

IRISH OPINION

The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

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SEPTEMBER 14, 1918.

ONE PENNY

Restaurant Profits

Desmond Ryan on Darrel Figgis

Farmers' Fallacies

Eamonn O'Duibhir (Jail-bird) Answers Fr. O'Halloran.

The "Kilkenny People" and "Tipperary Star" of 7th inst. print an extraordinary letter from Revd. M. O'Halloran, denouncing the Irish Transport Union as anti-Catholic. The revd. gentleman has obtained his information from a forged circular sent to all the Catholic clergy on the eve of the Sinn Fein Convention of 1917. The forgery was so notorious, and the rubbish in it so meaningless, that some explanation of how Father O'Halloran comes to rely upon it should be forthcoming. He takes this from it as typical of Socialism, of Connolly's teaching, and of the Transport policy:

"That each person pledges himself to divest himself of his land or other property."

While it ought to go without saying among those who have given any study to social questions that this quotation from the forged circular is not the policy of Socialism, we regret that Father O'Halloran should condemn the voluntary devotion to My Lady Poverty which has endeared the memory of St. Francis to all generations.

When Father O'Halloran says that Socialism is condemned by the Catholic Church he is in conflict with eminent ecclesiastics, whose views are entitled to the same respect as his. Father T. Finlay has been propagating Socialism in Ireland for nearly thirty years. Prior Vincent MacNabb, O.P., has in England successfully vindicated the right of Catholics to profess and call themselves Socialists as other Catholics call themselves Liberal, Conservative or Nationalist. The Arch-diocese of Glasgow has had a strong organisation known as the

Catholic Socialist Society for many years. It is confined to practising Catholics, and if it has not had the express approval of that good friend of the workers, His Grace Archbishop Maguire, it has not been condemned by him, whose words of encouragement to Labour have been frequently quoted in its literature. There is also a Catholic Socialist Society in Belfast.

Eamonn O'Duibhir, from his "home," sends us this comment, which we are compelled to abridge. The full letter will appear in the "Tipperary Star":
Belfast Jail.

Fear Eagair, Guth na hOibre.

A Chara,—Apropos of the Revd. M. O'Halloran's dig at the Irish Transport Workers' Union, I would like to say a few words and put a few questions to Father O'Halloran.

No. 1.—Is being a Capitalist the highest spiritual state a Catholic can attain; and if not, what is wrong about Labour's tilt at Capitalists?

No. 2.—Does the Biblical saying that a rich man can no more go to Heaven than a camel pass through the eye of a needle still hold good; and if so, are not those who would destroy the possibilities of any man waxing rich on the toil of others really carrying into force the ideals of Christianity?

No. 3.—Is Father O'Halloran doing his best to regulate social existence in Urrlingford on the lines laid down in the Encyclical of Leo XIII.?

To my mind the Sermon on the Mount and the above Encyclical lay down the groundwork of a very fine social system, and the propagandists of a sane social order have much better material at their

disposal therein than they are likely to get in the writings of Karl Marx.

But how like that resolution on divesting of worldly goods is to Christ's words to the rich man:

"Go, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in Heaven."

If these are the only points that Father O'Halloran can bring against the Irish Transport Workers' Union I fear that his case will be ruled out of court.

There are various types of Socialist, of course, but the strongest booklet I have yet read giving the Socialist viewpoint is: "Economic Discontent" written by a Catholic priest, Father Haggerty, which readers can secure from Liberty Hall, Dublin, for 2½d. per copy. Queensland, under the guidance of Premier Ryan—a Tipperary man—is destroying the worst forms of Capitalism in that State, and taking collective control of many industries. Ryan is a Socialist, and he aims at setting up some form of Socialist State, and the Catholic clergy in Queensland seem to be strongly on his side.

Ryan and Cardinal Mannix are the champions of Ireland and the workers in Australia, in alliance against Hughes and the Conscriptors.

Finally, Father O'Halloran can rest assured that the Transport Workers have no interest—except that of hostility—in those who would fain "quench the lights of Heaven." Their interest is in removing those Earthly Hells that are the lot of many of the workers.

EAMONN O'DUIBHIR.

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Edited by GATHAL O'SHANNON.

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VICTORY TO HIM WHO WAITS.

Few things in the Labour movement in the last three or four months have equalled the great strike of the hotel and restaurant workers in Dublin. With one accord all the workers of all sections and grades in hotels, cafes and restaurants came out to vote the rejection of the employers' offers, and when they had voted decided with one voice to remain out until they had brought the bosses to reason.

It was a surprise to the employers, a delight to the workers, and a gratification to the Union to which they belong. Still more magnificent and significant was the thoroughness with which these raw recruits of three months' standing carried out the fight until it was well and nobly won on its seventh day. They closed all the hotels in Dublin and forced the rich, idle, fat folk to get their meals at home, or do without them. It was as gallant, as gay, and as well organised a strike as we have ever known, and no praise is too high for the committee which organised it and the men and women who carried it to success.

The spirit, discipline and bearing of the men was a revelation. But even the men were moderate in comparison with the women. The girls were splendid in their enthusiasm, splendid in their dash, splendid in their solidarity and their merry but firm determination. They were a grand army which fought with light hearts, smiling faces, and full-hearted song and chorus. They were the darlings of the fight, and they deserved all the nice things said about them, for it was their unbroken loyalty that forced the pace. The soiled linen, the unwashed plates, the collapse of all catering and empty and filthy kitchens did the rest.

To-day the strikers are back at their jobs awaiting the arbitration they won on their own terms. Not all of them, for in direct breach of the Hotel and Tourist Association's undertaking—an undertaking to which the Union will hold every individual member of the Association—some employers are attempting to

victimise a few of the strikers. They cannot take a beating like the gentlemen they pretend to be. Well, they are storing up more and more trouble for themselves and their less brave associates.

While we are preparing for that trouble let us claim the hotel and restaurant strike as another very fine feather in the cap of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

British Labour and Irish Self-Determination.

Close observers and critics of the British Labour movement have noted with no little pleasure that at Derby last week the British Trades Union Congress showed signs of progress which have been wanting year after year at previous Congresses. For one thing, the Chairman's call for One Big Union of all workers in all industries, organised upon a departmental system, proves that the hard thinking which the forward elements have been doing is having a right healthy effect upon the leaders of Trade Unionism in Great Britain. For another, the hearty recognition of the necessity for an International Labour Conference proves that even the Congress is striving to break away from its narrow insularity and endeavouring to swing into the great international tide. Again, the heavy defeat of the Wilson-Sexton attempt to secure the support of Congress for a disruptionist Trade Union political party in opposition to the British Labour Party is a sign that the British Trade Unions realise their political interests are more than ever served by the existing political Labour Party. Industrially and politically, as well as numerically, the Trade Union movement in Great Britain is taking big strides forward. But it has a long way to travel yet, as its none too satisfactory Parliamentary Committee shows. Yet its strides forward are significant, and they are not unnoticed on this side of the Irish Sea.

When we have said this we have said nearly all that can be said by the Irish Labour movement in praise of the Derby Congress. We rejoice to hear of its membership of four and a half millions; we rejoice to hear of its tendency towards more organisation and the One Big Union; we rejoice at its returning sanity on questions of the war and of politics. There our rejoicing ceases, and we are compelled to declare again that, so far as Ireland is concerned, the British Trades Union Congress is either hopelessly and helplessly blind to the facts and realities of the situation, or else it is wilfully and designedly anti-democratic.

In proof of that we need only turn to the resolution proposed by Mr. Ben Tillett, and carried practically unanimously by the Congress. In brief, the resolution demanded "a generous measure of Home Rule and the right of self-determination consistent with democratic principles and unity." This is surely buttering your bread on both sides. The two

demands enunciated here—Home Rule and self-determination—are opposed and inconsistent. Home Rule, if it means anything, means the concession by the English Parliament of a measure of self-government something short of that enjoyed by Australia and Canada. To put it another way, it is the fixing of the political status of Ireland by a people and power who are not the Irish people. Self-determination, if it is not to be strained out of all meaning, means the free choice by the Irish people of the form of government under which they shall live in future. To put it in another way, it means the fixing by the Irish people, and by nobody but the Irish people, of the political status of Ireland. This is the self-determination British Labour desires for Poles, Serbs, Tchecho-Slovaks and other nationalities in Europe. It is not the imposition upon Ireland against the will of the Irish people, of Home Rule by the English Government. The people who ignore that very clear distinction are, we repeat, either blind or hypocritical. We see no reason to indicate that they are blind.

Not only is this to be said of British Labour, but it must also be said of American Labour, as represented by Mr. Samuel Gompers, and it is most emphatically not the view of the Labour movement in Ireland. Irish Labour has taken pains to make its position clear as words can make anything clear. It stands for full, complete, and free self-determination, and for nothing else. When Labour in Great Britain suggests anything less than that it sets itself in definite opposition to Labour in Ireland, and, we believe, to the wishes of the majority of the Irish people, and no juggling with words and no fine flowing speech can ever make that kind of performance "consistent with democratic principles and unity."

At times even its best friends despair of ever succeeding in getting British Labour to see the light. But now that the General Election is coming it may be forced to grasp realities and admit the facts. Perhaps, and perhaps not; maybe it may take another insurrection to do that. Labour in Great Britain can have its choice. If it does not choose now its choice will be made for it.

THE RUSSIAN SITUATION.

Litvinoff and several of his staff are prisoners in England, and all kinds of outrages are being discovered in Russia. From all sides the armies of the alleged democracies of Europe and America press in upon the Soviet in one great endeavour to extinguish the great flame of freedom Lenin and Trotsky and their friends kindled in Russia last year. Europe is now about to witness the real war for democracy and freedom—the war of the Socialist Republic against the capitalist Powers of the world. So far as Irish Labour is concerned we are at one in declaring that all our sympathies and hopes are with the Bolsheviks. We are unrepentant in our Bolshevism.

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

Ulster and Labour.

As we should expect from him, Councillor Logue has shown in "The Voice" that our little sermon on Labour in Ulster has not been preached in vain. But we wish that other leaders of Trade Unionism in the North would follow the Councillor's example, and use our columns in an endeavour to help the workers in the North and the workers in the South to understand one another. As it is, all our evidence goes to show that more interest has been excited by our article in Southern workers, as in Cork, and Ulstermen, Munstermen, and Connaughtmen in Great Britain than in Ulster. We hope this is not really so, and that many other leaders in Ulster besides Councillor Logue are thinking and working along the same lines as he is. But, as we have said, we have little or no evidence of this, and it is the evidence we want. We repeat again that we are extremely anxious that leaders, propagandists, officials, and free lances of the rank and file in Ulster should tell us what they are doing, what problems they have to solve, how they are planning to meet the new difficulties which are beginning to face the working class, and what progress and advance they are making. That was the burden of our complaint against our Ulster friends a fortnight ago, and the grounds upon which it was based have not yet been removed. As often as we may, and as gently as we can, we shall continue to rebuke Belfast and Derry and Portadown and Ballymena on this score, until we succeed, as we hope, in extracting more news and views from the Ulstermen themselves.

Signs and Portents.

We cannot agree with Councillor Logue that in organisation the Ulster workers "compare favourably with any part of the United Kingdom." In numbers, perhaps, yes; in spirit and in purpose we should say, no. To us numbers are of lesser importance than spirit and purpose. It is the direction of the march rather than its distance that counts. It is here that Labour is weak in Ulster. The recent Forty Hours demonstration in Belfast, the independent, if not, indeed, rebellious, attitude of the Derry dockers towards their Executive, the unrest amongst the farm workers in Down and Donegal, and the growth of the idea of combination everywhere are great and significant facts. The plucky fight of the girl stitchers in the Belfast warehouses (it almost tempted us away last week from the great battle fought by the Dublin cafe girls!), and the decision to put forward a genuine Labour candidate for North Belfast against all comers at the General Election are promising signs, although they are not new stars in the firmament. But even these are not enough. We quite agree with Councillor Logue that we must have political organisation as well as industrial organisation. Elsewhere in Ireland the machinery of that political organisation is building, and building on the most up-to-date

lines. Have the workers in Ulster enough Labour consciousness to add their great stones to the building? That, we believe, is the political problem that is facing our Ulster friends, and we want to know how they are going to solve it. And, frankly, we are far from satisfied with what has already been achieved in industrial organisation in the North. We want to see the industrial machinery of trade unionism modernised in Ulster as in the rest of Ireland, and in England, Scotland, and Wales, and we want to see it used boldly and courageously in high endeavour by conscious effort to win for the workers the direct control and management of all industry and service by the workers. True, we have not got that control in Dublin and Cork, but the idea of control is burning into the consciousness of the workers in the South. We want to know if it is burning into the consciousness of the workers in the North. And we want the Ulstermen themselves to tell us.

Farmers' Fallacies.

One of the Transport and General Workers' organisers, Mr. P. Coates, has been having lively debate with some of the members of the North Kilkenny Farmers' Association. The debate illustrates very well a not-uncommon feature of the employers' resistance to the advance of Trade Unionism where combination amongst the workers on Trade Union lines is breaking new ground, so to speak. An apparently able and intelligent farmer, a Mr. Gorey, objected point-blank to all negotiations between the Farmers' Association and any Union other than a Union confined to agricultural labourers. The Transport Union was an outsider in "a question which was solely one for settlement between the farmers and their labourers." "What right," he asked, "had these people to interfere at all, or exploit the agricultural labourers?" And he added, "The Transport worker and the Agricultural worker were two distinct persons; their interests divided them, human nature itself divided them." In every one of these statements fallacy is staring the reader in the face, and if we quoted every sentence Mr. Gorey uttered we should be quoting nearly an equal number of fallacies as glaring. The Transport and General Workers' Union has included agricultural workers in its membership almost from its foundation; Mr. Gorey's real grievance is that only within the last couple of months has it undertaken the organisation of these workers in Kilkenny. The question of the relations between farmers and labourers is as much a question for the whole community as it is for either farmers or labourers; Mr. Gorey's real grievance here is that the Union raised the question when the community had kept it buried out of sight. The Union has just as much right to interfere in agriculture as it has in transport, or street-sweeping, or building, or catering, or milling, and for the same reason, because all these are public ser-

vies or industries upon which, amongst others, depend the life and health of this people. The transport worker and the agricultural worker may be, indeed, two distinct persons. Instead of dividing them, their interests unite them, for they are one and the same commodity, wage-earning labour, and it was the recognition of that very unity that made the founders of the Transport and General Workers' Union so lay the foundations of the Union that the dock labourers, might be linked up, through a long line of services of transport and distribution, with the farm labourer. Whether the farmers are wise enough to recognise it or not, the naked truth is that the town workers and the country workers have at last awakened to their oneness as workers. Mr. Gorey perceives that awakening, and hence all his mud-slinging at the Transport Union. We hope he will keep his promise to write to the agricultural papers all about it.

The Teachers' Threat to Strike.

All who welcome signs of life in the new bodies which have come into the Labour movement within the past year will rejoice that the Irish primary teachers have decided that, if forced to it, they shall not hesitate to use the last weapon of Trade Unionism. We have long wished that this most desirable position should be taken up by as hard-worked and as poorly-paid a body of workers as any in Ireland. The national teachers, their best friends have always claimed, have always been too tame and respectable—in the bad sense—and too little except their timidity has the miserable condition been due. Now at last they have found bold and daring leaders, and under this leadership they threaten to take the plunge. Their decision, we know, has not been made without careful deliberation, and with a real sense of all the responsibility it demands. In the long run it has been arrived at by the teachers for the same reason that makes it inevitable in every trade union, the obstinacy of employers in their refusal to pay more. We are convinced that the teachers are doing the right thing, and that if their threat to strike is not enough to gain their point for them, they will follow it up on November 4 by the withdrawal of their labour. In the meanwhile the workers of Ireland as parents, as trade unionists, and as comrades, will back up the teachers' claims. Already that decision has been taken by the National Executive of the Irish Trades Congress and Labour Party. At its sitting on Monday of this week the National Executive suspended its business in order to consider the teachers' strike as a matter of special urgency, and unanimously decided that it would use all its influence in support of the teachers, even should the teachers close down the schools. If the teachers are forced to fight Irish Labour will fight by their side.

LABOUR IN IRELAND.

Cheating the Tailors.

The International Tailors' Union, at its meeting last Sunday, heard a full account from Walter Carpenter of the dispute with the Dublin Bespoke Clothing Company. The former war bonus awarded in the trade as far back as November, 1917, had not been paid until the strike last April, and even then another strike had to be called to enforce payment of arrears.

The present dispute was precipitated by the stoppage of the power work-rooms at 6.30, on the plea of economising in electricity. The entire staff claimed the shorter hours also, without reduction of wages, and further demanded payment of the last war bonus granted by the Committee of Production as from first full pay in July.

As the power-room workers' hours were reduced without consulting them, and as the purchasing power of their wages is too low to allow further reduction, the workers have determined to take a rest.

An unfortunate incident in the dispute is the action of the representatives of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, who ordered their members to resume work on the employers' conditions. Thirty girls were affected by this, and they promptly transferred to the International Union and remained out.

As the fact of a new war bonus having been granted in July has been carefully concealed from the workers, other firms may be involved in the dispute. Sir George Askwith has asked the parties to submit particulars.

VOICES OF CLONMEL.

I regret up to time of writing the bakers have not had any arbitration in their case yet.

The Grocers' Assistants opening meeting was graced by several good speakers. The committee who started the movement deserve the best of thanks. Assistants, come under the flag!

The Trades Council had a very large meeting, with representatives of twelve Trades. A code of rules was submitted and passed. Election of officers at next meeting. Things look extremely rosey for a strong committee.

The Automobile Drivers' and Mechanics' Union are increasing every week. They are expecting Mr. Lacy down from Dublin.

The Dockers don't seem to be moving with the times. They have not sent their delegates to the Trades Council.

Considering the price going round—2s. for a gallon of porter in Kilmanagh—brewers might follow Guinness's example in the matter of wages.

The Dublin Watch Committee is circulating a questionnaire to working women to obtain their views regarding cup-boards, baths, hot-water supply, etc., in new-plan houses. Copies may be had from Secretary, 29 South Anne St., Dublin.

THE PROFITS OF CATERING TRADE. SIDE-LIGHT ON HOTEL STRIKE.

The English Food Ministry has published the accounts of the National Restaurant, opened recently in New Bridge Street, London, to supply nourishing food of good quality in generous quantity at lowest cost. The London caterers protested that the Restaurant could only exist by subsidy and could not possibly pay its way. The accounts prove the contrary, and give an exposure of the huge profits reaped by the private traders in this sphere of public service.

17,925 persons were served with meals during week ending August 24, at an average price of 6½d. per person. Out of this price all the expenses of management were defrayed and rent paid. Interest at the rate of 5½ per cent. was paid on the capital employed, and 10 per cent. put aside for depreciation. Provision was made also for renewal of fittings. After all charges were met a profit of £73 9s. 4d. was realised.

This represents a profit of 70 per cent. per annum on the capital employed, and within eighteen months the entire capital will be repaid to the Treasury.

Similar establishments are being opened in the principal cities of England and Scotland. Ireland, as usual, is left out, and the private traders' protection society, known as the Irish Food Control Committee, is not likely to insist on Irish workers having the same treatment as the printers' devils of New Bridge Street.

THE IMEPENDING CONFLICT.

We print without comment certain passages from a leading article in last Saturday's "Irish Times" and commend them heartily to all our readers:

"It has the Lord Lieutenant's definite and repeated warning that, if the fixed number is not raised within the fixed time, conscription will be enforced without delay. . . . Lord French has a soldier's respect for pledges and a soldier's unswerving regard for duty. . . . The people who refuse to believe that, in such circumstances, conscription must come are nursing a most foolish deception. The mind of the persons who think that conscription would be a tragedy, who have enough sense to know that it is impending, yet will not take the obvious steps to avert it, can only be said to baffle analysis."

Re-reading those passages we cannot but ask: Are you one of those persons? Are you nursing a most foolish deception? Have you enough sense to know that tragedy is impending? And say, have you taken the obvious steps to avert it? As the "Irish Times" very wisely says: **"At this moment a tremendous responsibility rests on the young men of Ireland and on their leaders of every party and of every creed." Young man, join up!**

TRANSPORT NOTES.

Kells.

The proceedings of the Kells Urban District Council on the Transport Union's application shows that the Council needs a new chairman. We hope the Union will arrange to supply the man when the election comes.

Askeaton.

The Editor of "The Church of Ireland Gazette" is requested to bring under review in his discussion of the Church and Labour the action of the local big gun (see Crockford) here, who employs a man at 11s. a week without meals. The low fellow asked a rise of 5s., and was offered 1s. The Union's letter was ignored. As John Lawson says: "Thank God, I am only a Jew."

South-East.

The Gorey-Coates debate fills a column and a half in the "Kilkenny People." Needless to say, Coates wins. In Kilmacthomas local strikes are settled except at Rathgormack, but the Dockers' Union at Carrick-on-Suir is holding up milk, etc., from the tainted farms. Thanks, comrades! A victimisation fund is being raised. At Piltown arrears have been secured with 1s. per hour with diet for binding, and 4s. per day for casual harvesters. The local Farmers' Union, be it noted, is bringing pressure to bear on those who refuse to pay up arrears. In that spirit harmony can be established. Dungarvan calls for the Wages Board Inspector, who has disappeared down a drain between College Green and Co. Waterford. The Co. Council is dallying with workers' claim for more wages. E. Waterford Sinn Feiners should inquire about the doings of their President.

The West.

W. J. O'Reilly's tour has been productive of good. In Galway he has helped the shop assistants.

Arigna.

The miners and railroad builders are forming a strong branch of the Transport Union. The men have struck to secure wages actually below the British miners' level.

Ballinasloe.

It is significant of Labour's place in the rural community that a weekly like the "Galway Express" should give a labour meeting in Ballinasloe almost as much space as "Freeman's" would give to the lucubrations of Dillon and Devlin. Councillor Reilly, of Sligo, was the speaker at a great meeting on 26th ult., which was adequately reported in the "Express" of 7th inst. Councillor Reilly formed the Transport Union branch out of a local union sixty-five strong. It now musters 160 members, and has added a section in Laurencetown, over 100 strong. Ballinrobe and district are expected to come forward shortly and take the place in the Labour movement their district long held in the merely political agitations of the past.

Artistic Proletarians.

The local talent which delights us on the boards is combining in a trade union. Why not join the Transport Union and make the whole profession solid from cleaners to stars?

CO-OPERATIVE NOTES.

Lisburn Society, which has flourished since 1881, reports a trade of £49,023 in the past half-year, and has a net disposable surplus, after meeting all charges, of £2,427. Members receive 1s. 2d. dividend on purchases. The capital averages £16 per member, a very safe nest-egg indeed.

Ballymena, at the close of its thirteenth year, is paying a dividend of 1s. per £1-purchases. Sales have increased during the quarter by £602. An educational committee has undertaken to organise classes during the winter.

Warrenpoint Society registers a 70 per cent. increase on sales in the past half-year, as compared with the same period in 1917. Though only a young Society, it is earning profits paying interest and dividend, and building up reserve funds. Mrs. Perfect summed-up co-operation when she said: "Profit is not the sole aim of the Society. Their object was to keep down prices to the lowest margin of safety."

Up Dublin!

The recent records of the Dublin Industrial Co-operative Society have been again eclipsed, and a large increase in sales is reported.

There is undoubtedly a big co-operative drive in the city, and new members are joining to the number of 30 each week. That means 1,560 in a year.

The Trade Unions are awakening to the value of the movement and inviting the organiser of the Industrial Co-operative Society to attend and explain the "Principles and Practice of Co-operation" to their members.

The Staff of Life.

Two important new moves have been made by this go-ahead Society—the first is to introduce a 46-hour working week for their shop workers, commencing on the 1st October; a move which will close their shops at 7 p.m. on Saturdays and 6 o'clock on other nights, and the other move is to offer to supply bread to "the Trade" at considerably under the price charged by the Dublin Bread Ring. **The Industrial refuses to advance its price** unless there is real justification for doing so, and the only excuse the Bread Ring in Dublin has is, that it wants to bleed the workers. In other words, it is profiteering of the most blatant order.

Rebbery Rampant.

One farthing extra on a loaf seems a small thing, but in a city household using twenty small loaves each week the extra charge mounts to 5d. per week, or £1.1s. 8d. per year. To put it bluntly, the 66,000 households of Dublin are robbed of £68,250 per annum by the government licensed bread-ring.

If this sum were invested in the Industrial Co-operative Society it would gain £3,650 in one year from the interest alone, apart altogether from the dividend paid on all purchases.

Co-operation always pays!!

The Irish Citizen.

September number has articles on "Women M.P.'s," "Equal Pay for Equal Work," and "The Wind Bird," by Gorki. Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington resumes editorial control.

BREAD NOT ADVANCED IN PRICE

The **MODEL BAKERY** of the Industrial Co-operative Society turns out bread that is beautifully finished and delightful to the taste. From the taking in of the raw materials to the delivery of the finished article it is handled by Trade Union labour, working under good conditions unsurpassed by any of our competitors. At 165, Church Road we bake every kind of bread; Plain Loaf, Pan and Turnover; Hovis, Milk and Crown; Brown Heads and White Heads—and we do it well. We make them large and small to suit every household, and our shops and vans have fresh supplies daily.

Our large plain loaf is **4¼d.** in the shop and **4½d.** from the cart, while all our 1lb. loaves are only **2½d.**

14

We bake 14 varieties of bread, and pay full dividend on all purchases. A word to the Branch Manager, or a P.C. to the Office, will bring the van to your door.

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LINES OF PROGRESS

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

TRADE-UNIONISM

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

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

History—Nightmare or Legend?

Desmond Ryan Reviews Figgis's Finest Work.

In a country which long political and social struggles have distracted, it is inevitable the calm of the library should be absent. That explains, no doubt, why until lately we have had no very clear ideas upon history. We seemed to have a fatal choice between a nightmare and a legend. Too frequently our historical method was merely to blend the nightmares and fairy tales into a somewhat morbid and sorrowful legend. Even when we sought refuge in past glories our case was little better, except when the memory of an ancient glory kindled a dreamer to action in the present. But, generally speaking, refuge in emotionalism means ultimately a cynical reaction, which may destroy with laughter far more precious things than sunbursts and tin-pikemen. The Lord knows we had sufficient temptation to fall into either excess. To-day we have no excuse. Mrs. Green, "A. E.," James Connolly, and Darrel Figgis have shown us a better way. We read and seek in Irish history the story of a people's struggle to regain its liberties, its lands, its speech, its soul. In Connolly's telling and illuminating phrase, the history of Ireland is a conquest and a reconquest. Briefly, there is the historic case for Irish independence.

Mr. Darrel Figgis, in his recent booklet, "The Historic Case for Irish Independence" (Maunsell 1s.), gets no further, but that is no discredit to him, for in reality, there is no further to go! The claim made by Sean-Ghall on the title page, that there is nothing to criticise as regards facts, authorities, and the case presented, will be endorsed cordially by most readers. The book is clear, detailed; Rameis and rhetorical flourishes are absent. It is, indeed, the best of all Mr. Figgis's books, better than his "Gaelic State," his "Chronicle of Jails," or even his novels. He rises nobly to the height of the greatness of the subject, the agony and the gradual redemption of this Irish nation. If anything, the Censor's generous blue pencil has given a touch of effectiveness. "Therefore . . ." What more brilliant adornment and conclusion to such a tale could be imagined? Long may the literary consciences of our Censors trim us all, yea, even in an Irish Republic! We hope piously and sincerely that the future will furnish no lack of so discriminating and sensitive judges of

style and effect. It will be hard to surpass Grafton street, but we have promising material.

One quotation in conclusion will well illustrate the argument running through the eighty pages. To grasp the argument in detail this propagandist pamphlet and fine historical essay must be read. We hope the storms of State and Achill will not prevent Mr. Figgis repeating this achievement when the jail gate swings open. To end with a quotation: "In the past the nation had been submerged thus: first its sovereign independence had been overthrown; secondly, its language, culture and customs had been outlawed by the Statutes of Kilkenny and their subsequent enforcement over the whole country; thirdly, by the seizure of its land, and the disruption of its polity; and, fourthly, by the penalising of its faith and the denial of civil rights. In the nineteenth century the nation, in marching forward, inevitably retraced its steps. Its progress took it back along the road it had come. The inverse process now operated, and the nation won back its losses in the following order: first it won back its freedom of faith and its civil liberty; secondly, it won back its land; thirdly, it reclaimed its language, culture and distinctive mind by an organised effort; and finally it re-asserted its Sovereign Independence." The essay is an excellent exposition of the case of those who claim that there is no other nationalism save that which seeks to serve and enthrone a Sovereign People.

An Saoghal Gaedhealach.

We offer a hearty welcome to this new weekly. Unmistakably Sinn Fein in policy, the articles in the first number, nevertheless, display a dispassionate detachment and balance that should make the "Irish World" a powerful reinforcement to those who want action, but want it based on thought rather than prejudice.

Cork "Co-operative Stores."

The wily private traders of Cork are putting up "Co-operative Store" over their doors to entrap the unwary. The City of Cork Co-operative Society has just opened a branch shop at 48 Gerald Griffin street. See you get into the right shop.

EDUCATION IN RELATION TO LABOUR. II.

With the utilitarian aspect of education I propose to deal briefly in this article, and I may add that it is the more readily and commonly accepted. Education as a passport to position may have much to recommend it, though it should hardly be accepted as a general axiom. But, in a war as between Labour and Capital, when the one has not only full and unfettered control of the educational systems, and of the standards of education which are necessary to qualify for position and power—then, I submit that education can and has been used as a powerful adjunct in support of the classes against the masses.

Any criticism of the Irish educational system—and I make no apology for using the word "system"—it is a "system," and admirably conceived and carried out for the purpose which our masters intended, viz.: the degradation of the masses socially, politically, intellectually, and to a large extent spiritually—will apply to a great extent also to England, and to a much less extent to Scotland.

For general purposes our educational machine consists of three component parts, viz.: primary, intermediate, and technical, which are dovetailed into one another after a fashion, and the universities. Any sane man would say that these great departments of education should be brought into harmony with each other, if the general object in view were to secure the best possible results to the nation at large. Instead, we find the very opposite to be the case; each department of education is a watertight compartment shut off from the others, and each carving out a destiny for itself, and why? Precisely because the object of our educational system is not to secure the best possible results to the nation, nor any results at all for that matter, except in so far as they cannot be avoided in effecting the real genesis of our educational system, which is to degrade and pauperise the intellect of the masses, and to secure a wholly unmerited and artificial social status for the classes; and based forsooth on the importance of a so-called higher education, from which the proletariat is rigidly excluded.—L.V.

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We are informed by Mr. Henry Campbell, Town Clerk, Dublin, that a copy of the "Voice of Labour" has been ordered for each of the Public Libraries under the control of the Public Libraries Committee.

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**IRISH WOMEN WORKERS' UNION.
BETTER WAGES CAMPAIGN.**

Negotiations for an increased wage scale are proceeding between the Laundresses' Section and the Laundry Employers' Association. The employers have agreed to raise the minimum wage to 16s. per week; but an agreement has yet to be made as to duration of period of learning. The Union is resolved that such period must be reduced to four years. The question of the increase of bonus to piece-workers also remains unsettled.

The laundry employers are holding their annual conference this week, and it is interesting to note that their programme includes papers on Industrial Councils and Organization. Last year the subject of a National Laundry Guild was dealt with. It looks as if in this industry we might move towards control by the workers. We propose to keep that idea in mind in the Laundresses' Section.

The Dublin Japan Works have given increases to their women employees varying from 4/6 to 2/-.

Messrs. Williams and Woods have agreed to give an increase now to their women employees, anticipating the Trade Board recommendation, which will come into operation three months hence.

A branch of the Irish Women Workers' Union has been started in Clonmel. Miss B. McCarthy, 7 College street, is hon. sec., and asks all women workers to get in touch with her at once. Headquarters at Dublin is being asked to send an organiser.

THE STRIKE.

The situation at Messrs. Goodbody's remains unchanged, 120 women having now been two weeks on strike. We have now sent in a claim for an all-round increase. The dispute arose in connection with the spinners only.

THE LOCK-OUT.

The Printers' Section held a general meeting on Saturday evening in the Trades Hall. It was unanimously agreed that the women would not return to work at the end of the men's dispute, until the Master Printers accepted the scale of piece-rates claimed by the Union and agreed to a minimum wage of 17/6 per week to machine feeders on the larger machines, and 15s. per week to feeders on the smaller machines.

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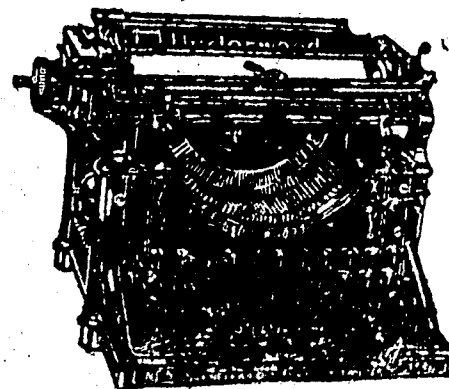
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Boland's and Industrial Freedom.

The arbitrary, hate-venomed action of Boland's, Ltd., in closing down their works and fining their four hundred workers in a week's wages because they resent the Government having interfered to secure the barest justice to the workers, has had an interesting and significant sequel. While the works, bakery and mills, were closed, the representatives of the Bakers and Transport Workers waited upon the Irish Food Control Committee, and offered, on behalf of the workers, to take over the management of Boland's, and operate the flour mills, bakeries, and the organisation of distribution on behalf of the community. The offer was seriously pressed—with the result that, rather hastily, the I.F.C.C. gave guarantees of re-opening under "Government" management.

What is to be observed here is that the Irish Transport Union is now prepared to put into operation the policy it laid before the Congress at Waterford, which was unanimously adopted as the object towards which the trade union activities of Irish Labour should be directed. With them in this preparedness are the Bakers' National Union and the Clerical Workers' Union. The co-operation of these three sections in the past year has been so close that they may be considered to constitute the Industrial Union of the milling and baking industries of Ireland. Although they have not yet become formally united, and, perhaps, may never be, these unions have escaped from the mental bondage of the craft union. Standing together in the preparation of their programme of improved conditions and in negotiations, they are effective bargainers, and can maintain in their unity a better control of the standard of living than in isolation.

They have learned the lesson of experience. They recognise that the modern financial control of industry has weapons that trades unionism cannot master by conflicts outside the workshop. They see, too, that political freedom, which allows the worker to mark a ballot paper once in five years, and in the interval leaves him at the uncontrolled will of the private capitalist, is illusory. Therefore, they "declare that mere increases of pay, however necessary, are only a temporary palliative for the evils of poverty, that what is wanted is a sufficiency of real wages rather than of money wages, and that the only effective remedy for our present disabilities is the control of industry in the interest of the community by the organised working class."

Here they have epitomised the theory of working-class action, expounded in a valuable book just published by George Allen and Unwin, entitled "The Mean-

ing of Industrial Freedom," by G. D. H. Cole and W. Mellor, the well-known exponents of the National Guilds. These authors criticise the limitations of the various schools of Socialism, the Utopians of the Owenite School who "conceived rightly the aim of socialism, but failed because they had no grasp of the means of realising their ideal," and the half-baked ex-Liberals of the MacDonald-Snowden order.

Perhaps for the first time in National Guild Literature there is a mention of Karl Marx, "the Darwin of economic theory," as the authors quote from Aveling without acknowledgment. They err in saying "'Scientific' socialism tended inevitably to lay all the stress of the distribution of income." This is the peculiar weakness of Mr. Cole's friends, the Old Fabians. From scientific socialism has sprung the policy of the Industrial Union, the advocacy of which is associated in America with the name of Daniel De Leon, and in Ireland with the name of James Connolly.

Messrs. Cole and Mellor's chapter on the "Purpose of Trade Unionism" is particularly valuable, and that on "Industrial Control, true and false," has a warning which must be heeded if Irish labour is to preserve its freedom of action from the over-zeal of the peace-patchers of labour disputes in Dublin, Cork, and elsewhere. We hope to see Irish labour set itself seriously to master this slim but beautiful booklet. For study circles it affords the most compact introduction to the study of National Guilds yet brought within the reach of all. The price is 1s., or by post 1s. 1d.

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