

• IRISH OPINION •

The VOICE OF LABOUR

: Official Organ :
 OF THE
 Irish Transport &
 General Workers'
 Union.
 — EDITED BY —
 CATHAL O'SHANNON

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JULY 26, 1919.

ONE PENNY.

Abolish the Wage System.

:: PRIOR MAC NABB'S CONTRAST. ::

The workers of Britain owe more than a little to the fearless and outspoken criticism of the capitalist system which the Very Revd. Prior MacNabb, O.P., has maintained for many years.

The Pagan doctrine that whatever is, is best has very often been rendered in Christian pulpits as whatever exists, is divinely ordained, and therefore despite the suffering it inflicts on the people, must be accepted humbly by them as a just punishment of their sins.

Father MacNabb has no use for that perversion of truth. He does not adopt the Calvinist view that to be poor is to be the victim of God's wrath and that riches and culture and worldly esteem are proofs of divine favour.

With His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., of whose social doctrines he is the principal exponent writing in the English language, Father MacNabb sees in the mass of the labouring poor a class surrendered by the relentless development of history,

"ALL ISOLATED AND HELPLESS TO THE HARD-HEARTEDNESS OF EMPLOYERS AND THE GREED OF UNCHECKED COMPETITION."—Rerum Novarum.

The remedy he prescribes, an increase of ownership, can be accomplished even in these days of big industry by the co-operative method adopted in Russia

and advocated by James Connolly in the "Re-conquest of Ireland."

The co-operative method has been recommended by His Eminence Cardinal Logue, who is not by any means a revolutionary. Its limitations, we know. We know, too, that as it develops its growth will arouse the hatred and bitter opposition of those who have laid the yoke of slavery upon the workers.

Meantime it affords a basis of co-operation for all men of good will. Father MacNabb's article, which we reprint with all due acknowledgments from the "Catholic Times" of 19th inst., shows that:

1st The wages system is un-Catholic.
 2nd There lies on Catholics a positive duty to work for its replacement by a social system that will extend ownership to the masses who at present have no property.

As a recent contributor in these pages has said we have no concern with religion as a theory. It is not our province to advocate a social policy because it is Catholic or Protestant.

It is interesting, however, to note that distributive co-operation in Ireland has its biggest and most fruitful developments in the districts in the North-East in which Protestants are most numerous. Presumably what authorities agree is according to sound Catholic doctrine is not incompatible with good Protestant practice.—(Ed.)

THE END OF THE WAGE SYSTEM.

By FATHER VINCENT McNABB, O.P.

[Special to the "Catholic Times."]

The law should favour ownership. Its policy should be to induce as many as possible of the humbler classes to become owners.

(Pope Leo XIII, Encyclical, "Rerum Novarum").

To understand the meaning and feel the force of these words of Pope Leo XIII we must contrast them with words which he used elsewhere in the same Encyclical: "Working men have been surrendered, all isolated and helpless, to the hardheartedness of employers and the greed of unchecked competition."

Two systems are here contrasted: the System of Ownership and the Wage System. These two systems may be set down systematically thus:

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| <p>Wage System.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> The Wage System supposes a wage paid by an employer. An employer employs an employee. An employer is a human being. An employee is a human being. The essential relation of an employer is to a human being, i.e., the employee. The employer as such is an owner. The employee as such is not an owner. The employer as such pays a wage to his employee. The employee as such receives a wage from his employer. Since employees as such are not owners, the more employees there are the fewer owners there are. The system in which there are many employees but few owners (and few employers) is called the Wage System. The more the Wage System increases the more the Ownership System decreases. Any Law or Policy tending to increase the | <p>Ownership System.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> The Ownership System supposes a thing owned by an owner. An owner owns a thing owned. An owner is a human being. A thing owned is not a human being. The essential relation of an owner is to a thing, i.e., the thing owned. The owner as such is not an employer. The owner as such is not an employee. The owner as such uses a thing owned. The owner as such can sell a thing owned. As an owner as such is not an employee (or employer), the more owners there are the fewer employees (and employers) there are. The system in which there are many owners but few employees (and few employers) is called the Ownership System. The more the Ownership System increases the more the Wage System decreases. |
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Wage System will tend to decrease the Ownership System.

10. Any Law or Policy tending to increase the Ownership System will tend to decrease the Wage System.

From all this we may gather the meaning and weight of the words of the "Rerum Novarum": "Not only the legislative enactments (i.e., the Law) but the administrative action (i.e., the Policy) should tend to spread the system of ownership to as many as possible."

In saying "as many as possible" the "Rerum Novarum" does not venture to decide how far it is possible to make the humbler classes owners of their property in consumptive or productive goods. Thus it may, or may not, be possible for all workers, or all workers who are heads of families, to be owners. Or, again, it may be possible for all working heads of families to be mainly owners and partly wage-earners. Thus it is not at once evident how there could be a state of things in which there were no persons receiving wages for services rendered.

Yet it is the doctrine of the "Rerum Novarum" that the Law and Policy of nations should be to increase the number of owners and thereby to decrease the number of wage-earners.

The laws and administrative action needed to bring about this extension of the Ownership System and this diminution of the Wage System are for Legislatures and State departments to consider. For us, Catholics, the Distributive State (i.e., the State in which there are as many owners as possible) is not something which we discuss, but something we have to propagate and institute. No advance in social thought or social action is possible if we are seeking to prove to ourselves as a theory what we should be trying to realise as a fact.

If the wise and fruitful words of the "Rerum Novarum" needed any confirmation of their own clear implications, it would be found in the recent pronouncement of the Hierarchy of the United States:

Nevertheless the full possibilities of increased production will not be realised so long as the majority of the workers remain mere wage-earners.

The majority must somehow become owners.

This pronouncement of the United States Hierarchy, with its peremptory MUST, we take to be a most decisive official utterance. We know of no commentary on this matter of the "Rerum Novarum" that carries the same official weight. This and the kindred pronouncement that where the Wage System obtains the Living Wage is "the first moral charge upon industry," make the words of these American Bishops one of the most important events of the century.

Six Page "Voice" Next Week.

SPECIAL FEATURE—

"Scientific Industrial Unionism."

By JIM LARKIN.

FARM STRIKES IN PROGRESS.

"LADY CLARA VERE DE VERE, THE GUILT OF BLOOD IS AT YOUR DOOR."

Mr. Frederick V. Devere is filling the daily papers with his protestations of love for the poor working men. Complaints are made in some parts that the Transport Union is not slick enough in replying to the half truths and subtle mendacities he is circulating.

There is no need to worry. The labourers of County Kildare have got his measure, and now that the Hay Harvest is ruined the farmers are bitterly regretting being led by the nose by Freddy.

We print his circular to the farmers to show how Fred played upon their cupidity and class prejudice, to make them do the dirty work of the Irish Unionist Alliance in smashing the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

We emphasise one passage in capitals, otherwise the letter is printed as typed for Mr. Fredk. V. Devere:—

COUNTY KILDARE FARMERS' UNION.

Nancy, 26th, 1919.

Dear Sir,—I regret to notice that your name does not yet appear on our roll of members. I am quite sure that this is due to an over-sight on your part or to lack of opportunity to attend any of our organising meetings, and that it is only necessary to remind you to secure your membership and support.

OUR UNION IS OUT TO STRIKE A BLOW AGAINST THE LIBERTY OF LABOUR ORGANISATIONS; against oppressive taxation of the farmer; against vexatious and restrictive regulations which hinder the development of agriculture; against rings and combines which adversely affect the farmers' position.

We stand for Protection and Progress for the farmer—for liberty to carry on his industry. With every confidence I ask that YOU should join in the fight. I am glad to be able to say that the County Kildare Farmers' Union is to-day is one of the strongest county organisations in Ireland.

The subscription is a mere bagatelle 1/- for each £5 Poor Law valuation.

I enclose form of application for membership. Will you fill it up and return it with your subscription to-day?

Yours very sincerely,

FREDK. V. DEVERE.

County Secretary.

There is no camouflage in Mr. Devere's letter. He and his "Union are out to strike a blow against the liberty of Labour organisations."

Only an insolently contemptuous Ascendancy man would employ that blatant and unashamed nakedness of language. He does not dissemble his hate of Irish Labour.

The hate with which Labour will repay him will be nothing to what the farmers will belch out upon him when they learn that Frederick personally assisted the Joint Treasurer, Dowling, of Kildare Farmers' Union, to settle with the I.T. and G.W.U. on these terms:

Wages, 35s. a week.
 3s. on Sunday.

Harvest bonus, £3, and all the other conditions required by the I.T. and G.W.U.

LABOUR RALLIES.

At Naas last Wednesday the discharged soldiers gave Tom Nagle an enthusiastic reception. They invited him to deal with the lie being spread by the Ascendancy element that unless the soldiers agreed to scab they would be deprived of their Unemployment Donation. He was able to smash the falsehood, but

in any case the ex-soldiers will not scab. At Ballymore-Eustace last Sunday Tom Nagle addressed another large gathering. A feature of the strike has been the huge recruitment of new members hitherto unorganised.

Last Sunday South Meath land workers demonstrated at Dunshaughlin in great numbers, and were addressed by Jos. MacDonnell ("Voice of Labour") and Sean MacLoughlin (Cumannacht na h-Eireann). The gathering greeted the news of Meath Farmers' Association cave-in with great enthusiasm.

FREDDY'S POLITICAL AIMS.

If Freddy succeeds in embittering political feeling between the labourers and the Nationalists farmers, and thus bringing about a division in the Republican camp, he and the Ascendancy gang who boss the Farmers' Union will, of course, be vastly pleased.

Meanwhile, he tries to cheer the drooping spirits of his wavering members by regularly mailing them lying reports of secessions from the ranks of the I.T. & G.W.U.

Despite all his efforts his own phalanx is daily being breached. Towards the end of last week 60 employers in Athy district settled, 70 per cent. of the farmers in Kilgowan, near Dunlavin, and all farmers in Cloncurry area, to mention only a few.

The settlement in Cloncurry is 35s. for labourers, 37s. 6d. for ploughmen and milkers, boarded men 20s., £3 harvest bonus, overtime 1s. 3d. per hour, casuals 10s. per day; all holidays to be paid for, no broken time, no non-Union men to be employed and no men to be dispensed with during slack seasons.

SOME STRIKE INCIDENTS.

In all the districts the picketting is splendidly rigorous, and no move can be made without permits from Strike H.Q. Those of the Celbridge farmers whose men are still out cannot even get their washing done.

The military are aiding at strike-breaking in Dunlavin district, one farmer getting his cattle wagonned under the protection of soldiers with fixed bayonets.

In Carbury there has been a sample of Sheridanism revived. An R.I.C. man's wife living in the village rushed to the barracks shrieking that the strikers had broken the windows of her house and had maltreated her, in proof of which she showed her scarred hands and her clothing bespattered with blood. Investigation proved that the broken glass was lying OUTSIDE the windows, and it didn't require the powers of deduction of a Sherlock Holmes to show that the windows had been smashed from the INSIDE, and that the hands of the perpetrator of the faked "outrage" had been cut in the process. The attempt to have the military drafted in accordingly failed.

Threatened with eviction from his house, a newly-married weak-kneed serf belonging (sic) to "Squire" Robinson in Carbury area reneged the Union and returned to his work, whereupon his wife walked out of the house, declaring that she would not live with a scab.

MEATH FARMERS CLIMB DOWN.

Said Mr. McKenna, Chairman of the Meath Farmers' Association, at the conference with the Transport Union on Friday last: "Since that time (i.e., when M.F.A. "settled" with the Meath Labour Union) some of our representatives have considered that we would be right in meeting you as it appears you have got a large proportion of workers

(Continued on page four).

IRISH OPINION.

The VOICE OF LABOUR

Saturday
Twenty-sixth
JULY,
1919.

:: ALL-IRELAND LABOUR WEEKLY. ::

THE STUFF TO GIVE THE FARMERS.

The war between the farmers and the farm-labourers, begun successfully in Meath and Kildare, seems likely to extend to Kilkenny and other counties.

In Kilkenny the farmers have thrown down the gage by their refusal to meet and discuss the matters at issue with the representatives of the farm-workers organized in the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

The demand of the Kilkenny workers was for six shillings increase on their present wages, a £3 harvest bonus and a fifty-hour week. That demand was turned down by the Kilkenny Farmers' Union at their meeting on Saturday week.

In the course of the proceedings, Mr. D. J. Gorey, J.P., Bomechurch, again took the lead in the attack on the Transport Union. Mr. Gorey's speech is reported in last week's "Kilkenny People," and it makes excellent and elegant reading.

According to this valiant champion of the farmers, the hostile atmosphere between the labourers and farmers had been created by "the chief apostles of labour—the fly-boys and the loafers, these gentlemen with the silky hands and the long hair."

Mr. Gorey is just a little bit astray. The hostile atmosphere is not the creation of apostles of labour. It is the creation of stubborn and sweating farmers, who won't pay decent wages and won't negotiate with the representatives of their workers. It is the work of the farmers, and of nobody else. If the farmers acted fairly, squarely and decently with their wage-slaves, their wage-slaves wouldn't organise in labour unions, and Mr. Gorey wouldn't need to make long speeches at farmers' meetings.

His references to fly-boys and loafers with silky hands and long hair won't make the Kilkenny farm-workers chuck their union and leave themselves at the mercy of profiteering farmers. He'll understand that before he has done with the fly-boys and loafers of Co. Kilkenny.

Mr. Gorey can go one better than that. He can tell you what he thinks of the hard-working Irish farm labourer.

"There was a world of difference between the Irish workman and the English workman. He was sorry to say the Irish workman was not a hard worker, and he did not give a damn so long as 6 o'clock came. The workman in England was a workman, and the proof of it was that the Irish workers who went over there did not remain long because they could not keep up to the English workman. They were two horses of different colours altogether."

There you are, now; two horses of different colours altogether. But Mr.

Gorey is finding that the Irish one is not so green as he used to be.

Mr. Gorey told the old exploded lie that the Russian workers made the women and children the common property of the nation, and insinuates that Transport Union officials are going to do the same in Ireland. The lie about Russia we have exploded again and again in "The Voice." Mr. Gorey's statement about Irish Labour speakers is just as false and as damnable. Irish Labour leaders have done more for the uplifting of Irish women and children than Mr. Gorey and his ilk have done for the betterment of the wives and children of their labourers. A farmer in Ireland ought to be ashamed to mention women and children, the poor slaves and beasts of burden of Irish agriculture; and there is no need to go to the Abbey Theatre to find the drama of one Irish farmer selling his daughter to another for the highest price in money, cattle and land.

Mr. Gorey went on to say: "He read a speech by Miss Delia Larkin lately, wherein she stated that if justice was done there would not be lamp-posts enough in Dublin to hang the scoundrels who were running Liberty Hall (laughter) She meant the ——— and the ———, and he believed she was in a better position to know than they were, and he would not in the least contradict her."

We do not believe Miss Larkin made such a statement, but her colleague, Mr. Michael Mallen, did. They have the approval of Mr. Gorey, and quite evidently Mr. Gorey appreciates this kind of thing. But if Mr. Gorey thinks that he is going to bulldoze the farm-workers of Kilkenny in that fashion, we advise him to make up his mind that he is in for a pretty tough time of it.

The Transport Union knows that it is up against a big thing when it's up against the farmers. The Transport Union knows how hard it is to fight on the industrial or agricultural field when it is attacked on the flank by professing friends. But Mr. Gorey doesn't know the Transport Union if he thinks it will shrink the fight for any of these reasons. If that is his belief, the farmers of Meath and Kildare will quickly burst the bubble for him. Meanwhile, let the workers of Kilkenny keep cool but watchful. Let them tighten their belts and perfect their organisation. The fight is being forced on them by the farmers, and if the farmers suffer in the fight they have themselves to blame. When Kilkenny fights it will fight with right good will.

And remember this year's fight on the farms is only the first skirmish in the new Land War in Ireland.

whether they were going to receive 70s on the following pay day. No satisfactory assurances or guarantees of any sort being forthcoming in answer to their enquiries, they thereupon withdrew in a body from all the offices involved in the threat to reduce wages, absolutely refusing to be placed in the position of **RATTING** on the other units of the Alliance, who were receiving the increase unconditionally.

We feel sure that under similar circumstances you would have done the same thing when it was borne in on your minds that by a threat to reduce wages the employers hoped to coerce you into signing rules which meant a deliberate attempt on their part to run your trade union and were repulsive in every sense to your better judgment and manhood.

Dublin is with us in the fight which we are determined to bring to a successful conclusion, not alone in our own interests, but in the interests of every man and woman in the Labour Movement in Ireland.

In order to win, the sinews of war—we are paying £700 per week in Lock-out Benefits—will be urgently needed. Therefore we would request you respectfully to consider the idea, if feasible, of your members contributing a small amount weekly, so that sustained financial support may be forthcoming as long as the struggle continues, further, we will be glad to send along a deputation to your next meeting to give you any other particulars you may deem necessary.

Hoping for the favour of an early reply, and thanking you for the assistance you so willingly granted us in our past fights.

On behalf of the E.C. and Members of the D.T.P.S.,

I beg to remain, Comrades,

Yours fraternally,

MICHAEL O'FLANAGAN,

Secretary.

The Workers' Republic.

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

Peace, Moryah!

The Irishwomen's Franchise League's inscription, "Peace, Moryah!" exactly describes the dud peace which was celebrated throughout Ireland last Saturday by the greatest exhibition of war material that Ireland has seen since Easter Week, 1916. It was all very appropriate. Tens of thousands of marching troops, tanks, machine guns, ambulances, and all the full equipment of war, how better could the Pax Britannica be represented in Ireland? The only peace in Ireland is the peace enforced by a huge Army of Occupation. The only way to celebrate that peace is to take that Army of Occupation and exhibit it on the streets. The only place at which to take the salute of the Army of Occupation is the courtyard of the old Irish Houses of Parliament. The only people to construct the saluting base are the scab carpenters and scab labourers of the Army of Occupation, and the only people to cheer the march past are the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary, the General Staff, the judges and all the mixum-gatherum of the garrison of the Imperial and British Government which is not the Government of the free choice and will of the people of Ireland. If this be peace the Lord send us war!

Catholicism and Labour.

We had the pleasure the other week of meeting a Glasgow priest who had come over to Ireland to make himself acquainted at first-hand, not so much with social conditions in Ireland, as with definitely Catholic efforts here to bring about social conditions in accord with Catholic social teaching. We hope our reverend visitor will return not a sadder but a wiser man. But frankly we doubt it. We are afraid he will meet few clergy who will please him as well as Father Vincent McNabb did. But we hope he will find considerable satisfaction with some of the lay evangelists. Professor Alfred Rahilly ought to be one of them. We are glad to see that the professor is keeping hammering away at his theme, this time in the pages of "The Republic." Writing on Catholicism and Labour, Professor Rahilly says a few of the things the "Voice" has often thought and sometimes commented upon. It is complained that on the part of Catholicism there is little or no collective effort to influence public opinion, and no attempt to cope with the coming changes in social structure. Is this charge true? Our own testimony would be that it is, and if Professor Rahilly thinks he is unduly pessimistic we are inclined to believe that in his article in "The Republic" he is only saying what many people are thinking, among them many of the rank and file, as well as some of the spokesmen of Labour.

A Layman's Complaint.

Professor Rahilly begins by pointing out that it is waste of time to talk about the rights of the workers without getting beyond moral platitudes. The real problem is to get beyond mere assertion, to get down to the real business of doing, and as a rule Catholic employers, even in holy Ireland, do no better than non-Catholic employers. With Professor Rahilly's indictment of the lack of social teaching and thinking in Irish education, primary, intermediate and university we are in hearty agreement. We would be inclined to go a little further than he does when he complains that there is little that is of any social value coming from various Catholic publishing concerns, and that Ireland compares badly with Great Britain, Germany and America in this respect. But his challenge stands, and it is straight and direct. Let the challenged answer, and answer by deeds as well as words.

Another Blood Tax.

The justice of British Government in Ireland can be seen in the blood-tax now levied on the country for the shooting of several policemen. According to British law, as illustrated in the Workmen's Compensation Act, the money value of a working man is no more than £300. If a worker is killed while in the employment of a capitalist and actually occupied on his job his relatives may succeed in getting £300 compensation, but they can get no more. But if a Resident magistrate is killed while in the employment of the Government, even if he is not actually employed on his job, then his relatives may get as much as £6,000 in compensation. That is the moral of Judge Dodd's award of £6,000 to the widow of the late Mr. Milling, R.M., of Westport. Nobody will begrudge Mrs. Milling her money, but we submit that if the valuation of a working man, a wealth-producer, is £300 no R.M. (or for that matter no Chief Secretary) is worth £6,000. That would be true even if the R.M. had been killed in the course of his employment, and if he had been killed because of his occupation. But it is notoriously common knowledge in Westport that neither of

these was true of the Milling case, and that the root of the whole matter is an unsavoury personal affair such as is of everyday occurrence in England. In spite of all this the people of Westport and County Mayo will have to pay every penny of the £6,000. This means a levy of 9s. 5d. in the £ valuation, so that as a result of Judge Dodd's decree the rates in the urban district of Westport will be twenty-five shillings in the pound, and in the rural electoral divisions seventeen shillings. If this be the price of Empire the people of Westport will want no more Empire. And who can blame them?

Another Enlargement.

Beginning with the issue of August 2 "The Voice of Labour" will be enlarged by one half its present size. This will enable us to give more news both of the Transport Union and of the Labour movement in general. The importance of this is realised everywhere, and for a considerable time past we have had to ask many correspondents to wait until the paper could afford a further enlargement. That time has now come, and we desire that it shall be availed of to the full. If trade unions, branches of trade unions, Trades or Workers' Councils (Waterford and Cavan Councils have given the lead here) have anything to report we shall be glad to give them space. The same applies to any individual worker. At the same time we hope to introduce certain new features which lack of space has hitherto prevented us from making a regular part of the paper. And we want to give more attention to Trade Union problems of every kind, particularly in the series of articles which J. J. Hughes has been contributing for the past six or seven weeks. Later on if the circumstances permit it is intended that "The Voice" shall be still further enlarged (the price remaining the same) until it has become a full and complete weekly newspaper and review of Labour in Ireland and abroad. To this end our readers, especially secretaries, organisers and active rank and filers can help by pushing the sale of the paper. The bigger the circulation the bigger we shall make the paper.

The Late M. W. Robieson.

Our readers will, we are sure, join with us in our expression of the keenest regret at the death of the late M. W. Robieson, M.A., lecturer in Belfast University, and a contributor and subscriber to "The Voice of Labour." Mr. Robieson was drowned while bathing in Constantine Bay, Padstow, on Wednesday last week, after an unsuccessful attempt at rescue had been made. The sea has robbed Socialism and Labour in these countries, and Belfast in particular, of one of the most brilliant and able of the younger thinkers. Mr. Robieson was only twenty-nine years of age, and a whole life of great work lay before him. A Scotsman by birth, he had all the Scotsman's passion for learning and knowledge and his love for philosophic reasoning. A Guildsman in the Socialist movement, he left his mark on the Guilds idea in several valuable and closely reasoned articles in "The New Age." A practical worker as well as a student he contributed not a little of importance to "The Voice of Labour."

IRISH CLERICAL WORKERS' UNION

Galway Branch.

4 New Docks, Galway.

17th July, 1919.

The Editor "The Voice of Labour."
A dear Sir—I am directed by the above body to forward for publication the attached copy of a resolution proposed by Comrade E. J. Paly, seconded by Comrade S. E. O'Reilly, and unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Branch held on the 10th inst.—Is mise le meas moir,
SEOSAIMH O'MAOLAIN,
Hon. Secretary.

Resolved: "That, we the members of the Galway Branch I.C.W.U., in meeting assembled, view with grave concern the acceptance of testimonials by Labour representatives on Public Bodies from the employees of such bodies. That, in view of the approaching elections which should give a majority representation to Labour on all County Councils and Municipal Boards, in order to preserve the dignity of Labour and the purity of public life, we feel it our bounden duty to call on all Labour Organisations not to support any candidate who does not pledge himself to discountenance and discourage this practice of Testimonials which is only another name for Bribery."
10th July, 1919.

Liberty Cafe.—Owned by the Hotel and Restaurant Branch I.T. & G.W.U. Open 7.30 a.m. to 7.30 p.m. 31 Eden Quay, Dublin.

HISTORY OF THE LOCK-OUT OF DUBLIN PRINTERS.

Comrades,

For the second time within twelve months the Dublin Master Printers' Association have Locked Out the members of the D.T.P.S. under conditions which strike at the roots of Trades Unionism, not alone in Dublin, but it can be asserted all over the Three Kingdoms. While the facts of the dispute are fairly well known, we feel that a brief history of the events which led up to this, the latest and most insidious capitalistic effort to tyrannise over the workers and undermine the principles that Trades Unionism stands for will enlighten and inform you as to what exactly are the real issues at stake.

On April 7th, following the National Wages and Hours Programme outlined by the Irish Trades' Union Congress, the Dublin Printing and Kindred Trades' Alliance sent in a demand for a 33 1-3 per cent. increase in wages and a 44-hour working week. After protracted negotiations, an increase of 16 2-3 per cent. was obtained for every unit of the Alliance, but in the case of the D.T.P.S. the employers wanted to make it a stipulation that unless certain tyrannical rules, which they had drafted, were signed the increase would not hold good.

The Members of the Society having unanimously rejected the plot which aimed at filching from them their hard-won rights, notices were subsequently displayed in the firms connected with the Dublin Master Printers' Association announcing that the increase, which amounted to 10s., would not be paid on Saturday, June 29th, unless their Rules were agreed to during the working week ending on that date.

In order to prevent misunderstanding on the matter, the men turned in as usual on Monday, June 23rd, but before proceeding to work demanded to know

MURPHYISM

And its Allies.

In Monday's "Independent" a rather highly-coloured account appeared of what happened in the Mansion House at Sunday's adjourned general meeting of the Dublin members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

"We challenge the "Independent" and its informant and reporter to disclose the name of the "most reliable authority" who supplied the information appearing in that journal. No authority in the Transport Union is guilty, and on the face of it the "Independent's" report is the concoction of an enemy of the Transport Union. Will the "Independent" accept our challenge?"

Elsewhere we give a true and accurate account of the decisions arrived at.

But we cannot and will not let the "Independent's" slanders pass without refuting them.

The "Independent" lies when it says that "pandemonium reigned" and that "a regular bear garden would convey a poor idea of the disturbance created," much as the "Independent" would like these allegations to be true.

The "Independent" lies again when that "allegations of a political character were hurled at Mr. Daly's head," and that Dail Eireann had "let the matter drop."

The "Independent's" report of the attack on Mr. Wm. O'Brien is equally false.

The facts are these:

The charges against Mr. Daly were of a personal nature.

There was indeed some disturbance, but such disturbance as there was created by Mr. Daly's friends and supporters, just as at the previous meeting the question of the charges was first made by a friend and supporter of Mr. Daly.

An attempt was made by shouting, physical violence and a revolver display to prevent Mr. Seamus Hughes from stating his charges after Mr. Daly had explained his position. This attempt was made by Mr. Daly's supporters, and it failed utterly.

The court set up by Dail Eireann expressing its readiness and willingness to investigate the charges as soon as Messrs. Hughes and Daly had agreed on the nature and form of the charges. This statement from the court was read out by the chairman, and again repeated before the close of the meeting.

The attack on Mr. O'Brien was a vicious and blackguardly act, which took place after the meeting had closed and when all but a hundred people or so had left the hall. The attack, we are proud to say, was not made by a member of the Transport Union, but by a Corporation worker, who is not a member of the Transport Union and never had any connection with the Transport Union. The attack was treacherous, unprovoked and without any warning, O'Brien's assailant rushing from a conversation with a member of the Union and striking O'Brien. This is a piece of blackguardism from which the Transport Union is, free, and which no member, not an enemy, will approve or tolerate.

On one other matter it is necessary to comment. This is the use by Mr. Daly's friends of revolvers at meetings for the purpose of bullying opponents and preventing free speech. We do not believe these revolvers were purchased for this purpose, but they were used for this purpose on Sunday, and this was done by Mr. Daly's supporters. Now there is a time and a place for the use of revolvers, and we should like to see them properly used. The time is not in the middle of a speech, and the place is not at a Union meeting.

The time for revolvers is when you are facing the enemy, and the place is in a military war.

Again we challenge the "Independent" to disclose the source of its information.

ON TESTIMONIALS.

174 James' St., Dublin,
July 19th. 1919.

Editor "Voice of Labour."

A Chara,—As my name has appeared on a few occasions in your paper in connection with the "Lawlor Testimonial" I should like to be permitted to explain to trades unionists my position, and what I believe to be the position of my union in reference to the matter.

It is less than two years ago since our body first became actively associated with the Labour movement in Dublin. Our trade was very badly organised at that time, and we suffered the consequent drawbacks of disorganisation.

From the time (October, 1917) we became affiliated with the Dublin Trades Council our energies were entirely absorbed in placing the union on a proper well-organised footing and redressing some of the most palpable grievances from which the men in our trade suffered.

It was a pretty stiff struggle, and we had (at least I had) little time to give to the study of the rules which governed the Trades Council; consequently when on learning of the testimonial I gave a little help in making it a success. I was entirely unaware that I was taking part in something which infringed a rule of the Council, and I decided, on account of the help received from Mr. Lawlor in the organisation of our trade, to give our members an opportunity of contributing if they so desired.

Accordingly a contribution was sent to the fund, and I want to make it perfectly plain that as far as we were concerned it was purely a recognition of the services which he rendered our union at its inauguration, and had nothing whatever to do with his position on any public board.

As a matter of fact had I known or even suspected that there was anything irregular in the matter, I would not have associated myself with it.

Mise, le meas móir,

Camonn ó fionn.

(E. O'FLYNN).

Chairman, Irish National Union of Grocers', Vintners' and Allied Trades' Assistants.

THE MANSION HOUSE MEETING.

MR. DALY ACCEPTS CHARGES.

A month ago a meeting of the Dublin members of the I.T.W.U. was held for the purpose of explaining to them the situation that had arisen consequent upon the failure of Mr. P. T. Daly to secure re-election as acting secretary of the Insurance Department.

In the course of that meeting (as reported at the time) one of Mr. Daly's supporters charged Mr. J. J. Hughes with having made certain allegations against Mr. Daly's personal character. Mr. Hughes thereupon accepted responsibility for having made certain allegations and repeating them to the meeting he offered to prove them before a tribunal to be appointed by Dail Eireann. The meeting held yesterday was called in fulfilment of the promise to submit to same the findings of the tribunal. The highly-coloured report which appeared in Monday's "Independent" and "Herald" conveys a false impression of what occurred.

There was no panic, there was no "pandemonium," there was no "bear garden," notwithstanding a deliberate attempt by a section of those present to create such.

The memorandum from the registrar of the tribunal intimated that the court could not proceed with the enquiry as the parties had failed to agree upon the issue to be decided. The reading of the statement was followed by a long, animated and irregular discussion, during which Messrs. Daly, Hughes, Mullen and Miss Larkin spoke at length. Mr. Hughes, in the course of his speech, read the charges as defined in set terms before the tribunal, and challenges Mr. Daly to meet them.

After further discussion Mr. Daly agreed that this specific and defined charge should again be referred to the tribunal.

The meeting then adjourned.

It is untrue to say there is any split in the Transport Union. A small knot of disgruntled persons, composing a number of men and women, who from one cause or another have grievances, or have developed personal grudges against various officials, having organised themselves to damage the Union and to do so are trying to exploit the name of James Larkin while forgetting his principles.

The noisiest and most violent of the disturbers of yesterday's meeting are not and never have been members of the Union, and therefore had no right to be present. The question at issue between Messrs. Daly and Hughes is not a Union affair, and but for the fact that it was raised by one of Mr. Daly's friends at the first meeting, it would never have been discussed at a meeting of Union members.

HOW THE WAR WAS PLANNED.

Joffre Gives the Game Away.

Marechal Joffre giving evidence on July 4 before a French Commission said:

"The participation of England was provided for. There was a military convention with England which we could not mention owing to its secret character. We were counting on six English divisions and upon the aid of the Belgians" ("Le Matin," July 5).

So, says "La Vie Ouvriere," England was not drawn into the war by the violation of Belgian neutrality and Belgium was not neutral!

Railway Clerks and O.B.U.

The American Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in conference at Cincinnati, voted for One Big Union of railway workers.

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Pipes, Tobaccos, and Cigarettes

From . . .
JOHN PURCELL,
LIMITED.

PITY THE POOR FARMER!

Muzzle the Sheep.

July 18th, 1919.

Dear Sir,—You express amazement at the profits the farmers are making out of their land—and out of the unfortunate land serfs whose bodies they purchase at from 25s. to 30s. per week; and you quote with eyeballs showing white a paragraph from the "Freeman's Journal" in which it is stated that a farm of 110 acres was sold for £4,500. Tut! tut!

A paltry £40 per acre.

The farmer who sold his land for such a niggardly price was a fool, sir, a fool, unless the land was an arid wilderness.

Look here; there is a landed gentleman called Mr. John Leonard who lives in Cullinulla, and he is no great guns so far as Bradburys are concerned—that is relatively with other gentlemen of his carnivorous species.

Well, poor John sold 100 acres of his ranch to another poor fellow called Delany for the sum of £7,500. John simply cannot pay a wage of 35/- to his 13 labourers because he cannot afford it, and Tom Delany is exactly in the same unenviable position.

John has still a few acres in his possession—some 1,300, 400 of which he bought last year for £32,000.

He is a great asset to the nation, for he helps to feed it by tilling 75 acres out of his 1300! He is therefore a great patriot, and in addition is a great benefactor to the poor labouring man. The poor appreciate his goodness, for when he wanted a clean shirt

this week he received a permit from the Strike Committee to get his laundry from the railway station.

John has an uncle also a poor farmer, but he is a D.L. and a J.P. in addition to other unmentionable bad things. But he is a D.L., and so he got 13 police with fixed bayonets to conduct 13

dangerous, man-eating sheep

to the railway station on Wednesday last. These ferocious animals got to Dublin all right but there was no peace for the D.L. The monsters came back again on the next train!

The Transport men in Dublin were afraid of them for they were "tainted." So the D.L.'s sheep returned to the D.L.'s pastures.

Ochone! ochone! the poor farmers, God help them, are controlled from above and below and from all sides and are on the verge of starvation.

It is some consolation for them to know that the poorhouses are still in a good state of repair.—Yours,

J. McCORMACK.

P.S.—I am only joking, sir. The farmers are not so very poor at all!

NO WORK.

The blessings of Peace have fallen swiftly on Drogheda—and on most of the towns of Ireland of which it is a type.

In this town of 12,000 souls there are at present nearly 1,000 men unemployed. Several skilled men are out of work, but the majority belong to that sad classification of "unskilled" labourers.

More than half of the adult male population of the town of working age is idle, and the women and little children dependent on these thousand men are eking out existence, just failing to die, on scraps of scanty charity and the little they have managed to save from their men folks' scanty earnings during the war.

Add to that grim fact this other, that about 30 heads of families engaged in the textile trade have only partial employment alternating with periods of idleness. They have a week's work and perhaps two weeks' idleness. On the miserable average wage of 10s. 6d. some of them have to find the means of starving, for three,

No escape for them.

The expedient of former years when father deserted his family to win bread for them in England is not possible now. A few men scraped together the price of a deck passage to try their luck in the English cities whither they had gone in former years. They found war industries closed down, unemployment rampant and demobilisation flooding the labour market. They returned. Their paltry capital was lessened by the cost of their fares.

For most of Drogheda's idle workers there is no unemployment dole, thanks to the zealous services (to the master class) of Carson's decoy ducks, the "Labour Unionist" M.P.'s of Belfast, and the Hero of the Mons Retreat, Sir John D. P. French, Viscount of Ypres.

Lord French pockets £20,000 a year for thus imposing starvation of Irish workers.

The local authorities are equally responsible for the distress. Theirs it is to provide for the town's urgent needs. The decay of war-time in roads and public buildings require to be made good. The harbour is ruinous and hopelessly inadequate even for the meagre trade that the war has left.

The housing of the people makes an urgent call for the immediate expenditure of money and the employment of men. No steps have been taken to remedy any of these things and there is no charity adequate to meet the demands—the demands that many of the workless workers are too proud to make.

Such is the condition of nearly every town in Ireland.

The world that has been made safe for Democracy.—Bah!

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Transport Union Notes.

The Huns at Home.
The war alleged to be over has dimly failed to wipe out the Huns, for right here at home they still flourish. Those at present in control of some of our industries employ methods towards the workers that actually pale into insignificance the worst methods of the horrible Huns, as disclosed to us by the capitalist Press. In our very midst there are men at the moment whose total weekly earnings amount to 23s., whilst to-day there are women who get as low as 15s. per week. These are facts.
Take the present dispute in Messrs. Smyth, Sack Merchants, Hawkins Street. In that firm, as has already been pointed out in previous issues, the women employed have been paid the munificent sum of 15s. 6d. per week as menders of sacks; but, let it be said, in competitive concerns in the City the average wage for this class of labour runs to, roughly, 22s. 6d. per week.
By this comparison of the wages paid in the Sack Making Industry, it only goes to prove that Messrs. Smyth are double-dyed sweaters.
Let us go further still. The Chairman of the Dublin Sack Merchants' Association informed officials of this Union that the current rates for the trade in Liverpool are anything from 40s. to 50s. per week.
Liverpool 50s., Dublin 15s. 6d.
And notwithstanding this extraordinary difference in the wages Messrs. Smyth refuse to grant their female slaves an extra 2s. 6d. per week. The firm cannot bear any additional expenses, it is stated. But then we hear that tale very often from employers. What the poor women seek—it really means a couple of shillings more—cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be regarded as imposing impossible conditions on the firm. Their claim appears to us to be sweet reasonableness itself.
In point of fact, at the Ministry of Labour recently, the principal of the establishment, with the concurrence of the Chairman of the Merchants' Association, agreed to accept certain proposals made by a Ministry representative, whereby the women on strike would benefit by 2s. 6d. weekly. This agreement has not been kept by the firm, but instead an alternative scale of pay has been drawn up with the alleged sanction of the Employers' Association, and the sum total of the latest scheme is simply this: that it leaves the employees precisely where they were prior to their claim.
Of course the women have no intention of discussing the matter in its present form. It would be a mere waste of time to do so. If the firm will not carry out the agreement come to at the Ministry of Labour, then the only honourable course for the women to follow is to carry on until such time as the proprietors, who have too long battered on their blood and sweat, are made realise their duties and responsibilities.
"They have rights who dare maintain them."
The Incurable Corrigan.
In the Blanchardstown Mills there has been no change in the strike situation so far. Positively, if ever men made in the image of God had a daylight clear case for improvement, then we say these mill-men on strike have.
It would shock the most hardened mind to hear of the wages paid to the employees in this mill. Not 50s., or even 40s., but as low as 29s. is the dole at present operating in the firm. To end this scandalous twentieth-century state of affairs, the employees have gone on strike, because the firm not only refused to advance the wages anything extra, but it also gave a peremptory refusal to have the whole question of wages submitted to Arbitration. The firm's attitude in this latter connection only proves the bona-fide nature of the men's case.
The Harp That Once.
In deference to the wishes of the Lord Mayor, a conference took place at the Mansion House, at which His Lordship presided, in connection with the present dispute in the Music Trade. Representatives of the firms involved and this Union were present and, a deadlock having been reached in the proceedings, on the suggestion of the Lord Mayor it was provisionally agreed by both parties to have the matter referred to an Arbitrator. For the present the picketing will pursue the even tenor of its way. Since the fight began the picket duty has been performed by these comparatively "raw recruits" in an admirable fashion. Nothing has "run the blockade" since the "first shot was fired."
Tuber Troubles.
This heading has nothing whatever to do with the allotments. We hear, however, there is a little trouble amongst the potato holders, but let us say here, and let us say now, that any disaffection that may exist amongst the little "landed gentry" is entirely outside the scope of these notes. We refer to the potato porters, for whom a claim has been made for a wage to ensure for them the ordinary standard of living. Failing compliance with their reasonable request to be placed on the living level scale of pay, it is "on the cards" that the men will be obliged to take stern measures before many more moons.

THE PRINTERS' CONCERT
IN THE MANSION HOUSE
On Monday, July 28th
Will be worth while attending.
Doors open at 7.30. Commencing at 8 o'clock.
The cream of local talent will appear.
A night's real pleasure guaranteed.
Admission—
1s. & 2s. Reserved Seats, 3s.

CENSUS.
(Official).
An effort is being made by Head Office to ascertain the total membership of the Union on June 30th, classified according to the occupation of the members. For this purpose forms were sent to the secretaries of all the branches in existence on the 30th June, and at the time of writing ONLY 146 BRANCHES, OUT OF THE 372 CIRCULARISED, have sent in the returns. It is of the utmost importance for the purpose of organisation that Head Office should be in possession of the information sought, and secretaries whose returns are outstanding are requested to attend to the matter immediately. The forms should show the membership of the branches on the 30th June. RETURNS FURNISHED FOR ANY OTHER DATE WOULD BE USELESS.
Crafty Craft Unions.
Certain little narrow craft Unions are now growing solicitous about the welfare of the members in their trade who have been wise enough to attach themselves to this class Union. In the not far distant past the aforesaid little narrow craft Unions had no use for their "lost brethren," although they knocked for years at their doors for membership, but, alas! in vain.
If we are any kind of judge there seems to be little likelihood at present of the members referred to transferring their names elsewhere, because you may bet they have sense—"horse sense," as the Americans would say. They know the organisation that can best serve their interests, and it is there they intend to remain, notwithstanding the "dark and devious" methods resorted to in order to wean them from their loyalty to the genuine Red Hand Cause.
Wine, Red Wine.
We expect some to sip next week.
An agreement has been come to between the Furniture Warehousemen's Association and the Furniture Section of the Union on the question of increased country money.
Cashel.
The refusal of a local bakery firm to re-employ a clerk following his release from D.O.R.A.'s dainty claws looks like leading to trouble if continued.
Local employers will do well to get a hustle on in connection with recent demands.
Co. Limerick.
The city timber merchants climbed down after a two-day lock-out of 200 men, all re-suming, with pay for time lost. Farm workers in Pallasgreen, Adare and other districts are shortly to open a big push. Co-op. creamery employees in Elfin advanced 11s. to 43s., firemen to 47s.
Co. Kerry.
Builders' labourers in Ardara want 40s. and rejected a 36s. offer. In Tralee, employers outside the Association gave the 6s. increase recently granted by the Association; Limerick S.S. Co. increased rates by 2s. 6d. per day, making dockers' rates 9s. 6d., and all sawyers got 6s. advance on 40s. Single merchants settled at 1s. 6d. per ton for discharging coal.
Bray.
Coal merchants increased yardmen and carters 3s. for Dublin hours, overtime 1s. hourly, discharging rates similar to Dublin for big tubs and to Dunleary for small gear. Former rates were 44s. 6d. for a 60-hour week.
Newry.
Demands on mineral water factories, bottling stores and pork butchers now fixed up at increases of 5s. to 7s. U.D.C. men's reduced from 5s. to 47. Builders' labourers will move shortly.
Lix.
All Co. Council labourers advanced 4s., gangers 5s., and carters 12s., making present rates 35s., 35s. and 72s. Employees in the Coolrain Clog Factory got increases averaging 20 p.c.
Carrick-on-Shannon.
General town demand was settled last week at a 7s. increase to 32s. for a 54-hour week, full Union recognition, all vacancies to be filled from the branch's unemployment list. Dressmakers won 50 p.c. advances, and apprentices, who previously worked for nothing for two years, now receive a wage on starting.
Lissarda.
In this Co. Cork creamery a strike notice and Tadhg Barry's exertions secured a 30 p.c. increase.
Bandon.
Roadmen won 35s. minimum.
Ballinglass.
A strike threat brought labourers to 30s. in one firm and the others are likely to follow suit.
A short and sharp stoppage on the quay ended in satisfactory settlement of the non-Union question and, with T. Farran's address on Sunday, will help to revivify the organisation locally.
Kilkenny.
A brief strike brought all shop porters by 6s. to 36s.

SAWMILLERS.
The workers' side of the Sawmilling Industrial Council at a conference last Sunday in Liberty Hall agreed to grade the mills and to put forward the following claims:—Grade I—Craftsmen (sawyers, etc.), 1/6, and labourers, 1/3 per hour; Grade II.—1/4, 1/2; Grade III.—1/3, 1/-.
WILLIE GALLAGHER'S GREETING.
I am heart and soul with the fearless men and women of Ireland who are battling so bravely for the freedom of their country. I know they will not stop there. Once free from the English official incubus, Ireland will take its place in the vanguard of the great International Army that is marching on to the final conflict, the emancipation of the world's workers. All good wishes. Yours, etc.,
WM. GALLAGHER.

FARM STRIKES IN PROGRESS.
(From page one).
in the county in your Union, and as our interests are to see peace and good feeling and good work in the county we decided we would meet and see what your views are."
Mr. McKenna is not a Meath Farmer. He was one of the principal opponents of negotiations with the I.T. and G.W.U. He discovered, however, that the Transport Union had "a large proportion" of members in Co. Meath. He also discovered that the farmers in the county were suspicious of his heroic attitude of defiance, seeing that his banking account would not be affected by a strike, no matter how disastrous in Meath. The Meath farmers now realise that they were misled and befooled by the "die-hard" rump in the Association, just as the Kildare farmers are finding out that de Vere and his wire-pullers are dragging them into a dangerous bog. But the process of disillusionment is slower in Kildare. Some of these days they, too, will begin to admit that the I.T.G.W.U. has a good proportion of their employees as members, and to see that fighting is for them a bad and foolish policy. The farmers are learning their lesson, but it is perhaps regrettable that the price they are paying for tuition is so heavy.
MEATH PHAROHS HARDEN THEIR HEARTS.
Last Monday when the I.T. and G.W.U. deputation met the Meath Farmers' Association, a change in the air was evident. Backed up by the Irish Farmers' Union the Meath Association refused to consider anything but the agreement made by their puppets in the M.L.U. and as a preliminary demanded guarantees that no more men would go on strike without giving a week's notice.
Wm. O'Brien and Eamonn Rooney refused to tie the men's hands or ask them to throw down their arms. So the conference ended after many attempts to induce a more reasonable frame of mind in the farmers.
The immediate result is the extension of the strike throughout South Meath, Donore, Slane, Ardcastle, Navan, Robinstown, Trim, Summerhill and Kilmore being effected.
On with the war.
BELFAST VINTNERS AWARD.
The Belfast Barmen, who in 1917 made a great effort to better their lot, have now won not only recognition, but substantial improvements in their conditions through the arbitration proceedings held by Mr. J. Andrewes, K.C., in Belfast on June 16th.
The results are not entirely satisfactory, and the wages paid to this responsible class of assistants engaged in a highly profitable business contrast very poorly with the wages of labourers in Belfast shipyards.
The award is as follows:—
Minimum Weekly Wage.
Living-in Living-out
£ s. d. £ s. d.
Assistants after two years' experience 0 17 6 2 2 6
Assistants after five years' experience 1 5 0 2 10 0
Charge hands in houses where none but themselves are employed 1 12 6 2 17 6
Charge hands responsible for the business conduct of assistants 1 17 6 3 2 6
These rates apply as from 18th May, 1919. The question of hours has been postponed for further discussion between the parties.
The Barmen have long since won their spurs as fighters, and the instalment of justice now secured should encourage Secretary Murtagh and his committee to push ahead.
CUMANNACHT NA HEIREANN.
The following officers were elected at the half-yearly meeting of the Socialist Party of Ireland:—
President, Wm. O'Brien; secretary, George Spain, 42 N. St. George's street; assistant secretary, Roderic Connolly; treasurer, Michael O'Leary. The branch committee consists of these officers and Sean McLoughlin, Norah Connolly, Frank Robbins, Jos. MacDonnell, J. J. Hughes, Margaret Skinnider, and Chas. J. Kenny.
A vigorous campaign will be inaugurated by the propaganda committee, of which Sean McLoughlin is chairman, supported by R. Connolly, F. Robbins, Sheila Bowan, A. F. MacLoughlin, and Pierce.
It is intended to publish a series of booklets containing the complete writings of James Connolly. The new edition of "Labour, Nationality and Religion" will be the first volume. Other leaflets and pamphlets are in preparation under the supervision of a committee consisting of Cathal O'Shannon, Norah Connolly, Roderic Connolly, J. Leigh, Jos. MacDonnell, and C. J. Kenny, secretary.

IN HOT WEATHER a shampoo cools and refreshes and guards against the treacherous summer colds. **MALLON,** 30 Eden Quay, Dublin.
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