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ONE PENNY.

## The Socialist Pistol gets the Bull The Rural Worker in Revolt.

### WHY IRELAND MUST FIGHT CAPITALISM.

#### A REPLY TO P. S. O'HEGARTY.

The hopeless folly of a man who sees in reasonable propaganda and discussion the pistol of terrorism, would be almost beneath rational criticism were it not that Mr. P. S. O'Hegarty is supposed to speak with almost the official voice of the Irish Republican movement.

So when he tries to crush free debate and frank inquiry into the facts, the bearing of which on Irish freedom will determine Ireland's future, and shouts, "Ya! Socialist!" we have to treat him seriously.

#### Jeremiah Know P.S.

Mr. O'Hegarty objects to the discussion of the vital social problem because, forsooth, it will introduce disunity into Ireland. He is clear-headed enough to realise that the robbers and the robbed will not discuss the ethics of theft without some heat and considerable difference of opinion.

He is infatuated enough to believe that if the robbers and the robbed can be persuaded to talk about, say, ecclesiology, they will forget the fact of plunder. We credit him with a quite honest persuasion of this folly—but folly it is to cry

#### Peace, Peace, Where there is No Peace.

Here are some of the facts which all of us must face fairly and squarely with level heads and no stupid hostility to mere words and phrases.

Ireland is physically subject to England.

The reason of England's original conquest was "economic," not race hatred, religious crusading or the pioneering of a new and higher civilisation.

#### The Source of Power.

The ownership of land was in these days the prime source of power and with an England parcelled out to the last acre, the Anglo-Norman nobles could only extend the power of their class by over-flowing into Ireland.

Their conquest was incomplete, but from 1170 onward it has been England's unchanging aim to maintain a class in Ireland bound by ties of interest to England.

The territorial sovereignty of England in Ireland was finally established at the end of the seventeenth century, and henceforward ALL RIGHT TO PROPERTY WAS BASED ON THE HORRIBLE EXPROPRIATION OF THE IRISH PEOPLE.

Only that wholesale robbery, the re-creation of a nation to beggary on the soil that was once its own, made possible the subsequent growth of industrial and commercial capital in Ireland, and capitalism requires for its continuance the constant extraction of surplus value, e., the whole of the product of labour less the amount of the workers' wages.

#### What 1913 Showed.

Capitalism involves virtual slavery for the working class. Any attempt made to lessen its galling oppression throws all the possessors of capitalism into the same camp. In 1913, the late John E. Redmond, "Nationalist"; the late Wm. Martin Murphy, Dominion Home Ruler; Mr. Good, Unionist, stood shoulder to shoulder behind the batons of the M.P., and Mr. John Sweetman, Sinn Féiner, whose peaceful ranch at Drumaraugh was not menaced by the Dublin dispute, became almost lyrical in his praise of "our Dublin employers."

#### Pioneers of Real Unity.

This alliance between Irish Capital and the English Government is no new thing. T. W. Tone sought to make a united nation. He tried the gentry, and, as Pearce said, found they "have uniformly been corrupted by England; and the merchants and middle-class capitalists have, when not corrupted, been uniformly intimidated."

Tone's final appeal was to the "men of no property" which is the plain English of the universal word "proletariat."

#### The Felon's Faith.

Lalor learned of Tone's experience, and would have none of P. S. O'Heg-

arty's concentration on a single political issue. "Into no movement," said the crippled rebel of 1849, "that would leave an enemy's garrison in possession of all our lands, masters of our liberties, and lives, and all our means of life and happiness—into no such movement will a single man of the greycoats enter with an armed hand."

Shall we quote more from Lalor against that fatuous narrowmindedness which opines that England rules only in the minds of men? Every page of the "Gospel of the Sovereign People that Pintan Lalor delivered" (the phrase is P. H. Pearse's) is compact of the doctrine that **POLITICAL FREEDOM IS NOTHING WITHOUT ECONOMIC FREEDOM; THAT ECONOMIC FREEDOM IS THE SUBSTANCE AND POLITICAL FREEDOM, THE SHADOW.**

The aim of the Irish Socialist is nothing less than Lalor's aim which was so fully and heartily adopted by Pearse, and expounded by him with such generous eloquence in his Last Testament, "The Sovereign People."

#### John Mitchel—Sansculotte.

When Mr. O'Hegarty cringes and screams before the Socialist Pistols of J. R. White and Selma Sigerson, what would be his fear if he picked up a copy of "Golden Moments with John Mitchel" (published by an anti-Socialist firm), and read "Go to—the revolution-ary Leveller is your only architect. . . Take no heed of 'social disorganisation'; you cannot bring back chaos—never fear: a disorganisation in the world can be so complete, but there will be the germ of new order in it; sansculottism, when she hath conceived, will bring forth venerable institutions."

#### England's Cross of Gold.

Not only is Mr. Hegarty hopelessly heretical warring against the Saints and Doctors of Irish Nationality, he is also hopelessly unpractical. Ireland is linked to England by hundreds of golden chains.

The capital required to run a farm, a factory, or a shipyard in Ireland to-day is supplied by Irish banks.

#### "Irish Banks?"

Irish some of them are, but everyone an integral part of the British financial institutions controlled from the Bank of England and the British Treasury. Some of them are British banks working under old Irish names. Banks are to capitalism what the heart is to the body; and if the heart of Irish Capitalism is in Threadneedle Street, "our lives and our means of life and happiness" are in the power of England.

#### "Deanta in Eirinn"—for English Profit.

Not content with absolute control of Irish finance, English capitalists are obtaining direct industrial control.

One great branch of the linen industry is owned by the Linen Thread Company.

Belfast shipbuilding is absorbed in the series of Associated English companies.

The English Shipping Trust controls our shipping.

Electric traction, although for Dublin and Cork it bore the Irish name of Murphy, is none the less controlled by the British Electrical and Allied manufacturers.

Even our friendly match industry is but an outpost of peaceful industrial penetration rather than a healthy outgrowth of Irish Industrial Development.

The parrot cry of "Socialism" did not deter the I.R.B. of '07 from entering into relations with the Red International then, and in these pages we have shown how heartily Marx and his colleagues supported them.

Those who have learned with Pearse that "National sovereignty implies control of all the moral and material resources of the Nation" will not be content with the shadowy emasculated policy which Mr. O'Hegarty advances as Fenianism, nor will they be deterred by his clamour from reading the two works\* which point the moral of the moving

### Wages Board Rejects Workers' Request for Equal Pay.

From Borris-in-Ossory branch of the Transport Union comes a demand for the same rate of wages for Irish agricultural workers as obtains in Great Britain.

After two years working of the Agricultural Wages Board, the workers of Ireland are still underpaid and sweated, as compared with those of Britain, even in what British experts agree to call the sweated industry of agriculture.

We mention the Borris resolution not because it speaks of a new policy. The policy is not new. It is the official policy of the Union. In accordance with it, Thomas Foran, the General President, moved at the last meeting of the Wages Board in that direction.

### Foran's Motion Beaten by "The Alliance."

The opposition of the farmer representatives on the Board to T. Foran's motion was as much to be expected as the support of the Labour men, but one had expected the backing of all the non-partisans. Miss Cunningham and Lord Killanin, however, took the employers' side, and Chairman O'Connor displayed his non-partisanship by also voting against the motion, which was thus defeated by 8 votes to 6.

Apart from the unusualness of a chairman exercising anything but his casting vote, can Mr. O'Connor reconcile his Cawstle Catholicism with Pope Leo's pronouncements? The Irish minimum rates average 25s. per week, worth about 11s. pre-war, or 3d. per head per day to feed, clothe, house and educate an average Irish family.

If Chairman O'Connor, who pulls about £1,000 a year, or £3 per day, from his snug jobs in the A.W.B. and the L.G.B., were compelled to luxuriate on 3d. a day for a couple of months, we would predict another fate for the motion next time. As how, a resolution, the passing of which would have brought peace, has been turned down, the farmers and their allies on the Board want the war to go ahead, and if, as a result, the harvest suffers, we hope to see Chairman O'Connor, Miss Cunningham and Lord Killanin amongst the first on the rationing list.

During the discussion, Mr. Ponsoby, one of the employers' representatives, suggested that Mr. Foran should not look to England for an example. Tom Foran's rejoinder was, "I won't be surprised to hear of Mr. Ponsoby becoming a Sinn Féiner, when Lloyd George brings in his Bill to set up the minimum wage of

### 50s. for 48-hour week."

The result of the voting was the defeat of Foran's motion by 8 votes to 6. Lady Russell voted with the five Labour members, and Miss Cunningham, Lord Killanin and the chairman, Chas. H. O'Connor, gave their support to the five employers' representatives.

Once more it is made plain that joint boards, governmental action, and other specifics for industrial peace are always weighted against the working-class.

### Workers Determined.

It is the latter portion of the Borris declaration to which we direct attention—

"We hereby declare our determination not to handle any of the harvest except we are placed on the same footing as the workers of Great Britain. We further condemn the unsatisfactory and dilatory methods of the Wages Board in dealing with claims for arrears of wages."

The determination is not unworthy. For generations the rural labourers have borne the burden of every conflict. Their peace, their service, aye, and their lives have been poured out in unavailing oblation on the altar of the Nation.

circumstances and bring the teaching of Ton, Lalor, Pearse and Connolly, the whole teaching, within reach of the masses and interpret it in the language of to-day.

### COLKITTO.

\*Sinn Féin and Socialism. By Selma Sigerson. Kiersey, Palmerston Park, Dublin. 1s., post free 1s. 2d.

The Significance of Sinn Féin. By J. R. White. Martin Lester, Ltd., 40 Dawson street, Dublin. 1s., post free 1s. 2d.

Their reward has been miserable, and that not on account of the Foreign Enemy. The difference in wages fixed under the Corn Production Act is not due to the English Parliament or English ministers.

It was Irish members of that Parliament thwarted the intention of the drafters of the Act to establish a general minimum wage of at least 25s. a week for every rural worker.

### Seven Bob a Week.

We are not praising the goodwill or generosity of English members of Parliament. They proposed 25s. a week because in their ignorance of John Bull's Other Island they could not believe that thousands of its labourers "lived," as Mgr. A. Ryan once boasted, "good Christian lives and reared their families in the fear of the Lord on seven shillings a week."

They did not know that hundreds worked for their bit of meat, tobacco, and a shilling to spend at the fair, or that the average wage, counting low and high together, was no more than 11s. 3d. a week.

It was the Irish Party that put them wise to the existence of a cheap labour paradise in this isle of the blest, and it was the Party which obtained for Irish farmers the privilege of paying less than British wages in the production of crops for which they obtained British prices and more than British profits.

The meanness of the farmers has accumulated with their profits. Appeals ad misericordiam have failed. Forty years preaching of the social teaching of Leo XIII. leaves the farmer richer and the labourer relatively poorer. The doctrine has been preached but never practised—and that is all we have to say in criticism of it, **Employers' Violence.**

From another part of the country comes the story of a farmer who has proclaimed the country road that passes his farm of land. Any Transport Union official who appears on it risks his life.

The farmer is a republican. He has no permit for his gun or his revolver. He amuses himself taking pot-shots at trade union officials.

Do the police, "Royal," not "Republican," Constabulary interfere? Of course not!

### In Meath the Battle is Joined.

The Farmers' Association has refused to negotiate with the I.T. and G.W.U. over the demand of the latter for

Wages—37s. a week. Casual men, 12s. 6d. per day.

Hours—48 per week, a nine hour day with a half holiday on Saturday.

Harvest Bonus—£4.

Overtime—1s. per hour.

Holidays—No deductions from wages for the practice of the Catholic Faith.

The Farmers' Association prefers to negotiate with the skeleton of the defunct Meath Labour Union, an organisation without branches in the county.

No! Let us be accurate. James Blunt, the Sec. of the Meath Labour Union, is supposed to represent the Bellewstown Branch on his Union's Executive. Blunt is the Bellewstown Branch himself, and no other. There are no branches in existence in Navan, Dunshaughlin, Kilmessan, Kells, Athboy, Oldcastle and Trim; and these are seven out of the ten districts for which the M.L.U. audaciously agreed to accept 28s. and 30s. per week. There are branches of the Transport Union in all of these centres, and branches of no other labour organisation.

Humiliating as was the Russo-German treaty, the Russians at Brest-Litovsk made it clear that it was forced on them at the bayonet's point. At Navan, the Brest of the M.L.U. members, their puppets of the Farmers' Association swallowed the latter's humiliating terms with gusto for the "benefit" of their members.

The Meath Labour Union is kept in existence for the farmers' benefit. How well it pays the farmers can be guessed from the offer made by the M.L.U. to the Farmers' Association:

Thirty shillings a week with a £2 bonus, barely equal to 12s. 6d. a week pre-war purchasing power. Sunday work at time and a half rates, with a limit of 3s.

No early stoppage on Saturdays.

(Continued on Page Three.)

**THE VOICE OF LABOUR**  
 :: ALL-IRELAND LABOUR WEEKLY. ::

IRISH OPINION

Saturday  
 Twelfth  
 JULY,  
 1919.

**THE LAND FOR THE PEOPLE.**

The conquest of Ireland was not accomplished by all the king's horses and all the king's men until the land of Ireland had passed out of the hands of its owners, the Irish people, and into the hands of their despoilers, the planters, who drove the Irish to hill and bog and settled themselves on the lands they had stolen.

The re-conquest of Ireland will not be accomplished until the land of Ireland passes back again into the hands of the descendants of the people whom the planters dispossessed.

In Ireland much more than in England or Scotland it is true that the land, its cultivation and its possession, is at the root of the social ills from which this Irish people suffers.

That was true a generation ago when the Land League fought the Land War. The Land War was fought to the cry: The Land for the People. When the Land War was won it was not to the people, but to a section, the land went back. The land went back to the farmers.

When the farmers fought they did not fight alone. The workers in the towns, the citizens, the traders, the labourers, fought for them, and much of the fighting they did was the hardest of the fighting. The labourers on the land fought for the Land for the People. They didn't get any of the land. They got hard blows, they got jailings, they got emigration, they got worse than emigration, they got the hellish conditions and the devilish treatment of the new brotherhood into which they entered, the conditions and the treatment of the unskilled labourers in the towns and cities of Ireland, Great Britain and America.

After almost a generation the farmers got their heads above water. While they struggled nobody hindered them in their struggles. The farm workers bore their lot with the patience of the dumb beasts they had almost become. When the war came the farmers of Ireland got their heads above water. They came into comparative prosperity. The signs of their prosperity are on them to-day. Go into any county in Ireland and you will see it. Go to any race meeting in Ireland and you will see it. Go into any bank in Ireland and you will see it.

The war brought prosperity to the farmers, and it brought an awakening to their labourers. That awakening we have seen within the last year or two. The farm labourers have found tongue. They have found a way of expressing their wants and desires. They have found spokesmen amongst themselves. They are making themselves heard throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Turn elsewhere in our pages and you will see what the farm workers want. They want as good wages as the farm workers in benighted Britain have. They want a Wages Board that will not vote down their demands. They want no son of the great O'Connor clan to go out of his way, as neutral chairman of the Wages Board, and cast his vote against the labourers before a tie has taken place on the Board. They want to exercise their right to organise, and when organised, to speak through their representatives. That right the farmers are denying them.

The farmers have organised in a Farmers' Union, in which the Protestant and Presbyterian farmers of the North join with the Catholic farmers in the South and Midlands. Great is the union of North and South—when its object is to sweat the farmers' labourers. Great is the Land for the People—when the farmers are the people. Great is combination and unity—when it is not the combination and unity of the labourers.

The workers threaten to withdraw their labour. The farmers retort with the threat that they will turn their tillage lands to grass to feed bullocks for foreign consumption. Better, they say, an Ireland of bullocks than an Ireland of fairly well-paid men. Aye, better for the sweater, the exploiter, the dividend hunter, the armament manufacturer, and the great pillars of Empire and Capital.

So be it then. The farmers of Ireland are throwing down the gauntlet. They will let the harvest rot before they will give decent wages or recognise the Union or treat with its spokesmen. So be it then. The labourers will take up the challenge. They will fight as well trained troops fight at a time and on a ground of their own choosing, not of the farmers' choosing. Some will fall in the fight, some will be beaten. Some will win, and some will rise again to fight on till victory. Those who rise will have the old battle-cry on their lips, and they will send it aloft on the breeze all over Ireland. The old battle-cry, we repeat: The Land for the People.

Mark that well, farmers of Ireland; the Land for the People, for all the people.

The re-conquest of Ireland will be accomplished when the land of Ireland passes back again into the hands of the people, the whole people, not the farming class, but the whole people of Ireland.

It will be a dear bought victory this harvest for the farmers. We have warned them. Then, so be it.

# The Workers' Republic.

The great only appear great because we are on our knees  
 LET US RISE.

## PROPOSITIONS FOR DROGHEDA CONGRESS.

The motions proposed by affiliated organisations for discussion at the annual meeting of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress at Drogheda number forty-two, and on the whole are an improvement upon previous Congresses, even if they are not yet all we should like the agenda to be. The old hardy annuals are almost eliminated, and for the most part the proposals deal with urgent and important matters of the moment. By the time these lines are read the agenda will be before the affiliated bodies. It should be noted that amendments to these propositions and the names of the delegates should be forwarded to the Secretary, Mr. Wm. O'Brien, Trades Hall, Dublin, before July 14th.

## THE AGENDA.

This year the arrangement of the items on the agenda is better than it has been before, and this ought to help both the organisations and the Congress to give more time and better attention to the proposals themselves. The proposals in three sections, Social and Industrial, Organisation, and Political. In the first groups are no less than thirty-two propositions, in the second only four (but all four are of the first importance) and six in the third.

## THE STAFF OF LIFE.

The Typographical Association is demanding an immediate inquiry into the abnormally high cost of living and profiteering, and proposing that maximum prices be fixed for food and clothing. The Transport follows this with a proposal against the relaxation of the tillage orders. Housing comes in for much attention, the Government's scheme being sharply criticised. Enniskillen Trades Council distrusts the public bodies who will control the machinery; the Transport Union wants at least 70,000 additional houses for rural workers of all grades; and the National Executive, after condemning the financial provisions of the scheme, calls for a National Housing Council with power to commandeer or manufacture building material where houses are required.

## EDUCATION.

Some seven motions deal with education and educational problems. The National Teachers demand that the recommendations of the Killanin Committee be applied immediately, and the Dublin Central Teachers interpret the Government's delay as an attempt to escape from responsibilities. Dublin Teachers too have a word to say to the financial starvation of Irish education in general, and primary education in particular, and they ask for support in whatever action may be necessary to secure at least a living wage for teachers. The Women Workers call for an attempt to get a curtailment of the working hours of children under 16 years of age, and they are insistent that Congress shall not separate until it has appointed a Committee to draw up a scheme of education such as will meet the needs of the rising generation. Not the least important of these proposals is that on adult working class education sent forward by the Transport Union. We shall have much to say on this later, meanwhile the unions should ponder over the terms of the Transport Union's motion. It reads: "That the incoming National Executive be instructed to promote, or to co-operate with other organisations in promoting a scheme of adult working class education to be made accessible to members of affiliated societies throughout the country." There indeed is Irish Labour's greatest and most urgent need.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

Other resolutions deal with the Coal Resources of Ireland, Old Age Pensions, Secret Reports concerning Teachers, Income Tax, the Co-operative movement, the conditions of employment of Trained Nurses, a minimum wage for agricultural workers equal to a pre-war wage of a pound a week, temporary clerks in Government offices, Whitley Councils in the Civil Service, an annual holiday of not less than two weeks with full pay for all workers, nationalisation of the transport services under provision which will ensure that the worker in these services shall have a direct share in determining the conditions of their labours, and two or three of the once great crop of hardy annuals.

## THE DEMOBLED SOLDIERS.

A couple of resolutions on ex-soldiers and Trades Unions ought to lead to a discussion which will result in a definite and general policy on this most important question. The Transport Union, on the other hand, goes straight to the ex-soldiers and sailors themselves and calls upon them to take their proper place, not as scabs and strike-breakers, but as organised and militant units in

the working class movement. We hope this question will be debated freely and fearlessly, and that the debate will be of a high order.

## THE MOVEMENT ITSELF.

Of a high order, too, we hope will be the debates on the various motions dealing with the Labour movement itself. Much thought (or at least some thought) is being given to these things now, and it is fine to see Congress passing away from the old worn-out petty questions to the bigger problems of Trade Unionism. Queenstown Council will set the ball rolling with its call to the printing and allied trades to exercise their industrial power against the campaign of misrepresentation of Labour carried on in the capitalist Press. To that the T.A. and others, we are sure, will have something to say. The T.A. itself will raise a big question when it proposes that before a general stoppage is called the whole membership of every union shall ballot on the question. We are not inclined to favour that proposal, but there is much which we might say in favour of the proposals made by the Drapers' Assistants for the better working of the whole organisation. Another first class issue is that raised by Agricultural and General Workers' Union on overlapping. And still another is that raised by the Clerical Workers and the Tralee Council. The Clerical Workers want machinery set up to ensure joint action when big fights like those in Belfast and Limerick face the movement. Tralee Council, however, want the power to call a general strike to be given to local trade and labour councils. In all these are issues which will test the bigness of the delegates to Congress.

Next week we shall deal with the proposals in the political order.

## ETHICS OF REPRESENTATION.

Dublin,

July 4th, 1919.

A Chara,—I do not wish to infringe further on your valuable space, but I am bound to say that your comment: "Now, Sean, we are not innocent enough to believe that after this you saw no honourable course but to go and vote in favour of testimonials." And it is not always and ever true that the majority is right."

The inference is that I got a positive instruction from the members of the E.T.U. to vote in favour of testimonials. I got no such instructions, and, if I did, I would most certainly have refused to act even for the majority. It would have then turned into a matter of principle, and to me principle forms a high place in my everyday's existence. Mind you, according to the discussion, there was room for a difference of opinion as to the relative merits of the dispute, and this was aggravated, or made more complex, by the complete absence of the full facts dealing with the personnel as well as the true causes that led up to the affair.

Except in the case of a vital principle, I do not agree that it is always best to resign one's position simply because one does not see eye to eye with others. I believe that if I am conscious of an existing evil, it would be my business to fight that evil, and make an honest effort to remedy it.

It is, unfortunately, too true that majority rule is not always right. Of this I am painfully aware. Nevertheless, the world must be governed by some such idea, and it is because the people are, unfortunately, prone to evil, and rather inclined to look on the selfish or material side of things, that such a state of affairs exist. Might we as well argue that honesty is not the best policy, or, as the poet once wrote:—

To be honest as the world goes  
 Is to be picked out of ten thousand.

That's a hard one! is it true?

In conclusion, I would like to say that, having asked me a straight question, I have given an answer, and I think if I have not satisfied you, I have gone very near it. Some would have it that you have no right to ask such questions, but, in my opinion, if you take a whole-hearted interest in the labour movement, you have a perfect right, and it's a tremendous pity that the rank and file—of which we hear so much—would not take a greater interest in the trade union movement, as a whole, and in the officials who from time to time represent them. We have had an interchange of views, and if we can't come to terms, well, then, let us "agree to differ." Don't ask me to trouble you further. There is a terrible lot of work to be done, and the time is short.—Do chara.

SEAN M. O'DUFFY.

## An Absent Voter.

Miss Cullen, of the Irish Women Workers' Union, informs us she did not vote for coruption at the Trades Council meeting of 16th ult. She has not been a member of that body for several months.

## THE MEMORY OF MACKEN.

Sunday, 29th June, was the birthday of the late Alderman Peadar Macken, and this date was admirably chosen by the Joint House Painters Trades Unions for the unveiling of the Memorial which they had erected to the memory of their heroic colleague who fell fighting for Ireland under De Valera during Easter Week.

Glasnevin Cemetery was the centre of interest on the occasion and contingents arrived from the Trades Council and General Trades Bodies of Dublin, together with detachments from the Irish Volunteers, Citizen Army, Cumann na mBan, Inghinidhe na he-Eireann, as well as the Peadar Macken Football Club, the Peadar Macken Sinn Fein Club, Peadar Macken Branch of the Gaelic League, Wolfe Tone Committee, and various Sinn Fein clubs of the city.

A procession was formed headed by a large contingent of the House Painters Unions and marched round the cemetery, eventually forming up around the grave-side which is situate in St. Brighid's Section. Around the grave were assembled Mrs. McHenry, and Miss M. P. Macken, sisters of the Martyr, and Mr. and Miss MacHenry, brother-in-law and sister-in-law; also Mrs. Pearse, Mrs. James Connolly, Miss Connolly, Mrs. Ceant, Miss O'Brien, Mrs. Gonne McBride, Mr. Arthur Griffith, and Members of the Committee of the Painters Union. A guard of honour was formed by B Company, Batt. III. of the Irish Volunteers, of which Macken had been a member.

Mr. Geo. A. Lyons unveiled the Monument and delivered the panegyric, which was listened to with intense interest by the immense gathering. Father Albert, O.S.F.C., spoke a few words and recited prayers in Irish which were reverentially responded to, and the assembly quietly dispersed.

The House Painters of Dublin have set a noble example which deserves recognition.

## I.T. & G.W.U. BAND COMMITTEE. NUMBER ONE BRANCH.

The subscription from "Furniture Movers, £3" acknowledged in the "Voice" of June 21 should read, Anderson, Stanford and Ridgeway, per P. Spain, £1; Pim Bros., per R. Hilton, £1 3s. 6d.; Millar and Beatty, per J. Lewis, 14s.; Walpole, 5s. 9d.; Beverley Smith, 8s. Total, £3 11s. 3d.

## CO-OPERATION IN COMER.

All the householders of Gazebo Branch I.T. and G.W.U. are shareholders in the new Co-operative Society there. A capital of £325 has been paid up, the subscriptions running from £2 to £5 per member.

The Mining Company has subscribed £100. The premises are now ready and will be opened shortly.

Mr. Campion, the branch Secretary, and Mr. W. M. Knox, of the Co-operative Union, are to be congratulated on their excellent start.

## Whitechurch Strike Sequel.

The recent strike has had a curious sequel which speaks for itself. The local curate, whose house was burgled whilst he was celebrating Mass, has been served with a writ by a local farmer for the alleged statement that the priest saw him in the neighbourhood of the house prior to the occurrence. The Transport Union at the time condemned the burglary as an attempt to blacken it in the eyes of the public, and has loyally abided by the curate's arbitration, which is more than can be said for the farmers.

## Skibbereen.

A big crowd of Transport Workers and townspeople attended to hear an address from Tadg Barry on the labour problem on 27th June. The Union seems to be greatly disturbing the doves of the local reactionaries, and some spirited correspondence has appeared in the local Press.

**RURAL WORKERS IN REVOLT**  
(From Front Page.)

That is not the worst feature of this Yellow union's scab agreement. These rates apply only to East Meath, Drumconrath, Navan, Dunshaughlin, Kilmessan and Kells.

In Athboy, Kilskyre, Oldcastle, Rathmoilyon, and Trim the wage will only be 28s. Is the loaf cheaper in Oldcastle than in Navan? Do boots and clothes cost less in Trim than in Kells?

There is another clause in this agreement worthy of special notice.

**No payment for Catholic Holidays except in the case of employees who work on these days.**

The Catholic farmers of Meath impose, by that clause, a penal fine of a day's pay upon the labourers who practise the Catholic Faith by abstaining from all unnecessary servile work.

Or, the Catholic labourer who is striving to feed his family on 30s. a week, has to take 5s. worth of victuals out of the children's food if he would carry out his religious duties.

Nothing better calculated to foster irreligious could be devised than this disgraceful agreement made by the bosses' dummies who masquerade as the Meath Labour Union.

**Winning Already,**

Scared by a strike notice affecting Rathoath, Ashbourne, Dunboyne, Dunshaughlin, Kilmessan and Skryne districts, the Farmers' Union, who previously had refused to "recognise," sent along an urgent missive to the effect that their offer applied also to I.T.G.W.U. members. But M.L.U. terms weren't good enough for the O.B.U. men.

Some 800 of them struck work on Monday, the area having been toured on the previous day by Frank McCabe and E. Rooney, and strike arrangements perfected. In some cases settlements have already been made at 35s. with bonus.

**The Kildare Front,**

Little De Vere, Secretary of the Kildare Farmers' Association, whose ancestors came across here with Strongbow's Anglo-Norman land pirates, tickled us to death last week with a mighty bellow that all his members would lock out I.T.G.W.U. men on July 12th, an appropriate date for De Vere and his Orange pals on the Executive of his Association.

Decently enough, a week's notice of lock-out was to be given, but the idea was, of course, to get the hay saved, and other urgent work done this week, and then throw the men out for the ensuing slack weeks, after which it was gauged they'd come back whining. The counter stroke was delivered instantly, all men being instructed to walk out of the job at once unless the particular farmer withdrew his lock-out notice. This step has had excellent results so far, many farmers thinking more of their hay than of De Vere, while in all other cases the men have answered the call with splendid loyalty.

**Leix Farmers' Canting Can't.**

It is a curious fact that many of the County Farmers' Unions are officered and bossed by the Ascendancy element, to whose tunes the farmers are forced to dance. Leix (Anglice, "Queen's Co.") in this respect is similar to Kildare. Secretary Ringwood, of the Leix Farmers' Association replied to the Union's demand by the palpable lie that "the agricultural industry could not pay more than the Wages Board's rates," which are 26s. in Leix.

When told that, in remote parts of Co. Kerry, from 35s. to 40s. was being paid, without detriment to the industry, and when asked to prove his assertion by the simple process of producing any of his members' books, Mr. Ringwood shied: A renewed offer of a conference has now been made by the Union, and for the sake of the Leix crops, one trusts it will be accepted.

**Further Unrest.**

About 150 men in Laurencetown and Eyrecourt districts, Co. Galway, are "out" since last week because of rejected demands for improvements on the A.W.B. minimum rates, which may now be definitely taken as Chairman O'Conor's maximum rates. In Buttevant 120 Transport Union men stopped on Monday.

In Castlesland farm workers are also pressing for better conditions, and reference to the local Conciliation Board is likely.

In Co. Limerick a 37s. wage is being sought in the Adare, Patrickswell, Croom, Kildimo, Bruree, and Pallasgreen area for 900 workers, and in Adare districts 35s. has already been secured for Nigel Baring's men and 31s. 6d. for Lord Dunraven's farm workers.

**How the English Farmer Pays.**

The lowest rate paid to English farm labourers, and then only in the mountainous districts of Wales, the fens of Norfolk and the pleasure grounds of the rich, is 36s. 6d. In Northumberland and Durham the wage is 42s. 6d. In Kent and Lancashire, comparable with Cos. Dublin, Meath, Down and Antrim, the wage paid is 39s. 6d.

In Scotland the lowest wage paid is in The Orkney Islands, which are more remote from markets than any spot in Ireland, is 31s. In the North-West Highlands, among the rocks of the Grampian Mountains, ploughmen are paid 36s. a week.

In other parts of Scotland the wages run from 35s. up to 40s. a week. These figures illustrate vividly the punishment inflicted

upon the Irish labourer, who has to be content with wages running from 21s. to 31s. 6d. for ploughmen in the most fertile areas contiguous to the richest markets.

Irish farm produce and British sell in the same markets. Irish farm profits are not merely the exploitation of surplus value, that is inevitable under Capitalism. To a very large extent the farmers profit is the hire of the labourer kept back by fraud.

The capitalist system in Irish farming is on its trial, and almost for the last time.

Remember there is no title to land but is based on confiscation of our common inheritance.

If the private property system is not to become acutely and absolutely intolerable it must at the very least yield, and that at once, "decent and frugal comfort" to the wage-earner.

**"OUR ENEMIES HAVE FALLEN."**

The Irish Bourgeoisie has been pouring forth its slimy tears over the passing of William Martin Murphy, the bitterest enemy of the working class that its ranks have produced.

Murphy, we are told, smashed Larkinism and Syndicalism. Perhaps he did for a week or so, but the growth of the I.T. and G.W.U. would suggest that it lives on smashings. He has, like the late King Leopold II. of Belgium, died in the odour of sanctity, and we observe that his funeral was attended by the editor of the notorious anti-working-class series of pamphlets, "The Church and the Worker," the editor being also the author of the most scurrilous and mendacious of the collection.

Murphy has taken with him another of Larkin's enemies, A. McMonagle of the Belfast "Witness." Political "enemies" and commercial allies in the class war, in death they were not divided. Their deeds belong to history, and history abominates hypocrisy. Therefore we record the plain fact that their removal from the earthly scene causes us no tears, and no joy, for of such is the kingdom of capitalism.

**THE DRAPERS' DOUBLE WIN.**

**Cork and Limerick.**

After a five weeks' strike the shop assistants and clerks employed in the South Main Street warehouse of the firm of Messrs. J. Lyons and Co., Cork, are gone back to work with flying colours. Various attempts were made to settle the dispute, but the men, to the number of 60, including buyers, assistants, and accountants, were firm, and at one time it seemed as if the fight was to go on indefinitely, but at a conference called by Fr. Thomas last week new proposals were submitted by the employers, and were ultimately accepted by the Drapers' Assistants' Association. During the strike many telling exposures were made in the Bulletins published by Organizer Duffy, who was in charge of the campaign. The firm's excess profits handed over to the British Government in return for the Privy Councilship of Sir Stanley Harrington, were widely discussed, and the whole business was suspended. The settlement gives to the lowest paid assistant or clerk a wage of £3 per week, and the higher paid get £6. Peace was suitably celebrated on Tuesday night, when the "Red Flag" was chanted. After Cork came Limerick. The management of Messrs. Todd and Co. and Cannaok and Co. met Messrs. Duffy, Walsh, Daly, O'Callaghan, and Cremin in conference and arranged very favourable terms for the staffs of both these important firms. Salaries under £100 were increased by 50 per cent., and those over that amount by 33 one-third per cent., with a minimum rate of £150 per annum for assistants who have been out of their apprenticeship for three years. About 200 employees benefit to an extent of from £35 to £75 by these adjusted rates. The Drapers' Assistants' Association is going well down South.

**TO OWN OR BE OWNED.**

**The Machine Menace.**

"You have read," says the "Daily News" of San Francisco, "that a western ranchman buys an airplane for locating stray cattle. Another farmer installs a wireless outfit to keep in touch with the Chicago grain market. Italian Government is operating 1700 motor plows; they do the work that required 20,000 yoke of oxen a year ago.

"Wonderful is the progress of agriculture. Dramatic, in the march of time, the invasion of soil tilling by chemists, bacteriological scientists.

"Not long since plowing was done with a crooked stick. Even as recently as 100 years ago all plows were made of wood. Grain was cut with sickle, gathered in the arms, threshed by flail and winnowed in the wind."

All these wonderful new tools of production are made by the co-operation of scientific investigators and great groups of workers. The cannot be used individually. They require co-operative labour.

And if labour does not socialise them they will become instruments of class oppression more fearful in their horrid tyranny than the thumbscrew of mediaeval justice.

It is up to you!

**We've a Welcome for YOU at LIBERTY CAFÉ.**

**T**HE only restaurant in Ireland run by the workers. Liberty Café is owned and managed by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Branch of the I.T. & G.W.U.

**T**HE staff is selected from among the best and most efficient members of the Union. We can guarantee your satisfaction. We make eating a pleasure.

**P**RICES are made to suit our Union members. It will pay you to have your breakfast, luncheon or tea at Liberty Café.

**L**IBERTY Café is open for your convenience from 7.30 a.m. to 7.30 p.m.

**Liberty Café, 31 Eden Quay, Dublin.**

**OUR UNION IS IRISH.** Its members, its executive, and its funds are all in Ireland. Our Head Office is at 22 Dawson St., Dublin.

We organise every man about the **MOTOR CAR** and cater for the needs of every sort of chauffeur or mechanic. The drivers of private cars, the doctor's chauffeur, the delivery run-about man, and the commercial lorry driver find in the Irish Automobile Drivers' and Automobile Mechanics' Union, the protection and mutual aid they need, to get that "country fit for Heroes to live in."

All particulars from Liam Slattery, 22 Dawson Street, Dublin.

**JUST THE CORE.**

Lord Mayor O'Neill arbitrates on Printers claims while we are in the Press. Meantime fill the Lock-Out collection boxes.

Dublin Tram men have won 48-hour week.

An All-Ireland Farmers' Union is forming.

We need the O.B.U. to meet it. Te Deum Laudamus was the warble in choirs and places where they sing last Sunday. It should have been Dies Iræ.

The first Crimes Court in Belfast was that which sentenced O'Meagher, O'Hagan and Greenspon.

The Act was passed in '87 with the approval of Belfast workers. After twenty-two years it is used to crush them.

The prisoners are denied political treatment.

Warrenpoint will boom. 4,000 ton electrically welded ships will be built there.

What about housing the workers?

**THE CLAIMS OF ENGLISH LABOURERS.**

**Human Standard Wanted**

In a speech in the House of Commons on the plight of the English agricultural labourer, W. R. Smith, M.P., President of the National Agricultural Workers' Union, said:—

"I would like to say to the House in all sincerity and earnestness that we may have to face what is known as industrial unrest in the villages almost as intensified as we may have to face it in the towns. I happen to be an official of the Agricultural Labourers' Union. Letters are daily coming to our office showing the impatience of the men in regard to this question of the advancement of their wages.

"Thirty shillings is an entirely inadequate sum for an agricultural labourer at the present time. It is not an adjustment that even corresponds to the increase in the cost of living.

"Although that is a phase of things which is not entirely absent from our claim, yet we want to point it out to the House and the country generally in order that the seriousness and importance of this question may be properly understood.

"The labourer is looking at his position not so much from the point of view of adjustment to the cost of living as he is to the establishment of a standard of comfort in his home that harmonises with his human needs.

"We have to face this fact, that whilst most other classes of labour previous to the war had their Trade Unions that secured adjustment approximating to a reasonable state of things, that did not appertain to the agricultural labourer."

We in Ireland have to face the fact that legislative action has not given 30s. a week to any rural worker. The comparatively few who receive wages above that level have to thank their own united effort in the ranks of the I.T. & G.W.U.

**AGRICULTURAL WAGES BOARD FOR IRELAND.**

**APPOINTMENT OF DISTRICT WAGES COMMITTEES.**

At a meeting of the Agricultural Wages Board for Ireland, on the 4th and 5th July, 1919, it was decided to set up District Wages Committees for different areas throughout Ireland. It was further decided to appoint Committees for each of the following areas to meet at the place stated in each centre,—

- No. 1 Area—Counties Antrim and Down (including the County Borough of Belfast), to meet at Belfast.
- No. 2 Area—Counties Armagh and Monaghan, to meet at Monaghan.
- No. 3 Area—Counties Cavan and Leitrim, to meet at Cavan.
- No. 4 Area—Counties Donegal and Londonderry (including the County Borough of Londonderry), to meet at Londonderry.
- No. 5 Area—Counties Fermanagh and Tyrone, to meet at Omagh.
- No. 6 Area—Counties Clare and Limerick (including the County Borough of Limerick), to meet at Limerick.
- No. 7 Area—County Cork (including the County Borough of Cork), to meet at Cork.
- No. 8 Area—County Kerry, to meet at Kerry.
- No. 9 Area—County Tipperary, North and South Ridings, to meet at Thurles.
- No. 10 Area—Counties Waterford and Kilkenny (including the County Borough of Waterford), to meet at Waterford.
- No. 11 Area—County Dublin (including the County Borough of Dublin), to meet at Dublin.
- No. 12 Area—Counties Kildare and Carlow, to meet at Athy.
- No. 13 Area—Counties King's and Queen's, to meet at Portarlington.
- No. 14 Area—Counties Longford and Westmeath, to meet at Mullingar.
- No. 15 Area—Counties Louth and Meath, to meet at Drogheda.
- No. 16 Area—Counties Wexford and Wicklow, to meet at Arklow.
- No. 17 Area—County Galway, to meet at Galway.
- No. 18 Area—County Mayo, to meet at Castlebar.
- No. 19 Area—Counties Roscommon and Sligo, to meet at Boyle.

It is proposed to appoint on each Committee four members representing employers and four members representing workmen. Applications for appointments to Committees from individuals or from organisations of employers or workmen will be received at the Board's Offices, 14 St. Stephen's Green, North, Dublin, up to and including 29th July, 1919.

W. M. BOWERS,

Secretary

7th July, 1919.

