

RT. HON. SIR JAMES HENRY MUSSEN CAMPBELL, BART., Lord Chancellor for Ireland, said at Dublin on 28th November, 1913—"Take my word for it, the cause of Ulster is your cause; let the fight be yours; let one and all realise that the time has come, not for criticising, but for sympathy and co-operation."

IRISH OPINION

The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL OSHANNON.

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ONE PENNY

Increased Wages Don't Increase Comfort. Is Lord Primate Crozier's Canting Cackle at Trinity.

PRIMATE AND PROFESSOR PIFFLE AT TRINITY.

"Higher Wages Useless," says the Bishop.

We can believe that there are those in Trinity College who owe no thanks to Mr. T. C. Kingsmill Moore for choosing "Socialism and the War" as the title and subject of his inaugural address as Auditor of the College Historical Society. For once a Trinity man betrayed consciousness of the great world outside, and proved, too, that he had knowledge of the forces that sway the minds of those lesser beings who are not the offspring of Protestant clergymen and stockbrokers.

A Misnomer.

This closeness to the real world of men who work alarmed his Grace, John Baptist Crozier, the Lord Primate of a local institution founded by Act of the British Parliament during one of Gladstone's premierships. John Baptist, unlike his patron, was clothed in soft raiment, and we cannot imagine any Salome coveting his head. Even severed from the body, it could not refrain from the narration of "congregational social" anecdotes. He is not a reed shaken by the wind, but just wind.

John B. is distressed by strikes. With admirable prescience (although we say it ourselves) we quoted the "New Statesman" last week as follows:—

"It is, we suggest, useless for those who oppose the workmen's demands to bring forward the hoary argument that the industry, the export trade, or the nation cannot afford any such increases in the expenses of production. The mere fact that exactly the same argument has been brought forward on

every previous occasion deprives it of any power to convince"

And while the ink was not yet dry, John Baptist tells us that strikes violate all the laws of political economy, and that industry will not bear the charge of higher wages, while the Right Honorable Judge Ross warned us that "our" trade after the war will have to meet the scientific competition of a Germany that will hate "us" more than ever, the cheap labour products of Japan, and the prolific output of America. Therefore, we, in the words of St. Paul, "having food and raiment, let us be therewith content." All of which goes to show that Capitalism has no argument to back it up. It has the baton and the bayonet, but it has discarded commonsense and logic.

BE CONTENT! THERE'S GLASS IN YOUR WINDOW.

John Baptist deprecates claims for higher wages. He says: "It is a truism that increased wages do not increase the comfort of the workers." We might have believed him on his word as a priest and bishop, but Professor Allison Phillips offered a contradiction later on. Allison P. professes "Modern" History. We do not know what Trinity calls modern, but from the Professor's performance we estimate that he considers nothing as ancient that has happened since the Siege of Troy.

Allison Phillips has, however, been visiting tenement houses, and has discovered them to be teeming with luxuries. There was glass in the windows, "kitchen ranges, incandescent mantles, and gas brackets, and many other marvels unknown in the fourteenth century." Wages were lower then than now. We thought it strange that he should

thus contradict the Lord Primate, and we expected his Grace to, as the Lenten hymn has it, "smite him by the merit of the holy cross." But no. The game is to try the public with any old guff. Those who won't believe one tale will swallow another.

John Baptist is convinced that wages cannot be raised without raising prices. The delusion is widespread, and the lie finds currency even in labour circles. Marx, and he was not first to do it, exposed the fallacy years ago in "Value, Price, and Profit" (7d. post free from the S.P.I.). When the price of an article is divided into parts, it is not the whole price that goes to pay the workers' wages. Profits come out of the price also and, if we are not too bold, we would humbly suggest to His Grace that any rise in wages should be paid out of profits. We do so with the greater confidence, as the Lord Primate no longer has a Court of High Commission or a rack and thumbscrew at command.

His Lordship insisted that America was beating "us" industrially.—His Lordship omitted to tell us that money wages and the standard of living are also higher in America than here. Therefore, American productivity, instead of being an argument for low wages, may be cited as a proof that high wages are a necessary preliminary to the big output His Grace desires.

Dean Ryan Plagiarised.

John Baptist is grieved by what he calls the hellish doctrine of the class war. It is hardly any use pointing out to His Grace that the class war is not a doctrine or a theory, but a fact. Class war is deliberately waged on the workers by all the forces of government and by the structure and machinery of society. Re-

(Continued on page 594.)

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THE INTERNATIONAL.
THOMAS JOHNSON AND CATHAL O'SHANNON LEFT ENGLAND ON TUESDAY FOR CONTINENT.

THE REASON WHY OF THE STRIKE.

For us, no militant action of the organised working-class needs excuse or plea of justification. Until the balance of social justice is righted those who resist oppression and robbery will always command our support.

To-day no spokesman of Capitalism and no politician will declare that all is well in the arrangements that allot soul-destroying labour and a bare living to the mass of the people, and to those who know no labour unlimited wealth to be squandered in "Zeppelin Raid" dinners, and like extravagance, while soldiers' widows have to pawn their skirts to pay the expenses of firing parties at the graves of their husbands. By all parties, the evils are admitted, but the remedies are not forthcoming.

The rulers are well satisfied with things as they are. The people therefore must come forward and do their own work.

The strikes at Glasgow and elsewhere in Britain, and the astounding achievements of Belfast Labour are attempts by the people, the drudges of the social order, to alleviate, not the condition of those in employment, but of the huge army at present unemployed. And above all, it is the desire of the strikers that those who have served their Empire in the war should have life and labour assured to them in peace.

For the workers know the forgetfulness of the Empire's rulers, and the ingratitude that it has always shown to the veterans of its Navy and Army.

In Belfast particularly this factor has been the weighty one. During the war the workers of Belfast, one of the strongest Trade Union centres, abandoned, almost gladly, the safeguards and conditions won in the workshops by generations of struggle. They endured long hours of overtime and refrained from strikes. They were told these sacrifices were needed to win the war. They were promised the restoration of pre-war conditions and safeguards.

Their patriotism—and who, refusing allegiance to their Empire, will deny its fervour?—has been betrayed.

They relaxed trade union conditions and the shipyards swarmed with dilutees. They witnessed a revolution in shipyard and engine-shop. New methods and new machinery were introduced, and new conditions of labour enforced. They have seen their own capacity for wealth production doubled, trebled, aye, quadrupled and more.

Even in a world ruined by five years of bloodshed requiring the united output of the nations for re-building, the old ruthless laws of unrelenting Capitalism will be enforced.

The improvement of machinery, which controlled in the interest of the community would assure more leisure with higher production, will be, indeed has already been, used to reduce the number of "hands" employed. "Speeding-up," the offspring of the so-called scientific management, has the same result. The workers' industry produces his own poverty.

During the war, the State could, for its own purposes, control industry. Can it do less in peace than obtain for every returned soldier and every citizen a job in which to earn his bread in the sweat of his brow? Can we be satisfied with less? What the State has done to sow death and devastation over Europe, it should also be able to do to give bread and work to its own citizens.

The proposal of Belfast's workers is to shorten the working day and so provide employment for the unemployed and the returned soldier. It is not a heroic proposal. It is not a revolutionary scheme. It leaves the power of Capitalism to exploit undiminished. We would never confess it as a complete social programme.

It is, nevertheless, immediately practicable, and the only practicable proposal before the country. Why is it not put into operation?

Because without an army of unemployed fighting for jobs, there would be no lever to lower wages.

Thus the refusal of Bonar Law and Lloyd George to intervene is a declaration that the British Government will help to lower wages.

The baton charge at Glasgow is their blow at the working class standard of living.

The payment of extra wages necessitated by the shorter working day, and the absorption into industry of every fit worker need not cost the consumer a red cent. Elsewhere we quote Mr. Pethwick-Lawrence as proving that the wealth in the hands of private persons has increased by £2,500,000,000 during the war.

In 1917, 1,200 limited liability companies paid an average dividend of over 10 per cent. each. The dividend paid, however, is no index of the profits realised. Large sums are smuggled away in huge reserve funds. The English Sewing Cotton Company, for example, after paying excess profits tax, had £438,500 left, of which the shareholders received only £72,100 last year, the balance of profit earned in 1918 being reserved for future distribution.

Other instances of the abounding wealth appropriated from the workers'

products might be quoted. For example, several big bakers have pocketted surplus profits out of the Government subsidy at the rate of Ten Million Pounds a year. The Government has forced the Co-operative Wholesale Society to make huge profits it does not want on margarine. The C.W.S. returns the profits to its members, but the Maypole Company and the host of private traders pocket these profits—made by Government order at the expense of the working class consumer.

The extra wages can be paid out of the profits reaped by the owners of industry. Their blank refusal, at Belfast and Glasgow, and the support given them by the British Government, justifies the workers in their strong action.

The stalwarts of Belfast, still separated in many things from their fellow-workers of the South and West, need no assurance from us that the workers of Ireland are with them in their gallant and successful struggle, and when they need our aid, it is theirs.

It is ours to help them to victory, and the victory will teach the lesson of its own incompleteness. The wages system must go before the longed-for era of industrial peace begins.

A.

SOME FACTS AND WARNINGS.

The strikes which began at Belfast and Glasgow on Monday, 27th ult., promise to make history. They are in no sense "Unofficial" strikes, for both are organised by the only bodies in their area that are directly representative of the men and the Unions concerned.

The Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation of Belfast is, as the name implies, a federation or council of regularly appointed delegates from the trade union branches of these trades in Belfast. It has always eschewed politics, but in the sphere of industry its authority is unquestioned. The Glasgow strike is organised by the Trades and Labour Council, the historic body which is responsible for the formation of the Scottish and British Trade Union Congresses. It represents quarter of a million workers, and covers the Clyde area from Govan and Clydebank to the mining districts of Lanarkshire.

The strikes, resorted to after the persistent refusal of employers and Government to negotiate locally, in spite of months of discussion, resolutions, deputations, and all the other expedients of patient but resolute men, began as announced on Monday, 27th January. In both cities the stoppage was immediate and complete.

The General Strike Committee of Belfast has earned, and well earned, the praise and esteem of the country. The new moneybags Lord Mayor and City Commissioner Smith, R.I.C., both abdicated authority, and the G.S.C. undertook the maintenance of order, the supply of light power and goods to the hospitals, public institutions, and the Post Office, and many other public services. All has gone smoothly, proving that even "the slums of Belfast," as Mahaffy the Ass-Specialist, calls them, possess men of high administrative efficiency and sound public character.

(Continued, Col. 3, page 591.)

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

Postal Slaves.

The splendid rally of Dublin members of the Postmen's Federation marks the beginning of a new period of Trade Union activity. The man in the street is surprised to learn that in the Post Office it takes 14 to 16 hours to work off an eight-hours day, owing to the system of "split shifts." A man's duty may begin at 8 a.m. and finish at 10 p.m. In that stretch he has intervals off duty of 2, 2 and 2½ hours, and these intervals are spent in needless walking between home and office. One man we know walks 15 miles a day in this way. Another, who resides in a suburban district, walks 4½ miles to start a spell of work at midnight. It lasts an hour and a half, and then he walks back home. The cruel stupidity of these conditions demands stern action. Another unpleasant feature of Post Office service is the treatment of ex-soldiers temporarily employed. As ex-soldiers they have no claim on our sympathy, but as fellow-workers they are entitled to our support in claiming assured positions in the service. They are no worse off than the mass of auxiliary postmen who are paid little more than half the wages of the established men. They obtain no boot money and are entitled to no pension, although many have long years of service to their credit. If the Postmen show backbone and mutual loyalty they can win.

The Secret Blown.

The enthusiastic assembly of Railway Clerks last Thursday in Dublin showed itself determined to stand no nonsense from the Railway Executive, which, by the way, consists of the managers of private companies. These autocrats will permit the R.C.A. to speak for the junior grades of the service, but they elect to treat the stationmasters, goods agents, and supervisory officials as confidential employees, who must be denied the right to protect themselves by trade union organisation. Thus, the old trade union question, fought and settled for every other grade of railwaymen, is wantonly and provocatively raised by the Railway Executive in defiance of Sir Albert Stanley, President of the Board of Trade. In this crisis of industrial affairs the one concern of the managers composing the Railway Executive is the procuring of soft billets and big pensions for themselves in the shortly to be nationalised railroads. It is with that end in view they are organising a sham trade union, as we revealed last week. They have failed, and failed miserably. The responsible supervisory officials are in the genuine trade union, and they have the rest of labour behind them.

Saturday's Conference.

The situation in Belfast is engaging the constant attention of the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress. The not less significant developments in Great Britain invest Saturday's conference of Irish Labour in the Mansion House with an importance that may well surpass that of the memorable assembly that last April decided to resist Conscription. Already we hear of Unions preparing for action to enforce the programme announced by

the Executive. No branch of the Labour movement is too small to be ignored in this movement, and it is expected that the Conference will be representative of every Irish town and almost every parish. Belfast will be strongly represented, and will be warmly welcomed.

The Conscription Money.

The "Freeman's Journal" last Saturday, in a leading article dictated by the Achilles of North Great George Street, finds many faults in the scheme for disposing of the Anti-Conscription Fund unanimously adopted by the members of the Mansion House Conference. It is proposed by the Conference that public meetings of the subscribers, to be held in every parish on Sunday, 2nd March, will decide the destination of the moneys contributed from the parish. Nothing could be fairer, we think, but if objection had been made by either Mr. Dillon or Mr. Devlin it would have been impossible for the Conference to issue the recommendation. Under its constitution, the Mansion House Conference can only act when the members are unanimous. As Messrs. Dillon and Devlin abstained wilfully from attending the meeting, they have deprived themselves of any right to complain of its decisions.

Co-operation Moving.

Representatives of the Co-operative Union Board met the officials of the Transport Union in conference in Liberty Hall on 27th ult., to plan a united campaign for the spread of co-operation in Ireland. Ways and means of bringing the method of starting a store to the knowledge of the Union branches were discussed, and the suggestion frequently made in these pages of appointing a field organiser was favourably considered. Mr. Neil MacLean, M.P. for Govan, has been doing this work with great success in Scotland. In the industrial districts co-operation was already well known, and his sphere of operation was in the more remote rural and the fishing ports of the North-East. He visited the districts, explained the policy and methods of the movement, canvassed probable "starters," and got a committee appointed to raise the necessary capital in small weekly instalments. When the store opened, he advised the committee as to procedure and control, and returned from time to time to foster the growth of the young society until it became fully self-reliant. Mr. MacLean was appointed by the Wholesale Society, not by the Co-operative Union, and we trust the I.A.W.S. will see its way to give definite support to the Irish Co-operative Union Board in providing a means for a similar development in Ireland.

Meantime, at Tralee, Listowel, Maynooth, and Kilkenny the Transport Union branches are projecting co-operative stores to protect their spending power, as the Union protects their earning power.

Canada and Russia.

Canadian labour opinion is strongly opposed to Allied intervention in Russia. On December 22nd an Expeditionary Force, ready to embark at Vancouver, B.C., for Siberia, "downed guns" and refused to proceed aboard ship.

RAILWAY CLERKS' ACTION.

Writing before the decision of the R.C.A. Executive is made known, we can only say that the railway workers of all grades are behind the demand of the stationmasters and goods agents for the right to organise.

"Remember what James Connolly died for," says an anonymous skunk in the Murphyite "Sunday Independent," attempting to sow disunion in the ranks of the N.U.R. and R.C.A. The shamelessness of the Murphyite Press in publishing the appeal to the name of Connolly, whom Maxwell, Asquith, and Henderson slew at Murphy's dictation, has never been excelled in the "Independent's" own tortuous history.

The eve of action fraught with grave consequence to the men concerned is not the time for discussion of British or Irish Unions. But the meetings last Monday in the Gresham Hotel, Dublin, at Belfast and Cork, were not assemblies of Englishmen. They were gatherings of Irish Railway Clerks. Irishmen have decided their own policy and will carry it out.

The moral prostitute who would divide the ranks at such a time is worthy of the Middle Abbey Street office.

Will the Soldiers Shoot?

Glasgow has been flooded with soldiers. The Government should be careful. The backbone of the strike movement in Glasgow is the discharged soldier.

(From page 591.)

The incident in Glasgow last Friday shows the danger that must be faced by the Strike Committees. The agents-provocateurs are abroad trying to incite to disorder. When the baton-charge took place in Glasgow the workers' representatives rushed out of the City Chambers and tried to restore order. It was then they were arrested for trying to incite to riot!

The Chief Constable, who was wounded in the melee, is J. V. Stevenson, a former Co. Inspector of the R.I.C., who was brought to Glasgow at the instigation of the Government in view of such eventualities as strikes. He brought with him all the methods we know so well.

The daily Press is instructive in its treatment of the situation in the two cities. The "Irish Times," for example, is as respectful towards Belfast as City Commissioner Smith. The spirit of Belfast is known, and official Unionism has begun to trim its sails. Carson won the election in spite of his opposition to the 44 hours, and it was imagined that the old gang had again triumphed. Now the way is being prepared for a climb down. Already the Protestant Bishop has expressed his sympathy with the men thus throwing over his superior and predecessor, the Archbishop of Armagh.

In Glasgow, stool pigeons of the employers are being brought together to pass resolutions denouncing the strikes, and the wires are carrying reports of these fraudulent meetings all over these islands. The Belfast "Workers' Bulletin" is awake to these tricks, and quotes instances of lying messages circulated by Winston Churchill during the miners' strike of 1912.

SOMETHING DOING! These pages show the Nation-wide activities

"Liberty" in Killeshandra.

In the flourishing saw-mills in Killeshandra the 24 employees get an average of 17s. weekly, one man, his wife, and seven children waxing fat on 18s., or 3d. per head per day. Fletcher, the proprietor, replied to the demand for a 10s. increase thus: "If the men are not satisfied they have full liberty to leave." They left in a body last week—not being satisfied, strange to say—and are still out.

Dublin Roadmen.

As procrastinating shufflers, the Dublin County Councillors come an excellent second to the Wages Board. Secure in the knowledge that they'll walk the plank at the coming elections, they have had no qualms in turning a deaf ear to the roadmen's three months' old demands—40s. for roadmen and quarrymen, 18s. a day carters, stone-breakers, 2s. 6d. per yard, minimum. Unless these are conceded in full, the men cease work on February 15. After that—"Mud, mud, wherefore art thou mud?" as that tantalising ad. says.

Kildare the Best Yet.

Kildare roadmen, at the moment, have the highest rate in Ireland, viz.: 36s., with a 51-hour week in summer and daylight work in winter, while carters got an increase from 10s. to 14s. per day. Some of the roadmen previously had only 28s. The concessions, which cover the entire county, were secured from Surveyor O'Rorke after a lengthy pow-wow with Union representatives—T. Farren, F. McCabe, M. Smyth, and Jem Moore.

Belmont Strikers Win Out.

The Battle of Belmont has ended in complete victory, after a 10 weeks' siege of Perry's flour mill. Secretary Cassidy has been reinstated and work resumed on Monday. Congratulations to the 42 men on their gallant stand on short rations. The fact that a question of principle, and not of wages, was at stake, makes the win all the more creditable.

Crist Milling Demand.

The Ministry of Labour persists in appearing to be concerned at the receipt of letters from the employers embodying the accustomed whine—"another 1s. increase and we must shut down." "Bring off the arbitration at once and let them whine there," has been the Union's reply in brief.

The Flour Mills.

The British Unions are considering the matter of representation on Industrial Councils in this trade under the Whitley scheme. Trades Unionists here look with disfavour on these Councils, preferring to preserve the power of direct action. There is disappointment on this side at the long delay in fixing up the shorter working week in Britain, the Unions there being still parleying with the employers. That's not the stuff to give 'em.

Kilrush.

Shannon Steam-shiping Co. boatmen, who asked 24s. increase on the present 32s. rate, are considering a 12s. offer. New members flock into the branch, which will shortly be visited by J. Dowling, organiser.

Lisnaskea.

One of the many local farmers not paying the minimum is actually to be prosecuted by the A. W. Board!!

Granard Guardians Stump Up.

After pressure locally and from Headquarters, the Granard Union carpenter has been reinstated, and his wage increased to that of local tradesmen. How those Guardians do squander the rate-payers' money!

Co. Tipp.

The Nenagh bakery stoppage continues and will until the employer puts up an offer. Saw-mills men in Cloughjordan struck work in protest against working with non-Unionists. Eamonn Hayes, organiser, has opened up shop in Clonmel, Parteen.

The strike of Weir fishermen was called off on the full demands being granted.

Delgany.

A settlement, by 'phone from Headquarters, at the eleventh hour, averted the impending stoppage at Pennick's Nurseries, a 51-hour week being conceded.

At the Ports.

The increase offered by the Overseas Shippers at last week's conference, adjourned to 7th inst., will, if accepted, apply in Cork and Belfast as well as at N. Wall Extension.

Bray.

Gas Works' employees cease work at the week-end unless 8-hour shifts and a 1 o'clock Saturday for yardmen are put into operation.

Broken Treaties in Co. Kildare.

Attempts by farmers to break the agreement with the N. Kildare Farmers' Association have been met by instant withdrawal of labour. Kildare Branch has a strike on under this head, as well as Naas and Rathangan.

Kilmacthomas.

Employees at Stephenson's Woollen Mills have in a demand for 25s. increase on p. w. rates, with like advance for time workers, payment for Catholic holidays, time and a half overtime, and double for Sunday work.

"Who is the Potter, Pray?"

If, as is the fact, the highest wage of the skilled men in Bealeek Pottery is 26s. per week, what is the lowest wage of the unskilled girls?

Thomastown.

General men in three tanyards ask 39s. minimum, carters 42s., present rates being 21s. to 23s., only 8s. advance on 1914 wages. In the bakeries, ovenhands have demanded 50s., table-hands 45s., with 7s. for each sack baked after 12 weekly. Negotiations are proceeding locally.

Carlow Branch

Has worked up a membership of 1,000 in 6 months, this including a strong Women's Section. At Sunday's annual meeting, Secretary O'Toole read a glowing report of progress, and was re-elected. Chairman Gaffney was also re-elected in absentia—he is doing 12 months at present for a "political offence." Nora Connolly and Tom Farren addressed the meeting, which was followed by a parade.

Newry.

The pushful Branch has secured a 50-hour week and good advances in most of the mineral water factories. All grades in the largest factory are now seeking a 10s. increase on present rates, which are: Bottlers, 29s.; storemen, 24s.; washers and general, 20s. to 26s.; vanmen, 29s. D. Houston, organiser, has started a women's section in the town.

Arklow.

The coal merchant firm is pondering overmuch on that demand for an increase. Ginger shortage?

Longford.

Saw-miller Fee has such an affection for his men that he cannot let the Union act as go-between. The entire 42 of them repaid him by striking work until he consents to treat with Union representatives in their demand for a half-sovereign advance. It's high time non-recognisers learned that stone walls don't bother about being butted.

Castlereagh.

A general wages movement will shortly be in progress in the district.

Ballygar.

This Branch is a lusty youngster, and has done well with demands. An increase of 4s. 6d. weekly, with arrears since 18th November, has been secured for Department of Agriculture employees at Aughrane. Indoor shop-assistants in the town, who are still on pre-war rates, seek a 40 per cent. advance.

Bantry.

Amidst cheers for Connolly, the public meeting was barred by the democratic Royal Irish, but P. Coates, organiser, afterwards addressed three bumper indoor assemblies. Clerks, tradesmen, and miners crowd into the branch, whose membership will shortly reach 300.

Navan.

Spicers have offered their bakery men Drogheda rates. On three saw-milling firms a demand has been served for 15s. increase and a 50-hour week, present rates being:—Carters, 30s. to 35s.; labourers, 25s. to 31s.; sawyers' helpers, 17s. (boys) to 32s. (men); stablemen, 29s.; engine driver, 30s.

Claghduv.

Amongst the recent activities of the 3-months' old Branch is the securing for the Cookstown Flour Mill men, through the Union, of 15/6 in advances and a 56-hour week, with 2 o'clock stop on Saturdays.

Kilmallock Branch.

Owens to an energetic Secretary and a gritty committee, and has done well in its 6 months' career. The most recent success is the winning of the full demands for employees in Walsh's and in Sutton's, viz.: 34s. per week and a 2 o'clock Saturday stop, representing an increase of 18s. on pre-I.T.G.W.U. days.

"The Cock o' the North."

A punster dissects our notes of last week, states that "Peadar O'Donnell, organiser, who prefixed 'Trade' to the Unionists of Caledon, acted strangely in climbing a tree to form a Branch," and asks: "Is Peadar's bark worse than his bite, or is he really a hard root?" We refer him to Dr. Conlon, R.M.S., Monaghan Asylum.

of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

Edenderry.

Labourers are joining up to the last man as a result of a success with two firms who succumbed to the blandishments of Secretary McGuinness and a strike notice, by giving their motor-drivers a 6/6 advance and their labourers 8s., bringing the latter to 30/6, meaning an increase in some cases of 18/6 on June rates. It is hoped to make the 30/6 the flat local minimum.

Ballycallan.

Farmer Kerwick, Oldtown, at Kilmanagh P.S., sought to evade his legal debts by pleading that arrears under the A.W.B. Regulations could, under the P.S. Act, be claimed only for 6 months prior to issue of summons. Sullivan, R.M., and Potter, J.P., who had no qualms in stopping 22/6 from the labourer in lieu of a week's notice, refused to rule out the employer's mean plea, but gave a conditional decree for 74/8 pending decision by "the higher court." Meanwhile, Kerwick, doubtless, imagines himself a devout pillar of the Church, and forgets that the ultimate decision in all such affairs rests with a Supreme Court hereafter.

Waterford.

Since July, Waterford Branch has secured for its members increases aggregating £250 per week, only two strikes being necessary. Amongst the increases were: Builders' labourers, 5s. to 8s.; Corporation, 13s. 6d.; manure workers, 7s. 6d.; shoemakers, 5s. to 10s.; farriers, 10s. to 15s.; brewerymen, 8s.; breadvan drivers, 10s. to 19s. 6d.; margarine workers, 12s.; corn stores, 8s. to 15s.; bottling stores, 5s.; timber yards, 5s. to 7s.; gas works' labourers, 10s. to 15s.; gas fitters, 10s. to 12s. Branch membership is now 1,400, as against 90 a year ago.

Drogheda.

Master builders have offered to labourers 8½d. per hour, bringing rates to 36/8 for a 51½ hour week, 1s. country money when detained overnight, to carters 38s. weekly, and to scaffolders and hodmen ¼d. per hour extra.

Leix.

W. O'Brien and T. Farren, in Maryboro', on Sunday, conferred with Land and Labour Association representatives, who decided that their 2,500 members in the county should come into the I.T. & G.W.U. T. Farren is to confer further with some of the Branches. Many farmer officers of the Association displayed a heartening spirit, which may be the first step towards a general rapprochement. What about a Peasant and Workers' Council?

Bray.

The local gardeners grafted themselves on the One Big Union last Sunday, after addresses by Comrades Harmer, Bennett, and Joe Metcalfe.

Next Sunday the N.U.R. branch meets to discuss the National Executive's programme.

The Trades Council is pressing the U.D.C. to start that Cottage Hospital.

The income of the South County Trades Council this year will be double that of last year. Dublin had better look out or it will be annexed by the pushful enterprise of the townships.

RURAL WORKERS: ATTENTION! SPRING PROGRAMME OF COUNTY DUBLIN WORKERS.

A fully-attended conference of County Dublin rural workers assembled last Sunday at Liberty Hall. Delegates were present from all branches and all grades. After close discussion the following programme was drawn up:—

Wages.—50s. a week of 49 hours, with 12 o'clock stoppage on Saturdays, overtime to be paid at time and half rate. Workers boarded and lodged by farmers to be paid 30s. a week in cash.

Sunday Work.—Men are to be paid at the rate of 1/6 per hour, with a minimum of 4/6 for any work done on Sundays. Boys to be paid 1s. per hour, with 3s. minimum.

Women are not to drive horses, pitch hay, or do any other heavy and unsuitable work.

Carters to receive mileage of 6d. and 1d. per barrel of grain. When carting hay or straw to be paid 2s. 6d. travelling money, and portage 2s.

Drovers are to be paid 10s. travelling charges, and to cease work when cattle are sold.

Casual Workers.—At threshing to be paid 12s. per 8-hour day, at hay-making and harvest a minimum of £3 per 49-hour week. No deductions for broken time in wet weather. Borrowing of men is not to be permitted when casual labour is available.

Holidays.—Existing arrangements as to Church holidays to stand good.

SOME MORE SCOTTISH WAGES.

Here are some new rates fixed for farm workers in Scotland. Make sure that the non-unionist labourer sees this, and don't neglect a chance of bringing it under the eyes of the boss:—

Ayrshire.—Boys, 16 to 18 years, 24s. a week. Girls, 15 to 16 years, 16s.

Forfar and Perth.—Men, 18 to 21, 32s. 6d.; women, 17 and over, 4d. per hour.

Aberdeen.—Women, 18 and over, 20s. Boys, 16 to 18, 20s.

N.W. Highlands.—Boys, 16 to 18, 20s.

Moray Firth.—Ploughmen, cattlemen, and shepherds, 21 and over, 36s. per week.

Sutherland.—Shepherds, with two dogs, 44s. 6d.; with one dog, 42s. 6d. If under 21 and over 18 years of age, the wages are 2s. per week less. Ploughmen, etc., receive 38s. a week.

Edinburgh.—Byremen and vanmen (dairy workers) £2 17s. 6d. per week, and a quart of milk daily.

Scottish farm workers are in One Big Union. They have been in it for years. Aren't the results worth the amount of the subs?

Application for permit to pay less than minimum rate:—

"Has the employee any physical defect?"

"No."

"What wages has he?"

"18s. a week."

Workman's Representative—"Clearly a mental case."

THE STAY-IN STRIKE.

NEW LAURELS FOR TRANSPORT UNION.

The development of a new tactic in labour struggle is to be credited to the Monaghan Asylum Workers' Union and the intrepid Donegal man, Peadar O'Donnell, who has been organising South Ulster for the Transport Union.

Failing to bring the Monaghan Asylum Committee to reason, the men decided that the public safety would be endangered if they went on strike by leaving the building. They inaugurated the stay-in strike instead. The Red Flag was hoisted on the Asylum, the staff discharged its ordinary duties, re-organising them to give more leisure to themselves. Efficiency has been increased.

Meantime, the Committee invoked the interference of the British Government, and two hundred police, at great inconvenience to themselves and heavy cost to the ratepayers, are quartered in the out-buildings.

Well done, Peadar!

Complete victory has been won.

DOBBINISM IN CORK.

The year-old strike of workers at the firm of Messrs. Dobbin, O'Gilvie and Co., Cork, is still in progress, and the "patriot" owners believe they have beaten the workers. The Cork Trades Council sent a deputation to the firm to impress upon them the necessity for a settlement, and to warn them that a further continuance of the strike may have very unpleasant consequences—for the employers. Sir Alfred Dobbin replied that if the Trades Council repudiated the Transport Workers' Union peace would be restored to the City! The voice of Dobbin but the language of Murphy. The Trades Council appointed a committee consisting of D. Kiely (acting chairman), T. Twomey (secretary), and L. J. Duffy (Drapers), to investigate the whole circumstances of the case and prepare a statement for publication. The statement was duly presented to and adopted by the Council, and is now issued.

Clondalkin.

From the Paper Mills Co., T. Farren is asking a minimum rate of 10½d. per hour for all workers over 20 years, and an increase of 1d. per hour for boys and girls. An early decision is wanted.

Dublin Harbour.

Stevedores, labourers, and tonnage workers have obtained advances of from 1d. to 5d. per ton, coalmen 2d. per ton, on present rates, as from 1st February. Weekly wage-men get 7s. 6d. per week extra.

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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.

(From front page.)

verting to his belief that increased wages are added to prices, we have abundant evidence that during the era of government control this has been done. Not in obedience to unalterable economic law, however, but deliberately, callously, and wilfully by a conspiracy of manufacturers, merchants, and the Government. Under free competition it could not be done. Under control, the increase of prices become a method of taxation combined with profiteering. It is class government waging the class war.

The result of this process of criminal manipulation of prices in the interests of the non-working rich and comfortable classes has been summarised by Mr. F. W. Pethwick-Lawrence in his book, "A Levy on Capital":—

Of the people of the country the great bulk will remain, as before, without accumulated wealth. Some who had possessions will have lost a great part of them. Others will have made immense fortunes.

The aggregate increase in the nominal value of individual wealth will be no less than

TWO THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED MILLION POUNDS
(£2,500,000,000).

Speaking broadly, the distribution of wealth will be still more unequal when the war ceases than it was when it began, for the small number of rich men will retain most of what they had before, and, in addition, will have added the right to participate, because of their holdings of war loan (bought largely out of profits on war contracts), in a great part of the wealth which future generations will create.

The Men Who Fought.

The workers of Belfast are not revolutionary. We know that well, for we have tried, and failed, to make them so. They are not the playthings of "Clyde Revolutionaries." Willie Gallagher's hot reception last year proved their suspicion of, if not hostility to, foreign influence. But they know when they are robbed. Many of the men on strike and unemployed in Belfast are of the number who went with Dr. Crozier's blessing to fight for King and Empire, while others, as His Grace himself said, "tarried with the stuff."

Good word! They tarried with the stuff, and now the men who fought, and the men who slaved in yard and mill and factory for these four and a-half years want some of that two thousand five hundred million pounds. Their creation and theirs by right of fighting and of working. His Grace was loudest in the call for "equality of sacrifice." Now he has a chance to prove that he was not indulging in the evangelical cant associated with his school of thought in the Anglican Church.

John Baptist Crozier, D.D., formerly Lord Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dro-more, and now His Grace the Archbishop of Armagh, Lord Primate of All-Ireland, has taken his stand in the class war—and he stands with Carson and Murphy and the ineffable image of Ulster capitalist patriotism, Mr. W. McGeach McCaw. (Jeremiah V—17.)

This was James Connolly's estimate of the I. T. & G. W. U.

"It found the Workers of Ireland on their knees, and has striven to raise them to the erect position of manhood; it found them with all the vices of slavery in their souls, and it strove to eradicate these vices, and replace them with some of the virtues of free men; it found them with no other weapons of defence than the arts of the liar the lickspittle and the toady, and it combined them and taught them to abhor these arts and rely proudly on the defensive power of combination."

IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.

THOMAS FORAN, GENERAL PRESIDENT, LIBERTY HALL, DUBLIN.

INTERNATIONAL FUND GROWS. MONEY STILL NEEDED.

Below we print the fourth list of donations to the Cumannacht na hEireann's International Delegation Fund. The list of names shows the wide recognition of the value of Irish Labour's participation in the International. The expenses are bound to be heavy, and if the Congress at Berne is protracted large sums will be required. So send along your dollars to the Treasurer, S.P.I., Room 3, Liberty Hall. Cheques may be crossed, "I.A.W.S. Bank."

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	54	4	6
M. Newell	0	2	0
Subscribed by Toolmakers and Engineers (per M. Fleming)	1	3	6
Andrew E. Malone	1	1	0
Subscribed by Painters, Gormanstown Aerodrome (per T. Behan, Drogheda)	0	14	0
Maigread ni Dalaig, Limerick	5	0	0
Mrs. O'Neill, Maryboro'	0	5	0
J.C.M., Clonmel	1	0	0
John Ryan, - Leinster Road, Rathmines	0	10	0
Miss E. Ryan, Leinster Road, Rathmines	1	0	0
W. F., Garston, Liverpool	0	2	6
Collection from Haulbowline Dockyard (per E. Lynch, Queenstown)	14	0	0
Mrs. Wyse Power	1	0	0
D. Houston, I.T.G.W.U., Belfast	1	1	0
Padraig MacFionbairr, Sagart, Nenagh	1	0	0
P. Coates, I.T.G.W.U., Cork	1	0	0
Sean MacEntee, F.D.E., Gloucester Jail	0	10	0
"Cymru," Wales	5	0	0
J. Walsh, I.T.G.W.U.	0	2	6
Tom Kennedy	1	0	0
G.S.	0	4	0
Total	£90	0	0

Mr. Justice Ross, Prof. Allison Phillips, and the Lord Primate have challenged democracy. One there was who told the people of Paris to eat grass. His head was later carried on a pole with grass in the mouth. When the workers of Dublin and Belfast become revolutionary, we hope Ross will not find them bloodthirsty, and that Phillips will be spared the indignity of a glass-sided hearse. Their time is short, however, and we would counsel them to mend their manners and to read Jeremiah.

"NORTHERN BLACKNEB."

IRISH WOMEN WORKERS' UNION. Annual Meeting.

The second annual meeting of the Irish Women Workers' Union was held in the Mansion House on January 29th. The Pillar Room was densely crowded, and general regret was felt that the Round Room had not been chartered for this occasion. Miss Kelly, Secretary, gave an encouraging report of the year's work, and showed how, since the Union was reorganised two years ago, close on £1,000 per week had been gained in increased wages for the women workers of Dublin, and this at the cost of only three official strikes.

Miss Hoyne, Organiser for the S.E. district, gave an account of her successful propaganda work and difficult struggles with employers. The programme for the coming year was outlined, the main objects being a 44-hour week for adults and a 34-hour week for young people under 16; payment for all statutory holidays, and for a week's holiday in the summer; continued efforts to push up the standard of wages. Reference was made to the new Domestic Workers' Section, which promises to be one of the most important enterprises of the Union. It was also pointed out that the Allied Council of Printing and Kindred Trades was proving already a great source of strength to the women, and the Committee of the I.W.W.U. could congratulate themselves on being to a great extent the inspirers of this hopeful Alliance, as they had always advocated a linking up of the many sections of this trade.

Women's Conference.

The Executive Committee have issued invitations to all Unions in Dublin, which include women in their membership, to send delegates to a conference of women at Denmark House on February 6th, with the object of discussing from the women's standpoint the resolutions to be submitted to the Trades Union Congress on February 8th.

Wages Campaign.

Considerable advances in wages have been secured for the women cleaners at Messrs. Switzer and the women in the Dublin Japan Works.

Messrs. Boland Again!

In order to secure an alternate free Sunday for the restaurant helpers at Messrs. Galligan's, Kingstown, it has been necessary to give notice of a cessation of work from next Saturday.

For up-to-date Hairdressing—Mallon, 30 Eden Quay.

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"Congratulations on issues received." —*Jim Larkin.*

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Shock the highbrows.
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Star Pictures Always.

SOCIALIST PARTY'S MUSICAL TREAT.

A large audience assembled last Sunday in the Trades Hall to hear Mrs. Richardson's lecture on Internationalism. Before the address, Miss Helen Carter sang "L'Internationale," and Mr. Jack Rubinstein rendered a selection of violin music, playing Hubay's "Hejre Kati," Drdla's "Souvenir," and "Un peu d'Amour," giving each a sympathetic interpretation in a masterly way.

A vigorous discussion followed the lecture, many able speakers participating. The Chairman was Mr. Seumas O hAoda, the delegate of Cumannacht na hEireann to the International Conference at Berne.

Mr. Jack Rubinstein has promised his services next Sunday evening, when Mr. Brian Magill will deliver a lecture entitled, "From Primitive Communism to the Socialist Commonwealth." This programme should be a draw, and readers are advised to attend promptly at 8 p.m., to secure a seat.

"Roads to Freedom."

"Roads to Freedom," by Bertrand Russell, reviewed by Darrell Figgis in last issue of the "Voice of Labour," is in the Denmark House Library. It is at present on loan, but will be available for other readers next week.

Strikes All Round.

Miners, Engineers, Electricians, Painters, Shipwrights, Bricklayers, Joiners, Boilermakers, Forge and Foundrymen and Teachers are on strike in various parts of Britain.

The Hull Shipyard strike has become general. Schools are closed at Gateshead and Stockton-on-Tees, and Oldham will close its knowledge factories this week.

Southport Municipal Employees are "out" for a 12 per cent. bonus.

Hotel and Restaurant Workers

Send their greetings through the "Voice" and International Labour News Service to their fellow-workers of New York. On New Year's Eve a general strike was called at the high-class hotels, viz., Knickerbocker, Waldorf-Astoria, Sherry's, Vanderbilt, etc. The Union, like the I.T. & G.W.U., caters for all grades of workers, and there was a complete lie-up on the big night of the year. The grievances are the old familiar ones—just the same as in Dublin. An 8-hour day for kitchen staffs, and 10-hour day for waiters, are demanded.

Press Gang on Soldiers.

From Constantinople, where the fight for little Belgium has landed him, a member of the Transport Union complains that time-expired soldiers are being detained in the army against their will, because they refuse voluntarily to re-join for a further term of service. He has been on foreign service for four years and three months, with two short leaves at home.

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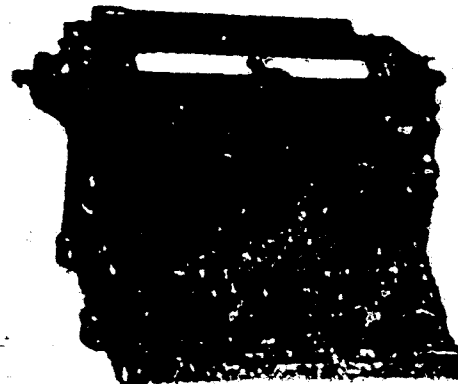
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INDUSTRIAL ACTION.**Drapers' General Secretary makes a Practicable Proposal. Let us know what you think of it.**

That the industrial workers are the most powerful force in the world of to-day is recognised by everybody who has given the matter the least thought, but no matter how powerful a force may be in the abstract, success cannot be secured unless this force is scientifically fashioned and scientifically directed. It is to emphasise the importance of closer co-operation by way of a co-ordinated or federated scheme, embracing unity of action and unification of control, that I refer to the matter here.

We have had from time to time so many spasmodic efforts by way of industrial action, the futility of which was so glaring as to be an absolute weakness in the trade union movement. This great force, therefore, containing all the elements of the most powerful machine in the world, must be fashioned and controlled in such a way that it cannot be beaten in detail. All the elements must be co-ordinated into a perfect whole to be brought into play, as occasion may arise.

With this object in view I would strongly urge the centralisation or pooling of funds of all the trades unions in the country for industrial and political action. The domestic or internal affairs of the various unions may be left entirely under the control of their various executives, but for industrial or political purposes it is clear that no one organisation can fight alone, no matter how powerful that organisation may be. Whether deliberately or involuntarily, every union is bound to affect other unions, and yet, as matters stand now, there is no clearly defined relationship between the various unions. There is, no doubt, a kind of moral obligation or understanding that, in certain eventualities, "an injury to one is the concern of all," but then, owing to the absence of centralised control and centralised funds, it is extremely difficult to give this moral obligation definite or clear effect.

The unity of action and unification of control can be brought about only by the creation of a national executive controlling the entire labour movement of the country, and having full executive powers, such as those possessed at present, in so far as industrial action is concerned, by the executives of the various unions.

The necessity for the creation of a central or national fund is also imperative; payments to be at the rate of so much per member per year, payable through the executives or branches of the various unions.

If the two main principles are conceded, viz., unity of action and control and the pooling of a certain proportion of the funds for industrial and political action, more especially the former, the details can be easily worked out; such details being, for instance, the relationship between the executives of the various unions and the national executive.

It may be urged by some that "one big union" is the better solution, but in my opinion this process is too slow. In addition, the evolutionary period in this

direction is likely to lead to a good deal of friction. Anyhow, it is clear that the time when one union can fight alone is past, and that all unions must be as units of a great army to be brought into action as a whole or in part, as the necessities of the occasion arise.

Hoping this question will receive the careful consideration of the trades unionists of the country, and that some steps will be taken to give it effect.

M. J. O'L.

THE SCOTTISH STRIKE LEADERS.**Some Personal Notes.**

"The Times" has discovered that the Glasgow strike is led by a band of red revolutionaries, and singles out for special mention Emanuel Shinwell, David Kirkwood, and Neil MacLean, M.P. Yet these three are men who are suspect by the reddest of the reds in Scotland because they are over-cautious and too much wedded to normal and official procedure.

Councillor Shinwell.

Councillor Shinwell is described as a Polish Jew, but although he is of remote Jewish origin, Shinwell would pass unnoticed in his native Brigeton. He is a true-born Glaswegian and a product of the Board School, followed by a training in the peripatetic academy of Glasgow Green. The rough-and-tumble of its debates gave him a stimulus to culture, and by dint of hard reading and hard thinking he has assimilated during a short life of hard work the best of ancient and modern thought. Capable of meeting on common ground the intellect of the Royal Philosophical Society, he has mastered also the dialectics of the platform. Without condescension and without descending to the presumed level of the mob, he can speak from heart to heart with any public assembly.

In his teens he was a popular Socialist propagandist and an active member of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses, representing them on Glasgow Trades Council. In the Seamen's strike of 1911, he was deputed by the Council to assist the Seamen. He organised the Seamen and Firemen's Union in the port, but he was too vigorous in his democracy to suit Mr. Havelock Wilson, and when he was ejected by that autocrat, the local branch went with him and became a branch of the British Seafarers' Union. During the war, which he opposed from the beginning, he was the only man the Admiralty could rely upon to handle the seamen at the port of Glasgow. His success lay in his insistence on even-handed justice, and he emerged from the difficulties of war-time with the full confidence of his Union members and numerous testimonials from the Admiralty—but no O.B.E.

Two years ago he became President of the Trades Council, and it is in that capacity that he is Chairman of the Strike Committee.

David Kirkwood.

If ever a man had greatness thrust upon him it is David Kirkwood. A man in his forties, he has a long record as a Trade Unionist, zealous in his work inside the Unions but practically unknown outside the local ranks of the A.S.E.,

until the Government swooped down on him and deported him with others for his Trade Union activities. He was exiled for two years from Glasgow, and returned when, as in the case of the German Plot, the Government failed to produce the slightest evidence of criminal activity. Since then he has been boycotted by the autocrats of his own Union at Peckham Road, and backed enthusiastically by the men in Glasgow. He just missed becoming M.P. at the General Election.

Neil MacLean, M.P.

Once a member of the Socialist Labour Party, Neil was expelled from that "pure Socialist" body for participating with the rank and file of labour in an unemployed demonstration in 1908. A few years ago he had a certificate of respectability conferred upon him in being appointed field organiser by the S.C.W.S. He has established many co-operative societies, and proved again that revolutionary fervour is not incompatible with doing the thing that lies nearest to hand.

All of these men are revolutionaries in the sense that every Socialist is revolutionary, but their life-work proves them good citizens who have ever preferred to work openly and constitutionally. They have no love for strikes, for they have borne the burden of not a few, but they do not lack courage. They represent the solid elements of the British Labour movement, and are of its best in mental and moral quality. That's why they are being abused as Polish Jews, red flaggers, and criminals.

Unemployment in U.S.

Two months ago the American Department of Labour estimated a labour shortage of 1,000,000 workers. In eight weeks' time the shortage disappeared, and, instead, a growing surplus. About three million workers are expected to be cast on the labour market through closing down of war industries.

Repression Reigns.

Sunday, 5th January, was the Socialist Party of America's Release the Prisoners' Day. In many cities the meetings were broken up by police.

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