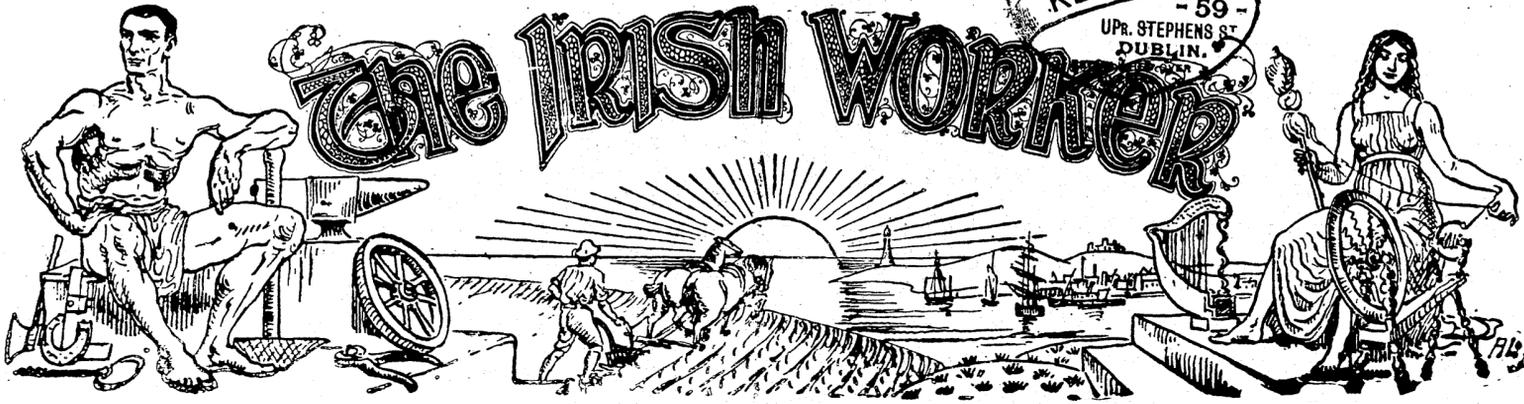


"The principle I state and mean to stand upon is—that the entire ownership of Ireland, moral and material, up to the sun and down to the centre is vested of right in the people of Ireland."

James Finian Lalor.



ALL LABOUR PAPERS & PAMPHLETS TO BE HAD AT KEARNEY'S - 59 - UP. STEPHENS ST. DUBLIN.

Who is it speaks of defeat? I tell you a cause like ours; Is greater than defeat can know— It is the power of powers. As surely as the earth rolls round As surely as the glorious sun Brings the great world moon wave Must our Cause be won!

Edited by JIM LARKIN.

No. 49 Vol. III.]

DUBLIN, SATURDAY, APRIL 18th, 1914

ONE PENNY.]

CO-OPERATION AND THE Labour Movement.

By R. J. P. MORTISHED.

THE PIONEER OF THE CO-OPERATIVE IDEA.

ROBERT OWEN, 1771-1858.

Through all these years of turmoil and revolt, Owen, though himself only a middle-class philanthropist, was one of the most influential leaders and guiding spirits of the working-class movement. He was unceasing in his propaganda for the uplifting of the workers and the overthrow of the whole social system. A series of congresses of all sorts of people were called together to listen to his preaching. Newspapers, such as "The Crisis," and "The New Moral World," were founded to carry his influence further. At the time of the builders' great strike in Liverpool he addressed a huge conference of the Builders' Union at Birmingham, declaring that "labor was his source of all wealth." He was one of the founders of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, constituting himself its "chief recruiter and propagandist," and providing it with its policy and inspiration. The influence he exerted was extraordinarily great and far-reaching, and in his general aim, if not in its immediate proposals, was very valuable. Not only did he insist on the necessity of stringent regulation of working hours and factory conditions and the establishment of the minimum wage in order to prevent enormous social loss by reason of deterioration of the working classes, but he also—in contrast with the political leaders like Bobbitt—maintained that the prevailing misery was a necessary result of the uncontrolled development in industry and could only be removed by transferring the control of the new industrial system to the workers themselves. He expounded to the workers the three-fold doctrine that all wealth belonged of right to the workers, that it could only be secured to them if they owned and controlled the means of creating wealth, and that in order to obtain and exercise that control they must combine. In what way the workers were to get rid of the profiteer and organize production by means of the associated effort on whose value he laid such stress, was explained in some detail at one of his congresses in 1833.

"I will now give you," he said, "a short outline of the great changes which are in contemplation, and which shall come suddenly upon society like a thief in the night. . . . It is intended that national arrangements shall be formed to include all the working-classes in the great organisation, and that each department shall become acquainted with what is going on in other departments; that all individual competition is to cease; that all manufactures are to be carried on by National companies. . . . All trades shall first form Associations of lodges to consist of a convenient number for carrying on the business. All individuals of the specific craft shall become members."

Whether it was possible to secure such a thorough organisation of the workers, by what precise steps the workers, even when organised, were to secure control of industry, how they were to overcome the opposition of the forces of the State, and what relations were to exist between the different branches of industry when once taken over—all these obvious difficulties, to say nothing of the objection that the scheme would result in a re-distribution of capital in a still capitalist state and not in a collective state at all, all these difficulties Owen either did not see, or else optimistically ignored. In actual fact whenever any of these proposals for co-operative production and industrial control by "one big Union" or several "big Unions" were put to the test of actual practice, they failed utterly. None of his early co-operative colonies succeeded or could have succeeded. The attempts by the Grand National and other Unions to found co-operative workshops for their members were equally condemned to failure from the very beginning. Even if they were theoretically justifiable it is extremely doubtful if the Labor Movement of to-day, with all its experience and accumulated wisdom, could manage such ventures successfully. It is quite certain that they were hopeless in Owen's time. But though there may be weighty criticism of these proposals of Owen's, as of similar proposals that are being discussed to-day, nothing can diminish the value of the social ideal with which Owen inspired the workers of his day. He scattered the seed of discontent and aspiration far and wide. A little fell on stony ground, perhaps, and came to nought; some fell by the wayside, springing up and flourishing for a little while but dying down before the harvest time; some fell and was buried deep, lying dormant for many years, but springing up eventually in vigorous growth to yield a glorious harvest long after the sower had passed away. Part of that harvest of Robert Owen's sowing the Co-operative Movement of to-day is reaping, and there is no more interesting study for workers than the study of its early growth.

Part I (c).—THE PIONEER SOCIETY.

"THE ROCHDALE SOCIETY OF EQUITABLE PIONEERS" FOUNDED 1844.

If Owen's doctrine that character is determined by environment were accepted without qualification, one could never hope that the co-operative idea would come to valuable fruition in such a town as Rochdale was in 1844. Holyoake says of it, as it appeared even in the 1850's: "A little bridge that spans, like a rocking horse, an imaginary stream, in which there is nothing liquid but the mud, situated in an invisible part of the town, is the only picturesque object in it. The remainder of the town is made up of roads that lead to nowhere, ornamented with factories apparently built before the dawn of architecture. There is not a building in Rochdale upon which it will do any eye good to look. The town is in the shape of a tea-cup, with a gutter at the bottom and a burying-ground upon

the rim." The social condition of the town may be gathered from the statement made in 1841 by the Member of Parliament for the borough: "In Rochdale there were 136 persons living on 6d. per week, 200 on 10d. per week, 508 on 1s. per week, 855 on 1s. 6d. per week, and 1,500 were living on 1s. 10d. a week. Five-sixths of those he spoke of had scarcely any blankets, eighty-five families had no blankets, forty-six families had only chaff beds, with no covering at all."

But if Rochdale was ugly and poverty-stricken, it was yet rich in the possession of a little group of patient, enthusiastic, far-seeing and high-principled men. At the end of 1843, the flannel weavers of the town struck for an advance of wages. They failed, and might have been forgiven even if they had yielded to complete despair. But they did not yield. In Holyoake's graphic language: "A few poor weavers out of employ, and nearly out of food, and quite out of heart with the social state, met together to discover what they could do to better their industrial condition. Manufacturers had capital and shopkeepers the advantage of stock; how could they succeed without either? . . . They would commence the battle of life on their own account. They would, as far as they were concerned, supersede tradesmen, mill-owners, and capitalists; without experience, or knowledge, or funds, they would turn merchants and manufacturers." All of those who made this valiant resolution were men who had been active in some democratic field—as Chartist, Trade Unionist, or Owenite. It was the Owenites who, in the main, inspired and controlled the new growth. A weekly subscription of twopence was levied. With painful slowness the little capital mounted up. When it reached the Lilliputian total of £28, the little group, now numbering twenty-eight in all, determined to start business. On October 24th, 1844, the "Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers" was registered under Act of Parliament, and on December 21st, the Society began business in a little old warehouse in Toad Lane, with infinitesimal quantities of "flour, butter, sugar and oatmeal." It is instructive to compare their humble practical application to the sale of such small groceries with the aims and objects of the Society as set forth in its constitution.

OBJECTS OF THE ROCHDALE SOCIETY OF EQUITABLE PIONEERS.

"The objects and plans of this Society are to form arrangements for the pecuniary benefit and the improvement of the social and domestic condition of its members, by raising a sufficient amount of capital in shares of one pound each to bring into operation the following plans and arrangements:—

- "The establishment of a store for the sale of provisions, clothing, etc.
- "The building, purchasing, or erecting of a number of houses, in which those members, desiring to assist each other in improving their domestic and social condition, may reside.
- "To commence the manufacture of such articles as the Society may determine upon, for the employment of such members as may be without employment, or who may be suffering in consequence of repeated reductions in their wages.
- "As a further benefit and security to the members of this Society, the Society shall purchase or rent an estate or estates of land, which shall be cultivated by the members who may be out of employment, or whose labour may be badly remunerated.
- "That, as soon as practicable, this Society shall proceed to arrange the powers of production, distribution, education, and government; or, in other words, to establish a self-supporting home colony of united interests, or assist other societies in establishing such colonies."

The Society set out to "arrange the powers of production, distribution, education and government" by buying for and selling to its members groceries of good quality on strictly cash terms. The tiny capital was steadily increased by petty subscriptions; the goods sold gradually increased in variety and quantity; the Store was opened six days a week instead of two; the membership increased, new departments—butter, draper's, shoemaker's—were added as the years went by, and the saving effected by co-operative buying for cash waxed continually larger. The Pioneer Society was firmly established. The poor weavers of Rochdale, once condemned to live on insufficient rations of adulterated food and to dress scantily in shoddy clothes, found themselves now living on the very best, if not the most varied and dainty food, and dressed in substantial, if not elegant clothing. Moreover, whereas formerly they had been always in debt to the tradesman, they now were their own tradesmen and had accumulated savings of substantial amount. On the first year's trading, amounting to £710, the saving the Society effected was £33. On the thirteenth year's trading, amounting to £80,000, the saving effected reached £5,470. In the thirteen years to 1857 the total saving amounted to almost £20,000. The membership in the same period grew from 28 pioneers to 1,850. The splendid example of Rochdale had been followed by other towns. For long none of the other Societies could compare in point of membership and sales with the Rochdale Pioneers, but the Co-operative movement of to-day had been securely founded and was sure of the extraordinary growth which is now to be chronicled.

Before proceeding to trace the subsequent history of the movement; it will be well to examine the reasons for the success of the Pioneers. The striking changes produced in Rochdale were, something new, but the method of producing them, save in one respect, was not new. There had been co-operative corn mills from the beginning of the century, and co-operative stores had been numerous enough between 1828 and 1832, and indeed it was to help these that the ill-fated Labour Exchanges were started. Founded on Owen's principles, the first of the Union Shops, as they were then called, was started at Brighton in 1828, and by 1832 had increased in number to four or five hundred. Then, quite suddenly, they melted away, and except for a few survivors straggling here and there, the Union Shop movement was dead before the Rochdale Movement started. The contrasting vitality of the Pioneers' creation was doubtless due in part to the sterling good sense, patience, forethought, and enthusiasm of the Pioneers

themselves, but the special distinction of their Society was their method of treating the savings accumulated by their co-operative buying. The old weavers when they opened their shop might have endeavoured to sell their goods to themselves at their exact cost. But oatmeal that is bought by the sack cannot be priced at an exact number of pence or halfpence when it is retailed by the pound. Besides, there were certain standing charges for rent, for repairs, for extensions and reserve and so on which must in wisdom be met, and it was impossible to say how much must be added in consequence to the price of, say, half a pound of butter. There were two obstacles in the way of selling goods at cost price. The co-operators, therefore, sold goods at the ordinary retail price, as the simplest way out of the difficulty. But this involved the accumulation of a large surplus representing the difference between the market and the actual prices. Three methods offered themselves for distributing this surplus. It might have been accumulated perpetually and added to the original capital or distributed periodically to the members who had provided the original capital. In the end the Society would have degenerated on this system into a close corporation of profiteers, differing from the ordinary company only in the social class from which its members were drawn. Or the surplus might have been presented to the workers, employees of the Society, whose labor had helped

to produce it. On this system, the workers would have become an association of profiteers, differing, it is true, from the ordinary capitalists, but the same in essence and inspired in the end with the same greedy spirit. The third method and this device, invented by Charles Howarth, was peculiar to the Pioneers—was to return the surplus to the purchasers in proportion to the amount of their purchases. This last method not only benefits the members by reducing the price of the goods and at the same time acting as a kind of automatic savings bank, but it also confers the benefits of co-operation upon an ever-widening circle of members that might in the end embrace the whole community. Every new member was an advantage to the Society by reason of the larger capital and wider scope his entrance made possible, and every new member shared equitably in proportion to his purchases in the benefits to be gained by the mutual action of the whole. It was this system, now known as the Rochdale system, which prevented the Pioneers' Society and its imitators from degenerating into close corporations of profit-hunters, as had often been the case with the Union shops. It was the permanent security and immediate advantages offered by a Society based on this system that rendered economically possible the steady widening of the area of co-operation and growth in the number and membership of Co-operative Societies that enthusiastic propaganda has since brought about.

A BIT ABOUT NOTHING MUCH.

BY SHELLBACK.

Tom Jackson lived in a district of Liverpool that for all its importance was little known to anyone outside its own particular community or those whose duties took them through its maze of dingy streets and among its moving lines of traffic.

Tom had lived in this neighbourhood for more years than he cared to remember; not always in the same habitation, it is true, as he had on occasion, as prospects or inclination suggested, moved from ground floor to attic or from court to front street, but never going beyond the limits that were clearly defined by the two important commercial arteries that bounded the district on the east and west or the grim mass of warehouses and the black, sluggish waters of the canal that marked its extremities on the south and north. At the time I am writing of he occupied, with his wife and family, a spacious basement in one of a row of houses fronting a narrow-set paved street, through which, from morning to night and from year's end to year's end, passed a never-ending stream of heavy lorries and drays, drawn by those splendid horses Liverpool alone is famous for. When he would not be at work on the docks, or was without the wherewithal to join the gathering that was always in evidence at the bar of the corner pub, he would often spend hours, if the weather was suitable, sitting on the steps that led to his cellar dwelling, and, with his pipe in his mouth, would criticise mentally and with an air of keen judgment the qualifications of the men who as stevedores or porters had loaded these great piles of raw cotton, of hides, or the cases of bacon or other produce and raw material that slowly ground their way past him to the railway station or warehouse. The music of the horses' feet as they clacked, clacked on the stone pavement, had also not a little attraction for him, and he felt a sort of personal pride in watching the broad-chested, powerful animals swinging between the shafts and nodding their noble-looking heads as, without any apparent effort, they kept their heavy loads in motion, and slowly but surely, in their proper order and time, made the passage of the street and went out of his ken.

Tom quite appreciated the advantage of living in the front street, where he had the benefit of all these attractions that was denied to those residents in the courts or the still more remote back alleys; and it is only truth to say that he was not alone in appreciating to the full the superiority of his home when compared with the less favoured, from this point of view, denizens of the darker regions. If the weather was such that it suited Tom to recline on the top of his cellar steps, it was equally suitable to his neighbours, who were in the same predicament as regards work and coinage as himself, and consequently, when Tom would be so regaling himself, it was pretty safe to assume that all the different cellars would have their human ornament on the top step, puffing pipes and going through the same mental performance regarding the passing lorries, and admiring to exactly the same extent the various points of the horses. On these occasions the steps to the slightly more important front doors of the houses would also possess a full complement of

the tenants of the different floors, who mustered a motley crowd, mostly women, some buxom and homely, and others thin and emaciated, ugly, sickly, fair and yellow, aged and youthful, all with their hands tucked under their aprons, taking pleasure in observing the eternal parade of horses, lorries, and merchandise that for ever was passing before them, and all so careless of the different charms that burst blouses and indifferent underwear made no attempt to conceal, sitting or standing, on steps or on doorways or hanging out of lofty windows, while the smoke from Tom's pipe circled and curled into the thick atmosphere of deadly fumes that rolled up from the oily canal. There was usually an enormous crowd of children too of all ages, rolling and crying and laughing and continually making wonderful escapes from death between the legs of horses or the wheels of the heavy vehicles without effecting the slightest change in the stolid faces of their elders, or interfering in the least with their interesting occupation. On some occasions the top hat or frock coat of respectability would make its appearance when a Minister of religion, a landlord or a coroner's jury would have business to transact there, but the feminine fashions were distinctly absent at all times except of course at election times, when Tory and Liberal ladies would overawe the populace by their exquisite or hideous toilets as well as completely turn their heads when they—as they often did—kissed the black faced ragged children who would be too spellbound to cry.

Of course there is no particular need for me to tell you anything about Tom Jackson, and I would never have bothered doing so if Tom hadn't been a Tory workman. It was upon that fact that he based his vigorous opposition to the demand for Home Rule for Ireland, whenever that question cropped up in the bar of the pub mentioned above. I would never have been impelled to emphasize the conditions surrounding his home life, if it wasn't necessary to account for a still greater peculiarity of his. He had no use—to use the phrase he commonly used in these pub arguments—for trade union delegates and he conscientiously objected to contributing to the support of such lazy loafers. It always gave him great pleasure to rote the publican's hear, hear when he noisily and with lurid language expressed his opinions regarding that self-sacrificing body of workers. He was well aware that the pawn broker on the opposite corner also agreed with his sentiments as also did the leader of the Salvation Army Band who had sense enough to know that there was no need to batter drums or drone out horrible "music" or shriek blood curdling "hymns" in any other neighbourhood but that wherein Tom dwelt. For Tom quite agreed—however we can account for it—that hell was made for him and his like and heaven for the superior folk who lived God knows where, but it must be a long way past the corner where the horses and the lorries and their loads disappeared.

There was one opinion which Tom shared with the other sort of workmen who lived outside the narrow limits of Tom's sium neighbourhood, that was he disliked policemen. No argument on the part of either publican, pawnbroker landlord, Tory or Liberal could convince him that policemen were not the greatest curse humanity was afflicted with, and he stood bravely alone and unsupported

CAUTION.

The Pillar House,

81a HENRY ST., DUBLIN,

—IS THE DEPOT FOR GENUINE—
Bargains by Post.

We do cater for the Workmen,
No fancy prices; honest value only.

Watch, Clock and Jewellery Repairing
A SPECIALITY.

a staunch upholder of that opinion all the way through.

But Tom has been dead quite a number of years now, and his death is remembered chiefly by the difficulty the bearers met with in getting his coffin body up the narrow steps from his cellar. He lies in some secluded, unmarked spot in God's acre, that publican or pawnbroker or Salvation Army leader has never tried to discover. Another Tom decorates the top step, other women fill the doorways and windows, the same fashions prevail in that intensely Conservative quarter, and the horses still draw their lorries and their heavy loads slowly and majestically to the same old corner, where they turn, and are lost in the world beyond.

Ireland's Exodus of Emigrants

Emigration statistics of Ireland, published recently show that the total number of emigrants from Ireland during the year 1913 was 31,339, of whom 16,727 were males and 14,612 females.

Those emigrants who were natives of Ireland numbered 30,967, equivalent to a rate of 7.1 per thousand of the population. This number shows an increase of 1,623 as compared with 1912, and is the average for any decennial period. The records are available.

The United States of America is the destination of 70 per cent. of the natives who emigrated.

A correspondent sends us a circular issued on the 18th of last month by the Mersey District Committee of the Federation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades, with reference to the Short Hours Movement.

The circular bitterly complains of the action of the fitters, who, it declares, "have apparently worked contrary to the movement." It also adds: "We have been somewhat harassed by the action of the Sailors and Firemen's Union in filling the places of National Amalgamated Union of Labour members who had ceased to work in compliance with the mandate."

Call to W. FURNISS

For Good Value in
IRISH BEEF AND MUTTON.

None but the Best at Lowest Prices.
Talbot St. Meat Co., 240 Talbot St.

Northern Notes.

Spoiling the Game.

Really it is too bad that these Labour people should spoil the little game that the politicians are playing in silence and the peace of engineered indifference.

Falling the Wires.

Joe Devlin has been in town since the week end, and from what we can learn it is plain that he is pulling the local wires with all the skill of the master hand.

Getting to Work.

The Liberal "Ulster Guardian" pleads for a big Ulster Hall demonstration to show the strength of the Protestant demand for Home Rule.

Now-waw.

The "Irish News" has attacked a Newry follower of the Party for protesting against exclusion.

CROSBY-DRARG.

Read! Read! Read! "Labour in Irish History."

JAMES CONNOLLY'S Great Book. Published at 2s. 6d. New Edition, 1s. post free, 1s. 3d.

No Irish worker should be without reading this great story of the aspirations and struggles of the Irish working class in the past.

Wholesale and retail from "Irish Worker" Office, Liberty Hall, Dublin.

A large quantity of the 1/- edition is now to hand, and can be obtained at Liberty Hall.

DON'T FORGET THE Rebels' Rally.

At Antient Concert Rooms, on Saturday, the 18th inst. (all night). 1s. Tickets at Door.

IRISH Transport and General Workers' Union.

[No. 3 Branch, 17 and 18 High St.] A General Meeting of the Members of No. 3 Branch will be held at the above address on Sunday next, 19th inst., at 12 o'clock noon.

Business—Nomination of Officers, &c., for ensuing year and other important business will be transacted.

Mr. J. Larkin, Gen. Sec., will attend. Admission by Card, and only financial members can participate.

J. BOHAN, T.C., Branch Sec.

Irish Transport Workers' Union, LIBERTY HALL.

At the meeting of the above Union held on the night of the following resolution was passed:—"That we, the members of the above, tender to Mr. Peter Ennis our deepest sympathy in his sad bereavement caused by the death of his wife."

Passed in silence, all members standing.

NO. 16 BRANCH Irish Transport Workers' Union, 77 Angier Street.

At the usual Weekly Meeting of the above branch a vote of condolence with Mr. P. Ennis on the death of his wife was moved by Mr. L. Callan, and seconded by Mr. R. DeCoer. The motion was passed in silence, all members present standing. The meeting then adjourned as a mark of respect.

P. QUINN & CO., Makers of Beautiful Enamel and TRADE UNION BADGES. CHURCH STREET, BELFAST.

IRISH WOMEN WORKERS' UNION.

Liberty Hall, Dublin. All sections of women workers are eligible to join the above union. Entrance fees, 6d. and 3d.; contributions, 2d. and 1d. per week.

Irish Dancing, Wednesday and Friday evenings at 8 p.m. Social on every Sunday Night, commencing at 7.30. Admission 2d.

"An injury to One is the concern of All"

The Irish Worker,

EDITED BY JIM LARKIN.

THE IRISH WORKER will be published weekly—price one penny—and may be had of any newsagent. Ask for it and see that you get it.

All communications, whether relating to literary or business matters, to be addressed to the Editor, 18 Barrowfield Place, Dublin. Telephone 2421.

Subscriptions 6s. 6d. per year; 3s. 3d. for six months, payable in advance.

We do not publish or take notice of anonymous contributions.

DUBLIN, Sat., April 18th, 1914.

Pembroke Election Petition and the New Pope.

These are times when it is good to be alive. We see that there is a Commission sitting in Pembroke Town Hall supposed to be trying an Election Petition arising out of the late election in Pembroke.

We read as we go to Press the report of the debate in the House of Commons re the condition of the Dublin Slums.

At a meeting of the Committee of No. 1 Branch, held at Liberty Hall, on Wednesday evening, Mr. Thomas Foran presiding.

in an useful way. But did the gentleman turn the matter over in his mind yet? From his conduct in the witness-chair we are afraid the devil will feel somewhat disgusted when the time arrives to pole the sweet Christian to his appointed place in hell.

by Orange environment and answered the call of Cathleen Ni Huiilhan, and thought more of country than of creed, his Orange friends denounced him and refused him a living in his own land.

Another Castle Job. Mr. Alfred Tennyson (not the poet), a relative of the Irish Chief Secretary, has been appointed as Inspector, Local Government Board, for Limerick district.

Strike in Shipyard. Where, oh, where are the anonymous writers these last few days? Not a word about the destruction of a flourishing Irish industry; not a howl against Larkin. What is the reason?

One of Larkin's Libellers. It was Lar in got the men locked-out. It is he who is responsible for the unemployment in Dublin.

Some Thoughts in Passing. To the Editor "Irish Worker." April 16th, 1914. Dear Sir,—A question that causes a good deal of discussion these times is the relationship that Christianity bears to Socialism.

IN MEMORIAM. We regret to chronicle the death of Hubert Bland, better known to us in Ireland as "Hubert" of the "Sunday Chronicle."

Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. No. 1 BRANCH. At a meeting of the Committee of No. 1 Branch, held at Liberty Hall, on Wednesday evening, Mr. Thomas Foran presiding.

Elyan's Morning Prayer. (Of Builders' Labourers' Fame, Clanbrassi Street). Lent for forty days, Lent for forty nights, Lent in forty ways.

CLONDALKIN NOTES.

Hoppy Joe Delany, postman, is very active in Clondalkin trying to keep men away from Transport Union meetings in this village, and declared last week he would do his best to keep everybody he could from the Transport Union office by telling them filthy lies.

The Revolt of Tulsa Hill. ("Tulsa Hill Defies Larkin" "Ulster" Banner at Hyde Park). He has fought like a lion in the trenches. He is starved, he has been through the mill.

MADE BY TRADE UNION BAKERS. EAT FARRINGTON'S BREAD. Support the Trades Unionist and secure a good fire.

What Glasgow Means to Do.

Cwi their Own Pleasure Boats. A Man's pal Steamboat.

Councillor Alston, having taken early the following motion in his name was moved by Ballie Irwin:—"That it be remitted to the General Finance Committee to consider and report on the propriety and advisability of the Corporation purchasing and building a steamboat for the use of the members of the Corporation and the public, in connection primarily with their Art Galleries."

These arguments secured the defeat of the proposal by three votes, but of course, the motor launch at Lish Lish will continue to be used by Town Councillors who object to everything in the shape of Municipalisation except handshakes and receptions. These latter don't affect profit, so they can be Municipalised with safety.

THE SONG OF LABOUR. A song to the builders of beauty, The rearers of temple and spire; A song to the strong men of duty, Who shape the world's future in fire.

FIRE! FIRE! FIRE! But no danger from stones or clinkers by purchasing your COALS FROM ANDREW S. CLARKIN, COAL OFFICE—7 TARA STREET. Telephone No. 2769.

Support the Trades Unionist and secure a good fire. MADE BY TRADE UNION BAKERS. EAT FARRINGTON'S BREAD.

A Chance for the Vigilance Committee

By A. V. E. LAYMAN.

I am with much pleasure to Father... These things may extinguish the reading article shorten the Parliamentary report...

Even the Syndicalist "Daily Herald" refuses them, and it is extremely mortifying to be compelled to add the Unionist "Irish Times" and the Orange "Daily Express"...

It is not for me to say that the Vigilance Committee is a good thing, but it is a necessary one...

It is not an unfair summary of Father Vaughan's lecture to say that the Socialist is a good in parts but bad on the whole, and totally bad on Christian consumption...

Well, for the present we will leave it at that. There is much to be said pro and contra, and I may call the Fathers of the Church as witnesses against Father Vaughan later on...

Now, when I find anything in Ireland that seems to require a lot of explaining, I do not ask a policeman or a Member of Parliament, or even my Parish Priest...

Every thoughtful student of contemporary human nature must have noticed the enormous space in the daily press that is given over to horse-racing and betting news...

Independent Labour Party of Ireland.

IRELAND UPON THE DISSECTING TABLE.

FELLOW WORKERS, As the only political organisation in the North of Ireland which, seeking first the well being and freedom of the working class...

Yet in the moment when it was possible and easy to realise that ideal they consented to betray you, and to place your hopes and the unity of your nation at the mercy of the voters in the Ulster counties and boroughs...

Here is a new and vast unutilised field for the labourer, and if nothing more be achieved the Crown of Martyrdom may be surely attained. For a mighty dragon stands in the path whom all men fear...

The Irish Citizen Army.

SPECIAL PARADE

A Parade will be held in Croydon Park on Sunday at 1 o'clock. Captain White will be in charge, and at this parade selections will be made of men to act as Provisional Company Officers...

On Sunday last successful meetings were held in Clondalkin and Lucan, and the various speakers were listened to with attention. The enrolment of members in Lucan was left in the hands of Messrs. O'Sullivan and O'Neill...

On Sunday, April 19th, public meetings will be held in Coolock at 1 o'clock, to be followed by a public meeting in Kinsale at 3 o'clock.

In Swords also at 3.30 a meeting will be held by Captain White, D.S.O., and Frank Moss. Men of Pingu! join the Irish Citizen Army that stands to defend the fair and just claims of the workers for opportunities to live an honest, upright, and a cleanly life.

The Up-to-Date Paper Shop. KEARNEY'S Has the best stock of work-class papers in Ireland. Come to us for "Industrial Worker," "The Citizen," and all progressive books and pamphlets. All on sale. Phone No. 4150. Note Only Address: KEARNEY'S Newsagency, Tobacco Shop, 59 Upper Stephen Street, Dublin.

NOTICE: All contributors, without exception, are requested to note that all literary matter intended for the "Irish Worker" must be sent direct to the Editor, Liberty Hall, and not to the printer.

MR. TOM MANN OPENS HIS CAMPAIGN

IN THE CITY HALL, CAPE TOWN, S.A.

Solidifying the Labour Forces of the World.

On March 24 Mr. Tom Mann, who has been sent out to South Africa by the Executive of the Labour organisation in Great Britain to assist in organising Labour in this country, opened his campaign by addressing a mass meeting in the City Hall.

Mrs. Dora Montefiore occupied the chair, and amongst those on the platform were Rev. Mr. Balmworth, Messrs. Andrews, M.L.A.; Creswell, M.L.A.; Boydell, M.L.A.; Sampson, M.L.A.; Haggart, M.L.A.; J. N. Thompson, W.C. Munroe, W. Carter, W. S. Eccles, W. N. Bowring, J. W. Sutherland, A. J. Freitas, W. Freestone, C. Pearce.

Proceeding, Mrs. Montefiore said that by their action the Government had helped the workers in their struggle, and in many ways the effect of those nine men being deported was welcomed.

Ulster had been offered the safeguard of two elections, and it would be an event unparalleled in British history for the Unionist Party not to win one of them.

What would happen, then, if the Unionist Party won one of these elections, as Mr. Dillon says they almost certainly would? On the same night the Solicitor-General supplied the answer. He said—

So that here you have two leading spokesmen of the Liberal and Home Rule Parties admitting that the six years' limit is only a form of speech—that in practical politics it will have no real existence. What this proposal is really doing is establishing the right of, and giving the power to, a small minority to destroy the nation as a nation—to give it a repeat it—place Ireland upon the dissecting table, and give into the hands of Sir Edward Carson and his followers the knife with which to cut her up.

Think of all the measures needed by the workers in this part of the country which will be impossible if this Exclusion is allowed. The Nationalisation of Irish Railways, so badly needed, will be an impossibility; the Extension to Ireland of the Medical Benefits of the Insurance Act; the Provision of Meals to Children at School; the Abolition of Sweating; and the general safeguarding of the interests of Mill Workers, and other forms of Labour needing Legal Protection, will all be delayed, if not absolutely lost, if any part of Ulster is cut off from Ireland as a nation.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Independent Labour Party of Ireland, Belfast Branch.

Meetings: Winter: 5 Rosemary Street, every Sunday evening, at 8. Summer: In Library Street and Royal Avenue, every Sunday evening, at 8.

Any Agent not receiving the proper supply of this paper, please communicate with Head Office, Liberty Hall, Bedford Place.

MR. TOM MANN OPENS HIS CAMPAIGN

IN THE CITY HALL, CAPE TOWN, S.A.

Solidifying the Labour Forces of the World.

On Wednesday, the 15th inst., a public meeting was held in Bray, facing the Town Hall, which the Urban District Council, anxious to preserve their undoubted respectability inviolable, had refused to the workers.

The Captain was in fine form, and, in an earnest address, pointed out the utility of Labour's hopes without vigilance in thought and discipline in action. He appealed to all present to reform their ranks, to stand fast to the Union of their choice, and to allow neither the voice nor pen of their enemies to cajole them into believing that they could hope to accomplish anything without standing by their own class through good report and evil report.

Jim Larkin followed, and in an impassioned speech appealed to the workers to remember the principles of Wolfe Tone, Emmet, and John Mitchel. He demanded to know if the worker's child was not as sacred as the life of the child of any nobleman.

PROBLEM DEMANDING SOLUTION. A change had taken place in South Africa of a most helpful and encouraging character, and whatever had been the cost it had been well worth it.

Proceeding, Mrs. Montefiore said that by their action the Government had helped the workers in their struggle, and in many ways the effect of those nine men being deported was welcomed.

Mr. Dean said he was not afraid to say he was the Secretary of the Federation of Trades in the Peninsula, (Cheers.) On behalf of the Federation of Trades in South Africa he demanded that the Government would return his chief. (Larger and cheers.) Their forces were not quite exhausted as General Smuts seemed to think, because of a few deportations and a series of wholesale imprisonments.

Mr. Mann, on behalf of the Social Democratic Federation, of which he was President, said he had to thank Mr. Tom Mann for landing on the shore and soil of South Africa. (Great cheering.)

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Mr. A. Kidout, M.P.C. said Mr. Mann had come to preach the solidarity of the workers. (Cheers.) All things in this world were possible. In their Government they had got the greatest gang of political-thieves that any country had ever seen.

Mr. Jack Thompson said he was there that evening in his capacity as President

Workers' Rally in Bray.

ENTHUSIASTIC MEETING.

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Irish Trades Union Congress PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE. Will trades union officials please note MONDAY Next, April 20th, is the last day for receiving resolutions for Congress Agenda. P. T. DALY, Secretary. Trades Hall, Dublin. Dublin United Trades Council. AGENDA. The Housing League—The President, The Printers' Forward Movement—Mr. O'Flanagan, Labour Day—Mr. T. Murphy, Resolutions for Trades Congress—Mr. McPardlin, The Poor Law Elections—Mr. T. Farren, Requisition Forms and Labour Representation—Mr. Fox.

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