasoned thought to the burning questions of labour in city and town. The want of education, the lack of class-consciousness, and the absence of trade union organisation in the rural communities have enabled most of those whose comfort or conscience was troubled by industrial unrest to ignore with impunity the more vital national necessities of the rural labourer, with the result that social thought and policy on agricultural problems are far behind social thought and policy on urban problems. Happily, to-day the farm workers are awakening, organising, and linking up with their brethren in the towns, and their emergence as a definite and organised rural proletariat will speed up that social thought and social teaching for which we are glad to welcome again our contemporary's eloquent advocacy. We are rather sorry that just now we cannot do as the "Homestead" asks, and state fully as well as clearly what Labour's policy on agricultural labour is. Frankly, we have not the space, and what space we have must be pieced out as well as we can on questions and problems which arise and face us from day to day. But we can promise that before very long Irish Labour will state definitely, clearly, and fully the policy it proposes for agricultural workers in Ireland. And we can assure our friend (for we reckon amongst our friends all who contribute by thought or by action to the good of the Irish people, and we ungrudgingly acknowledge the high and noble services of our contemporary) that not brick-bats but arguments shall be the weapons of "The Voice of Labour" when the campaign opens.

## The True Path.

In the meantime we would remind the "Homestead" that so far as organised Labour in Ireland is concerned, the so-called small farmers, that is the small proprietors who till their holdings by the labour of their own families with no hired help, are regarded as one and the same with the wage-earning and non-proprietory labourers. The Unions, indeed, are organising both, and cementing their alliance with the organised town workers. It is, in fact, along these lines we believe the solution of the social problems of agriculture in Ireland is to be found. If anything, our quarrel, and the quarrel of the farm workers, is with the wage-paying and labour-employing farmers. It was not so very different in Russia, and the distinction may not have very different results in Ireland.

# LABOUR IN IRELAND

## EDUCATION FOR THE WORKERS.

Bray and District Trades Council continues on its pioneer work. As mentioned elsewhere, it has undertaken the flotation of a co-operative store. It is also tackling the problem of education in a practical way by giving its support to St. Laurence Secondary School. The affiliated unions are asked to levy themselves to a small extent to provide scholarships for the children of their members.

The scholarships will be awarded by examination. The scheme is unique, for hardly since Owen's day has education been a recognised sphere of Trade Union work. In addition to providing for the youth, it is hoped to provide evening classes, not only in subjects of elementary education, but also in economics and history.

In Dublin there is a small committee at work preparing a scheme for the establishment of classes in social science on the lines of those carried out successfully by the Plebs League in England, and the Scottish Labour College.

### Bray and the Election.

Bray, Kingstown and District Trades Council had a special conference last Sunday to consider the electoral position. 45 delegates, representing 21 trades and a membership of four thousand, attended. Mr. J. Metcalfe presided. The possibility of contesting East Wicklow and S. Co. Dublin in the Labour interest was fully discussed, and it was agreed to leave the matter in the hands of the National Executive.

### Buttevant.

The award of Prof. Baillie, arbitrator in the dispute of the I.T. and G.W.U. with Messrs. Oliver, flour-millers, gives day men 5s. a week advance; night men 10d. per night over day men's wage; single horse carmen, 6s. advance, and double horse men 7s. advance per week; all to be retrospective from first pay day in August. The Saturday half-holiday has been refused, and overtime continues at the former rate, viz., time and a quarter.

### Abbeyleix.

Cathal O'Shannon addressed a meeting on Sunday and started a branch of the I.T. and G.W.U. He also spoke at Maryborough.

## TRANSPORT NOTES.

**Newcastle West** branch protests against the local show committee employing soldiers at the show, thus depriving local workers of wages. Denis Houston, assisted by Mr. O'Mahony (R.C.A.) opened a new branch at **Macroom**. The members at **Bruff** are on the war-path against the effete L.L.A., which has blocked their efforts to increase the wages of road-workers. The sole policy of the **Kilkenny Farmers' Union** is to fight P. Coates and the Transport Union, and they quote *Æ*, in support! **Newport** branch of the Transport Union was opened last week by Eamonn Hayes. **Kells** (Co. Meath) branch has enrolled all the road-workers in the district. **Culmullen** branch demands ten shillings per day for casual and borrowed labourers at threshing, with the same conditions as in other years; one shilling per hour to be paid for any time worked over eight hours on and after Tuesday, 1st October, and that no union men work with non-union men at threshing.

### Roscommon.

Peadar Ua Domnall is addressing a meeting at Roscommon on 4th inst.

**Glenfarnon**, a new branch of the Transport Union, has been met with the victimisation of the President and Secretary, who were locked out for joining the Union. Their fellow-members, to the number of 100, have struck work to enforce their re-instatement and secure the elementary right of combination to protect their livelihood.

### Gas Workers' Settlement.

The employees of the Dublin Gas Company are, as a result of negotiations between the board and Mr. T. Foran, receiving an increase of £1 4s. 3d. on pre-war wages, the boys under 18 obtaining 3s. These increases are retrospective as from 21st August.

### Kilcock.

Bread-van drivers have increased their wages from 24s. to 30s. a week. Kildare is now the best organised county outside Dublin and Cork. Except at Castledermott and Straffan, where the strikes continue, peace reigns in Kildare.

Under Capitalism, DEATH is the greatest friend of the poor and the out-cast.

## SHALL MOONEY HANG?

We hope in a week or two to publish a fully illustrated account of the Mooney case, which has agitated labour the world over. Tom Mooney and others were charged with causing a dynamite explosion in the midst of a San Francisco "Preparedness" parade. By the suppression of convincing evidence of an alibi which the police had in their possession and the production of bought witnesses, convictions were secured and sentence of death passed on Mooney. Other prisoners are being held for trial on the same charge.

A U.S. Commission reported to President Wilson in favour of a new trial, but the State Governor of California has merely postponed the date of his execution. Mooney is one of our race, and has all his life been a conscientious and sacrificing fighter for liberty. He has lain under sentence of death for over a year. This respite was won for him by the Russian Revolution, which judged America's pretended devotion to Liberty by its treatment of this working-class citizen of U.S. We are going to tell Mooney's story so that Irish public opinion may make its will plain to Wilson, Stephens and Frickert. We, too, will judge America by the Mooney standard.

## MEM. FOR CARPET PLANNERS.

The Interim Industrial Reconstruction Committee of the Furniture Warehousing and Removing Industry, recently promoted by the Ministry of Reconstruction, and fully representative of employers and employed in the Trade, have considered the question of wages paid in the trade, and have passed the following resolution:—

"That it be agreed, and that the decision be made known throughout the Trade of the United Kingdom, that foremen, packers, porters, drivers and warehouse men in the removing and warehousing industry, as represented by this committee, be paid a war wage of 25s. a week over and above the rates of wages paid to such employees in the month of August, 1914."

It is to be hoped that all engaged in this business in Ireland will see to it that this decision arrived at by masters and men is brought into operation at once.

**EVERY WORKER  
MUST READ  
THESE  
PAMPHLETS.**

1d. each, By Post, 1½d.

Special Terms to Trade Union Branches and the Trade.

When you read these Pamphlets you will want to join THE IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION. All information from THOMAS FORAN, LIBERTY HALL, DUBLIN.

### LINES OF PROGRESS

A simple outline of the work and place in the Labour Movement of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. Endorsed by the "Voice," the London "Herald," and leading Trade Union papers.

### TRADE-UNIONISM

Explained in a pamphlet which embodies information about the rules and working methods of the Union that gives "benefits every pay day."

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# IRISH LABOUR AND THE GENERAL ELECTION. ::

## To The Workers of Ireland:

YOU will shortly be invited, the great majority for the first time, to cast a Vote in a General Election. Nominally, you will be privileged to elect members to represent your interests and wishes in Parliament; in reality, to a greater degree than ever before, you are to choose which of several National Ideas you subscribe to.

THE IRISH LABOUR PARTY sets forth its views upon political and social affairs, and asks for your support.

### ECONOMIC POWER.

For ten years past in Ireland the workers' movement in industry has been growing in power and influence, and Trade Unionism has established itself as the most potent weapon in the hands of the workers. It is upon the power of this industrial organisation that the working masses must in the main rely to win their emancipation. In the right to decide when to sell and when to withhold their labour lies the strength of the workers' position. This has been especially true of Irish Labour since the outbreak of War and will continue for a long period after peace is declared. Whatever part Labour is destined to play in the political life of Ireland its part in the industrial and economic life must always take precedence, since in Ireland as everywhere else economic power must precede and make possible political power.

### POLITICAL POWER.

But we have been taught by experience not to allow the victories of Trade Unionism to be brought to nought by laxity in politics—by leaving the political machinery of the State in the control either of Labour's enemies or of professing friends, who are not themselves of the working-class. We must support our Trade Unionism by our politics; we must be ready to use every weapon that has been placed in our hands, to avail of every opportunity which comes in our way, to strike blow upon blow in the age-long fight for liberty.

Hence it is that the Irish Labour Party announces itself as a combatant in the coming electoral struggle.

### THE WAR'S REACTIONS.

The predominant issue before the electorate will be one not of our choosing. We should have preferred that the entry of organised Labour into the political arena had been to fight on questions directly connected with the social and economic condition of the people. We recognise, however, that our wishes must take into consideration the realities of the situation in the abnormal conditions now prevailing, and the realities to-day are the War and its reactions. Among these reactions Ireland's national claim stands out boldly demanding satisfaction.

### SELF-DETERMINATION.

On this claim the recent Labour Congress at Waterford again declared itself. We adopt the principle of the Russian Revolution, supported as it is by the pronouncements of President Wilson, and the Premiers and Politicians of all the warring and neutral Powers, viz., "the right of all peoples to self-determination." We mean thereby that Ireland, no less than Belgium or Serbia, Poland or Finland, Bohemia or Esthonia (and these no less than Ireland), shall have the right to decide its own form of Government, to choose its own sovereignty, to determine its own destinies without limitations, except such as are voluntarily conceded or are common to all nations.

**We assert before the world that Ireland is denied this right by the power of armed force, and we call upon the Democracies to make good their professions by their actions, and set free the Irish Nation from its involuntary bondage.**

To strengthen our hands as representing the workers of Ireland when pressing this demand upon the Labour Parties of other Nations (both of the old world and the new) we ask you to support the Labour Candidates in the coming Election.

### CONSCRIPTION.

Closely allied with the subject of Ireland's status as a Nation, but by no means wholly dependent thereon, is the question of Conscription. In unison with the people as a whole, the Labour Party has taken an active part in the fight against the project to compel Irishmen by force to bear arms. We are resolved to persist in our resistance come what may. We stand firmly on this ground—that no outside authority whatsoever has a right to compel a man to kill his fellow-man. Each individual must be left free to act or not to act in such a matter as his conscience directs. Holding this principle, the Irish Labour Party will refuse to be bound by any bargain between the British Government and any set of Irish politicians or parties whereby in exchange for an Irish Parliament a Conscription Army shall be provided. We should oppose military conscription even in an Irish Republic for as valid reasons as we should oppose it under any other form of Government or misgovernment. We believe that a well-ordered community will never lack resolute voluntary defenders; the test of good government is to be found in the readiness of the governed to rally to the defence of the Commonwealth.

### WHAT IS FREEDOM?

But it is not enough that Labour in Ireland should have an international policy, or that we should be resolute in our antagonism to Conscription.

For the worker living year in and year out, even in so-called prosperous times, with the barest margin between his daily work and starvation, it is not enough to know that his elected representatives stand for the freedom of Ireland as a political state.

On thousands of labourers, artisans, agricultural workers, clerks, shop-workers, teachers, and the vast miscellaneous mass of men and women, who work for wages, the question presses every pay-day: What is to be our lot in the free Ireland of the future, what is to be our portion under the new regime? Must we forever remain hewers of wood and drawers of water for wealthier, but less worthy neighbours, who wield the powers of government through the use of their often ill-gotten wealth? Who is to control and direct the industrial life of Ireland and to what end? Are we to

leave the moulding of the future Irish Nation in the hands of those whose ideas and interests demand a continuance of the present servile status of the workers? To the workers a free Ireland must mean an Ireland wherein human personality has been released from bondage; wherein men shall no longer be marketable chattels. To this end we recall the words of our late comrade and leader, James Connolly:—

“Ireland as distinct from her people is nothing to me; and the man who is bubbling over with love and enthusiasm for ‘Ireland’ and can yet pass unmoved through our streets and witness all the wrong and the suffering and the shame and the degradation wrought upon the people of Ireland—aye, wrought by Irishmen upon Irish men and women, without burning to end it, is, in my opinion, a fraud and a liar in his heart, no matter how he loves that combination of chemical elements he is pleased to call ‘Ireland.’”

### ULTIMATE AIMS.

It is of little use to lay down any detailed programme of reform. The people may propose, but the War God, with the help of his hand-maiden “Dora,” will effectually dispose of all programmes until his thirst for human blood is quenched.

The Labour Party stands for definite principles, and as opportunity arises shall give effect to them. As already set forth, we demand for Ireland the right of self-determination; that right once won the march towards democracy has but begun.

Our ultimate aims may be defined as follows:—

To recover for the Nation complete possession of all the natural physical sources of wealth of this country.

To win for the workers of Ireland, collectively, the ownership and control of the whole produce of their labour.

To secure the democratic management and control of all industries and services by the whole body of workers, manual and mental, engaged therein, in the interest of the Nation and subject to the supreme authority of the National Government.

To obtain for all adults who give allegiance and service to the Commonwealth, irrespective of sex, race or religious belief, equality of political and social rights and opportunities.

To abolish all power and privileges, social and political, of institutions or persons, based upon property or ancestry, or not granted or confirmed by the freely expressed will of the Irish people; and to insist that in the making and administering of the laws, in the pursuit of industry and commerce, and in the education of the young, Property must always be subordinate to Humanity, and Private Gain must ever give place to Welfare of the People.



It is to these ideas we ask the workers to declare allegiance. Every proposal tending towards these objects will have our support, every attempt at retrogression shall be vigorously opposed. We yield to none in determination to win for Ireland freedom, but we intend, so far as in us lies, that in the Ireland of the coming day, Freedom shall be a reality, that Labour shall be assured its rightful place in the social order, that flaunting luxury and waste shall be abhorrent, and hunger and ignorance but memories of the black night of capitalist imperialist domination.

### IRELAND OR WESTMINSTER?

In April last the Mansion House Conference on Conscription declared with a chorus of assent from the workers that "the passing of the Conscription Bill by the House of Commons must be regarded as a Declaration of War on the Irish Nation." That this was no frothy rhetoric, but cold, stern reality, let the condition of Ireland to-day testify. A British Army of occupation has its units in every corner of the land, military law is paramount. We read daily of deportations; imprisonment without trial, suppression of public opinion, of free speech, of the right of meeting, of the perfecting of the machinery for enforcing military service.

To join in friendly palaver with the authors of this oppression implies a moral surrender, belying the spirit of the people. The National Executive has therefore decided by a unanimous vote that the members of the Irish Labour Party shall not attend the House of Commons. It is conceivable that altered circumstances and the interests of the workers and democracy may however warrant a change of policy which shall be determined by a special National Congress.

If further reasons were necessary to fortify this decision we need only adduce the proved futility of attendance at the British Parliament during the War; the disregard which that Parliament has shown to its own acts and pledges; the importance of strengthening the case of Irish Labour in demanding separate representation as a distinct national unit on the "International," more especially at the Conference of Labour Delegates from all Nations which will assemble at the same time and place as the Peace Conference.

In our opinion the most valuable work for the cause of Labour is to be done in Ireland; in perfecting the organisation of the industrial forces, in consolidating the victories already won, in educating the constituencies in our ideals and programme in obtaining control of the machinery of local government.

## A Referendum of Ideals.

With the foregoing Statement of the programme and policy of the Irish Labour Party we approach, with confidence, the men and women of the Irish working class—"that numerous and respectable class, the men (and women) of no property," ever to be relied on as the faithful guardians of Liberty.

Wherever Labour Candidates are nominated, having the approval and sanction of the Irish Labour Party, we ask for your votes, your help, your enthusiasm, and your influence; where Labour Candidates are not nominated, see to it that Labour's national ideals, Labour's social and industrial programme are not submerged.

We for our part promise that you the workers of Ireland shall have no cause to regret the trust you repose in the Party of Labour. We shall fight the Election on the grounds of principles and policy, we shall not be drawn into discussions of the merits or demerits of the rival candidates, of their personal foibles, their private virtues and faults. In our view this will not be an occasion for the election of persons so much as a referendum of ideals. We shall try at all times to carry out the contest having that view always before us.

For the National Executive Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party—

THOS. CASSIDY, Chairman.  
 THOS. FARREN, Vice-Chairman.  
 THOS. JOHNSON, Treasurer.  
 WM. O'BRIEN, Secretary.

# IRISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY.

## APPEAL FOR FUNDS.

*In entering upon the Election Campaign we have undertaken a heavy financial responsibility, but we have done so with faith in the generosity and loyalty of the Irish working class.*

*To carry out our programme we require a large sum of money, which must be raised by the voluntary contributions of the workers.*

(1) *We suggest that every man who has benefitted by the activities of his Trade Union since the War should allot at least one quarter of one week's increase to the Labour Party Election Fund.*

(2) *That every man who has been saved from forced military service—and hopes still to be so—should give thanks in a substantial fashion by subscribing to the Labour Party Election Fund.*

(3) *Every worker, every sympathiser with Labour ideals is appealed to for contributions. Don't be ashamed of the small amount of your contribution—don't be afraid of being too generous! Pennies, sixpences, shillings are welcome; bank notes and cheques will be gratefully received.*

*Every Trade Union branch in the country should appoint Collectors. Every Trade Unionist should consider it his or her duty to the cause to subscribe generously to the Labour Election Fund.*

*Collecting Sheets will be sent to Trade Union branches on application to Thomas Johnson, Treasurer, Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party, Trades Hall, Capel Street, Dublin.*

*For the National Executive:—*

THOMAS CASSIDY, *Chairman.*

THOMAS FARREN, *Vice-Chairman.*

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, *Secretary.*

THOMAS JOHNSON, *Treasurer.*

**CO-OPERATIVE NOTES.**

The annual Conference of the Irish Co-operative Conference Association assembled at Portadown last Saturday. The review of last year's progress was eminently satisfactory. To ensure further progress three district associations have been formed, which will have their headquarters in Belfast, Dublin, and Cork.

After a stormy debate, the storm being provoked by some misunderstood remarks by Mr. L. Smith-Gordon, it was resolved to ask the Co-operative Union to appoint a Survey Committee.

Mr. John Palmer, the veteran of Portadown co-operation, who has been president of the local society since its foundation twenty-one years ago, welcomed the delegates, who were entertained generously by Portadown Society.

Messrs. Smillie and MacDonald, of the Dublin Industrial Co-operative Society's Management Committee, have received prizes in the recent Plottolders' competition.

Dublin Consumers' Society held a propaganda meeting recently, but told nobody about it. We hope this is not the sole result of the Dublin Co-operative Joint-Committee's efforts.

Maynooth I.T.W.U. is in communication with the Irish Section with regard to formation of society in the Collegiate town.

Kingstown and District are pushing rapidly for the establishment of a co-operative branch in Kingstown. We

understand that the Trades Council will seek the assistance of the Dublin Industrial Society and ask them to open a store in the town. We agree with this policy, but we think it is incumbent on the local people to subscribe adequate capital.

We hear that an organising meeting will be held at Baldoyle on Sunday, 6th inst., in the Convent School, at 4 p.m., when Messrs L. P. Byrne, director, S. Wylie, manager and Magill, organiser of the Dublin Industrial Society, will speak. It is hoped to found a strong and well-capitalised branch in this North Dublin suburb. The local residents have so far guaranteed £200.

**U.C.B.S.**

The quarterly meeting of this big bakery business, with huge bakeries at Belfast, Glasgow and Clydebank, showed that, despite the difficulties of war-time, it is possible to supply bread co-operatively and leave a substantial surplus. A dividend to the co-operative societies which compose this federation was paid at the rate of 1s. per £1 of purchases. Assets, which cost £124,000, have been depreciated until their value in the balance-sheet is nil.

The cost in the past year of manufacture, including flour, wages, fuel, petrol, paper, etc., has increased by 6s. per sack of flour used, and by 10s. 8d. per sack since 1914. Wages have only increased by 55 per cent., and this in a business that pays full Union rates.

A feature of the U.C.B.S. activities that might be started in Ireland with benefit to their customers is the Summer Camp at Rothesay. Last season there were 1,000 holiday campers spending a week to 14 days under canvas. The drawings were £1,950, showing that these co-operators had enjoyable holidays at a cost of £1 19s each. We want a Canada Hill Camp for Ireland, and Mr. McInnes of Belfast must get a loan of Mr. Towart to open that camp next summer.

**City of Cork.**

This society is experiencing difficulty in obtaining supplies for the grocery department, but nevertheless it has a turnover of £111 per week, which could easily be increased by more loyal support from the members of Trade Unions and their wives.

**Useless Resolution.**

Ballybrophy N.U.R. is resolving against profiteering by shopkeepers and the petty fines inflicted by magistrates. Better to follow Waterford and Rosslare N.U.R. men and start a co-operative store.

**City of Cork Co-Operative Society**  
10 Great George's St.

for GROCERIES, PROVISIONS & BREAD.

All our goods are Union Made. When you join us, you strike a blow at Sweating and Adulteration

**Co-operation has kept down Prices.**

Join To-day—Don't Delay

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| <p><b>YOU CAN JOIN AT ANY OF THE STORES.</b></p>            | <p>In an ordinary shop you have no guarantee of being served by Union Labour. That means blacklegging on yourself. We employ Union Labour.</p>                          | <p>In other shops the assistants work an average week of 80 hrs. Patronising them retards your own movement for shorter hours. Our men work 46 hrs.!!</p> | <p>32 Drumcondra Road.</p>         |
| <p><b>GENERAL MANAGER,</b></p>                              | <p><b>BECAUSE</b></p>   | <p><b>BECAUSE</b></p>   | <p>62 Sitrice Road.</p>            |
| <p><b>SAM'L. WYLIE,</b><br/>17, ANNESLEY BRIDGE ROAD.</p>   | <p>Elsewhere, you pay more; get inferior quality, and no return on your money. Our price is right, quality the best, and dividend is paid on all purchases.</p>         | <p>The Store is the workers' bank. It saves your money as you spend it, and makes you more independent. 5% interest is paid on all capital.</p>           | <p>50a Seville Place.</p>          |
| <p>'PHONE: 1230</p>   | <p><b>THEREFORE</b></p>   |   | <p>19 Bath Street.</p>             |
| <p><b>TRADE UNION LABOUR</b></p>                            | <p>JOIN THE STORE YOURSELF AND GET YOUR BRANCH SECRETARY TO SEND FOR THE ORGANISER. HE WILL EXPLAIN EVERYTHING TO YOUR MEMBERS AND PROVE THE VALUE OF CO-OPERATION.</p> |   | <p>69 Phibsboro' Rd.</p>           |
| <p><b>Industrial Co-operative Society (Dublin) Ltd.</b></p> |   | <p>144 S.C.R., Kilmainham.</p>  |                                    |
| <p><b>and CO-OPERATION.</b></p>                             |   | <p>Bakery:<br/>165 Church Rd.</p>   |                                    |
|   |   | <p>Warehouse and Stables:<br/>13a East Road.</p>  |                                    |
|   |   | <p><b>HONEST DEALING</b></p>  |                                    |

# HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

Cleon is the name of a Greek statesman who lived 2,000 years ago. He has been dead all that time, but Eupolis Junior has written an account of his career which may be commended to the notice of the Hermetic Society, if that group survives. The C.T.S.I. also should keep its eye on this biography, for it furnishes almost convincing proofs of re-incarnation.

Cleon was a leather-seller who became a sort of solicitor. Vulgar, unscrupulous and audacious, he featured the defence of the poor and oppressed, and made slashing attacks on the Idle Rich. On the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War he was virulently pacifist, and led the attack on the war policy of Pericles. After the death of that great statesman, hounded down to the grave as Salisbury and Chamberlain were, by the bitter tongue of the demagogue, Cleon became a jingo, a jusqu'au boutiste, the darling leader of the Never-endians. At Limehouse—no, Limnai, he made wild and whirling speeches, bringing accusations of vice against public men. For four years he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, bribing the masses by taxing the classes. During the war one of the allies, Mitylene, revolted against Athens' war policy, and Cleon, repudiating the theory of the free will offering of a free people, crushed the revolt in blood, and confirmed the Athenian Empire over Mitylene by cunning trickery. His own position he secured by creating hordes of well-paid officials.

When the Spartans would have made peace with Athens, Cleon denounced their efforts as peace-traps. He was convicted of having accepted bribes, but on returning the money escaped all punishment, and continued his bombast as before.

Doubt may be expressed as to the authenticity of his genial biography, for it has all the appearance of a present-day political tract. Eupolis Jr., however, gives his authority from Aristophanes, Thucydides, Plutarch, etc., for every fact and almost every phrase he employs.

It is comforting to learn that Cleon ultimately handed in his checks, being killed in battle. Unlike his reincarnation he did not confine himself to hissing on the young to slaughter, but underwent the deadly risk himself.

We offer no prizes for guessing the name of the re-incarnated Cleon. We hope this little biography will have a wide circulation, for it is the best piece of vindictive biography since T.P.'s "Life of Beaconsfield."

\*Cleon, by Eupolis Jr. C. W. Daniel, Ltd.  
Graham House, Tudor St., E.C.4.  
Price 1s., by post 1s. 2d.

## NEW CHUMS.

The need for companionship and the pain of loneliness should belong hereafter only to the "misunderstood" heroes of late Victorian fiction, for the coming of the pocket booklet gives us truer friends, with kindlier thought, further seeing vision, loftier virtues, and more human vices than we are likelier to meet in pals in pants or skirts. It was the really great Scott—not the tedious inventor of Castle Dangerous—but the beneficent publisher of Felling-on-Tyne who popularised the booklet. The Canterbury poets enabled us to choose our companions to suit the mood. We could be pious with Keble in our pocket, sail the Isles of Greece in search of "burning Sapphos" with Byron, or be conscientiously and meticulously vile with Baudelaire.

Elkin Mathews carried on the good work by giving us the Vigo booklets, in which the young men of Cambridge and Oxford strummed archaic classical lyres or experimented with precious verbal inlay work in lines which we knew to be poetry by their irregular length. Now the Talbot Press is doing real national service by giving us booklets that add the quality of being Irish to their literary flavour and the grace of their appearance. Wisely, prose is not excluded, for the ablest of pen-craftsmen have learned that the inner mind of the hustling twentieth century is readier to listen to plain statement. The jingle of rhyme is lost in the clangour of tram bells and motor horns.

The warmest welcome may therefore be given to the four studies by Lennox Robinson, published under the title of "Dark Days." These are delicate delineations of fine characters, acute commentaries on the dark days of war time, and a valuation of the results of Easter

Week which all who read must, under the artistic constraint of Lennox Robinson, endorse. If we were a really fine people we would not call for reprints of the "Resurrection of Hungary" except as a historical curiosity, for live political propagandists would circulate this account of the resurrection of Ireland by the hundred thousand.

S. Michael Crevequer's "Leaves on the Wind" is of the Elkin Mathew's type of verse—of the best of it. There are many happy phrases that give rein to thought and fancy. Sibeal Tucaig's booklet, "After Easter," is, as the title indicates, propaganda rather than poetry. The generous sorrow of her lays excuses much. The sentiments are in tune with our own feelings, the verse is simple, and the moral obvious as in this (which despite the subject we can only term "neat").

"Honour the King," St. Peter says,  
And surely it is true,  
Obedience to authority  
Is best for me and you.  
"Honour the King," the soldiers said,  
"Or else be crucified,"  
And Peter looked upon the cross,  
Defied the King and died.

Dark Days by Lennox Robinson.  
After Easter by Sibeal Tucaig.  
Leaves on the Wind by S. Michael Crevequer.  
Talbot Press Booklets. Price 1s. each,  
by post 1s. 2d.  
Talbot Press, 89 Talbot St., Dublin.

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| <p>NATIONAL REPORT SOUND.</p>  | <p>The position of Labour in The NEW IRELAND.</p>  | <p>FINANCIAL REPORT EXCELLENT.</p>  |
| <p>COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT—<br/>Miceal J. Staines,<br/>Dr. James Ryan,<br/>Liam Tobin,<br/>Miceal W. O'Reilly,<br/>Frank Thornton,<br/>Richard Coleman,<br/>Daniel McAllister,<br/>E. J. Duggan.</p> | <p>Trade Union Secretaries are invited to accept part-time agencies for our Society.</p> <p>Special Terms to those mentioning the "Voice of Labour."</p> <p><b>LIFE AND ENDOWMENT.</b><br/><b>56 Lr. O'Connell St., Dublin.</b></p> <p>No connection with any other Society.</p> | <p>TRUSTEES—<br/>George J. Nesbitt,<br/>Dr. James Ryan.</p> <p>BANKERS—<br/>Munster and Leinster Bank, Dame Street, Dublin.</p> |
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The man who robs children of the sunshine of life is the biggest Kaiser of them all.

**FRAGMENTS OF TRUTH.**

(Reflections by Jack Carney.)

When your boss praises your union, call a special meeting.

Never try to educate a child with a starved stomach.

The profits of prostitution are reflected in the mansions of the East End.

Society honours profiteers. Imprisons pioneers.

Chastity and low wages are like the North and South Poles—they are far apart.

A woman who marries a man for love, should most certainly object to him staying with the boss more than eight hours.

If your boss hits you, hit him back. Never vent your spite on your children.

We saw the other day some dummies dressed up in 50,000 dol. costumes. We also saw a woman, on a hot day, wearing a big coat to hide her shabby dress. Funny about those dummies, isn't it?

If you were poor because you drank? Will someone kindly tell us how many millionaires are to be found in the workers of Superior, since that city went dry? Some job!

Said a girl the other night, as she watched a poor moth get its wings singed by a light, "Oh, that poor moth!" Said the same girl next day, "Gee, our boys are going some, they killed ten thousand Germans!"

**Farmer Thieves Fined.**

Mooncoin farmers, summoned by the D.I., were ordered to pay arrears of wages fraudulently withheld, amounting to £2 10s., £14 16s. 1d., and £2 5s. The bench "punished" them with fines of 1s. each.

On Wednesday Cathal O'Shannon and Peadar O'Donnell spoke at a large meeting in the Town Hall, Armagh. On Sunday evening O'Shannon and a delegation from the Maryboro' N.U.R. and I.T. and G.W.U. founded a branch of the union at Abbeyleix. At night the organiser lectured for the branch in Maryboro'. On Monday Arklow branch agreed to accept the 12½ per cent. made in the recent arbitration, and press for other changes. The Warrenpoint branch got a penny an hour advance in wages and the bonus of 12½ per cent. in their shipyard arbitration.

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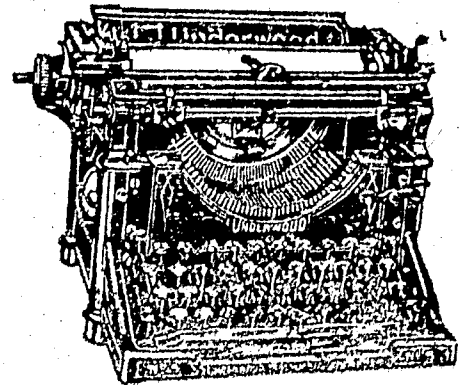
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## High Wages and Better Business.

Last week the contributor of our Irish Women Workers' Notes said: "The root of the evil of women's sweated wages lies in careless and indifferent management. Where cheap labour is employed, no effort is made to enforce good management by pushing up wages." This truth is obvious to anyone who contrasts the inefficient conduct of industries in Ireland, even in prosperous, pushing Belfast, with the up to the minute scientific management originating in America, and now becoming naturalised in England.

But the "dark brothers," as the "Leader" used to call them, still regard anyone who seeks to raise the Irish workers' standard of living as an enemy of Irish industrial development and an importer of English socialism in league with English manufacturers.

Last week Sir Leo Georgio Chiezza-Money gave an interview to the "Sunday Chronicle" on the subject of wages and production. He spoke primarily of England and English conditions, but his message is much more needed in Ireland although year in and year out the "Homestead" has been reiterating similar economic doctrines, and a few employers of labour like H. C. Watson of the Court Laundry have been in an unfavourably circumstanced industry endeavouring to apply them.

### HOW "MONEY" TALKS.

"There are those who believe that the rise of wages in this country has been a misfortune for the country. I do not.

"I say now what I said before the war, that only through a rise of wages can we attain to an adequate production. You find it is forgotten that without high wages the home market can only be a poverty-stricken market.

"Before the war 35s. a week was a sort of 'high top-gallant' for the British working masses, and millions there were who had no hope of ever seeing 35s. any week until the war broke out.

"What was the result? The workers were too poor to buy the things they themselves made, or to buy what their fellows made. The boot-maker could only occasionally buy a hat, and then only a poor one. Conversely, the hat-maker could rarely buy a pair of boots, and then only cheap ones. This melancholy process I called before the war, 'The Frustration of Production,' and I call it that still, and shall continue so to call it as long as the melancholy system of low wages remains.

"And it does still remain in some places in spite of the war. Still there are charwomen in London glad to work for 5d. an hour, and a man can still be hired for 6s. a day.

### A HIGH WAGES FALLACY.

"It would be a misfortune of the first water for the nation if the war did not kill the low-wage system. Given high wages and we can have a rich home market formed of nine million families living in comfort, with all its concomitants of enlarged production, reduced costs, and economic strength.

"The idea that high wages necessarily mean dear goods is all nonsense. The Ford motor car—a cheap enough article—is made by men with a minimum wage of £1 a day, whereas the few high-priced motor-cars which we condescended to make before the war were constructed by men who rarely earned more than £2 a week.

"So it was with watches, tools, iron pipes, and many other things, and so it will be after the war with a host of manufactures if we have the folly to revert to low wages while America ever advances in the high wage idea.

"I want a nation of 45 millions of well-paid people, and we can easily have it; nothing else ought to content us.

"And let me not forget to add—or rather to quote—that 'man does not live by bread alone.' Government interference in industry means the people's interference in industry, because the people govern in an industrial democracy.

"In the new times that are coming the worker will have, I hope, a real lot and part in the government of the work which does so much to mould a man's life.

"It is not our leisure which frames our character in the long run, but our work, and it should be the business of every thinking man to see to it that the workers of the country become one with the governors of the country—self-ruled in the sense that each man is responsible to his fellows, and respectful of himself and of his fellows, by virtue of self-government and co-operative effort."

### NORTH AND SOUTH.

#### A VOICE FROM CORK.

As a Southern trade unionist I thank you for your kind invitation to suggest means of overcoming the scruples of Northern workers. Well, if one may judge from the letters of Messrs. Baird and Adams the solution is very simple. If, as Catholics, we throw over the influence of "Rome"; as Nationalists our ideals of an "Irish nation"; as democrats, our belief in majority rule; as readers of history our knowledge of the true inwardness and extent of the Plantation of Ulster, then the lion will lie down—on the lamb—and the Imperialistic shipwright of Belfast hold out to his (ex) Nationalist co-worker the right hand of Ulster—without a bolt in it.

DIARMAID UA DONNABHAIN  
Cork.

### ANOTHER BOLT FROM BELFAST.

In your issue of September the 21st you allude to the fact that "For merely permitting a discussion on the popular control of education in its pages, the 'Irish Peasant,' a very brilliant little paper, was suppressed by an eminent cleric."

During recent years several papers have been suppressed by an "alien Government," and a storm of protest was rightly raised, but so far as I can learn, little or no protest was made against the action of that "Eminent Cleric," who, without reasonable cause, acted with greater tyranny than "The Bloody and Brutal Saxon."

Sir, I ask how can a people claim the right of "self-determination" who are too cowardly to resist, or even resent, such an exhibition of clerical interference in secular affairs expect to be endowed with further political power when they allow a cleric to dictate to them what newspapers they shall or shall not read, or even publish?

It is incidents such as this that strengthen the belief that Home Rule would be Rome Rule, and makes it difficult for those of us who support what is sometimes called the "popular cause" to justify our position.

I fully realize that in dealing with a question such as this I am treading on dangerous ground, but am strongly of opinion that without a system of education suited to the needs of the country, and managed on popular lines, Ireland will not be able to take that position in the forefront of the nations which she might occupy if the native ability of her sons and daughters was fully developed.

JAMES BAIRD.

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L.-E. O'CARROLL, Secretary, Technical Education Committee for the City of Dublin. Offices, 18 Rutland Square.

Printed for the "Irish Labour Press," 27 Dawson St., by Messrs. Cahill and Co., Ltd., Omond Quay, Dublin. Registered as a Newspaper.