

SHALL MOONEY HANG?

IRISH OPINION

The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

NEW SERIES. VOL. I, No. 48.

OCTOBER 26 1918.

ONE PENNY

Tom Mooney Dies on 13th December, unless—

SHALL MOONEY HANG ON DECEMBER 13?

Never before in the history of the world has a criminal trial evoked such world-wide interest as the prosecution of Tom and Rena Mooney, Edward D. Nolan, Israel Weinberg and Warren K. Billings.

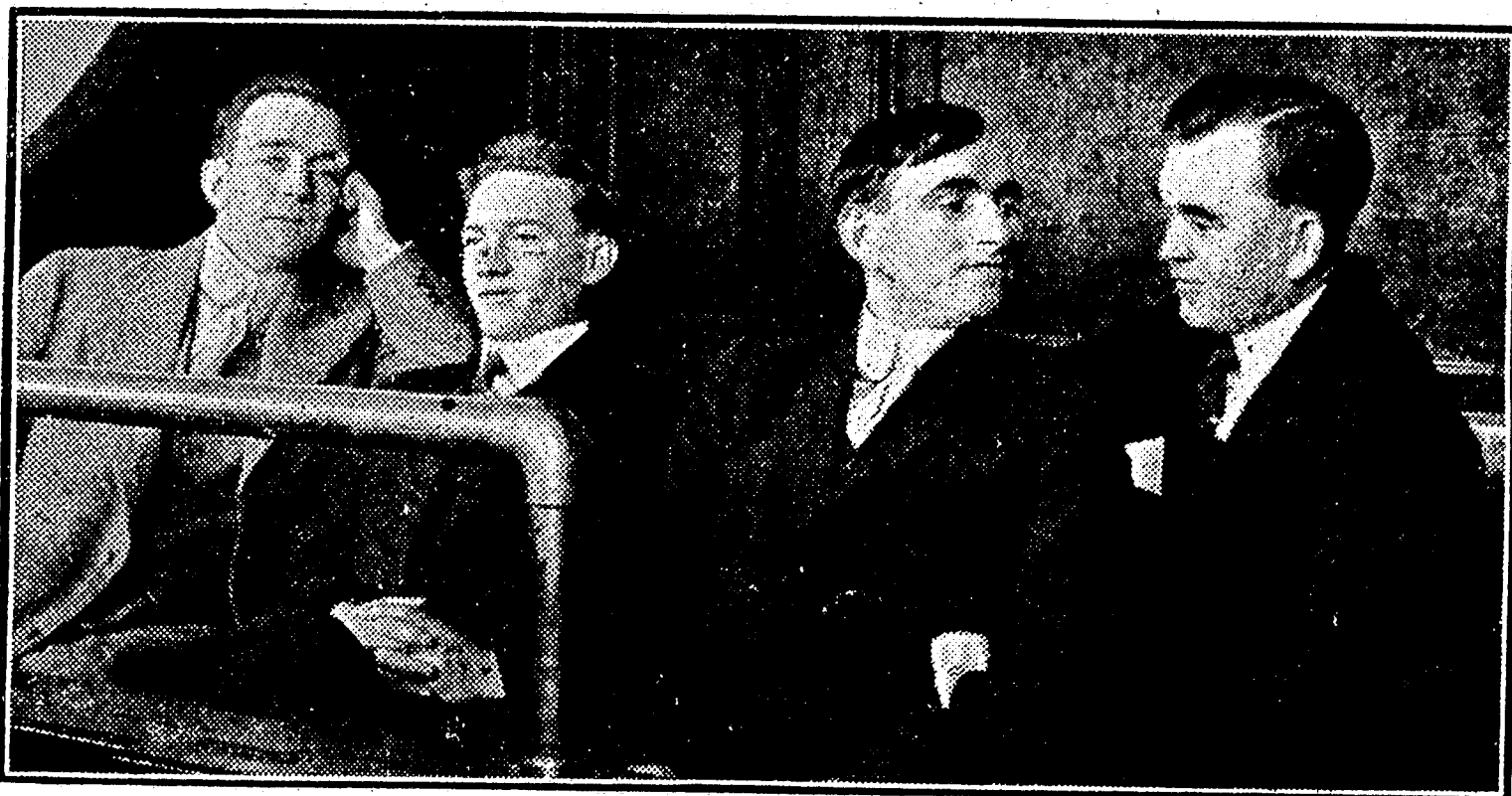
Never before has the issue of life or death for a simple citizen of the working class become an issue of international politics.

"I believe," says Bourke Cochran, a noted Democrat and friend of President Wilson "I believe that the injustice to Mooney is the prime cause of driving Russia out of the war."

"It is now well known that the attention to the situation in the East was first aroused through meetings of protest against the Mooney conviction in Russia. From Russia and the Western States protests spread to the entire country until it has gathered momentum from many sources, sources whose opposition to violence is unquestioned, whose devotion to our cause in the war is unstinted.

"The liberal sentiment of Russia was aroused, the liberal sentiment of the United States, was aroused because the circumstances of Mooney's prosecution, in the light of his history, led to the belief that the terrible and sacred instruments of criminal justice were consciously or unconsciously made use of against labour by its enemies in an industrial conflict.

"However strange, or however unexpected it may be, the just disposition of the Mooney case thus affects influences far beyond the confines of California, and California can be depended upon to see the wider implications of the case."—President Wilson's Commissioners.



Edward D. Nolan, Warren K. Billings, Israel Weinberg, Thomas J. Mooney.

THE VICTIMS IN THE DOCK.

The Story of the Frame-Up.

THE STORY OF THE FRAME-UP.

The Characters.

Tom Mooney.—A member in continuous good standing for fifteen years, in the International Moulders' Union of North America, and organiser for Amalgamated Association of Street Car Men.

Rena Mooney.—Tom's wife, a music teacher, who helped him to organise the United Railroad men in San Francisco.

Edward D. Nolan.—Delegate of Lodge 68 to Machinists' (Engineers) National Convention. Captain of pickets in engineers' strike.

Warren K. Billings.—Past President,

Shoe Workers' Union. His assassination was attempted by a hired scab during shoe strike in 1912.

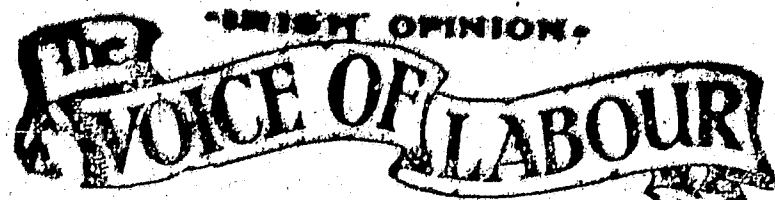
Israel Weinberg.—Member in good standing local No. 483, Carpenters' Union Executive Board, member Jitney Bus Operators' Union.

The No-Characters.

Martin Swanson.—Private detective employed by Pacific Gas and Electric Co. and United Railroads to keep tab on Labour Union officials. The man who worked up the case against the five named above.

Charles M. Fickert.—Lawyer to secure whose election as District Attorney the United Railroads spent 100,000 dollars.

(Continued on page 461.)



Edited by GATHAL O'SHANNON.

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IRISH LABOUR AND THE PEACE SETTLEMENT.

Whatever be the faults and shortcomings (and they are neither few nor important, although we do not agree that lack of imagination and want of clarity in thought are among them) of the men who presently lead the Labour movement in Ireland, it is to be accredited to them that for the first time in our history they have given the Irish working class not only a national policy but an international policy, not only a home policy but a foreign policy. That foreign policy has two aspects, and to neither can justice be done unless justice is done to the other. Those two aspects are the adherence of Irish Labour to Internationalism and its adherence to the principle of self-determination in the most absolute sense.

Throughout the whole course of the war, both before and after the death of James Connolly, the Left wing of Irish Labour was consistently opposed to the war and as consistently devoted to the International. When the International was sundered the Irish Left refused to surrender its belief and its hope in the resurrection of that organ of the working class of all countries. Every attempt to bring the International together again had the support of Irish Labour. Every party and every fraction of the Labour movement which remained true to the International had the backing of Irish Labour. The Irish Left itself attempted to take its place in the Stockholm Conference. It did not succeed because the Stockholm Conference was knocked on the head, but had the Conference met it is now no secret Irish Labour would have had its spokesmen there.

But if the International itself did not meet the propaganda of Irish Labour in the national units of the International did not cease, and it has not been without its effect. Again and again the views of Irish Labour have been put before our comrades in other countries and the Labour parties they control. No trouble was

too great, no risk too big, to prevent the readers of Irish Labour from influencing Labour in other countries. And that task has been successful to a measure greater than the resources and the power of the movement might have led some of us to expect. It is not indeed as great as some of us would wish. But it has been great enough to influence the men who will reconstruct the International and speak in the name of the majority parties in the Labour movement in all countries when the formal peace which is near at hand becomes an accomplished fact.

Irish Labour can flatter itself that, thanks to its derivation from James Connolly and no less to its own propaganda and effort, it has won the Soviet of Russia to its side. It has won the Socialist Party in America to its side. It has Labour in Australia and South Africa on its side. It has won official Socialism in Italy to its side. Above and before all, except the Soviet, it has won the respect and the friendship of the French Socialist leader, who at long last, after many hard battles, commands the majority of the Socialist Party in France. It was Irish Labour which won Longuet over to our side, and Longuet is now not only commanding the majority of his party but he is now the most powerful of the French representatives on the International itself.

Nor is this all. The hardest and most difficult task Irish Labour set before itself, the conversion of British Labour, seems at length about to be accomplished. The end is not yet, but it is nearer than it was a month or two ago. Compare, for instance, the utterances of Mr. Arthur Henderson last week and with his utterances on, say, the Irish Convention, and say whether all the work of Irish Labour in England has been fruitless. Not indeed that we are going to go into ecstasies over what Mr. Henderson has said, for he has not yet given full and complete satisfaction. But he is fairly on the way, and in justice both to British Labour and to Irish Labour we must ungrudgingly acknowledge the help the British Labour Party has given the Irish Labour Party in the fight against conscription. That help was won by Irish Labour without any sacrifice of its dignity as a separate and distinct party, without any sacrifice of the national dignity, and without lowering the flag a single inch.

"They heard from Ireland," said Mr. Henderson at Newcastle-on-Tyne, "that the Irish position was grave and menacing, that the Government's policy with regard to Home Rule, and especially with regard to conscription, was heading straight for a dangerous, and possibly disastrous, explosion. Ireland was virtually an occupied country and Labour demanded the adoption of such a conciliatory policy as would result in its liberation. As a first step, especially in view of the improved military position, they demanded that the Government should declare that no attempt would be made to impose conscription, which would be opposed with a strength and bitterness unparalleled in the history of the country.

Was it too much to hope that the Government would reconsider the position and take immediate steps to confer upon Ireland that to which she was entitled—namely, the right of self-government—and if they could not do this, they should undertake publicly to offer to leave the entire settlement of the question to the Peace Conference." With portions of that statement we can reasonably quarrel; but mark Henderson's alternative, "they should undertake publicly to offer to leave the entire settlement of the question to the Peace Conference."

Finally, Irish Labour has won to its side Camille Huysmans, Secretary to the International. These are no small or mean achievements. They mean that to Irish Labour the Labour parties abroad, even in England itself, for the authentic voice of the Irish workers and to the voice of Irish Labour our comrades in Russia, Germany, France, America, Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, South Africa and Australia are hearkening.

When the Peace Conference of the People's assemblies, the Workers' International, Lenin, Trotsky, Tchitcherin, Litvinoff, Scheidemann, Longuet, Henderson, Huysmans will be there. Will Bill O'Brien, or Jim Larkin or Farren or MacPartlin be there? When the Peace Congress of the belligerents meets side by side with it will meet the delegates of Labour from all nations. Will the seats of the Irish delegates be vacant or will they be occupied by men of a less representative status than Longuet, Huysmans and Henderson? Ay, when the delegations of the great Powers and the small nations at the Peace Congress have their Labour sections, when Lenin and Longuet and Huysmans and Henderson look for the Labour section of the Irish delegation will O'Brien or Larkin or Farren or MacPartlin be there to answer in the name of the Irish working class?

We do not know. We only know that it will not be Labour abroad that will keep Irish Labour out of the International, or Ireland out of the Peace Congress, or the Irish Labour Party out of the Irish delegation. It is the Irish workers and the Irish people who in this, as in all else, have the issue and the answer in their own hands.

SAGACIOUS SNIPPETS.

A profiteer is nothing no more nor less, than an efficient business man. Men go into business to make profits, not for the good of their health.

Profiteering comes from the profit system. Never try to stop a leak in the bathroom by mopping up the water.

There is nothing a capitalist fears more than a class-conscious worker. Hence the cry, "National Question First."

There is no "National Question" for Irish Labour, only the Fact of the Irish Nation.

If we remove economic strife, there will be no need for military strife.

NEXT WEEK:

T. Gordon Talks About Hotel Workers' Arbitration.

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

The Mansion House Meeting.

The campaign of the Labour candidates for the four Dublin seats opened successfully at the Mansion House meeting on Wednesday of last week. The meeting itself was bigger, more enthusiastic and more satisfactory than was anticipated in circles either within or without the Labour movement. Indeed, it is doubtful if what the Labour Party in any country can boast of such a successful first effort as the Irish Labour Party achieved last week. In all countries Labour has been a Cinderella, the despised, rejected and opposed of all parties and sections, but last week Irish Labour had many champions and many wooers. If a few of the wooers were more violent and vehement than most, the overwhelming majority were still champions. There were, of course, interruptions, questions and catch cries. There always will be. But on the whole even those who most vigorously opposed the platform behaved themselves fairly well. If some of them did attribute unworthy motives and mercenary aims to the Labour candidates one can only sorrow for them and regret that strong feelings sometimes carry even Dubliners beyond justice and reason. For a few of the interrupters, indeed, we have no forgiveness; they came to wreck and came at the command of Labour's own black sheep. But the vast majority backed the platform and backed it enthusiastically.

The Dublin Candidates.

The speeches of the night were undoubtedly those made by Tom Farren and Tom MacPartlin. MacPartlin made the meeting take its medicine in strong doses, but but it was Farren and MacPartlin who themselves always whip themselves. Farren aroused all the better feelings of his audience by his impassioned word-picture of the sufferings of the workers at the hands of employers of all parties. O'Brien and Johnson were more argumentative, and their arguments will stand, but it was Farren and MacPartlin who struck right home. After MacPartlin's turning of the tables we hope we have heard the last of the exploitation of Connolly against Labour. It isn't worthy of Dublin, nor of the cause our critics would serve. We little thought we should ever hear a professed Republican cry "Enough of Connolly," above all places in Dublin. There can never be enough of Connolly except in the sense in which MacPartlin gave more than enough of him for those who would abuse his name. And Irish Labour will never cease to preach Connolly, the complete Connolly.

Where They Stand.

The Dublin candidates made it quite clear and definite that they stand for a free and democratic Republic; that the form they work for (as O'Brien said they work for it, instead of waiting for it) is the Workers' Republic; that they will not be satisfied with a lower status than sovereign nationhood; that they maintain the right of the Irish people to full, absolute and untrammelled self-determina-

tion; that no matter what the form of government Ireland may be cursed or blessed with—Union, Home Rule, Colonial status, Monarchy or Republic—they will strive after the Workers' Republic; that if Congress should at any time reverse Labour's present policy of abstaining from Westminster they will immediately resign their seats and give their constituents their right to the free exercise of self-determination; and finally that they will maintain their independence of all parties now and in the future. We are glad to see that this was the conclusion arrived at by "Lector" of "New Ireland" even before the candidates had spoken.

Labour's Claims.

Mr. Andrew E. Malone, in his vigorous criticism of the Labour Manifesto, hardly allows for the natural egoism of parties when he draws attention to Labour's claim, that it has averted conscription. We think he will find that other parties have made the same claim for themselves with just as much or as little reason. Labour has not indeed been the only factor in the fight, but it has been a big and important factor, and naturally its own virtues are more apparent to itself than are those of others. Here, perhaps, it may not be out of place to say that in October as in April not only was Labour willing and ready at home, but its influence was as great abroad as it was in the early months of the year. Like the April mission the October mission was eminently successful. At the risk of being accused of log-rolling for one of our own colleagues we must congratulate Labour on the success of Tom Johnson's efforts in bringing British Labour into line with the National Executive of Irish Labour. We are never lavish of our praise in "The Voice," but praise is always worthy where it is due. Tom Johnson has done a good day's work for Ireland and for Labour in Ireland.

Amendments to the Constitution.

Fewer amendments than were expected have been sent in for Congress. On the whole they are not such as will commend themselves to those who want to see Irish Labour in the front line of progress. The Railway Clerks, for instance, would substitute for the first three objects as set forth in the draft of the new constitution a formula which seems to us to combine the British Labour Party's conception of things with the old Fabian I.L.P. conception. We prefer our own National Executive's conception and wording. The title the R.C.A. proposes, "Irish Parliamentary Labour Party," is redundant, since a Labour Party can never be anything but a Parliamentary Party, that is to say, a political party functioning politically through a parliament. All political parties are parliamentary parties. Other amendments from the R.C.A. are more to the point, but this pair will, we hope, not stand. Limerick Trades Council is opposed to the extension of membership of the Party to subscribing members who are not trades unionists, but it seems to forget that all the dangers it

foresees have been provided against, and that the power of the subscribing groups would be infinitesimal compared with that of the Unions, while it is essential that provision be made for bringing women voters within the fold. Its amendment to paragraph 4 is not a question for Congress at all, but one of the internal management of unions. We are altogether opposed to Limerick's proposal, that representation on the N.E. should be by territory. There are no geographical areas within Labour in Ireland, and there can be no representation by territory other than the rough and ready arrangement at present prevailing. The Women Workers ask for a democratically controlled League of Nations which shall promote international unity and safeguard the right of small nationalities. Frankly, we are not enamoured of any of the forms of the League of Nations that have been proposed. In our opinion the N.E. rightly decides not to bind Irish Labour to any particular formula of a League, and we note that the recent Congress of the French Socialist Party has taken the same line. Small nationalities are not small states, and any League of Nations will be confined to states—except for material exploitation. Waterford Trades Council adds to paragraph 10 a clause reading: "By Parliament shall be meant a Parliament representative of the Irish people and sitting in Ireland." If by this Waterford means that Irish Labour members shall sit in no Parliament outside Ireland, well and good; but if it means that Labour must wait until an Irish Parliament has been established before it seeks parliamentary representation we emphatically disagree.

The Fight on the Land.

The farmers' organisations are organising apace, and on a national scale. At the same time it is good to see that the agricultural workers are still trooping into the trade unions, although most of their effective work is done for the season. It is clear that a titanic struggle is preparing on the land. The farmers are spreading their organisation throughout the land, and employing university men at big salaries to be their secretaries. Good. When the big offensive comes next spring and summer we shall put our money on the trade leaders who have graduated in the hard school of Trade Unionism.

IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

Mr. Hector Hughes, B.L., will be the principal speaker at the meeting of the above society on Tuesday, 29th October, at 8 p.m., sharp, at 34 Westmoreland St., Dublin. Admission free.

All matter for publication, editorial and advertising, must reach this office on Mondays. We cannot guarantee to execute orders for copies received later than Tuesday evening.

LABOUR IN IRELAND

POLITICAL NOTES.

The National Executive has sanctioned the candidature of Jim Larkin for The Harbour, Wm. O'Brien for St. Michan's, Thos. McPartlin for College Green, and Thos. Farren for St. Patrick's. The candidates have taken the pledge to resign their seats if they should at any time differ radically in policy from the N.E. and Congress. Jim Larkin's acceptance of the policy and pledge of the Irish Labour Party was cabled from New York, and it was accompanied by the congratulations of the Connolly Club.

On Tuesday night of last week a membership meeting of the Waterford Unions filled the Town Hall and heard the policy and programme of the N.E. explained by Cathal O'Shannon. A plebiscite of the Unions will decide whether a Labour candidate will be nominated for Waterford.

The Wexford Conference, addressed by M. J. O'Lehane, has decided that the General Election is too near at hand to enable Labour in Wexford to put up a candidate. The Conference will re-assemble on November 1st to organise machinery for future elections and raise funds for Labour's election campaign. It is noteworthy that at the Wexford Conference the rural and agricultural delegates were keen on putting forward a Labour candidate.

The keenness of the agricultural workers to put up Labour men has been surprising. The branches in South Kilkenny and North Mayo are asking for Conferences, and in other rural constituencies the question is being eagerly canvassed. The North Dublin men are talking of putting up a man, but no definite step in this direction has yet been taken.

Wednesday night's meeting in the Mansion House gave the Dublin candidates a good send-off in despite of the minority supporting the interrupters. The daily press, of course, gave more space to the interruptions than to the pointed arguments of the speakers. The best report appeared in "The Saturday Post," but even the "Post's" report is inaccurate in important particulars. The moral is that those who want to know what the Labour men are saying should come and hear them, and not take the press reports as authentic records of Labour men's speeches. The whole daily press is

the bitter and unscrupulous enemy of Labour. The Special Congress, it has been decided, will be given an opportunity of debating the policy and manifesto of the N.E.

ACTIVITY IN S.E.

Pat Coates has given the Kilkenny farmers a rest by paying a visit to L. A. Veale's area, where he spoke at **Dungarvan**. At **Ballyraggett** he found the minimum wage regulations were generally ignored, but a Transport branch has been formed and a change will take place. At **Thomastown** Coates spoke acceptably on the work of the Irish Labour Party.

At **Hugginstown** and **Innistoge** the labourers are oppressed by the ghostly enemy of the working-class—the fear of the boss—and consequently large numbers are silently suffering the theft of legal wages due, wrongfully and immorally withheld by the pious farmers who complain that "prices" are too low to enable them to live.

These thieves, secure in the possession of the land redeemed for them by the workers of Ireland, rural and urban, dismiss any man who dares to claim and boycott him all over the district.

We prefer that in all cases the clergy should not be called upon to side with either of the classes in the ordinary class struggle, but there is a moral issue involved in this matter, and it requires their urgent attention.

In contrast we may once more refer to the action of Carrick-on-Suir Farmers' Association, which has brought all its influence to bear upon farmers who refused to pay the minimum wage. Largely through the healthy influence of the Association, **Piltown** Transport Workers have recovered £202 of arrears. **Three Brass Balls**.

In **Cork** the **Pawnbrokers' Assistants'** section of the Transport Union have secured a 25 per cent. advance in wages, a full fortnight's holidays, and much reduced hours of working. One boss claims the right to open as early as he likes, but his assistants are to work no more hours and start no earlier than in other pawn-offices.

There is one class that counts—the working class.

BOARD OF TRADE FIGURES.

Complaints have reached us that farmers are using the Board of Trade figures of the cost of living quoted recently by us against the labourers' claims. It must be remembered that these figures are an average of prices all over the British Isles, and in some districts the cost of living must be higher than the B.O.T. returns show.

Owing to the high freights of our railways and our uneconomic hierarchy of middlemen and shopkeepers who stand between the producers and consumers, it will be found that in some country districts and many towns, large and small, the prices of all goods are higher than in the big centres of population in England.

If farmers are inclined to investigate the cost of living more thoroughly than is possible in our pages, let us recommend to them B. Seebohm Rowntree's new work, "The Human Needs of Labour," price 3s. 6d., or 3s. 10d. post free, from T. Nelson and Sons, Publishers, Edinburgh.

Every labour organiser ought to have a copy of this scientific inquiry into the facts of working-class life.

Rowntree is personally an idealist, but in this book, as in "Poverty," his earlier contribution to sociological studies, he is bent on ascertaining the actual basic human needs of the workers and in finding their money cost.

With Rowntree's method in mind and his books as guides, the work of preparing wages claims on a practical scale will be made much easier and the results more certain than by following rule of thumb, guess-work and bluff methods adopted in the past. A widespread study of the "Human Needs of Labour" might well have a revolutionary effect in Ireland.

The cult of St. Francis has been too often wrongly emphasised in Ireland. Poverty has been accepted as a dispensation of Providence and an aid to spiritual progress. It is neither when the cause of poverty is realised to be capitalism and the subjection of the workers here and now compared with the status of the English workers when the preaching of the Friars in the 14th century inspired them to fight for social justice.

Two Dublin Unions have amalgamated—the North with the South. 'Tis a lesson much needed at the Trades Hall.

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Thomas J. Mooney.

Full Story of the Mooney Frame-Up.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE IN IRELAND?

Nearly a quarter million dollars have been raised in U.S.A. to finance the campaign for the release of Mooney and Billings, and of Rena Mooney, Edward Nolan and Israel Weinberg, who although acquitted, are still held in jail—bail being refused by Judge Dunne because it was offered in "Liberty Bonds" instead of cash.

More money is needed to see the case through, and "The Voice of Labour" is willing to receive subscriptions to aid our American comrades in awakening the workers of Europe.

Jack B. Mooney, brother of Tom, is at present in England, and his campaign there has secured the support of the British Trade Union Congress, Miners' Federation, London Trades Council, and many other Labour organisations. Jack Mooney is treasurer of the Moulders' Defence Committee, and money should be remitted to—

JACK B. MOONEY,
Care of "The Voice of Labour,"
27 Dawson Street, Dublin.

RESOLUTIONS WANTED:

Every Labour organisation, Trades Council, Unions, Union Branches should adopt a resolution on this model:—

"This meeting of representing Irish workers, calls upon President Wilson to adopt means to secure either a new trial for Thomas J. Mooney or his release, in accordance with the recommendations of the Mediation Commission."

Copies of this resolution should be sent to—

President Wilson, The White House,
Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
The American Ambassador,
6 Grosvenor Gardens, London, S.W.

Copies should also be sent to the nearest American Consul as follows:—

Hon. Hunter Sharp,
American Consul, Belfast.
Chas. Hathaway, Esq.,
American Consul, Cork.
Edward L. Adams, Esq.,
American Consul,
9 Leinster Street, Dublin.
John A. Dinan, Esq.,
American Consul, Limerick.
Philip O'Hagan, Esq.,
American Consul, Derry.



Rena Mooney.

THE STRIKE OF JULY, 1916.

In 1907 President Calhoun, of the United Railroads, tried to save himself from the Penitentiary by diverting public attention from his intromissions with company funds by secretly provoking a strike of the carmen. The carmen had good reason to strike and put up a genuine fight, until the company was bled for over a million dollars, spent in hiring gunmen to break the strike. After the strike, indictments for fraudulent malpractices were filed against the company's officers, but they secured the election of Charles M. Fickert as District Attorney (equal to Crown Solicitor), who, in each case, declined to prosecute. He was kept on the job to down Labour when required.

In July, 1916, Tom Mooney was organiser of the Carmen's Union when the inflation of the cost of living compelled the shrinking slaves of the United Railroad to organise and demand a living wage.

The organisation was done secretly. No employee dare be known as a Union member. But the company had its spies in the Union and Mooney was followed all day and his house watched day and night by armed spies under control of Detective Martin Swanson.

As early as June 10th attempts had been made to involve Mooney in a bomb outrage at the U.R.R. power works, and Swanson offered 5,000 dollars to three different men if they would testify that Mooney had gone to the scene of the explosion. Two of these men were Warren K. Billings and Israel Weinberg. Billings is now in jail and Weinberg awaits trial for murder, both on cases "made" by Swanson.

(Continued from front page.)

John MacDonald.—Alias MacDaniels. Frame-up witness.

John Crowley.—Another hired witness. Convicted felon.

Estelle Smith.—Variously known as Miss and Mrs., Smith, Starr, and Moore. Indicted as accomplice in murder trial, turned States evidence in disorderly house prosecution, "utterly depraved and beyond the reach of any good influence." Framed-up witness.

Earl R. Moore.—Former strike-breaker, now a policeman.

Steve Bunner.—Policeman. Witness in a former Frame-up case.

Louis Rominger.—Former detective and strike-breaker at Spokane, Wash.

F. C. Oxman.—Illiterate hireling who procured two witnesses, F. E. Rigall and Mrs. J. D. Rigall, to commit perjury. "You will only hafta say you seen me on July 22 in San Frisco and that will be Easy dun," he wrote. An Illinois man, and, according to John H. Walker, president III, Federation of Labour, "a thief, wife deserter, professional witness; in short, the prize scoundrel of the County in Illinois that he called his home."

William Stephens.—Governor of California, running for election in November. Has postponed Mooney's execution until 13th December, hoping thereby to gain support by raising Labour's hopes. If re-elected, can finish the job to order of Chamber of Commerce. Has refused President Wilson's request for new trial of Mooney.

(Continued on Column 3.)

Fully warned by these attempts to suborn trusted friends in the Labour movement that any effort to better the conditions of railroad carmen would almost certainly involve his death sentence, Tom Mooney was not deterred by fear of consequences.

He laid his plans for a strike—negotiations being impossible—but the company and the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce had their plans laid too.

Gunmen from the service of John D. Rockefeller, junior, who had waded in workers' blood at Ludlow, Bayonne, and in the West Virginia coal dispute, were imported by the hundreds and paid by the Chamber of Commerce. Captain Dollar, the shipping magnate, said to them:—"Fill the ambulances with Union men."

Big capital, not content with filling the carcasses of strike pickets with lead, was on for bigger things, and to inflame the war spirit a "Preparedness Parade" was projected. Not enough to have the blood-hungry maniacs, the armaments company shareholders, and jewelled society women in the parade, the Chamber sent forth the order that "Labour MUST March."

San Francisco Labour Council, with Jack B. Mooney, Tom's brother, in the chair, decided that the Union members would not march with scabs and society swankers. The abstention of Labour was its protest against militarism, and the Parade that was planned to display 150,000 tame wage-slaves could only muster 20,000 employers, society women and poor-spirited non-Unionists.

Before the parade took place, its promoters, the police and the press received hundreds of anonymous letters threatening outrages, letters concocted by the hired thugs of the Chamber of Commerce. Not one word of the impending danger, was allowed to appear in the newspapers. A journalist gave the word to the Labour Unions that trouble was planned and the Unions exerted themselves to keep workers away from the parade.

THE CRIME.

On July 22nd, 1916, the much boosted Preparedness Parade, ordered and paid for by the munitions manufacturers, took place. Steuart Street, San Francisco, was filled with paraders waiting for the signal to march. As the parade moved into Market Street, Dr. J. Mora Moss, a leading physician, who walked in the procession, raised his eyes for a moment and saw a large black cylinder crash down among the crowd, from above.

A tremendous explosion followed, and ten men, women and children lay dead, while fifty others were wounded.

From her window in the Hotel Terminal, Mrs. Janie K. Compton saw the bomb thrower on the roof of a building opposite the hotel. Mrs. Fanny Dahl, Chas. F. Hollfelder, Louis Eris, and Mrs. Maud Masterson, all offered testimony that they saw the bomb drop from the roof on to the crowd.

The police told each of them that their evidence was not needed.

No, for the police case was to be that Warren K. Billings and Tom Mooney had fetched the bomb to the scene of the explosion in a suit case which concealed a timed bomb, left it on the ground and scurried away, breaking the ranks of the procession to do so. In their search for evidence, the authorities found several witnesses who had seen a small dark foreigner leave a suit case on the ground for a few minutes near the scene of the explosion. **THEIR TESTIMONY WAS NOT USED**—for Warren K. Billings, the man wanted to be hanged, was not dark but blonde, not a foreigner but an American.

Before evening District Attorney C. M. Fickert, who had the whole police force at his command, had called to his aid Martin Swanson, the private detective, captain of gunmen and strike-breakers.

The "Frame-Up" Begins.

The explosion took place at 6 minutes past two. Shortly afterwards, Captain Dollar, millionaire ship-owner, employer of Chinese labour contrary to State laws, and generous donor of Theological Seminaries, phoned to Newton Lynch, Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce, "**This is a fine chance for the open-shop.**" At that moment of tragedy these men had no thought for aught but how to use the crime to smash the labour unions.

Swanson's first act was to hand the police a list of labour union officials with the instruction, "see which of them were in the city during the explosion."

The five selected scapegoats were:—Warren K. Billings, Thomas T. Mooney, Mrs. Rena Mooney, Edward D. Nolan, and Israel Weinberg.

Note the system. The evidence of eye-witnesses is rejected. It is assumed that Labour Union officials must have committed the crime. The five most active workers in the Trade Union movement are selected as victims, and the case has to be built to convict them.

Swanson did not want to figure in the case. "Don't you think," said he to Attorney Maxwell McNutt, "that if we can keep the private detectives' names out of this, and make the public think the regular officers of the law have worked up this case, **we can hang Billings and then get Mooney—the man we want.**"

Billings was arrested at an hospital where he was a regular out-patient, his hours for visiting being known to Swanson. The Mooneys after witnessing the parade from the roof of Mrs. Mooney's music studio, a mile and a half away from the scene of the disaster, said good-bye to Mrs. Mooney's pupils, who had come to the studio to see the procession, and on Monday, two days later, went to Camp Montesanno for a vacation. As usual they sent several postcards to their city friends from this resort. The fact of their going there had been canvassed among their friends for weeks before. **Yet Tom Mooney has been sentenced to**

death on the theory that he and his wife were there in hiding.

When rowing one day, Tom picked up that day's issue of the San Francisco "Examiner," and found that a warrant had been issued for his arrest and that he was "a fugitive from justice." He returned at once to Camp, dressed, and wired to the chief of police at Frisco that he and his wife were on holiday, but were returning to Frisco by next train. At Querneville the train was held up by detectives who arrested Tom and Rena and took their tickets from them. They were bundled on an automobile and conveyed to Frisco by a roundabout route while the private detectives filled the press with imaginative stories of the Mooneys' plans to evade arrest. Rena Mooney was not lodged in a regular cell but in a bath-room with a pallet or rags and the bath seat for a bed. Rena Mooney's torturer was Assistant District Attorney James Brennan, the only Irishman figuring among the manipulators of the "Frame-up." After Billings' conviction he resigned—but too late for the realisation of his political ambitions. Labour has a tab on him now as the man who would have hanged Billings, who has shut Billings up for life, and who laid the original plans to hang Tom Mooney.

BRIBING THE DEFENCE LAWYERS.

Brennan met John G. Lawlor, Attorney for Billings, in the corridor of the Hall of Justice, and said: "Jack, you're a big leaguer, if you get this fellow to come through. **WE'LL GIVE YOU 15,000 DOLLARS** and you can give him five or ten thousand as you please, and we'll get him out of the country." The bribe was refused.

BUYING THE WITNESSES.

SEVENTEEN THOUSAND DOLLARS were offered for evidence that would convict, and gambling hells, fan-tan shops, opium dens and brothels vomited out the creatures that once were men; "ready to swear away the lives of their fellow for gold."

We dare not in this journal set forth the records of these witnesses. The mere mention of the crimes proven against them and recorded in the police archives of California would be indecent. Suffice it to say that Billings was convicted on the testimony of one prostitute, one convict, and one drug victim, and even **they swore that Billings was in three different places at the same time!**

The Mooney Defence Committee has obtained the original letter written by Mrs. Kidwell, mother of Estelle Smith, the star witness, in which she informed her husband, then a prisoner in Folsom Penitentiary, that he would be released if she identified Mooney and swore she saw him at one of the spots figuring in the trial.

District Attorney Fickert admits having promised the release of Kidwell the forger if his wife did the job.

Charles Organ, three times convicted of forgery, was brought forward as a witness with a promise of share of the 15,000 dollars if he identified Mooney.



Israel Weinberg,

Thomas J. Mooney,

Warren K. Billings.

Ed. D. Nolan.

He was brought to Frisco and Mooney was brought out of his cell and paraded before Organ and the detectives. Organ refused to identify the man he had never seen before.

DEFENCE HAMPERED.

William H. Taylor, who spoke to the swarthy foreigner, was arrested by the police and deported to Stockton; L. M. Prendergast, a G.A.R. veteran, was thrown out of Fickert's office for sticking to his story. E. E. Kimberlin, who volunteered evidence about the suit-case, was concealed from the defence until the Billings trial was over.

A PROFESSIONAL JURY.

The corrupt state of public life in California is clearly evidenced by the working of the jury system.

To relieve the busy dollar hunting citizens from jury attendance a system of professional juries has grown up. Old men of the political party hanger-on class haunt the precincts of the courts waiting their chance of earning two dollars for adjudicating on criminal and civil cases, and whenever possible delaying their decision to secure a free meal at State expense. One of the Billings jurymen has made 1,048 dollars in the last few years, another has netted 616 dollars, and in two years a third earned 702 dollars by pleasing the District Attorney, on whose good will they depend for jury fees.

Such were the juries that tried Mooney and Billings—and carried out Brennan's order to give Billings a sentence for life, "so that he will tell us who are the really guilty parties."

Billings produced a perfect alibi which was supported by the evidence of the Chief of Police and witnesses of good repute.

Mooney's defence rested on the evidence of friends who were with him at his home away from the scene of the outrage and of persons who had seen him there.

The defence accidentally learned that the District Attorney had photographs

which absolutely clinched the case for the defence, proving it to be true beyond a shadow of doubt. The photos had been made by a young man on the next house. They showed the street below, and only by chance, included pictures of Tom and Rena Mooney as they leaned on the parapet watching the parade file through the street. The clinching point was that the clock on the opposite side of the street clearly showed on the original photograph, the time, **1 minute past two**, when, according to the prosecution, Mooney was engaged one and a half miles away in the dastardly work of bomb throwing!

The suppression of this photograph secured the conviction of Billings and Mooney. Billings is now a prisoner for life and Mooney will hang on December 13th unless—?

DETECTIVE PHOTOGRAPHY.

The discovery of Hamilton Wade's photos of Tom and Rena Mooney was for a time suppressed by the prosecution, which, when compelled to produce the pictures, did not put in the negative but submitted photographic prints obtained by printing from the negative, then photographing the print and repeating that process until the fine details of the original were lost. The figures and hands of the tell-tale clock did not appear on the prints which the judge and jury saw.

When the defence procured the original film, the innocence of the Mooneys was established beyond question, but to check the mendacity of the unscrupulous prosecution and its witnesses bought in the under world, every inch of cinematograph film taken in the city on Preparedness Day was examined. Thus it was established that if Estelle Smith's evidence was true in that she saw Billings after Mayor Rolph passed 721 Market Street, he could not have been at the scene of the crime, for a clock on a film picture showed the time as nine minutes to two. Estelle's mother and the sister of her "protector," Mrs. Adie

Kidwell, placed Mooney, Mrs. Mooney and Billings outside 721 Market Street when the soldiers were passing the block. Reference to the cinema films showed the time when the soldiers passed as 2 o'clock. Smith and Kidwell's testimony on which Billings was sentenced to life imprisonment was scrapped in the Mooney case. F. C. Oxman was produced to swear after careful drilling by Fickert that he saw Mooney drive down through the parade on the front seat of an automobile with the suit-case of dynamite on the footboard. The films fail to show this auto or any break in the procession!

OXMAN'S ATTEMPT TO PROCURE PERJURY.

F. C. Oxman came into the case with evidence that requires proof of his being on the spot when the events occurred. He hailed immediately from Oregon, but he tried to procure an old friend from Grayville, Ill., to swear that he saw Oxman at the scene of the tragedy. His friend, Rigall, came from Illinois at State expense, was sumptuously lodged, and furnished with introductions to Fickert's club, but when he realised the foulness of the plot in which he was to play a part, he backed out, escaped from San Francisco, and from the safety of his home State, communicated with the defence and placed Oxman's letters in their hands. These letters were used as levers by the defence in their plea for a new trial, but the judge of the Appeal Court decided that as the proofs of fraud did not appear on the records of the trial he must hold that Mooney's conviction was good in law.

SINCE THE CONVICTIONS.

San Francisco, the brilliant centre of California's community life, knowing the records of the witnesses and of the prosecutors also, was staggered by the decisions of the paid juries in the Billings and Mooney cases. The only capitalist daily free from big business influences, the "Bulletin," inaugurated a campaign in favour of their release. The Labour

Council agitated, petitioned, every authority in the country to obtain their freedom. The Moulders' Union organised a nation-wide protest and raised thousands of dollars to finance the campaign.

All was in vain.

Only when the newly-liberated Russian people, fired by this record of capitalist injustice, assembled in front of the American Embassy in Petrograd and clamoured for the release of "Muni," did the National authorities realise that back in the West, a corrupt gang of millionaire union-smashers were wreaking a grim vengeance on men whose sole crime was trying to realise the equitable principles on which the Constitution rested.

WILSON INTERVENES.

The Washington Government is not empowered to interfere in the affairs of the Federal States. Wilson could not in the ordinary way do more than ask a new trial for Mooney and Billings.

He appointed, however, a Mediation Commission, which investigated all the charges and the methods of the prosecution. The result of their inquiries is summarised below from the Report furnished to the President in January, 1918.

"The utilities against which Mooney directed his agitation or who suspected him of mischievous activities undoubtedly sought 'to get' Mooney. Their activities against him were directed by Swanson, private detective. It was Swanson who had engineered the investigation which resulted in Mooney's prosecution. It was Swanson who was active in the attempts to implicate Mooney in the dynamiting of electric towers in 1916, attempts which failed, it appears, because Billings and Weinberg refused offers of a 'reward' by Swanson to implicate Mooney. Shortly thereafter, the Preparedness Parade explosion occurs. Immediately Swanson takes a leading part, acting for the district attorney and the police in the investigation of the crime. Within four days, under Swanson's leadership, the arrest of Mooney and others is made.

"The Mooney Case' soon resolved itself into a new aspect of the old industrial feud, instead of a subject demanding a calm search for the truth.

Billings was tried first, undoubtedly in the hope that the pressure of his conviction would lead him to implicate Mooney. He was convicted. His conviction has been sustained. He has been sentenced to life imprisonment. He has not implicated Mooney, and he protests his innocence.

Following the trials of Billings and Mooney there was a change in the evidence, which not only resulted in the acquittal of Mrs. Mooney and Weinberg, but also cast doubt upon the prior convictions of Billings and Mooney.

Thus it is that evidence submitted on four trials, taken together, aimed as it was at the establishment of a single issue—their joint participation in the crime—leaves the mind in the greatest uncertainty as to the complicity of the ac-

cused. While each record in itself presents evidence which would justify the appellate court in sustaining the verdict of the jury, the evidence of the four cases in their entirety must shake confidence in the justice of the convictions. This is due to the **dubious character of the witnesses, subsequent revelations concerning them, and conflict in the testimony of the same witnesses, as the need for change in the testimony developed to fit new theories of the prosecution or new evidence by the defence.**

The most damaging testimony produced against Mooney came from a witness named Oxman. It was Oxman who testified, with convincing detail, to the presence of Mooney and Billings at the place and at the time where it was essential for them to have been if proof of their participation in the crime was to be established. After Mooney's conviction, there came to light letters confessedly written by Oxman prior to his having been called to testify. The plain import of these letters is an attempt by Oxman to suborn perjury in corroboration of vital testimony which he was to give and did give against Mooney. The fact is he did write letters which tend completely to discredit any testimony he might give, and no testimony from Oxman, in the light of the letters, would receive credence necessary to lead to conviction. In fact, after the exposure of Oxman, the district attorney did not call him, though available, as a witness in the trial of Mrs. Mooney. **When Oxman was discredited, the verdict against Mooney was discredited.** If the supreme court should find error, reverse and grant a new trial, relief the situation needs would be provided. If the court finds the record discloses no reversible error, and, therefore, affirms the conviction, **relief will have to be supplied through executive action of the Governor of California and co-operation of the prosecuting officer."**

WILSON'S APPEAL.

Following on this report and acting strictly within the Constitution, President Wilson sent this letter to Governor Stephens:—

The White House,

Washington, January 22, 1918.

My Dear Governor Stephens:

Will you permit a suggestion from me in these troubled times, which perhaps I should feel hardly justified in other circumstances?

The suggestion is this: Would it not be possible to postpone the execution of the sentence of Mooney until he can be tried upon one of the other indictments against him, in order to give full weight and consideration to the important changes which I understand have taken place in the evidence against him?

I urge this very respectfully, indeed, but very earnestly, because the case has assumed international importance, and I feel free to make the suggestion because I am sure that you are as anxious as any-

one can be to have no doubt or occasion of criticism of any sort attach itself to the case.

Cordially and sincerely yours,
WOODROW WILSON.

No action has followed.

Now American Labour is calling upon President Wilson to secure and use special war legislation to enable him to deliver the prisoners from the hands of their enemies. To that end July 28 was chosen as

NATIONAL MOONEY DAY.

Millions of workers attended meetings in every State, which were addressed not only by labour leaders, but by Congressmen and Senators and men and women of all parties. The press—such of it as is free from Standard Oil and Railroad Control—is unanimous that Mooney must not be hanged. "The Irish World" (N.Y.), "Father Dempsey's Magazine," and Jack Carney's paper "The Truth," have kept the Mooney case constantly before their readers, and by their service have shown once more the bond of blood and race that unites all Irishmen.

"NEW REPUBLIC" FLAYS FICKERT.

That progressive interpreter of modern American thought, the "New Republic" of New York, editorially reviews Fickert's lie about Felix Frankfurter, which attracted so much publicity some time ago.

The comment reads:—

"Possibly there is some mistake in the press reports that District Attorney Fickert has given his affidavit to the effect that Mr. Felix Frankfurter of the National Labour Administration, privately admitted his belief in Mooney's guilt and his desire to appease the radical elements in America and Russia. So preposterous a misrepresentation views could hardly issue from a mind quite in command of itself. Yet it sounds very like Fickert.

"Since he first made up his mind to fix the guilt upon Mooney, he has not missed a single chance, reasonable or not, to prejudice public opinion against his victim. If the alternative had been Mooney's life or his own, Fickert could not have conducted a more desperate and unscrupulous fight.

"Scandalous press campaigns, crooked evidence, class prejudice, all seemed legitimate means to Fickert, provided they helped him to kill his man. American judicial history can hardly afford a better instance of the public prosecutor, supposed officer of the court and guardian of justice, degenerated into a passionate primordial hunter of men."

Capitalism is NOT a social order. It is a social DISorder.

Don't sit watching the fight for working-class freedom. Get into it.

Mooney Must have New Trial. -New York Tribune

With the exception of the "Times" and the "Sun," the New York daily press is unanimous for a new trial for Mooney. Over twenty editorials have appeared in their columns since the Oxman exposure demanding a new trial for the condemned man.

The following editorial on the case appeared in the "New York Tribune":—

"The fate of Mooney has stirred the whole nation and awakened echoes around the world. Protests from London, Liverpool, Dublin, Paris and Russia have reached the Central Federated Union. We have much sympathy with the notion that in ordinary times the State of California is entitled to do justice within its borders without interference from without. But these are not ordinary times. The solidarity of this nation, the solidarity of our allies, precedes all else. And even in so domestic a concern as the preservation of law and order within a sovereign State the larger need must control.

"There can be no denying the grave doubts that have been thrown about Mooney's conviction. Without heeding the hysterics which have at times entered into the discussion of the case, we can feel amply justified in voicing doubt of his guilt. President Wilson's appeal in Mooney's behalf stated the case clearly and fairly.

"Mooney must not be put to death save after a new trial and a new conviction. That is the widespread belief of Americans whose hatred of Bolshevism in all its forms is fully equal to their hatred of injustice by judicial process."

THE DARK BROTHERHOOD.

To the Editor.

Sir,—I am a daily visitor to my co-operative branch, yet it was only on Saturday I saw a notice of a lantern lecture on "Co-operative Housing," which had been held on the previous Tuesday (15th) under the auspices of the Dublin Co-operative Joint Committee. "Why didn't they advertise in the "Voice"?" I must say, that despite its composition, the committee has not been brilliant in its efforts. Its circular now being distributed has a glaring misprint, and ought to be scrapped. This lecture, through their failure to advertise, might as well never been held.—Yours,

P. S.

[A lecture on "Co-operative Housing" by Judge Greenalgh, of the Ealing Town Tenants Ltd., would have been a matter of sufficient interest to justify free publicity. The "Voice" received no intimation of the lecture.—Ed.]

"I.A.W.S. Bulletin."

The new issue of the "Bulletin" is a treble number, with many excellently reproduced photographs recording the past three months' progress of the movement

in Ireland. The many correspondents who are clamouring for more information about co-operation should not fail to obtain the "Bulletin" from 151 Thomas Street, Dublin; price 3½d. post free.

National Co-operative Meeting

The Dublin Joint Committee has arranged a monster propaganda meeting for November 12th, at 8 p.m., in the Mansion House, Dublin. The speakers will include W. J. McGuffin, of Belfast Co-operative Society; George W. Russell, Wm. O'Brien, Sir H. Grattan Bellew, and Miss Cunningham, of Trinity Hall, Dublin. It would be worth while to use the ante-rooms for an exhibition of co-operative productions. It would enforce the points of the speeches.

Co-operative Expansion.

Tullyvin Co-op. Creamery Society has opened a general store to supply all household wants at less than shop prices. We trust this extension is made on the truly co-operative basis, and that purchasers are encouraged to become members of the Society.

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How I Saw Tom Mooney in Jail.

BY H. SHEEHY-SKEFFINGTON

A curious incident happened in connection with my visit to Mooney in prison. On applying at the usual visiting hour I was shown in to a room where a huge cage stood—like the monkey cage at the Zoo, and much worse than the prisoners' cage in Mountjoy Prison. Behind this were lined up 20 or 30 unfortunates, all trying to hold converse with their visitors on the other side. In the babel of tongues and in the darkness that all prison affect, it was impossible at first to hear or see, and when at last I discerned Tom Mooney behind the bars I asked was there no other way to see him? He smiled drolly, and said: "I'm afraid not. I've no great influence here, you know. But why not see the warden—Pete Kelly—he's an Irishman?" I nodded, and said I would, feeling however that it wasn't much use asking anything so human from a prison official, and expecting to be coolly referred to regulation D, sec. 5, clause X as an answer. Still I felt it was "up to" me to make some protest, for I believe in protests in prison. I asked for the warden (or governor), and was shown in to his office. He looked very stately indeed, and when I explained what I wanted he looked still more lofty and remote. I protested that I had come far, and that the cage system made conversation impossible. "Who are you, anyhow?" he asked, cutting me short with Western brusqueness. "I am Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington," I replied, feeling further away than ever from his favour. A change passed over his face, and his tone softened curiously. "Are you the widow of the man shot by the British officer—over there?" he asked, jerking his head apparently in the direction of the Green Isle. I nodded. "Oh," he replied, "anything I can do for you will be done. You can see Mooney in the lawyer's room any time you please. It's closing time now, but stay as long as you wish!" It was the first (and probably the last) time that I secured a favour from a prison governor for the sake of Dark Rosaleen. Tom Mooney laughed when I told him of my success, as he came (unescorted by warders) into the little sitting-room some minutes later. He is eminently cheery—a medium-sized, dark-skinned, dark-haired man, with shrewd, and kindly brown eyes, a very Irish look in them, the broad forehead of the thinker and the firm mouth of the man of action. He would be a good friend and a stubborn enemy. Prison, even the dangling hangman's rope, has not shaken his spirit. "Even if they hang me," he said, "they won't be done with me." He talked of Connolly and his end, and asked eagerly about the labour movement in Ireland, of which he seemed well-informed. He had already met Jim Larkin, who had spoken on his behalf. He was very anxious that the details of his case should get to Ireland, and asked me to bear his friendly greetings to the Irish workers. He feels that Labour everywhere is one, and that Labour has all-powerful weapons whenever it makes up its mind to use

them. He presses for a fair trial, not a pardon, for he truly says that a pardon or reprieve is but an insult to an innocent man, and that life imprisonment is far worse than hanging. It is clear now that they won't dare hang him, but the Governor may weakly choose the middle way by giving him a life sentence by way of grace. This plan would, of course, suit the Corporations just as well; for Tom Mooney would be out of the way. Last April a huge Labour demonstration was held in San Francisco's largest hall—the Auditorium—which holds twenty thousand—to voice a demand for Mooney's right to a fair trial to vindicate his innocence. I had the privilege of speaking at it (though some of the local "politicians" tried to prevent me), and of voicing the support of Irish Labour for Mooney's claim. These demonstrations are being held in every State. It is my belief that owing to the solidarity of the Labour movement internationally, Mooney will be saved, and I am proud to have done even a little to help him, feeling that in the time to come he will be a great force to forward Labour in America.

IRELAND REPLIES TO WILSON.

To the Editor "Voice of Labour."

Sir—In your issue of 12th inst., under the above heading, you contend that President Wilson's sincerity has yet to be proved.

Let facts speak. The U.S.A., since the outbreak of the war, has deprived Hayti and San Domingo, two little negro republics, of their independence, without the slightest justification, except that of strategical necessity, to ensure the protection of the Panama Canal. The Government of America, without being invited by the inhabitants, annexed several of the Mexican States. The natives of Cuba and the Philippines did not invite the U.S.A. to take over their respective countries, and the inhabitants of the Philippines fought long and bitterly against Uncle Sam's troops. In no country at war to-day, not excluding Ireland, is there less freedom of speech than in the U.S.A. Many of our comrades there, including Haywood, Debs, etc., have been sentenced to as much as 20 years' imprisonment, eye, and cruelly murdered, like Frank Little, because they had the courage to say that this is a capitalist war.

The President of the U.S.A. speaks for the financiers of that country. They deny the right of self-determination to their own suppressed, small nationalities; they deny freedom of speech to their own citizens. Is it possible that they, the financiers of the U.S.A., would engage in a foreign war for the rights of small nationalities and freedom? To ask the question is to answer it.

Wilson, in my opinion, possesses

dialectical abilities and gifts of casuistry transcending those of Asquith, which have wrought so much evil for Ireland and the world.

PATRICK COATES,
Kilkenny.

11th Oct., 1918.

TRADE UNION NEWS.

Cock-a-Dowdail—doo!

We announce with pleasure the glorious resurrection of a Land and Labour organisation somewhere in Co. Louth. Obedient to H. M. V., Mr. Dowdall, its arch-president, has solemnly cursed Bill O'Brien for daring to oppose the darling of the Molliés, J. D. Nugent, whose services to Labour, 1911-13, are cherished memories in Dublin.

Printing Section.

The stereotypers and printers' assistants in the "Cork Examiner" have got an increase of 5s. a week.

Red, White and Blue.

A Cork correspondent wants to know why the posters announcing the dancing championship competition in aid of the Transport Band in Cork are printed in the colours of empire. We are sure we don't know. Perhaps the Band Committee could satisfy our correspondent's curiosity. We hope so anyway.

The Frontier Town.

The Transport Union has been re-established in Newry. In the Town Hall on Thursday night Cathal O'Shannon preached the gospel to a big crowd of the frontiersmen.

Urimnagh.

A strike has been called at the paper mills for an increase of 2d. per hour in present wages as from 1st pay day in July. There is a feeling here that better faith to former agreements on the part of the management would have prevented the stoppage of work.

Dungarvan.

The employers' offer of 3s. a week has been rejected by the workers, but an arbitration affecting most of the town workers has been arranged, and the Chief Industrial Commissioner has been asked to appoint arbiter.

Dungarvan Wages Cases.

The decisions of the petty sessions in recent cases have given great dissatisfaction. The meaning of a certain clause in the Agricultural Wages Board has been wrested to mean that no payment can be claimed for Sunday work unless a man is doing both overtime and Sunday work. The decisions will not be accepted as final. We understand the Board is preparing new regulations, which will be more accurately expressed, but the meaning of the present regulations must be elucidated.

Ballina.

Acting on advice from Headquarters, the members of the Transport Union on strike resumed work pending arbitration.

French Socialists Rectify Affairs.

Renaudel, the jingo editor of "L'Humanité," has been sacked. Marcel Cachin, an internationalist, has been elected to his job by a handsome majority.

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Trade Union Wages

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Lines of Progress and Trade Unionism (Liberty Hall Library, No. 1 & 2), 1d each. Economic Discontent (Fr. Haggerty), Socialism and the Catholic Faith (Bland), Socialism Made Easy (Connolly), The New Evangel (ibid), Plea for Social Emancipation (McKenna), Karl Marx (Coates), Tsardom's Part in the War (Morel), The Allies' Secret Treaties (The "Herald"), Ireland and Peace (Bennett), Ireland and International Settlement (Joint Committee)—All 2d. each.

Legacy and Songs (Connolly), Problems of New Russia (Arnold), Lessons of Russian Revolution (N. Lenin), Should the Workers of Ireland Support Sinn Fein (Russell), Loyalty and Disloyalty (Green), Handbook for Rebels (Johnson).—3d. each.

Bob Bundles Post Free. Separate Pamphlets, Postage ½d. extra. Secretary Cumannacht na hEireann, Room 3, Liberty Hall, Dublin.

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IN MEMORIAM:

ROBERT BALDWIN ROSS.

Ireland does not yet realise the debt she owes to Robert Baldwin Ross, who has just died. To him we owe it that the genius of Oscar Wilde and his unique contributions to English literature are no longer obscured by the miasmatic veil of prudery which made Ireland turn its back on a gifted son in the hour of his deepest need. Alone in the Irish press, the "United Irishman" raised its protest against the conspiracy of furtive whispering which banished Wilde's work from circulation. The rest deserted him as they betrayed Parnell.

Robert Ross will figure in literary history as the heroic embodiment of faithful friendship. In the hour of Wilde's disgrace other men wrote sonnets to the dead poet and forsook the living. Through good or ill report and when friendship for the unhappy artist was interpreted as a confession of crime, Robert Ross remained unshakably true to the soul of good he knew and loved in Speranza's son.

He travailed for his salvation and had the happiness of witnessing his conversion and saw him laid to rest with all the rites of Holy Church. Now Ross, too, has joined the Choir invisible, and if there be a reward for those who live, as for those who die, for their friends, he has, so far as human judgment goes, earned it well and worthily. R.I.P.

SATAN BECOMES IRISH.

A weird prophet or prophetess is Finnuola Mayo, who attempts to convey to us a revelation from the unseen world in a volume entitled "Olympus Speaks." Unfortunately, Olympus has in these latter days lost the Homeric dignity of expression, and the Gods—not the Olympian deities only—lapse into very modern slang. "You're having me on," says Zeus. "It was got up for men," quoth Brahma. We are quite at a loss to discover the content of the revelation in the 150 pages. Two inferences may be drawn from them. First, that the supreme heavenly power is sympathetic to Women Suffrage, and the second is that the author claims divine inspiration. Incidentally we learn that Satan calls himself O'Donnell, "to insult the Irish." Post free, price 5s. 4d.

C. W. Daniels, the publisher of "Olympus Speaks," was fined £460 the other week for publishing a novel alleged to be detrimental to recruiting. We noticed the book in question, "Despised and Rejected," at the time of publication, and formed the opinion that it would make excellent propaganda against conscientious objectors, who, it alleged, were susceptible to the

**THE ELECTRIC THEATRE,
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Uranian weakness more often associated with the military. Daniels has done useful work in the past and we would recommend our readers to support George Lansbury's appeal for funds to save his business from the heavy infliction that Dora has laid on it. Send money to George Lansbury, 2 Gough Square, London, E.C. 4.

Much-Retired Politician's Palaver.

People with long memories will find no little amusement in Mr. Wm. O'Brien's new pamphlet, "The Downfall of Parliamentarianism," in which he deals faithfully with the manifold transgressions of Dillon and Devlin and the gentlemanly weakness of Redmond, but says nothing of the pettishness and childish resignation tricks of William's self. If the U.I.L. became a festering mass of putrefaction, if unity was magnified to a fetish to be ignored or contemned at the risk of batoning, we remember that O'Brien was the proud parent of the League. William tarries on the stage too long, and a fitting termination of his career and a worthy employment of his conciliatory ability would be an agreement whereby the life-long Dillon-O'Brien feud would be ended by their simultaneous retirement from public life. Not that we would expect William to remain in retirement. He must have opportunities of resigning. His pamphlet is a purposeless polemic on the Dillonite party. It is not flogging dead horses, William is. He is as relevant to present-day politics as Stone-Age man chastising a fossilised mammoth.

ANTI-CONSCRIPTION FUNDS.

The National Executive has issued a reminder that several Trade Unions have not yet forwarded the moneys raised by the levy of 3d. per week for four weeks, as instructed by the Conference of April 20. Members should make it their business to see that their officials forward the collected funds at once.

Don't imagine that because Home Rule on the Statute Book remains inoperative that Conscription on the Statute Book will not be enforced. The measure is law. Ten minutes' discussion in the House of Commons is all that is required to put it in operation.

TRIFLE OF TRUTH.

Militarism breaks the home, destroys the family, mocks at religion, breeds hate, disunites mankind, stifles the spirit of youth and exposes the whole world to the lusts of reaction.

The fear of your boss is the biggest link in slavery's chain.

INSURANCE AGENTS HOLD FAST. REFUGE STRIKE STILL PRO- CEEDING.

In the strike of the Insurance Agents against the low wage policy of the Refuge Assurance Company the usual spectacular features of the workshop strike are absent. The agents' sphere of labour is scattered and picketing is almost impossible (although they have done some good work in that direction) and mass meetings are of little use.

The agents on strike have to generate individually the enthusiastic loyalty needed to wage war on a corporation that counts its wealth by millions and rewards its serfs with 35s. a week. That they have held out successfully so long is proof and demonstration that in the Refuge Agents there is the true stuff of Trade Unionism, self-respect, mutual confidence and class loyalty.

We appeal to our fellow-workers to come to their aid. The Refuge Company cannot afford to neglect evidence that their refusal to negotiate and their persecution in the King's Bench of 30s. a

TRADE UNIONISTS!

Notice to the Public.

**PAY NO PREMIUMS
to the Refuge Assurance
Company whose Agents
are still ON STRIKE.**

week men has roused the workers to a determination that the Company must mend its ways or leave Ireland.

Every Trades body should at once adopt a resolution pledging its members to pay no premiums to the Company, to take out no new policies and to encourage the support of competing Societies, until the Refuge Company makes such terms with its assistants as will guarantee them the restoration of their pre-war purchasing power. Copies of such resolutions should be sent to the Refuge Assurance Company, per the Refuge Agents' Secretary, 35 York Street, Dublin.

Do this, comrades, at once, and help the agents in their lonely struggle.

Policy-holders are asking what will be their position if they pay no premiums. The answer is that they are fully protected by the War Emergency legislation. In all cases of doubt they should

write to 35 York Street. As the agents' living depends on them holding on to their policy, policy-holders should in no case transfer during the strike.

Votes of Condolence

At the last meeting of the Dublin Branch of the National Union of Life Assurance Agents the following votes of condolence were passed with Mr. C. Canning on the death of his son, on the motion of Mr. P. W. Byrne, seconded by Mr. T. Dawson; with Mr. M. Mooney on the death of his brother; and with Mr. P. Donnelly on the death of his brother, on the motion of Mr. Joseph Doolan, seconded by Mr. Malone; with the widow and relatives of the late George Barnes, an old member of the union, on the motion of Mr. J. Byrne, seconded by Mr. J. Dunphy; and with the relatives of Ald. M'Carron and Mr. P. Lynch, on the motion of Mr. P. Madden, seconded by Mr. J. Byrne.

SOME AMERICAN WAR PROFITS.

English and German war profits were powerful factors in bringing timid American capitalists into the war. But both kinds of Huns, the Saxons of Wessex, Sussex, etc., and the Saxons of Saxony, etc., are put in the shade in the game of profiteering by the Armaments firms of the Great Republic.

We give some figures of profits below, in millions of dollars:—

	1913.	1916.
U.S. Steel Corporation ...	81	271
Du Pont de Nemours Powder Co. ...	4	82
Bethlehem Steel Co. ...	5	43
Smelting and Refining Co... ..	9	23
Hercules Powder Co. ...	1	16
Phelps Dodge Corp'n. ...	7	21
International Nickel ...	5	11

Here are samples of Food Supply Co.'s:—

	1913.	1916.
Armour & Co. ("Veribest" Brand) ...	6	20
Swift & Co. ...	9	20
United Fruit Co. ...	5	11
Cuban American Sugar Co. ...	$\frac{1}{3}$	8

No wonder sugar is dear!

N.B.—We shall award a copy of Connolly's pamphlet, "Socialism Made Easy," to everybody who sends us a correct calculation of the percentage of increased profits in the case of the Cuban American Sugar Co., and who encloses with solution an entrance fee of 2½d. in stamps.

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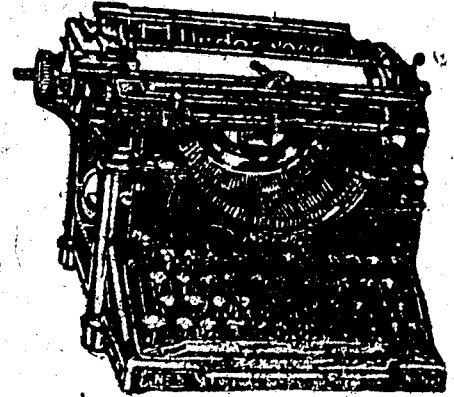
If a burglar enters your house and steals your goods, you can have him arrested; but if a burglar comes round and steals the products of your labour—hush, here comes DORA.

Germans will release Prisoners.

Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and all other Socialists who have been imprisoned on account of their political convictions, will shortly be restored to freedom. The Anglo-Huns still hold our prisoners, their own conscientious objectors, and in Scotland, MacLean and Robinson.

FOLEY'S 25 BACHELOR'S WALK.

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BELFAST I.L.P.

Sunday, 27th October, 1918. North Belfast Hall, Langley St., 7.30 p.m. Speaker—Comrade S. Hanna. Central Hall, 77a Victoria St., at 7.0 p.m. Speaker—Comrade J. E. McGuinness.

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