



MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR PLUTOCRACY.

The so-called peace terms presented by the victorious Allies to the German delegates at Paris last week differ in no wise from what everybody who has been following the course of events anticipated. They are no more stringent than was to be expected. They are no juster than was to be expected. They are no wiser than was to be expected. They are the terms of victory, the terms of the conqueror over the conquered, the price of defeat, the pound of flesh of the Shylocks of imperialism and capitalism in Europe and America.

It is true that the wild cry which won the General Election for Lloyd-George in Great Britain and drove their historic sense of logic out of the people of France has gathered no wool in the peace terms. But for all that the marks of greed and dominance and militarism are writ large in the bulky volume presented by France, Britain, Italy, Japan, and the United States to the plenipotentiaries of the German Republic. They are the marks of the Beast.

President Wilson's much-boomed Fourteen points are nowhere in the Treaty, although it was on them and on them alone that the Germans agreed to the armistice. All the fine talk about nationality, anti-Prussianism, freedom and democracy, a new world after the war, has just been fine talk and nothing but talk. All the boasted reference back to the people has only been so much camouflage to hide the horrors which the Big Four were planning for the peoples. All the rhetoric about a League of Nations has been just the blowing off of so much steam as would envelope sentimental Liberals and slave-minded workers in a comfortable complacency until capitalism, imperialism, and militarism had done their fell work.

Equally of course the terms disclosed

last week are subject to some slight modification. The German delegates will protest against them in their present form. Their protests and counter-proposals will be discussed, and such of them as are agreeable to the Allies will be accepted. Then the peace treaties will be signed, and the world will be faced with a hell compared with which the great war was only a purgatory.

But they reckon without their peoples, these diplomats at Paris. They may make peace with the German delegates. But the German delegates are no better than themselves, they only happen to be representing the vanquished, not the victors. They are not the representatives of the people any more than Lloyd-George and Clemenceau and Wilson and Orlando are. They are the representatives in Germany of the same political order that prevails in England and France. Their Republic is no more democratic than the Republic of France, or the Republic of the United States, and not half as democratic as the Swiss Confederation. Their hands are stained with the blood of German workers, ay, even since the armistice, as the hands of the Allied representatives are stained with the blood of the workers in the Allied and associated countries.

Is it worth while our discussing the peace terms or the peace treaties? It is not, for they are not worth five minutes' consideration. They are not peace terms; they are war terms, the terms upon which the new Unholy Alliance of the governing class propose to wage war upon the working class. They are the terms upon which Property would choose to fight the People.

It matters little whether these terms are signed or not. In due time they will bring their aftermath, as did the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and for the same reason. They are the herald of war, not of peace. They are the prelude to Bolshevism in Western Europe.

unite in the struggle against capitalist oppression, they will be used against each other. Ill-paid Irish workers are used to depress British conditions; British workers in khaki are used to coerce Irish workers. Irishmen in blue form a large proportion of the English police force. It is time that Irish Labour learnt the importance of making known to British Labour the facts about Ireland.

You observe that we are wanting to know "why England fights Russia." We are not in doubt; we know that the British Capitalist Government is fighting Russia because Russia has a working-class Socialist Government. It is for precisely the same reason that we are specially concerned to support Russia, and to make known to the workers of all countries the achievements of the Russian Soviet Republic. We commend the example of Russia to the workers of Ireland. They desire a Republic; let it be a Socialist Soviet Republic, for if they set up a capitalist government they will find that they will after all have benefited but little by the change. Believing that much can be learnt from the study of Socialism in practice, the "Dreadnought" makes a speciality of Soviet news from Russia, Hungary, or wherever it can be obtained. The one thing that can enhance our already strong interest in Ireland is to see it going Bolshevik.—Yours, etc.,

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

AFTERMATH OF THE POWERSCOURT STRIKE.

Is It Revenge?

The inheritor of the feudal baronage who lives in the neighbourhood of the Scalp and the Sugarloaf mountain has dismissed nine of his workmen since the settlement of the recent strike.

Two of the men have families, and there are vague threats flying about that these families are to be evicted and indeed that all the life and industry of the district is to be summarily stopped at the behest of his lordship.

It would be interesting to learn how far the Powerscourt peer is personally responsible for these statements, which are being made in his name. It would be well to have his denial.

People are saying he is seeking revenge for the recent strike, and what may be more bitter, the settlement which followed. That is not sportsmanlike, to say the least of it, and besides in these days of revolution it will not do for "Our" Old Nobility to exasperate the Mob.

The Workers' Republic

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

Facts for the Fight.

In our review columns we have already noticed W. P. Ryan's great study, "The Irish Labour Movement," published for the First of May by the Talbot Press in a special cheap edition. Every reader of "The Voice" and every member of a Trade Union ought to make the facts of this book his own. The book is an excellent complement to James Connolly's "Labour in Ireland," and is especially invaluable to those new comrades who have joined the ranks of militant Labour within the past two years. We trust that throughout the summer campaign organisers, speakers, secretaries and other officials and spokesmen of Labour will make good use of all the material W. P. Ryan has given them. Indeed, we would go so far as to say that in future the workers should decline to elect to office anyone who has failed to master the story and the spirit of the Irish working class as interpreted by Connolly and Ryan. The Transport and General Workers have made arrangements for supplying their branches with "The Irish Labour Movement," and other unions might well follow this good example.

The Irish-American Delegation.

If the Irish-American delegates who have been visiting Ireland wanted to see how exactly their co-belligerent, Great Britain, maintains her reputation for justice and plain-dealing they could not have struck this country at a better time. The passion of the people for their liberty is at its highest, the enormity of British repression at its greatest. But how ridiculous the whole British position is! Here are Irish-Americans sent to the Peace Conference for the purpose of influencing President Wilson to apply his fourteen points to Ireland coming to this country to find that the associated Power which rules here by force has no more respect for the fourteen points than it has for its own laws. And almost one-fourth of the country is under the most stringent martial law. Yet Dublin Castle has some little respect for the visiting Americans, else why was the ban removed from Limerick on the eve of their visit to the lately besieged city? Perhaps the removal of the ban would have given the visitors too high an opinion of their own importance, and hence Dublin Castle most conveniently treats them to a big display of its naked military force on the night of their reception by the Lord Mayor of Dublin. To add to the comedy of the whole situation the British Government keeps up the farce of martial law in Westport owing to the shooting of a magistrate, not for any political reason, but as everybody in Ireland knows, because an outraged policeman took the moral law into his own hands. If there were neither historical nor national reasons for the evacuation of Ireland this ridiculous failure of British Government in Ireland would be ample justification for Irish independence.

Keeping the Red Flag Flying.

(As passed by Censor.)

Only in two or three instances was the decision to carry the Red Flag reversed, and those who failed through timidity are pretty well ashamed of themselves by now. Both Labour Day and the Red Flag incident were victories for Labour, and they are but the promise of what is to come. What is to come is not the terror which the anonymous hooligans of the "Irish Independent" and Dublin "Evening Telegraph" and a few clergymen have been painting in lurid colours. These are the people who have never done anything for the workers and who never will. If they had their way as they had in 1913 they would treat Irish workers to blood and iron. They are not going to have their way in Ireland. They will, of course, when the time comes, attempt to do what the reactionaries in other countries have done, but the Irish workers have taken their measure and if need be will see to it that they cut their cloth to that measure. They can be prevented from doing harm in the future as they were on May Day.

The Irish in Great Britain.

Already there is work cut out for the Irish workers and the Irish Labour Committees in Great Britain. The British Labour Party is to propose a motion in the House of Commons. That motion falls far below the demand of the people of Ireland, which happens to coincide with the demand not only of Irish Labour but of International Labour as well. The British Labour Party's motion, it appears, is that of Messrs. T. P. O'Connor, Joseph Devlin, Captain Redmond, James Sexton, and their friends, and it is the policy which was so decisively rejected by the Irish people at the last General Election. It is characteristic that this should come immediately after the British members of the

Second International had declared absolute self-determination at Amsterdam. The Irish workers in Great Britain must wake up the British leadership. They can do it now and they can do it at the Party Congress later on. Trust they will do it with their characteristic thoroughness.

Politics in the Prison Pulpit.

(As passed by Censor.)

Under whose inspiration are certain of the Catholic clergy whose office is to minister spiritually to the prisoners in Mountjoy Jail preaching political sermons Sunday after Sunday? On Sunday week, we are informed, a wild and wailing tirade was delivered from the prison pulpit. Part of this sermon was directed against Bolshevism, and in the course of one passage it was said that "the men who are carrying on revolutionary propaganda are assassins and murderers." The Rev. preacher knows that this is a lie. He knows, too, that he lies when he accuses Labour of organising secret societies. So far as we know he has had the courage, or the decency to get this from the pulpit of his own church. Like a brave man he inflicts it upon prisoners who are compelled, by prison regulations, to listen to his political sermons. We are not sure they will listen much longer, and he will have been directly responsible for breaches of both prison and ecclesiastical laws. On the previous Sunday another priest preached against Nationalists who use arms, but not against armed Imperialism. Now it happens that in the A2 floor of Mountjoy all the prisoners are men who have been sent to hard labour for alleged offences in connection with arms. Again we ask, what is inspiring these sermons? Politics in pulpits outside jail are all right; in jail they are a prostitution of religion. In France and Great Britain we know that army officers are running anti-Socialist lectures in their giments. Is the British Government organising these political sermons in Irish jails? If it is, it is organising in vain.

"The Voice" in Mountjoy.

By whose authority and for what reasons are the prisoners in Mountjoy prevented from reading "The Voice of Labour?" We may take it for granted that other Irish weeklies are excluded from Mountjoy, but at the moment we want to know who is the mandarin who shuts out the Labour organ. In Mountjoy, as indeed in most other prisons, "The Voice" has many readers, but is now an article of contraband like film and rope ladders.

Held Over.

In order that the National Executive's manifesto to employers and owners of property may have publication at the same time as its delivery we are holding over until next week a report on the general business transacted at Amsterdam.

Extension of Wages Temporary Regulation Act.

The Bill which the Government introduced recently in order to extend the operation of the Wages Temporary Regulation Act for a further period of six months has now passed through all its stages in the House of Commons. As it is an agreed measure, there is little likelihood of the House of Lords delaying its passage, and it will probably be law within a very short time.

Textile Working Week.

The Textile Workers of the North and East of the United States have won a victory which will put heart into the fellows of this country. Except in the State of Maine, the employers throughout this area have conceded the 48-hour week. The United Textile Workers are now turning their attention to the Southern States, where non-unionism has long been rampant, and conditions abominable. The initial success has been scored here in that the hours of many mills in South Carolina have been reduced from 66, first to 60, and then to 55. Meanwhile, the English Textile Employers are moving a little. They have offered a 48-hour week, with a 15 per cent. advance in wages; but the reply is "not good enough."

Jack Carney.

A long and interesting letter and a gift of books for the S.P.I. are just to hand. Will Mrs. Magill, D. M'Devitt, Sam Kyle, Alec Lynn, and H. Midgeley drop him a line? He's thinking long for Library Street Corner. Address, 101 Stack Buildings, Duluth, Minn., U.S.A.

"The engine, which is based on the principle of the turbine, is designed to produce 30,000 revolutions a minute.—Daily Paper. Will all true Bolsheviks subscribe liberally to install such a useful article in Ireland?"

Irish Labour Party AND Trade Union Congress.



NATIONAL
EXECUTIVE,

Trades Hall, Capel Street,
DUBLIN, 1st MAY, 1919.

To the Employers of Labour and Property Owners of Ireland.

GENTLEMEN,

We desire to address you in the name of the organised working-class in Ireland. We wish to state as clearly as we are able, in a few words, what is the cause of the so-called unrest amongst the workers, why we are dissatisfied with the conditions of employment, rates of wages, hours of labour, etc., and to explain where, in our opinion, lies the responsibility for the deplorable conditions in which the great majority of the workers of Ireland live and labour.

FOR several years before the outbreak of war in Europe there had been an upward movement in prices; the cost of living had been steadily rising, until in July, 1914, the workers had to pay 23s. for the same amount of food that they were able to buy in 1904 for 20s. The prices of clothing, boots, and sundry household requisites had risen even higher than of food. But wages, i.e., the price of human energy, or labour power, had been very nearly at a standstill. Advances here and there had been obtained as a result of sundry strikes, but employers in general responded to any claim for higher wages with their usual excuse that "the business could not afford more."

What was the position of the workers in those seemingly far-off days? The evidence of your eyes and ears should be enough, but we will quote some figures compiled by independent enquirers to support THE EVIDENCE OF YOUR SENSES.

In Father McSweeney's study of *Poverty in Cork* (price 3d., Purcell & Co., Cork), we read the result of a very careful enquiry into the wage and living conditions of one thousand and ten working-class families in that city, comprising a population of 5,058 persons. "In these 1,010 families are found representatives of all the workers, skilled and unskilled, in the city." Out of these 1,010 families 495, comprising 2,524 persons, were in receipt of a total (family) income averaging below 21s. per week. Even this is not the worst. Of the 495 families no less than 354, comprising 1,832 persons, were in receipt of an average income, per family, of only 13s. 9d. per week!

In the memorandum by Messrs. Smith-Gordon and Cruise O'Brien on "Food, Famine, and the Workers," published in May, 1917, we were told that careful enquiry disclosed these facts, viz.—that in Dublin the average pre-war wage of organised unskilled workers was 22s. 6d. per week, and of unorganised casual workers 20s. per week, when employed. In skilled trades the average pre-war wage in Dublin was 39s. 6d. per week. (In estimating the annual income, allowance must be made for periods of unemployment owing to temporary slackness, short time, sickness, etc.)

It is unnecessary to seek independent testimony respecting wages in other towns. We know, and you know, that Dublin rates were typical of Belfast, and that conditions in Cork can be matched in many of the smaller towns throughout the country.

In the Report and Tables relating to Irish Agricultural Labourers for 1915, published by the Department of Agriculture (Cd. 8,386—1916, price 2d.), we read that the average wages paid in Ireland for different grades of agricultural workers, i.e., general labourers, cattlemen, and ploughmen, range from 12s. to 16s. 6d. per week "for men who do not live in free cottages or receive allowances of any kind."

Such was the position at the outbreak of war. Do you consider it was satisfactory? Was the agricultural labourer to remain content with his 12s. to 16s. per week, or the town labourer with 13s. 9d. to 21s.? Bear in mind this, that the food requirements alone to keep an average family in health, according to the conservative estimate of the most competent authority (Mr. Seeböhm Rowntree), could not at that time be bought for less than 15s. per week.

When you paid him 20s. per week, or thereabouts, you evidently expected him to provide out of 5s. per week, the rent, coal, light, clothing, and all the innumerable household expenses for a family, not to speak of anything for newspapers, books, education, toys, trams, subscriptions, church, charity, or any of the innumerable calls of the modern community. Or must we conclude that you counted upon the workmen remaining unmarried and childless, so that you might obtain cheap labour, or was it that you never allowed a thought concerning the way the workers lived

TO DISTURB YOUR PEACE?

After the outbreak of war, prices rose daily. Farmers prospered; merchants, shopkeepers, manufacturers, all found their bank balances growing rapidly. Wealth came to you unconsciously as the dew from heaven. Your deposits in Irish Banks alone have increased by £46,000,000 (forty-six million pounds sterling) in the years 1914-1918.

Did you voluntarily share your new-found wealth with your workers? No. You waited until compulsion was applied by the power of their trade unions, the threat to strike, and the regulations of the State. And, after all the advances in rates of

wages which have thus far been forced from your hands, what is the position of the workers to-day? This: (1) that as compared with July, 1914, the cost of living for the working-class family has increased 115 per cent.: 20s. in 1914 would purchase as much food, clothing, and household requisites as 43s. will purchase to-day; (2) that, with the exception of a few industries closely connected with providing munitions of war, rates of wages have not kept pace with the advance in the cost of living.

We find, therefore, that the workers to-day are actually in a worse financial position than they were in the days before the war, a position which, as we have already indicated, was even then intolerable. It is scarcely necessary to point out that the history of the world, and of Ireland, and more especially the events of the past two months in Europe, have not tended to make the people bear contentedly evils which were felt to be unendurable four years ago.

THE PRESENT CLAIM WHICH WE MAKE ON BEHALF OF THE WORKERS IS FOR A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIFE THAN THAT WHICH THEY SUFFERED IN 1914.

We insist that in cases where men were employed in 1914 at starvation rates, i.e., below 20s. per week, that these rates must be deemed to have been raised to the minimum level of 20s. per week—a rate we are ashamed to name—and that we now require an advance over and above the real-wage standard represented by that 1914 minimum.

In these and in all other cases we claim that money wages must be raised to a point that will more than equal the increase in the cost of living. The only question that is open to discussion is, "How much above the 1914 real-wages standard (after adopting 20s. as the pre-war minimum), is to be accepted in settlement of present demands?"

We want something more than a bare minimum existence wage. To quote a great English writer (William Morris): "We want to see a state of things brought about in which it would be impossible for an honest man to have any anxiety about his livelihood. We say that a man's due livelihood ought to be assured to him in return for such useful work as he could do. But what is a man's due livelihood? We say that due livelihood means not merely so much food, clothes, and shelter as will enable a man to live, and go on working to-morrow as he works to-day, but ample and agreeable food, good and handsome clothing, and comfortable housing, such as only those called 'gentlemen' now have; and not only that, but education to enable people to make the most of their minds; and short hours of work, so that life may be enjoyed as a constant pleasure. And we call this due livelihood because every industrious man or woman could have all these things if society were properly arranged; and every person naturally wishes to have them. Therefore, such a livelihood is the proper one for a human being, and any livelihood inferior to it is unfit for a human being."

WE WILL ANTICIPATE YOUR ANSWER.

We fancy we hear a chorus of voices crying: "The industry cannot afford it," "To pay these wages will ruin us," "We shall stop tillage and turn our land to pasture." "The men are not worth more; you want more for the labourers than we ourselves earn, who are the owners."

Perhaps you will pardon us for replying that these answers don't relieve you of your responsibility. It is your business to see that the industry does afford it; to put more land under tillage, not less, to provide a due livelihood for all workmen. To answer as you habitually do is to confess your incompetence.

Ireland and all its natural resources belong by inalienable right to the whole people of Ireland. You, the present generation of employers and property-owners, either by your own action or by your acceptance of rights and privileges legalised by an alien legislature, have usurped authority over the material resources of this country. At the least it must be said that you have accepted trusteeship for the administration of

THE ESTATE CALLED IRELAND.

If you claim that your function is that of trustee on behalf of the people—and it is the only claim you dare put forward to justify your assumption of authority in the realm of industry and agriculture—we charge you with having ignominiously failed to carry out your trust. You have sought your own profit at all times without regard to the people's welfare. You have failed to administer the estate economically and efficiently. So long as you are

comfortable, so long as your bank account is healthy, so long as your children are fed and clothed and educated, you care nothing for the condition of the workers. You think of them as men and women whose destiny is to work for your profit, and when you do not see the prospect of a profit to be got out of their labours, you cease to employ them. Their future is no concern of yours; their children are allowed to go hungry, unclothed, and uneducated.

Ireland's resources are ample to provide all her needs. Her people are intelligent and energetic. You control her resources; you direct her industry and agriculture. It was your duty, if you honestly considered your possessions and power as a trust on behalf of the nation, to devise ways and means for making the most of the material wealth of Ireland, to feed, clothe, house, educate, and make happy the Irish people. How lamentably you have failed!

Some of you will plead that the blame is unjustly charged against you, the Irish employing and property-owning class; that the political domination of Ireland by England has been designedly used to hamper and restrict your enterprise, and that while such domination remains you are thwarted in the efficient discharge of your trust.

TO THOSE WHO MAKE THIS PLEA WE REPLY:

We are fully conscious of the blighting effect of Imperialist dominion over Ireland. We give due weight to this excuse in extenuation of your failures, but it is of no avail. You cannot hide behind that screen. In the field of political agitation your class has long held unquestioned sway. The workers followed your lead, on one side or the other, implicitly for generations, fought for you, suffered for you long and patiently. Yet, you have failed even in this—a political settlement has not yet been attained. But while you, on either side, have fought for or against, and never tire in applauding or denouncing the political subjection of this country, you combine in greedy embrace of the economic system that was the origin and purpose of the political subjugation. Your predecessors partook of the fruits of tyranny. You, in your turn, have joined hands with your political enemies and have opposed and denounced every movement towards the supersession of that system of industry and commerce on which England's political dominion is based.

The present methods of industry and trade are doomed; the existing economic relations between men cannot long continue. Ireland is not able, even did she so desire, to enter with success upon the scramble for foreign markets. Ireland's material prosperity must be measured not by the money value of exports and imports, not by the statistics of foreign trade, but by the plenitude of the supply of good and useful things brought forth from her soil and made available for the use of her sons and daughters.

So long as you, as a class, retain the "stewardship" of your estate (which you claim to be the social sanction of proprietorship) the responsibility is yours for ensuring that this supply of good and useful things shall be made available for all worthy citizens.

It is not our duty to propound a remedy. So long as you retain your legal rights as owners the workers have no alternative but to persist in their claims for higher wages. Any remedy we could suggest must inevitably involve a complete alteration in the basis of your system, must end in giving the control of the processes of wealth production and distribution to the people engaged in those processes in the interests of the community, not by virtue of ownership, but of service. We would eliminate the motive of profit-making from industry, and direct our energies to organising the production of goods for the use and service of the people. Such a course would solve at the same time both the political and the economic problem. The present political system could not long survive a revolution in the economic system.

For the moment you, the legal proprietors and employers, are the people whose duty it is to lift the country out of the economic and social bog into which you have driven it. And you fail at your peril!

For the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress,

THOMAS CASSIDY, Chairman.
THOMAS FARRER, Vice-Chairman.
THOMAS JOHNSTON, Treasurer.
WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Secretary.

SYNDICALISM AND REALISM.

"Syndicalism and Philosophical Realism." By J. W. Scott. London: A. and C. Black, Ltd.

Mr. Scott, who lectures on moral philosophy in the University of Glasgow, undertakes to point out that the current philosophy of labour can be correlated with the teachings of certain present-day thinkers in the region of metaphysics, foremost amongst whom are Henri Bergson and Bertrand Russell. Under the guise of an impartial and scientific study, the writer contrives to convey a considerable quantity of "poison-gas," and as such volumes are likely to emerge with some frequency, it may be worth while to deal with some of the points raised. He regards Syndicalism as the sequel to a failure, of which he accuses Socialism.

He considers three stages in the history of Socialism: the Utopian, the stage begun by Marx, of whom the true followers are those who make the bringing-in of the Socialist state a science, and the anti-state or revolutionary. "Syndicalism," he says, "is pre-eminently revolutionary, and it has been developed out of the economic side of the Socialistic movement." He sums up his view of Syndicalism in no uncertain language. "It is the failure of the Socialistic idea to prove its fitness for political power. It is the very voice of Socialism at the confessional, confessing its inability to do what it set out to do—namely, run a state."

Mr. Scott makes the discovery that Marx was wrong in his calculations, but that his error is due to the publication of his prophecy. We learn that "incidentally he has touched the consciences of the privileged class and they not the least influential; and he has helped to create in them a desire to cease to incur the reproach of being an 'exploiting' class any longer, but to work as conscientiously as they can for the establishment of an order of society which will not only fill their purses, but also, and as the precondition of that, satisfy their moral consciousness." The exploiting class, apparently, are still going to gain the whole financial world but without losing their souls as hitherto.

After reminding us of some familiar history of philosophy, Mr. Scott deals with what he calls "the grafting of Bergsonism upon the new Socialism by some of the most penetrating observers and exponents of the latter, e.g., M. Georges Sorel." The features of incalculableness and anti-intellectualism are the attractions for Syndicalists. Those who arose after Marx made plans, studied sociology, amassed statistics, and wrote books; they were dupes of the intellect and tried to act like beings who could foresee.

Mr. Scott enlarges upon the abhorrence of Syndicalism for the intellect and its preference for the easy drifting towards a grand catastrophe. In his view the Syndicalist who accepts Bergson's metaphysics does so, not from honest conviction of its truth, but from the low motive of suitability to his purpose. Mr. Scott finds, in addition to incalculableness, that social movements are beginning to accept "a certain narrowness." The instruments for effecting social changes were Parliamentary representation and strikes; the former has proved futile; the latter has shown itself capable of great extension.

We are gravely informed that "particularly in England, Socialism was associated with enlightened common-sense." Let the present position of the workers in that country demonstrate the existence of common-sense amongst the workers; the backward views of English trades unionists are a by-word.

It is surprising to us at the present day that any serious reformer, knowing the framework of the English Constitution, should ever have attempted by parliamentary means to effect substantial economic changes. Jean Jacques Rousseau acutely observed that the English were only free at election times, and he might have even denied the solitary exception.

The real power in England rests with the Privy Council and the Cabinet, neither of which is elective. By a further system of special franchises to propertied and educated classes a bulwark is set up against democratic headway. Mr. Scott, with amusing innocency, says: "At what point, then, could a reformer best hope to move the whole of society? Surely, by acting at its centre, by sending the right men into the legislature."

He has to admit, however, that Labour members have been pushed into Parliament, have supported or originated measures of Socialistic tendency, promoted State regulation of industry in the workers' interests, and State relief for the workers' burdens, and all the rest, without apparently coming any nearer either to being rid of capitalism or to making a real difference in the workers' position. Enough has been said to show the tendency of Mr. Scott's book. It reveals throughout the contempt for the working classes prevalent throughout British universities, and is a warning to those who desire to retain the lion's share of the good things enjoyed by their ancestors and themselves that the new danger must be met by new precautions. We anticipate a further volume dealing with the enormities of Bolshevism. L. O'L.

RESURRECTION!

The Czar is again reported to be alive and in safe hiding. The glad news will rejoice the Russian Liberation Committee, for it will enable them to tell another thrilling and bluggy story of his umpteenth murder by the Bolsheviks.

The Craft Unions' Defence.

To the Editor of the "Voice of Labour,"

Dear Sir—Will you kindly publish the following statement as a reply to article in your issue of the 26th ulto, entitled "Solidarity of Labour Fractured."

In the above mentioned article it is stated "That in 1917 and '18 successful results were obtained by the Building Trades Group," but it is not mentioned that the Transport Union were not members of the group in these years. The first advent of the Transport Union to the Building Trades Group was this year, and in the initial stages of the proceedings on this occasion the building trades employers refused to recognise the group. When this position was considered by the unions, so scathingly referred to in your article, it was unanimously decided by them that recognition of the Transport Union must be conceded, or the alternative would be a strike. This stage was successfully carried through, as on the first deputation to the employers the deponents were the President of the Transport Union and representatives of the carpenters and the bricklayers, together with the Secretary of the Group. This deputation agreed that in the event of a refusal by the employers to deal with the first named no interview would take place. The employers did deal with the deputation when arrangements were made to meet the Group as a body.

The second stage of the negotiations opened with all the Unions in the Group appointing representatives to meet the employers at a conference, at which the Transport Union was represented. After some discussion an offer was made by the employers, viz., 2d. per hour advance to the craft unions and 1½d. per hour to the labourers, with a 47-hour working week. The reason put forward by the employers for differential rate to labourers was that the previous advances to labourers amounted to 115 per cent. on pre-war rates, whilst the rates to the crafts amounted to 69 per cent. on the same rates.

A very strong case was put for the increase to the labourers to be made equal to the crafts, but this had no effect; the employers refused to concede further. The group considered this offer, and after very considerable discussion, decided to agree to a differential basis for advances, and made an alternative offer to the employers embodying this principle. (Please note the representatives of the Transport Union and the Builders' Labourers agreed to the differential rate.)

The alternative offer was not accepted by the employers, and it was left to the several unions to consider the first offer. As all the unions had considered and rejected the first offer, a further meeting was held with the employers, and on this occasion the Transport Union was represented by their president. At this meeting the employers made a final offer of 3d. to the Craft Unions and 2d. advance to the labourers. The conference retired to consider this offer and Mr. Foran expressed disagreement with the differential treatment between the Craft Unions and the labourers. It was pointed out to him that the representative of his union at the previous conference had agreed to this principle. A vote was taken and all the unions agreed to recommend the offer, but Mr. Foran dissented. The group was

very anxious to have unanimity, and it was suggested that a small deputation again await the employers and look for better terms for the labourers. The deputation selected for this purpose was the chairman, secretary, Mr. Foran, Transport Union, and Mr. Moran, Builders' Labourers. Mr. Foran stated the case for the labourers, and during the discussion suggested to the employers to make the offer to the labourers 2½d. instead of 2d., thereby recognising the differential rate. The employers refused to make any further offer. This fact was made known to the remainder of the delegates, who again considered the matter. Mr. Foran still declined to recommend the offer. It was pointed out to him that "majority rule" prevailed in the group, but it had no effect. (It was a case of the tail wanting to wag the dog.) It was agreed that all the delegates would submit the offer to their unions, and to inform the secretary of the decisions arrived at. This arrangement was carried out by all the unions except the Transport Union, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, certain sections of the union, as the Stonecutters' section attended and informed the group that they had accepted the offer. A few days afterwards the group was "unofficially" informed that the other sections of the Transport Union had accepted, and this must be correct, as all the strike notices expired and so far as we know the sections of the Transport Union involved are not on strike.

We regret to take up so much of your valuable space with this reply, but we feel that the Transport Union have acted very badly and unbusinesslike in the whole proceedings, and it ought to be a lesson to them for the future that it makes for better harmony in the trade union movement when acting conjointly with other trades that the delegates of one union are of one mind during negotiations.

In conclusion we might point out the determination of the "small unions" in the first instance to strike for recognition of the Transport Union. They were quite willing, and not in the least afraid to face the risk and money loss of a strike for this principle.

It is suggested the one big union would have secured better terms. Surely your correspondent is not serious in saying that all the small unions should have merged in the largest? If so they would all have to join the Carpenters' Union, as it was the largest union represented at the conference, its number being 120,000 members.

The object of the article was clearly an effort to bring the local unions into disrepute in the trade union movement. They alone, although only a minority in the group, are held responsible for the loss of 3s. 11d. per week to each Dublin labourer, but happily for them their history in the movement is too well known to fear any such attacks, no matter from what quarter they come. The idea of the O.B.U. will not be served by such methods.—Fraternally yours,

A. BRESLIN,

O. HYNES,

Joint Secs.

Building Industry Group, Trades Hall, 5/5/19.

THE UNITY OF LABOUR.

By Maud Gonne MacBride.

These thoughts came to me while writing my article, "Beltane," for the "Voice of Labour." So they belong to "The Voice," and to "The Voice" I bring them.

The sacred fire lit from the sun, with brass burning glass, by our Gaelic ancestors, and from which all the hearth-fires of Ireland were kindled, symbolised the unity of life, that God-kindled spark which brings ever-changing glory to inert clay; it symbolises also the unity of labor, which is the expression of the energy of life, as fire is of the energy of nature.

Life in its infinite variety of forms is the self-expression of the Creator, and as man is made in His image he necessarily seeks self-expression in creation. It is instinctive, as the child's joy in making mud pies. An idle Eden is inconceivable, for nearness to God intensifies life and therefore its expression: Adam naming the beasts, creating language, worked joyously and freely in harmony with God and with the laws of his being: only outside Eden, where sin had caused a farness from God, which permitted stagnation, idleness and the exploitation of man by man arose.

Those who, driven by necessity, work long hours till exhaustion, at uncongential work, or those who yawn through long hours of boredom, till their brains are stupefied by want of effort, are equally out of accord with the laws of life. In the new order which is coming both must be brought into accord with these laws.

It is not cessation of labor, but freedom of labor and harmony by the realisation of the unity of labor, we hope for. All work is equally honorable when it is for the benefit of the community, and all work is one in essence, as the fire of the sun lit on the high altar or under the humble cooking pot is one.

We are not accustomed yet to realise that the work of a great thinker and organiser like James Connolly is one in essence, though differing in degree, with the work of Jim the docker or Pat the

laborer, but if Pat had not dug potatoes, if Jim had not unladen the coal, if some woman had not cooked and washed and mended for him, James Connolly could not have done his great work. All labor is one and inextricably undividable, so all workers should receive equal wage.

By freedom of labor, I do not mean that everyone should work just when and how long he pleases, for in industry there must be co-ordination and organisation, or production would fall and life could not be maintained plentiful and easy for all. In a society where everyone worked none would have to work too much, all would have time for leisure and for self-development. The workers controlling their own affairs, restraint and discipline being self-imposed would still be freedom.

Some find it easier to work with their brains, some with their muscles, and both kinds of work being equally necessary and equally honorable and equally rewarded, all would have a free choice of the work best suited to them.

I am told by one who was in Russia since the Bolshevik government is in power that those great Russian ministers, Lenin and Trotsky, to demonstrate this oneness of labor, only accept for themselves the same wages as the workmen and labourers, though I read in an article by Lenin that until Russian labor is sufficiently educated and organised it had been found necessary to employ experts and former heads of industries at large salaries to ensure production, for as "A.B." in his interesting article in the May Day number of "The Voice of Labour" says, "We must have practical experience in the democratic organisation of industry and agriculture in order to bring about in any shapely form a Co-operative Commonwealth of our desires." But these highly paid experts are only transitional, till enough of those who accept the new order are trained.

In the Russian Republic labor is the qualification for the vote. Those who do not work, who therefore contribute nothing

When Capitalism Began.

Capitalism is the most foreign thing in Ireland.—James Connolly.

"The history of the past," said Cardinal Newman, "ends in the present and the present is our scene of trial and to behave ourselves towards its various phenomenon duly and religiously and we must understand them; and understand them we must have recourse to those past events which led to them. Thus the present is the text, and past is interpretation."

Therein lies sufficient excuse for inquiring our readers' attention to the valuable work accomplished by Geo. O'Brien in his "Economic History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century." It is the first serious investigator in the field, so far as Ireland is concerned, and his study of the measures taken by the inhabitants of this island in the eighteenth century to procure the means of life is worthy of the importance of the subject.

There is little evidence that Mr. O'Brien realises the importance of the economic factor in history as the guide through the maze of confusion that political, juridical and social factors present to the backward looker. He merely following the example set by the choice of subject by the English writer Cunningham, Ashley, Hammond, Tawney, etc.

True, he spares us theories of history, but it is plain he does not seem to regard social life as a flowing, or development. He accepts the so-called natural resting points of years and centuries as if humanity were limited by time and its development regulated by the clock.

To Mr. O'Brien the solution of economic problems is attained by the deliberate exercise of human will, the tragedy of Irish history being that the will of eighteenth century Ireland was continually frustrated by the will of England. He gives us no hint that these opposite national wills were determined by vast and far-reaching circumstances, the very nations of the time and their giants Grattan, Burke, Pitt, etc., being mere tools, themselves forged by history and blindly accomplishing its purposes.

A history of Irish economic conditions that is limited by the term of the eighteenth century must at first sight seem to be a history not of a nation but of a geographical area. The nation went down at Limerick, and the decisive economic factors in 18th century Ireland emerged and began to operate before the century began.

The apparently final conquest obliterated the distinctive Irish economic organisation and civil polity. The more elusive and personal qualities that modify life, literature, language and custom were at least hidden from the world; and but for the necessities of the conquerors, the extermination of the race would have brought two thousand years of Gaelicism to an end in 1690. Men of Irish breed would have been as rare on the earth's surface as the Great Auk.

The thousands of Irish men and women who were swept across the seas to the Indies and the plantations of America were more fortunate than those left behind. The slave master, as Paul reminded Philemon, had duties to his slaves. At the lowest, his interest obliged him to feed them as he fed his cattle.

The dispossessed peasantry driven to the shores and the barren hills had licence to live. They constituted a reservoir of labour, whose wages were solely dependent upon the will of the new landlord. Here at the close of the seventeenth century arose the new social class of propertyless wage-workers, the modern proletariat. Here, too, arose the modern capitalist class, with titles and privileges and property based on the violent expropriation of a nation and secured to them only by the arms of England.

If Christian Ireland was spared the horrors of chattel slavery, the price of individual personal freedom was the subjection of the working-class. Such was the condition of Ireland at the beginning of Mr. O'Brien's period, yet he does not notice the recent reduction of the nation to class-slavery. That this is the real beginning of capitalism in Ireland is passed over. To omit consideration of these fundamental facts is to make the Ireland of the 18th century a welter of inexplicably irreconcilable futilities.

It is in this respect that some grasp of the Marxian interpretation of history, even such as might have been obtained from "Labour in Irish History" would have given Mr. O'Brien's volume a

(Continued on Page 5).

ing to the good of the community, have no right to a voice in its councils.

"Each for all and all for each," as Connolly used to say. The fearless acceptance of Christ's great command of love which casteth out fear, and Ireland will become a place worth living in.

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NORA CONNOLLY, writing in the "Voice of Labour" about her father, said, "Always he studied revolution. Every book dealing with revolution, social or otherwise, was read and studied by him in the hope of glean- ing some plan or method that would assist him in his preparation for the Social Revolution."

RODERIC CONNOLLY in the same issue of the "Voice" said, "To become competent to achieve and maintain their Revolution, the Irish workers will be assisted almost wholly in their task by an earnest study of the second part of 'Socialism Made Easy,' by James Connolly, where the broad principles of the Dictatorship may be gleaned; and by learning how Con- nolly's friends applied these prin- ciples in a country so like Ireland as Russia, as detailed in Trotsky's 'His- tory of the Russian Revolution.'"

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WHEN CAPITALISM BEGAN. (From Page Four.)

herence and unity that it lacks. He need be less afraid of the horrid word "ma- terialism" when Fr. Paschal Larkin con- fesses the Marxian theory has "some" truth in it and Bede Jarrett unasham- edly employs it repeatedly.

We would not be understood, how- ever, as seeking to deny the merit of Mr. O'Brein's work or to deny its use- fulness to the student. As a compilation of facts hitherto ignored by historians, the "Economic History" is an admir- able achievement, enhanced by the au- thor's clarity of style. There are few aspects of industrial activity that escape his attention, and his mastery of his ma- terial enables him to give us in his 250 pages a condensation of many volumes.

The quotations inevitable in such a book are not hidden in footnotes and appendices, nor are they allowed to ob- struct the flow of the narrative. Mr. O'Brien has woven them most skillfully into his text, thus enabling the reader to gather his impressions direct from the original sources.

The price of the volume is 10s. 6d., and while we regret it is so high we would encourage the purchase of this volume by anyone who wishes to have at hand an intimate and full survey of Ire- land in the colonial period. High prices for indispensable volumes may aid Mr. Lennox Robinson's campaign in favour of public libraries.

SECRET POLICE IN ENGLAND.

By Joseph King.

Many signs of the times in these days of wars and rumours of war, when nation rises against nation, and there are fam- ines, etc., and these are the beginning of sorrows (Matt. xxiv. 6f), are allowed to pass unheeded, even unrecorded. In the last few days a sign of this sort has ap- peared in the starting of the Special Ser- vice of a Secret Police in London.

Only a bare announcement has ap- peared in one or two papers, that under a well-known civil servant a new depart- ment of Secret Police is now at work, with special duties to watch foreigners and spies, and to guard against danger- ous political propaganda, etc. Why a special service is needed to guard us against spies, now that the war is over, and a League of Nations is established, and when Parliament has before it a Gov- ernment Bill to expel all aliens, or at least to give the Government power to drive from these shores any alien it likes, without public trial, or reason given, is not explained.

The fact is, of course, that we are to have in this country a sort of Russian Ochrana (Secret Police), and a spy sys- tem on the lines of that which Abdul Hamid set up and lived upon in Con- stantinople. Russia and Turkey have by Revolution abolished the systems which we in England now are to enjoy, after a war won to make the world safe for democracy.

I have received several stories, which could be proved by persons well known to me, which show what is being done and what we must expect. In one case, a business man, subject of an Allied State, was approached, and at an interview told that if he would give any information he could obtain of his fellow friendly aliens in absolute confidence to the police, he could remain as before; otherwise, he must expect a deportation order against him. In other words, he must become a spy or must go. This is free England, the home of all freedom and justice.

I could give other cases, but I wait to see what Parliament will be told about our new system of Government Spies and Secret Police. This system has been, of course, in use in Ireland for a century or more. The Liberal Governments since 1885 up to that of 1915 discarded it. But who would have thought that a Liberal Prime Minister in 1919 would have es- tablished it openly for England?—"Brad- ford Pioneer."

THE PROGRAMME OF ITALIAN LABOUR.

The following is the May Day Pro- gramme of demands of the Italian Con- federation of Labour:—

"The Proletariat claims (1) Convo- cation of a constituent assembly and the transformation of Parliament by a representative system with universal proportional suffrage, and the institu- tion of professional councils. (2) Im- mediate demobilisation. (3) A broad political amnesty. (4) Withdrawal of troops from the Soviet Republics, and renunciation of the policy of intrigue and hostility towards the new States. (5) Publication of all documents and ne- gotiations of the Paris Conference."

Italian Labour, it is also to be noted, is acting in close co-operation with the Italian Socialist Party. This co-opera- tion showed itself in the general strike of April 10th.—"Labour Press."

DEMOCRACY AND THE SOVIET.

Our democratic people are telling us that Bolshevism is undemocratic. This is what Albert Rhys Williams, the American War Correspondent, has to say about the Soviet system:—

"In the Soviet all parties are repre- sented, and real elections can be held at any time, so that the complexion of the central Soviet is continually changing. In July, 1917, for instance, the time of the July insurrection, the workmen of the factories believed in some cases that this thing had been instigated by Ger- mans, and they immediately withdrew their Bolshevik representatives, and the Mensheviks gained a great deal as a result of the July insurrections.

"Just as soon as they found out that the government had lied about the Ger- man connections with the Bolsheviks then the reaction went against the moderate Socialist parties; they just withdrew them by the scores, and actu- ally by the hundreds, and replaced them by Bolshevik representatives.

"I think the Soviet is an advanced state apparatus—actually superior to anything that we have had in history, because it gives a government that is representative all the time. The men in a factory meet every day, and the changes of thought that are registered in the factory register themselves im- mediately in the delegate they send to the Soviet."

And yet the Sergeitch person whom the Abbey bourgeoisie brought to lecture in Dublin, tells us that the 120,000,000 people of Central Russia are dragged by 300,000 Bolsheviks. One Bolshie to every 400 anti-Bolsheviks, mostly all armed!

THE MEN WHO WILL SUCCEED SCHEIDEMANN.

The German Spartacists.

translation of the official declara- tion of the Spartacus Union, just published by the B.S.P. The price is 2d. Send 2 1/2d. in stamps to the Literature Secretary, Cumannacht na hEireann, 42 North Great George's St., Dublin, for a copy.

Co-operation Advocated.

Father Finlay will be interested to learn that the Spartacists propose the es- tablishment of agricultural co-operatives under a central administration, small peasant holdings to remain in possession of the present owners until they volun- tarily join the socialist agricultural co- operatives.

To Soothe Cashel's Alarm.

"The proletarian revolution requires no terror for the realisation of its aims; it looks upon manslaughter with hatred and aversion." So say the gentle Sparta- cians. But they have no illusions. Capita- lism will not surrender without a struggle. Therefore, the Spartacus Union will arm the German people and disarm the German slave-drivers, officers and police.

Agree with Bernard Vaughan.

The men chiefly responsible for the war, the two Hohenzollerns, Ludendorff, Hin- denburg, and Tirpitz, are to be tried by a Revolutionary Tribunal. So the "Hate your enemy" gospel of Farm Street may be fulfilled by German hands.

"ONE BIG UNION" In British Colonies.

What is the One Big Union that is making so much stir in Australia and Canada? The Queensland Trade Union Congress has put forward a definite scheme. Industries are divided into six "Departments," each under a Depart- mental Council of 12 members to be elected on a proportional basis. They are—(1) Building and Construction; (2) Manufacturers and General Production; (3) Transport and Communication; (4) Agriculture, Land, and Fisheries; (5) Civil Service and Public Utilities; (6) Mining. Each of these is divided into Divisions, with Divisional Councils, and these in turn into Sections, the whole issuing under a Central Council set above the Departments. The details of the classification are set forth with an elaborate chart, and it is noteworthy that arrangements are made for inter- sectional or "mixed section" organisa- tions.

Schemes of this type are very much to the fore in the Labour movements of Australia and Canada, and show signs in numerous recent conferences of shortly receiving majority support for some such organisation of Trade Union- ism. Such a re-organisation would, of course, be closely related to the demand for control that is now making itself felt in the Dominions; and in this con- nection attention should be given to the important pronouncement of the New Zealand United Federation of La- bour (N.Z. Trade Unions and N.Z. Labour Party) at their 1918 Conference at Wellington: "In our view the proper industrial function of the State is to na- tionalise industries, and thereafter to entrust their management to the Trade Unions." Colonial Labour is rapidly travelling towards a clear and united political and industrial footing.—"La- bour Press."

PASSPORT REFUSED.


A passport has been refused Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington to attend Women's International Peace Conference at Zurich, to be held on May 12. Miss Louie Bennett, Miss Rowlette, and Miss Willis, the other Irish delegates, have left for Switzerland, where they will put in Ireland's claim for self-determination.

THE LONDON "CALL" ON IRELAND AND FRANCE.

Irish Labour for the first time falls into line by standing still with an easy thor- oughness that British Labour might well strive to emulate. That its power is ex- pressed by way of announcing its soli- darity with the workers of all lands over- throws the objection still sometimes heard in England that the working class of Ireland are so bemused by superstition that real self-government is impossible for them.

Reports from abroad show that the authorities have been in conflict with the working class apparently with no more reluctance than they displayed when it was a question of driving the same work- ing class against other workmen forced into the position of enemies. But Paris affords the most striking example. The Tiger has had his May Day—very like another in his record. As one of our comrades has just said, the French fought for liberty, and lost it.

The National Union of the Boot and Shoe Operatives have concluded an agreement with the employers for four weeks' holiday on full pay during the year, the money to be provided in equal amount by the employer and by the workers.

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the unorganised clerk? You
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If the clerk you draw your wages from
is not a Trade Unionist, report the mat-
ter to

THE SECRETARY,

No. 1 (Building and Engineering) Branch,
Irish Clerical Workers' Union,
1 College Street.

HOTEL WORKERS' LOCK-OUT.

The dispute in the Hotel Section is now
in its fourth week; the only proposal
offered by the Employers' Association was
a bogus concession of the Shop Hours
Act, 1912 (72 hour week).

The attitude of the Hotel Tourist As-
sociation in locking out about 600 em-
ployees and closing down against the
public convenience thirty establishments
in Dublin and county needs some ex-
plaining.

The demands, as amended by the
workers with a view to coming to an
early agreement, are very moderate.
They read as follows:—50 hour week, al-
ternate Sundays off, and a lowest mini-
mum of 10s. per week for women. What
class of employers are they that they
cannot agree to this demand, or are they
serious in remarking to their friends that
they are going to starve their employees
into submission? Do they know anything
about the Irish Transport Union? The
public will soon tell them a different
story.

The workers are not going to wait for
them to re-open, they will find another
way before Whitsuntide that may open
the employers' eyes when it is too late
for them to save their faces. I will let
you know more in "The Voice" next
week.

M.M.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST
PARTY OF IRELAND.

On Wednesday, May 7th, there was
formally inaugurated in Belfast the above
Party, in answer to the growing demands
of revolutionary Irish workers for a party
which would put the demands of the re-
volutionaries upon an organised footing.
The aims and methods of the party are
stated with concise brevity, i.e., "the
overthrow of capitalism and establish-
ment of socialism in Ireland" by means
of "direct and revolutionary action upon
the industrial and political field."

A manifesto and special propaganda for
industrial and agricultural workers upon
lines of organising control of Irish land
and industry will be issued in due course.
All revolutionary Socialists throughout
Ireland are asked to communicate with
hon. secretary, 11 Derg Street, Belfast,
from whom all information can be had.

Meanwhile, a vigorous open-air cam-
paign is in progress in Belfast, and
speakers will be available for meetings in
other parts of Ireland.

The Last of the Spoils.

Most of the available Government pro-
perty has already been disposed of in
the hastiest possible manner. But there
remain one or two assets in the Govern-
ment's hands.

Chief among these are
the fishing-trawlers in the possession of
the Admiralty, of which there are about
300. A little while ago there was a
rumour that the Government intended
to take the unusually advanced step of
offering these trawlers to the fishermen,
to be worked on co-operative lines with
Government assistance. This immedia-
tely started a tremendous excitement
among the fishing-trade employers, who
clamoured in the pages of the "Fish
Trades Gazette" that any such scheme
would be directly hostile to their inter-
ests, and that the State would create
an intolerable position in the world of
labour by setting high rates of remunera-
tion, with which private owners would
have to fall into line. Energetic mea-
sures, they added, would be taken to
stop any such scheme. Energetic mea-
sures apparently have been taken, for
the Admiralty has been forced to issue
a denial of the rumours.

Transport Union Notes.

Progress!

On 1st Jan., 1918, the Union had 54
branches; 1st Jan., 1919, 209 branches;
to-day, 340 branches. The last number
is approximate. And still they come.

Demands.

All proposed demands, which, as well
as strike notices, must first receive E.O.
sanction, should reach H.Q. by Tuesday
mornings.

Turraun.

"All back or none" was the reply of
the locked-out forty at the Peat Works
when the Management wanted to re-
start with ten of them. Neither the 3-
months' stoppage nor the blocking of the
Unemployment Donation by the Manage-
ment has shaken the men's determina-
tion.

Tout d'en haut.

Amongst the strikers on Lord An-
nelly's estate at Gowran who have been
served with eviction notices are an ex-
soldier and the father of four sons who
fought in France "in defence of home
and kindred," one of them being killed.
Lord Bellew, who has also served eject-
ment orders on his strikers' families at
Dunmore, and has forbidden them use
his private chapel, is another of the
"lords of high emprise, who war on
women and on boys."

Fermoy.

The Dublin H.Q. of the A.S. of C. and
J. might inquire into the alleged non-
playing of the game in the Building
Trade Dispute here, by the Carpenters,
who are stated to have accepted an offer
without consulting I.T.G.W.U. Masons,
Labourers, etc., some 50 of whom are on
strike, owing to refusal of demands.

Thurles.

The would-be lockers-out amongst the
employers have now eaten humble pie,
and all found increases of from 6s. to
18s. have been conceded.

Migratory Labourers.

This season shall not be as last. The
tender-hearted Scottish potato merchants
have got to do without the immigrants or
else concede the demand being formu-
lated on them for 15s. per graip, a 48
hour week, payment of travelling ex-
penses, good housing, and sanitary ac-
commodation.

Wallis's Carters.

Negotiations are still in progress re
hours question, and a 36s. wage has been
offered the firm's employees in **Carlow**,
Newbridge, **Kilkenny**, and **Wexford**, with
extras for stable work.

Lucan.

Grooms in Arnott's and Burke's racing
stables now have 40s., with bonus for
winners, travelling expenses, etc.

Mountmellick.

The resuscitated branch seeks improve-
ments in wages and hours for 112 mem-
bers employed by town firms.

Newport.

Employees in the Co-op. Creamery are
asking 50s. for buttermakers, 45s. for
general hands, and a 48 hour week.

Cleeve's Auxiliaries.

The increased wages and shorter hours
in operation at the Central Depot at
Lansdowne not having been extended,
stoppages have taken place at **Knock-
long**, **Tipperary**, and other out-depots,
and threaten to spread.

The New Song.

Sean Rogan, of Liberty Hall Players,
is making a big hit with Florence An-
gelus's new song with the swinging
chorus, "One Big Union For All." Words
and music, price 6d., may be had from
Crossley's, publishers, South Frederick
St., Dublin.

The Workers Must Run That Republic.

Further proof of this is furnished by
the refusal of the professing S.F. farm-
ers in **Clogher**, Co. Cork, to submit
their strikers' demands to the arbitration
of Mr. T. M'Swaine, T.D.E., and by the
dismissal by a **Dublin** candle firm, whose
big stick is a prominent member of the
Daal, of an old employee immediately on
the latter asking an increase.

Co. Dublin Aerodromes.

A big victory has been gained by the
agreement with Aviation Headquarters
under which the recently employed de-
mobs were dismissed, ordered to join a
Trade Union before reinstatement, half
the jobs to be given civilian workers in
future.

Waterford.

The "Urbs Intacta" may shortly be-
come "urbs in tenebris," delay in sett-
ling fitters' claims having led to strike
threat, involving 56 Union men directly
and indirectly. Demands are pending in
corn stores and on local merchants.

Longford.

£9,000 lost in trade to a rival firm and
other incidentals were necessary to con-
vince Saw Miller Tee of the futility of
not recognising the Union, a policy
adopted on 29th Jan., since when his men
have been on strike. Last week's arbi-
tration gives advances of from 4s. to 6s.,

and all employees have resumed with
badges on show.

Caledon.

"I'd rather lick limewash off the walls
and live on it than go back to work for
Fulton." This remark of an elderly
woman-striker in the woollen mills on be-
ing urged to return crystallises the spirit
of all the Union members. Employment
elsewhere has been found for most of
them, and they leave Caledon cheering,
"Up, the Transport!"

Arigna.

Has the Coal Controller really no con-
trol over the mine-owners here or must
we send for Bob Smillie? The demands
have been hung up since 20th Feb. await-
ing the promised conference, and still
there's nothing doing. There'll be no-
thing doing in the mines shortly unless
the owners get whipped up.

Upholding the Law.

So says D.I. White in excuse for engag-
ing in a series of vindictive prosecutions
in cases arising out of the Graigue Starch
Works' strike. The summonses were not
issued until the strike was settled. So
impressed was the R.M. with the evi-
dence of police persecution that he
ordered adjournment of the case to
August Sessions.

Law Falls—Try Direct Action.

At Thomastown Petty Sessions a claim
for £10 arrears was dismissed because the
man received in addition to his 7s. a
week, 100 mares' fees at 2/6 each, that is
£12 10s., about 4/10 a week.

Prosecution May Follow.

At Gowran Petty Sessions, Joseph
Kelly admitted having misled the I.T. &
G.W.U., the Wages Board and the solici-
tor, Mr. M. P. Kearney, and having
perjured himself in his claim for arrears
of wages.

Labour's Enemies in Council.

Castlecomer's housing scheme is held
up because the R.D.C. refuses to appoint
a sites committee. As a member said,
"the whole Council is in arms against
the labourers." Yet the Councillors were
all sound Nationalists pledged to put
the "National Question First."

Kultur in Kilkenny.

This is from the "Kilkenny People":
—"Jigs and reels were danced with a
grace that showed that the toil and lab-
our incidental to farm life had not left
the worker of Tullaroan unmindful of the
beauties of terpsichorean art."

Up-to-date Methods.

The boom in trade unionism among
shop workers, drapers, grocers, chemists,
etc., in Belfast has been largely developed
by skilful and persistent advertising of
all meetings.

In last Saturday's "Belfast Telegraph"
the Shop Assistants' Union announced
this week's meetings in a two-inch
double column space, and boosted their
Re-union in the Ulster Hall in a cut-off
two inches deep running across the page.
The social, planned for the large Co-
operative Hall, had to be held in the
still larger Ulster Hall.

Co-operative Re-union.

Dublin co-operators in festive mood
danced and sang in the Mansion House
last Saturday. The Women's Guild pro-
vided home comforts most excellently.

This Confirms Our View, and Explains
the Delegation.

By passing a resolution favouring
self-determination for Ireland, the Irish
vote in America has again been made
safe, while the President's interview
with the Irish delegation makes it plain
that England is not in danger of any
embarrassing suggestions from America.
Thus everybody's pleased, Ireland's
claims are recognised, thus adding to
the lustre of self-determination; Eng-
land's point of view is also recognised,
thus keeping unimpaired the doctrine of
the rule of the sword. Liberty receives
a polite bow, tyranny gets a hearty
handshake, and things remain as they
were.

"Ain't Democracy wonderful?
—"The Revolutionary Age."
(Boston, U.S.A.)

Ruaidhri Mac D.—The effort was still-
born, and its author has passed on to new
viewpoints. Thanks for kind words.

Archie King (Glasgow) protests against
the paragraph in a recent issue headed
"The Methodists Worried." The only
church in Glasgow which advertises its
services in "Forward" is a Methodist
Church. Methodists are not all Henry
Dubbs, and the church of the Wesleys
has given many zealous workers
to the Labour and Socialist
movement. D.O.R.A. has claimed her
victims from the Methodist Church as
from others.

IN HOT WEATHER a shampoo cools
and refreshes and guards against the
treacherous summer colds. MALLON,
39 Eden Quay, Dublin.

"THE IRISH HOMESTEAD"

A Weekly Journal founded by Sir Ho-
plunkett, keeps you in touch with Mo-
Agricultural Economics. It is obtain-
only by Subscription, 10s. a year, 5s.
year (post free), from the Manager, 18 S.
Frederick Street, Dublin.

EDITED BY "E."

IRISH FUND FOR THE FAMINE
STRICKEN.

First Irish Consignment has gone to
Maternity Hospital in Central Europe
Help to send further supplies quick
to the Starving Mothers and Babies.
Contributions received by Treasur-
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500 SECOND-HAND BICYCLES, Ladies
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0d., £6 10s. 0d., £7 10s. 0d., to £9 10s. 0d.;
carriage paid. Also 500 stove-enamelled fram-
all sizes, ladies' and gent's; Trade suppli-
New Covers from 5/-, 6/6, 9/-, 12/-, 15/-. Tuf-
from 2/6, 3/6, 4/6, 5/-, carriage paid. N
Machines from 11 to 15 gns.; Dunlop Tyre
and Brooks' Saddles. No shortage of any
thing.

DWYER, 4 (V) ARRAN QUAY, DUBLIN.

A PLEA FOR CO-OPERATION.

To the Editor, "The Voice of Labour."

Dear Sir,—Miss Bennett's suggestion
in her letter in your last week's issue
deserves, I think, every attention:—
"Would it not be wiser to concentrate
effort on making the workers realise
that they must combine co-operatively
with trade union activities if they are
to secure release from poverty—that
they must win the power to control
prices as well as wages."

I do not seek to minimise the value of
trades union organisation for increase
of wages in all employments, nor to sug-
gest any diversion of effort from this
movement, but the establishment of the
co-operative retail shop by the Dublin
branch of the Transport Workers' Union
is a most encouraging advance, however
small it be, towards the building
up of a co-operative commonwealth, and
the same undertaking might well be ad-
vocated and imitated in every branch
throughout Ireland. Co-operative pro-
duction, or manufacture, is, of course,
of much more importance and necessity
than mere co-operative retailing; but it
seems evident that co-operative trading
is the first step—is the only practicable
way of reaching the other—of teaching
the members of unions the methods and
requirements of co-operation, and of ac-
cumulating capital and providing organi-
sation and technical skill for starting
co-operative production and securing it
a market.

FLANN.

IRELAND AT THE WOMEN'S
INTERNATIONAL.

An "Appeal on behalf of Ireland" is
being presented to the International
Congress of Women, meeting this week
at Zurich. This Congress has been sum-
moned by the International Committee
of Women for Permanent Peace, which
was formed as the outcome of a similar
Congress held at The Hague in April,
1915. Miss Jane Addams, of Chicago,
is the President, and delegates from
about twelve countries are in attend-
ance. The questions for discussion in-
clude the League of Nations, Disarma-
ment, the principle of National Self-
Determination, the introduction of a
broader spirit into education, and vari-
ous other subjects connected with the
ideal of international co-operation.

The Irish delegates who have suc-
ceeded in obtaining the permission of
the British, French, and Swiss Govern-
ments to attend this Congress, are—
Miss Louie Bennett, Miss Isabella Row-
lette, and Miss I. S. Wills. Mrs.
Sheehy-Skeffington was refused a pass-
port. In circumstances like these, it is
difficult to say whether those who obtain,
or those who are refused, passports, are
the more to be congratulated.

"Be not the first by whom the new is
tried, Nor yet the last to lay the old
aside."

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