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REPUBLIC**
FOUNDED BY
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CATHAL O'SHANNON

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ONE PENNY

IN MEMORIAM.

Ernest Cavanagh—Easter Tuesday, 1916.

In wood and field, spring's golden flowers
are gleaming,
From their white dreams, the Easter
Lilies rise,
Blackbird and thrush, unawed by your
long dreaming,
Over your grave, shrill their loud
melodies.

Few speak your name—save those your
death left lonely;
As you would wish, who knew the
worth of fame;
They keep the mind of your dread
passing only,
They who knew best, your meed of
praise or blame.

Each cause you served, to victory surges
onward,
What if their annals keep no niche for
you,
Will e'er your soul, from its great quest
look backward,
Wistful, that men, withheld your little
due?

Nay, you would smile your quiet smile,
as ever,
Thinking of names the world re-
membered not;
They who had borne the torch, where
light was never—
With those, 'twere more than fame to
be forgot.

MAEVE O'AVANAGH.

I.C.W.U.

ACTIVITIES OF IRISH CLERKS.

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AT A.P.O. New Claims at Island Bridge.

On Friday, the 13th inst., the General Secretary, Mr. D. Logue, accompanied by the Secretary of Government Clerks' Branch, Mr. P. J. McGuinness, waited on General Sir John Carter and Lieut-Col. F. Austin, Regimental Paymaster, Dublin, in order to discuss the serious situation occasioned by the dismissal of over 200 members of the Irish Clerical Workers' Union.

The General Secretary stated that the agreement made in 1916 should be adhered to, and after a lengthy discussion it was decided that the old policy of "Last in first to go, all other things being equal,"

would be carried out by the authorities. Several cases which the Union officials maintain are cases of victimisation are being investigated, and already some members have been reinstated. The Union are satisfied that owing to the action of the authorities, a serious position has been averted, and believe before long all temporary clerks employed in Ireland (whose unemployment will be directly caused by the cessation of hostilities) will be brought under the

Out of Work Donation Scheme, for which negotiations between the Union and the Government have already commenced.

At the Record Office, Island Bridge, the Clerks have requested their Union to apply for the extension of the award made by the Conciliation and Arbitration Board, to Pay Offices, as from date of award, and judging by the solidarity of our members in the last dispute, it is anticipated that their victory will be complete.

The "Voice of Labour" has been a boom to temporary Government clerks, and has installed itself as their weekly journal for time to come. The General Secretary states he feels the Government clerks employed in Ireland are passing through strenuous times at the present moment, but thinks that the dark clouds of to-day will soon pass on to sunshine in the near future.

D. A. T. I.

The dispute at Merrion Street is at present the subject of negotiation, but it is well to re-emphasise our contention that the right to organise is the barest instalment of Social Justice—and cannot be the subject of bargaining.

All notices must be withdrawn.
Wages must be elevated. Thirty-nine and elevenpence is not a living wage. Compare it with the salary of 40D, or those of the "Scottish Champion," or Plunket's Pet!

The Mandarins of Merrion were upset by the article in last week's "Voice." So much so indeed that some of them are beginning to plead a rush of business as excuse for dalliance.

We expect to hear of them invoking the Official Secrets Act to squash the "Voice." The sweating is no secret, however, and we are undisturbed.

Get Ready for MAY DAY, TOO MANY UNIONS.

The movement for downing tools on Labour Day and making the First of May a workless general holiday is promising well.

From accounts already to hand it is clear that the National Executive's call is being taken up by the Trade Unions and the Trades Councils.

Correspondents in several quarters assure us that where official action was not prompt, the rank and file have acted, and the great decision is being taken.

The Executive Committee of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union has circularised its branches in favour of no work on Labour Day.

This will bring out some 80,000 men and women in both town and country, and other Executives ought to follow this lead.

Other big and important organisations are to come to a final decision this week, and we hope their local officials and their

rank and file will help them to come to the right decision.

In his references to Labour and Ireland, at the Ard Fheis, Eamonn De Valera threw his weight in on the side of a workless holiday, and this should have a big effect on the country.

The Dublin Trades Council has an active and militant committee making the necessary preparations for Dublin, and this should be an example for those few Trades Councils which have not yet made up their minds.

There is now little more than a week to May Day.

But the general Strike against Conscription was organised in three days. There is still ample time to organise for Thursday week.

So get busy to send a May Day Message from Ireland to the Big Four at Paris.

And make it Hot and Strong

PROF. RAHILLY, FATHER PLATER AND LABOUR.

In the entirely admirable first number of the "Irish Commonwealth," Prof. Alfred Rahilly makes a plea for sectarianism in the Trade Union movement. Certain Labour leaders, he says, insist on ignoring the existence of the Catholic worker.

That is not true. Certain, and nearly all Labour organisers, refrain from emphasising the points of divergence of opinion among the men they are seeking to unite for a quite legitimate and material object.

Hibernianism, with its aggressive Catholicism, and Orangeism, with its equally aggressive Protestantism, have kept the ulcer of bigotry open for generations. Labour would salve the sore of so-called religious difference.

Mutual intercourse, and common participation in movements for common benefit such as Labour nights will bring men of antagonistic opinion to a more human tolerance and perhaps to an understanding of the other fellow's views.

We are sorry Prof. Rahilly is of those who would have Catholics, like the Plymouth Brethren, to "come apart and be ye separate," sealed and marked by their phylacteries as different from their fellow-citizens.

The Professor, whose good will towards Labour is not for a moment doubted by us, suggests that Labour should be prepared to answer the question: Is your Labour programme in accord with Catholic Principles?

We may be very certain that Labour proposes nothing that is in opposition to Christian Doctrine, but would it be edifying in, let us say, Armagh or Killybegs, to have the authorised exponent of Christian Doctrine exalting the sacredness of the existing order, and after Mass, a Labour meeting, at which the evils flowing from capitalism would be stigmatised by lay members of the Church as anti-Catholic?

Labour organisers have enough to tackle without undertaking theological controversy. Besides, when lay experts like Prof. Rahilly, and theologians like Prof. Kelleher, Bishop Fogarty, Cardinal

Logue, and Dean Ryan are agreed as to the application of Christian principles to social conditions, it will be time enough for ordinary laymen, Catholic or non-Catholic, to express assent or dissent.

Father Plater, S.J., speaking recently in Glasgow, gave sound advice to those for whom Prof. Rahilly was writing, people who want to be sure that the decisions of the local Trades Council on the amount of the local minimum wage are quite in accord with the decrees of the first Council of Nice.

"There were some Catholics," said Father Plater, "who looked upon the Church as if it were a penny-in-the-slot machine and when questions of industrial reconstruction and such like were raised, they expected to deal with them by putting a penny into the machine for an answer. Of course, there were subjects, such as divorce, with which the Church would not compromise or parley, but in all other matters, where the factors of a question like divorce did not enter, the Church left Catholics to themselves. What the Church did say to Society was that it must square everything with the Ten Commandments."

The report in last week's "Forward" of Father Plater's meeting shows that the proceedings included an active interchange of question and answer between audience and lecturer, a healthy departure from the Irish tradition of "ex cathedra" utterance by the reverend lecturer and gross flattery of him by such of the audience as take part. We quote two typical questions and Father Plater's answers:

Q.—Was it right that the means of life—the land, mines, etc.—should be owned by a few?

A.—No, it was not well that this should be so, and Pope Leo XIII. had condemned that system in his Encyclical.

Q.—Does that mean that the best thing is to have the collective ownership of land and capital?

A.—That was one alternative, but there were others. He would not commit himself to collective ownership if that meant ownership by the State.

ENGLISH LABOUR AND IRELAND.

The Republic Recognised.

Ireland figures on the agenda of the Independent Labour Party Conference to be held at Huddersfield on 21st and 22nd April.

Ten branches back a resolution condemning Allied hostility to Russia and Germany, and demanding the application of self-determination to Ireland and all other countries.

West Salford, Coventry, and Stockport put forward the proposition:—

That this Conference demands the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland in view of the decisive vote of the people in Ireland at the last General Election.

Hampstead and Marylebone wish to add the words, "And the recognition immediately of the Irish Republic."

Of course, if the troops were withdrawn, "recognition" would be a mere courtesy. It is particularly satisfactory that these resolutions come from English branches of the I.L.P., and that these views of the rank and file are so much in advance of the Home Rule policy of Ramsay MacDonald.

WICKLOW CONVENT STRIKE.

British Law Invoked.

What have the authorities of the Dominican Order in Ireland to say of the Convent in Wicklow which is an active accomplice of the Farmers' Association in refusing a living wage to its employees?

Conduct more foreign to the traditions of the Order of which Aquinas, Savonarola, and St. Antoninus are peculiar glories it is difficult to imagine.

That the Dominicans should invoke British law to secure the imprisonment of a Trade Union official is a grave scandal.

CATHOLICS AND LABOUR UNITE IN SCOTS EDUCATION ELECTIONS.

In the recent Scottish elections of Education authorities, the Catholic organisations advised Catholic voters to give their surplus votes to the Labour candidates.

This is the result of experience in the old School Boards in which the Labour members, although usually non-Catholic, insisted on equal treatment for Catholic and Protestant children.

THE COAL DISPUTE IN BELFAST

The Town That Keeps the Sabbath.

Belfast rather prides itself upon its observance of the Sabbath, and readers are requested to bear this in mind.

The coal dispute has now lasted over a week. The "Telegraph," although informed to the contrary, still persist in calling it a strike. The other papers follow suit, and ignore the true cause of the trouble.

We think the facts will interest the growing band of readers of "The Voice" in Belfast, and at the same time let them into the secret of why the Press have failed to state what the dispute is about.

About six weeks ago the Belfast branch of the I.T. and G.W.U. made an application on behalf of the coal section for various reforms, including amongst others—the abolition of Sunday night work—the coal men thinking that they, like the rest of their fellow-citizens, were entitled to a week-end free from toil. But the coal merchants, who do not turn out on a Sunday night, ignored the request.

The other Unions concerned, Workers' Union and National Union of Dockers, were then informed and invited to attend a mass meeting of all coalmen so that the demand would become a united one. The meeting was held, but no officials were present except the representatives of the Irish Transport. A vote was taken, and it was decided by a 7 to 1 majority that there would be no more turning out on Sunday nights. The Coal Merchants Association were informed of this decision, but it was also ignored. And so the Transport Union men began the fight and refused to turn out on Sunday nights. Five weeks later

THE LIMERICK STRIKE.

Down Tools Against Tyranny.

The proclamation of Limerick as a Special Military Area, with its consequent interference with trade and the inevitable unemployment and semi-starvation of the workers, has been promptly resented by the Trades and Labour Council.

A general strike was begun last Monday. It may be that before these lines are read the call will have come to other workers to join in the protest against arbitrary government.

BE READY!

The National Union men in Messrs. Kelly and Milligen's decided to come into line, the result being that immediately Messrs. Kelly and Milligen locked out their men, and there you have the present dispute: simply the refusal of the pious employer in Christian Belfast to the men's demand that at least on a Sunday night they could go to bed knowing they would not have to get up at 12 o'clock, midnight, to discharge a boat so that

"King Cole" might gain more profits.

The dispute lasted a week, then a settlement was made by the National Union (independent of the Transport) that the men go back on old terms pending the result of Tuesday's conference.

To this Milligen's men, one-half of whom are in the Transport and the other in the National Union of Dockers, would not agree, as they contend they are entitled to a week's wages in lieu of notice, seeing that the Transport Union had already given notice to their employers.

Faced with this situation the I.T. and G.W.U. called a meeting of the coal section on Saturday, when it was decided, in view of the settlement made, that the men would work on Sunday only providing they received 3/6 per hour extra and usual tonnage rates, and so the situation remains unaltered as far as the Transport Union are concerned. Blacklegs in the shape of managers and their sons, clerks, and foremen make feeble attempts to discharge the boats, and the Press talk of a strike which never existed. Belfast is the only port where this barbarous custom of Sunday night work is carried on. It has been the dumping ground for the colliers to discharge when other ports were closed. Naturally despite their shares in the brick and mortar of the churches, the big merchants are reluctant to stop a slavery which is a paying proposition, and their motto seems to be: We will do anything and everything for our own particular religious sect, but don't ask us to be consistent Christians. The Transport Union is not asking now, they are seeking to compel, and with the men united will win.



TOWARDS THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH.

(We have often felt that if we were a millionaire, one of the things we should like to do would be to send all over Ireland a fleet of aeroplanes scattering broadcast in leaflets Æ's editorials from "The Irish Homestead." One of the leaflets would be his last week's Notes, reprinted below, arising out of a report and statement from the Enniscorthy Co-operative Society. Our agricultural readers will spend a profitable Easter in Æ's company.)

There is a lending library and a book department, and in the cinema a large number of educational films have been shown, which were much appreciated. The Society has at present over 130 employees. New enterprises are being considered. The Co-operative Society seems to have acted as a kind of focus, and the latent spirit of industrial enterprise in the Irish character has in it found an outlet, and it becomes more and more confident of its own ability.

One of the schemes just elaborated, and now in the way of being put through, is an agreement between a proposed workers' co-operative society and the Enniscorthy society. A meeting was held last week between representatives of the workers and of the society, the matter was thoroughly discussed, and the workers in Enniscorthy have agreed to form their own society and to come into joint trading with the Enniscorthy society.

The plan is very interesting. The workers register a society in the ordinary way, one shilling being paid as an entrance fee, and the shares are to be paid up out of first dividends. Any capital the workers' society may acquire is to be deposited with the Enniscorthy society, which will pay the same interest on this capital as it pays to its own members. The Enniscorthy society will supply the workers' society members with groceries. The grocery department will take stock every three months, and declare a special dividend to be paid both to members of the workers' society and its own members.

Enniscorthy supplies all capital, stock, staff, and delivery as required. It will also supply to workers coal, boots, or any other items from its other departments, and will pay the same dividend as it pays its own members. The same proportion of reserve funds will be allotted to the workers' society as in the Enniscorthy society. A joint advisory committee is formed to ensure the easy working of the scheme. Either society will have power to cancel the working arrangement by giving six months' notice to the other, and the workers' society can withdraw its capital on giving the necessary notice.

This agreement gives the workers all the benefits of co-operation from the very start of the scheme, and relieves them from the difficulty of collecting the necessary capital which would otherwise be required to procure premises, to stock them, to engage staff, etc. It is one of the wisest things the Enniscorthy society has done.

We have for many years past urged on co-operating farmers that they should do everything in their power to benefit labour through their co-operative organisations. They should make the workers feel that they are welcome members of the co-operative family. It is much better to have one large, well-managed co-operative association in each district than to have a number of weak societies separated from each other by class distinction.

We notice that members of the workers' unions in many places are starting co-operative stores. We can only applaud their enterprise, and regret that the farmers had not acted as the Enniscorthy farmers have done, and extended their co-operative activities to benefit the rural workers as well as themselves. Our ideal co-operative community would take in everybody and gradually become itself the great employer, and the workers would share in the profits in proportion to their wages as the farmers did in proportion to their sales or purchases through the society.

Our aim should be to stimulate the social instinct, the community feeling rather than to have class distinctions manifesting themselves in separate organisations. The co-operative community is purely a democratic ideal. The class organisations in the long run will prove anti-social and anti-democratic. The importance of settling these matters right at the start cannot be over-estimated. The slightest variation of the arrow while the archer is aiming at the mark may make the arrow fly yards away from that mark when it has left its hands.

"Once societies are formed on a wrong basis they are like the wrongly directed arrow. They grow indeed, but grow into a source of national discord, and will conflict in their aims, and will be the basis of strength in class wars which we should not contemplate if we can see a way out where all would benefit more."

We hope other farmers' associations will follow the example of Enniscorthy, and do what is possible to bring the workers into the co-operative family, and create those industrial nations, those real social organisms which would make Ireland truly a democratic country, and make it safe for democracy, which no politicians will ever be able to do by any kind of political activity imaginable.

Political institutions have very little to say to democracy. America, which is supposed to be democratic and republican, establishes a tyranny over the thoughts and actions of its people which would not be permitted in any other country calling itself civilised. For example, a man was imprisoned for reading one of Bernard Shaw's novels, and another man, who was a naturalised American citizen of thirty years' standing, was deported because he found himself unable to subscribe to some Red Cross Fund.

The assumption was that he had in some way broken his oath of loyalty to the States by refusing to pester women money for this purpose. These things take place in a political democracy really dominated by trusts. From anything of the kind in Ireland, good Lord deliver us."

The ideal of Ireland as a Co-operative Commonwealth, which has been put forward in the "Irish Homestead" for fifteen years or more, seems at last to have many voluntary propagandists, for we find Irish papers on all sides reporting speeches in which the future Ireland is spoken of as a Co-operative Commonwealth. Naturally we desire that ideals put forward in this journal should obtain national acceptance, but we wonder what exactly the phrase Co-operative Commonwealth means to those who now use it so freely. What kind of co-operative social order do they anticipate and work for? What evolutionary procedure do they propose to attain their ideal?

Nothing can be more important in this respect than clear ideas. An ideal defined only in a phrase is like a world in the condition of nebula before it condenses, and the nebula would never condense into a habitable globe unless there was an imagination or Divine Mind working on the archetypal plans.

In Genesis it is said of the Lord that He made every flower before it was in the field, and every herb before it grew, and we would like our new propagandists of the Co-operative State, whose advent in the field of co-operative effort we welcome, to define more clearly the kind of social order they are working for, and the steps by which they propose to attain what they desire. We want to see, in fact, do they attach the same meanings to the word co-operative as we do ourselves, and whether the ordinary evolution of society which we advocate is also their policy.

We co-operators worked for a generation with every political party's hand either against us or giving us the most chilly approval. Now there seems a possibility of development with most of the political forces favourable to our economic policy. That undoubtedly gives us great chances. But we would like to know, to use a concrete illustration, whether the ideas in our leading article this week on the development of general purposes societies in Irish rural districts are accepted, or whether the co-operative state is to have other pillars and another basis?

Perhaps some of our readers in the country who now hear co-operation advocated on so many platforms, would try and find out whether there is a new co-operative policy, and what it is, or whether, as we hope, it is the general acceptance and advocacy of the ideals of the existing movement, whether in fact the co-operative movement has come to its own?

We called attention years ago, and many times, to the peculiar development in Italy, where individual tenancies were giving way to co-operative tenure of land, and that, again, was leading on to pure co-operative farming by the members, who had learned to their profit to work together on the land, to buy together, till together, and market together. In the "New Age" Odon Por continues his extraordinarily interesting articles on Co-operative Developments in Italy. We find in the district of Ravenna 17 farms, with an acreage of 10,000, partly the property of the co-operating workers, and a membership of

The Workers' Republic.

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

The Censorship in Ireland. (As Passed by Censor.)

In Great Britain the censorship has been abolished, in Ireland the Occupation not only declines to abolish the more stringent censorship to which the Press has been subjected, but it is in fact making this repressive instrument more effective than ever. Our Republican contemporary, "The Irish World," has pointed out that from its columns the censor deleted passages exactly similar in content to those which he passed for publication in other weekly journals. If the censor thinks that by this means he is preventing the truth from getting outside Ireland he is welcome to his little illusion. We can assure him that he is only helping to spread the light abroad.

Workers' Councils.

At the meeting in the Mansion House on Monday night week, it was said that in Ireland, we have what may be the beginning of an organisation upon the lines which have proved successful in Russia and Hungary. That is quite true, but it is not the whole truth. It is true that, as we have already pointed out in "The Voice," we have organised bodies representative of the three constituent elements of Soviets, namely, workers, soldiers, and peasants. But that is not enough. Until these three organisations are linked up and their work co-ordinated in one common organism there will be nothing in Ireland worthy even of the name of Soviet much less anything capable of Soviet functions. At present we have what corresponds to workers' councils in most of the towns, in some counties we have similar bodies representing both workers and peasants, and in nearly every county we have peasants' councils in some form or other, and all these are linked up in a kind of loose federation. Nearly everywhere too we have what are practically soldiers' councils, or at all events the germ of soldiers' councils, and in very many places these are on the best of terms with the workers' organisations. But the military bodies have no clear or defined relationship with the workers' organisations, and indeed at this moment it is considered on both sides that between the two kinds of organisation there is no common purpose except the broad general aspiration after liberty. Now, we have never concealed our conviction that this view is altogether wrong, and that on the contrary it is just this common aspiration for liberty that should link the two kinds of organisations in a common organic union. That is to say, since liberty is the objective of both, then both, without giving up anything of their respective characteristics and without surrendering anything of their particular ideals, should have a common organ for their common purposes, and this would be in effect a Soviet.

The Dublin Educational Classes.

The Committee, the students, and the teachers of the workers' educational classes in Dublin are to be congratulated on the success of their experiment. In attendance, in interest, in finance, success has been secured and an excellent beginning in working class education has been made. In one respect only have we any serious complaint to make, and that is in the lack of moral and material support on the part of too many of the Trade Unions in Dublin. Even some of the Unions which took part in the initial conference did not back up their professions with their deeds. And it is nothing short of disgraceful that, apart from the students' fees, the financing of the classes was the work of a few Unions. This perhaps reflects all the more credit on the Union which gave a handsome donation, but it is a reproach to the majority of the Unions in Dublin. More students and more money should have come from the Unions. But for all that, the experiment gives splendid promise for the future, and the promise will be kept. Next winter the classes will begin early in the season, and we hope the number of courses will be extended. In addition to the classes in Economics and Industrial History, we hope the

Committee will arrange for courses in Politics, in Trade Unionism, in the Social and Political History of Europe, in International Relations, etc. In this way Labour can lay the foundations of what we should like to see Labour in Dublin erect in memory of the dead, a Connolly School of Social Science upon a working class basis.

Dail Eireann.

The public sessions of Dail Eireann last week had nothing dramatic about them, but they gave Ireland a glimpse of what an Irish Parliament might be. We are none too sure that they served any other purpose, but to give that momentary vision of a Parliament in session is in itself a considerable achievement in education. The proceedings themselves were perhaps too much in the fashion of Parliaments, but we suppose that in a Parliament that in itself is a virtue. We would, of course, abolish Parliaments altogether and substitute for them something more real and effective. However, the time for that is not just yet, although we think it is coming even in Ireland. In the meanwhile, the Dail gives the country something to think about, and the country, we do not doubt, will do the thinking. In that connection we were glad to see, and everybody genuinely interested in the Dail was glad to see a quite definite and reasoning Opposition to the Ministry. This was particularly so in the debate on the League of Nations, when discussion was of a high order, and the Dail rose to something like a real National Assembly. On the whole, the Ministerial statements were good, and from our point of view hopeful, although at times they raised the inevitable question whether they would be quite so satisfactory when translated into legislation. But the Opposition was excellent, and if we may say so, Messrs. O'Doherty and Burke and Alderman Tom Kelly (always where he is most needed) are to be congratulated. But Mr. MacEntee ought really to drop his front bench elocution. Mr. Mulcahy must tell us in what respects the Berné principle of a League of Nations is unsatisfactory, and what the Socialists do not understand as well as the Irish people, and Mr. Boland must correct the newspaper reports of his reference to the alleged exclusion of Russia and Hungary from the Berné draft. The newspapers, we know, have many sins to answer for.

Alarms.

(As Passed by Censor.)

A correspondent has startled us by asking why the daily Press has told the people nothing about the damage done to bridges and roads around Dublin during the last week. We really do not know. Perhaps the newspapers knew nothing about it, although everybody who takes a stroll into the country couldn't fail to see that something had happened. From the Labour point of view, the matter is serious. Perhaps the Chairman of the Dublin County Council can throw some light on the matter.

"An Branar."

Is adhbhar broin dunn nach bifuil fairsingeacht i n"Guith" naseachthaimhaine seo fa choinne ailt mar mholadh ar an m"Brannar." Taiteann an tiris-leabhar nua seo go mor linn agus ni fuirist sinn a shasamh. La eile dheanfuid-moladh air.

The Farmers' Whine.

"Farmer, what did you do in the Great War?" Judging by the answers to county demands for agricultural labourers, the reply will be:—"I suffered untold penury and want." The Farmers' Union in Leix (Oh, shade of Rory O'Moore!) bleats that the Agricultural industry can't afford more than the Wages Board rate (26/-); the Co. Kildare Union has a similar sniffle, but magnanimously agrees to adhere to last year's rate (30/-). The complaints seem somewhat curious in the light of the recent settlement in Kellfynn, a remote part of Co. Kerry—25/- indoor, worth at least 42/- outdoor, and several agreements in Co. Dublin at 40/- with Saturday half-holiday.

about 7,000. This is run by a co-operative federation.

Another group of 13 farms, with an acreage of 5,000, and a membership of 3,000, is run by a republican organisation of rural workers. The President of the Federation is a farm labourer and the Mayor of the Commune. A big fruit farm is also leased to the co-operative federation to work.

So in the six districts of the Emilia region alone, 19,000 rural workers control co-operatively an acreage of 30,000. They do not fear any competition either as regards quality or quantity in production, as it is greater with the co-operators than in the privately managed estates. Enlightened land-owners are beginning to choose co-operative societies as tenants in place of a number of individual farmers.

We refer to these developments for two reasons. One is that in our opinion further land purchase is improbable at present in Ireland, and it seems to us at least worth consideration whether co-

operative societies might not become tenants for those large tracts of second-class grazing land, which would be much more profitable and productive if tilled, and would support many more families; and, secondly, because it is worth while considering what advantages would accrue from pure co-operative farming.

A correspondent of ours, a few years ago, suggested that a group of small farmers could effect economies by forming themselves into a co-operative association, joining labour, horses, implements, buying together and marketing together, and sharing the profits of their joint enterprise on the basis of the value of the land, labour, and live stock each brought into the combine.

We admit an equitable arrangement would require some thinking out, but the economies to be effected would be great, and personally we do not see why if partnerships are possible in trading and manufacturing concerns, they should not be possible in agriculture and among farmers."

THE NEW TRADE BOARD POLICY.

As the Irish Women Workers' Union See It.

A general meeting of I.W.W.U. members was held on April 5th, to consider the attitude of the Union towards the system of Trade Boards for organised trades. It was unanimously agreed to ignore such Boards.

Two new Boards were established last week—one for the mineral water trade, the other for the tobacco industry. Preparations are being made for a series of these Trade Boards. Presently the whole Trade Union movement will be supervised by a horde of Government officials, and wage rates will be fixed by Government sanction. Hard-worked Trade Union officials may now look forward to a life of leisure and ease—having attended Board meetings and agreed on a wage scale, they can push over upon Trade Board inspectors the responsibility of enforcing that scale.

Is it this element of Government compulsion which makes the Trade Board system agreeable to that large section of Irish Labour, including the Dublin Trades Council, which repudiated the scheme of Joint Industrial Councils?

We, women workers, also see many dangers to Labour in Joint Councils, but on two points they seem to us less perilous than Trade Boards. (a) They leave the issues at question to a free assembly of employers and employed, without the balancing influence of so-called neutrals and the over-hanging benevolence of a Ministry of Labour. (b) They leave full and complete responsibility to Trade Unions in all matters pertaining to the interests of the workers.

From the point of view of the I.W.W.U., INDEPENDENCE is a factor of the most vital importance in the Trade Union movement. We consider that Trade Boards encroach upon our independence: therefore we have decided to ignore them.

WHY THIS REFUSAL?

Dear Sir,—At the Labour International meeting, held in the Mansion House on Monday evening, no reference was made to the famine conditions in Europe. And a suggestion that an appeal be made for the Irish Fund for the Famine-Stricken was refused. Yet this was a meeting to proclaim the solidarity of the workers of the world, and at its conclusion the song of the world's workers—"The Red Flag"—was sung. I wonder how the gospel of the Brotherhood of Man sounds in the ears of starving men and women when it comes to them only in song and speech!

Surely this is a time for a practical demonstration of that gospel? The world will have as good occasion as at the outbreak of the war to mock at the professions of fraternity made by Labour and Socialism if effort and sacrifice are not now made to relieve the sufferings of the peoples of Europe.

Why should not Irish Labour give the lead in such a movement?—Yours sincerely,

LOUIE BENNETT.

CAVAN U.D.C. AND TRANSPORT UNION.

Misconceptions Removed.

A few weeks ago "The Voice" commented adversely on the conduct of the Chairman of Cavan Urban Council, Mr. P. A. Galligan. Our information was based on statements made that Cavan Town Hall had been closed, by order of the Chairman, against the Transport Workers' Union.

At a meeting of the U.D.C. on Monday, 24th March, the charges made against the Chairman were investigated, and it was established that the Hall was closed on the orders of the M.O.H. on account of influenza, and that Mr. Galligan was in no wise concerned with the letting or withholding of the Hall.

As for his attitude towards the I.T. & G.W.U., with quote with pleasure his own words, as reported in the "Anglo-Celt" of 29th ult:—

"I am not in any way opposed to the Transport Workers' Union." Continuing, he said his position as Chairman of the Sinn Fein Organisation in the town was also referred to at the meeting of the workers for the purpose of leading the people to believe that the Sinn Fein Organisation was opposed to the Transport Workers' Union, which was not so, and, speaking with some authority, he should state publicly that, in his opinion, the feelings of Sinn Fein and the Transport Workers' Union were perfectly in harmony with each other, that there was no ill-feeling or opposition, and that Sinn Fein and Labour were working hand-in-hand."

COUNTESS IN GLASGOW.

The "Worker" announces a mass meeting in Glasgow's largest hall (St. Andrew's), on Friday, April 25, at 7.30 p.m., to be addressed by Countess Markievicz, O. Diamond, and others. Will Glasgow's greatest boomster have the "Voice" on sale there?

Maynooth.

The women's branch has won an increase of 7s. a week on present rates, and a Saturday half-holiday, for laundry workers.

£62 arrears of wages have been gained for five men.

The Terror in Tipperary.

(As Passed by Censor.)

The Dublin Press has been so (unavoidably—Ed.) reticent in giving the public any details concerning the strange kidnapping of the two boys, Hogan and Connors, by the police, that the Irish Women's Franchise League, which was engaged on a vigorous campaign for the release of the boys, found itself to a great extent, working in the dark, and so I was asked to go down to Tipperary and try to get to the heart of the mystery.

At Limerick Junction the station was guarded by armed police and soldiers with fixed bayonets, and when the Dublin train moved out one got a view of the groups of soldiers kicking football and wrestling in a field just across the line, so the uninstructed visitor could take whichever of these two military spectacles he chose as an indication of the lawless and murderous state of the district. Tipperary is one of the usual easy-going, unprogressive, fairly well-to-do sleepy hollows to be found in the South of Ireland, and looking at and listening to the goodhumoured, soft-spoken folk moving about the streets one sought in vain for a reason to justify the tremendous display of military force. The shops are closed at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and by night the streets are patrolled by police and soldiers.

Two schools in the neighbourhood of Soloheadbeg have been practically empty for the past two months.

It was within sight of one of these—Grenane National School—that little Connors was pounced upon by the police on his way home from school, and spirited away to Dublin, Dan M'Grath, aged nine, while playing out this his mother's cottage on Ash Wednesday, was suddenly surrounded by police, who carried him to an adjoining out-house, and there held him prisoner for five hours while they sought to extract information from the terrified child as to the police shooting at Solohead, and particularly as to the part taken by his father and uncle in the affair. Meanwhile the mother was kept a prisoner in the kitchen, not being allowed to light the fire or prepare any food all day, and when finally the little boy was returned to his mother he became violently ill, had to receive medical attention, the doctor taking a grave view of his condition, and stating that a second experience of the kind would have fatal consequences.

I had an interview with young Matt Hogan, mysteriously released from the R.I.C. Depot two days previously, and he told me of his experiences, the inquisition at Dublin Castle to which he was twice taken by armed police, and the fact that during his five weeks' detention at the Depot he was never allowed to hear Mass on Sundays. He is a handsome, intelligent boy, and I had him photographed with his widowed mother, and a copy sent on to the "Daily Herald" as part of the I.W.F.L. publicity campaign.

One of the most amazing things to me was the apathy and lack of public spirit of the local leaders of opinion, both lay and cleric, in face of these facts, which were well known in the town. No effort having been made locally until quite recently concerning the legal aspect of the case, and the distracted parents (poor labouring people) were therefore left in ignorance of the fact that they possessed certain legal rights to their children—even under British law.

There is a branch of Cumann na mBan in the town, and I addressed the members at an informal meeting the evening after my arrival. There is fine fighting material in this branch, several members of which are enrolled in the recently formed branch of the Transport Union in the town, and I gathered some interesting facts concerning local conditions. The following evening, in co-operation with Cumann na mBan, I addressed a meeting of local women in the rooms of the Urban District Council, to protest against the victimisation of the two little boys. The women are intensely

national, and struck me as being more uncompromising and revolutionary in spirit than the men I came in contact with. But in this town as elsewhere in the country it is good material running to waste for lack of intelligent direction along constructive lines.

A bakers' strike had been proceeding for over a month, and the employers showed no disposition to come to terms, as three private bakers who employed no men kept going merrily, so that the garrison, the police, and the well-to-do people suffered no lack of bread, while the poor people were often short.

I called upon Canon, now Monsignor Ryan, the P.P. and Manager of the schools, with reference to the terrorism of school children, and to call his attention to the fact that the boys carried off by the police were not permitted to attend Mass during their enforced detention. He maintained a calm and undisturbed demeanour, though I understand he made the welkin ring with his denunciations after the Soloheadbeg affair. If this interference with religious practices were reported from Bolshevik Russia what a storm of virtuous protest it would provoke! As I found it impossible to fire the excellent Canon to any degree of indignation, I went to Thurles to lay the facts before the Archbishop of Cashel. Unfortunately he was away from home, so I had to content myself with leaving a written statement of the matter for him.

I paid a visit to New Tipperary, and it presents a most woe-begone and down-at-heel appearance. It is no better than a slum, and is a lasting monument to the blundering incompetence displayed by politicians when they are permitted to attempt anything requiring greater thought and judgment than is necessary for mere flamboyant phrase-making.

M. K. CONNERY,

(Irish Women's Franchise League), 14/4/19.

GALLACHER REFUSES TO PLEAD. IN GLASGOW STRIKE TRIAL.

Before this issue of "The Voice" appears, the trial of the Glasgow prisoners will have concluded. We have no reason to anticipate their acquittal, despite the self-contradictions of the police witnesses for the prosecution and the proven fact that the police baton charge was the prime cause of the "riot."

The judge in the case is an old party hack and the jury is drawn from the wealthy middle-class of Edinburgh. Willie Gallacher did well in refusing to plead and better still in refusing to be represented by any member of the Scottish Bar.

Before the Courts of Capitalism Labour is always condemned. The sole advantage of a legal defence in a Labour case is to expose the partiality of both Bench and Bar.

FORTY-DEEISM.

40D Macpherson is not the only Scot who approves of State regulated vice. The editor of "Forward" disposes thus of a Macpherson-ite:

J. M.K. (Aberroath).—Yes, but if State regulation of vice, why not State regulation of murder or theft, so long as the murderers and thieves are duly licensed and inspected? And, on the same principle, why not State regulation of Capitalists, so long as they are regularly inspected?

S.P.I. INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION FUND.

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| | £170 15 6 |

THE REEL TRUTH.

Lord Glentanar (a Paisley Coats) has unwound his bobbin, and departed leaving more than 4½ millions sterling.

The State collects £885,339 of it by way of death duty.

What a system! That the nation should be desirous of the speedy and frequent death of her plutocrat citizens.—"Forward."

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IN MERRY ENGLAND.
In the window of an insurance office situated in a Gloucestershire country town is displayed this advertisement: "Insure against Risks of Loot, Pillage and Strikes." Is this a portent?

IRISH FUND FOR THE FAMINE-STRICKEN.
A MILLION SIXPENCES
Would buy £25,000 worth of Food for Starving Europe. Please help.
Contributions received by TREASURER, Irishwomen's International League, 29 South Anne Street, DUBLIN.

SPRINGBURY IRISH IN THE SWIM.
The Irish Labour Party in the locomotive suburb is sending three speakers to the May Day demonstration in Glasgow. It is also affiliated to the Clyde Workers' Defence Propaganda Committee. Jack Carney has written asking them to report progress for the information of our compatriots in America.

MODEL COTTAGE AND HOME-CRAFT EXHIBITION, to be held at The Engineers' Hall, 35 Dawson Street, on June 9th, 10th, 11th, 12, 13 and 14, 1919. Model Cottage Competition.—Class I—Models made to Competitor's own Design. First Prize, £5; Second Prize, £3; Third Prize, £1. Class II—Model made to a borrowed Design. First Prize, £3; Second Prize, £1; Third Prize, 10/-.
Competitors are requested to send Name of Designer with Model. Suggested Scale for Models 1½ ins. to the foot. Entrance Fee, 3/- (either Class). Entries to be sent to the HON. SEC., Model Cottage and Home-Craft Exhibition, 35 Dawson Street, Dublin, on June 7th. All Competitors are asked to send their entrance fee to Hon. Sec., 29 Sth. Anne St., Dublin, on May 19th.

OUR MAY-DAY NUMBER.
The promise of a bumper number for May Day is being realised. "Æ" is writing about the Co-operative Commonwealth that will make his visions concrete and tangible fact.

The Countess Markievicz, out of experience, tells us of the Prison System and its oppression of the hapless women who fall into it. A cry, "de profundis," this article, an appeal of the voiceless serfs of civilisation, made articulate by a fellow-sufferer.

There will yet be a generation that will bless the sacrifices and suffering of the Countess Markievicz.

Madame Maud Gonne MacBride traces in May Day of the workers of Ireland to old-time feast of Bealtaine.

With such contributors—and there are others—we expect the THREEPENNY "VOICE" to become a treasure. It is of first importance, therefore, that you make sure of getting it by ordering NOW.

To my Newsagent.
Date April, 1919.
I shall want copies of the May-day number of the "Voice of Labour," price 3d. each. Ready on April 30th.
Name
Address
Date, April, 1919.
The Manager,
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Please forward dozen copies of the "Voice of Labour" May-day number, price 2s. 6d. per dozen, carriage paid to Station, per Railway.
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EASTER MONDAY—For 3 Days only—
NAT GOULD'S RACING STORY,
A FORTUNE AT STAKE.

Drogheda.

Under E. Rooney's generalship, the recent big push has yielded fine results. Chemical workers, numbering 120, secured a 5s. advance to 46s., and a 12 hours' reduction in the week, with 8 o'clock start instead of 6 o'clock. Builders' labourers got 2d. per hour increase and six hours less per week. Farm labourers in a wide area round the town held a delegate meeting and formulated a demand for 50s. and 44 hours. A similar demand has been served on behalf of Saw Milling employees, who have been offered 5s. extra and 49 hours instead of 60. Grist Milling employees and Corporation workers and Carters are asking 45s. weekly, and Boyne Commissioners' men a 10s. advance. The Bakers' Union is co-operating in a movement for bread-van drivers. The recent big Labour Demonstration in the town promises to be eclipsed by the May Day Celebration, arrangements for which are in progress.

The acceptances of the Branch for the Local Election stakes, to be run off in December, are Peadar Kelly for County Council, Jas. Woods, Pat Early, and John Dardis for the R.D.C., Swords District; Mal. Caul and T. Brophy for Kinsale; Pat Flanagan and Wm. Evans for Kilsallaghan; Jas. Fitzpatrick for Malahide, and T. McDonough for Santry.

Newbridge.

Dowling's (contractor's) men at the Curragh resumed after a short strike, having won their point re "broken time" payment. Umeras Peat Workers stop on Saturday unless demands conceded.

INTERNATIONAL TAILORS, MACHINISTS AND PRESSERS TRADE UNION.

AN ALL-NIGHT CEILIDHE AND DANCE will be held in The Union Rooms, 44 York Street, On **EASTER SUNDAY, 20th APRIL, 1919,** Commencing at 10 o'clock.
Double Ticket, 6/6. Single, 3/6.

"THE IRISH HOMESTEAD."

A Weekly Journal founded by Sir Horace Plunkett, keeps you in touch with Modern Agricultural Economics. It is obtainable only by Subscription, 10s. a year, 5s. half year (post free), from the Manager, 18 South Frederick Street, Dublin.

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MODERATE TERMS.

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ADJOINING ARNOTT'S

Transport Union Notes.

Flour Milling Industry (Official.)

For the lorrymen, carters, and motor-men on weekly rates, who did not come within the 44 and 47 hours' agreement, the Union has claimed the 48 hour week won by the National Transport Federation in the British industry. Another sitting by Arbitrator Baillie is likely.

Grist Millers.

These lesser brethren of the flour millers who were on the missing list at the Grist Milling Arbitration, have been given by Head Office a last straightforward offer:—Comply with the Award, as did those who agreed to Arbitration, or else—

"Even Less Than These."

A more correct reply to the query would be:—"I profited on my farm produce and sweated my farm servants." In many localities, even the antediluvian A.W. Board's minima are still ignored. Dunlavin Branch, with the aid of an energetic Inspector, recovered £650 in arrears' cases in a few weeks recently, £110 being secured on one holding. And this doesn't nearly complete the district.

Claremorris.

The reactionary C.D. Board's local bonehead says he is re-opening the saw-mills and thinks he can get away with his "No strikers need apply" doctrine, poor chap.

Rhode.

The Christian farmers are trying to break the big strike by serving notices to quit their houses on the men. They'll get the decrees for possession, of course, but getting possession will be another matter. Evictions weren't always "made easy" in Land League days, and the workers, who helped the farmers then against landlord tyranny, are not likely to forget the tactics now that the farmer is turned oppressor.

Kilmallock.

To replace his locked-out men, black-legs have been imported from Warrington by Sir Gilbert Greenall, a bulwark of the Coalition. The Warrington Trade and Labour Council were made wise to putting an embargo on further exports, although Greenall's cross-Channel men are not Trade Unionists, but simply medieval serfs. Warrington Labour men are exposing Greenall's methods in their political fight.

"Blessed are the Peacemakers."

The stoppages on the land at Whitechurch and Cloghroe, Co. Cork, still continue. The priest in the former place banged his door in the face of the Organiser who came to ask his mediation towards affecting a settlement. We suggest the above for his next Sunday's text.

Thurles.

The embryo Wm. Martin Murphys here bunched together and threatened a lock-out of all town workers on Monday unless the demand was withdrawn. It wasn't, but the threat was.

Newcastle West.

The bellicose manager of Clounagh Co-op. Creamery met the peaceful advances of Union officials belligerently, and started in to negotiate with a coal shovel. A hip-pocket hint cooled his martial ardour, and the men stopped work instantaneously.

NEXT WEEK:
DARRELL FIGGIS
ON
THE FUTURE OF LABOUR.

Cratloe.

"By Mac and O, you'll surely know, true Irishmen alway." Go bhfoiridh Dia arrain! Two true sons of Erin in this region, O'Regan and O'Flynn, locked out their saw mill and woollen mill employees immediately the latter joined the Union.

Mullingar.

The Asylum Board is evidently looking for another Monaghan. At last meeting they refused to better their 2/6 offer to the farm-labourers who are on strike for several weeks, and now apparently they want the attendants to scab it. It won't pan out that way, even with the help of the extra police force now drafted in, the cost of whom would more than give the men a living wage.

Connacht.

Has awakened from its "slumber deep" with a vengeance. Frank McCabe reports complete abdication by the Mohill employers, town workers securing excellent increases and shorter hours. In Boyle, 45 Union men refused to give bail for good behaviour because good behaviour meant following slavery. Amongst other towns with general demands in train are Ballinamore, Ballygar, and Kiltimagh.

Limerick.

Cleeve's employees in this and adjoining counties set the pace in Industrial Unionism and along O.B.U. lines by forming a Workers' Council representative of all the firm's concerns. At the big depot in Lansdowne, a 48 hour week and 11d. per hour rate have been won, and it is intended to have these extended to the auxiliaries. The hoary dispute in Drombanna Creamery has at last ended, and in complete success, all Union men being reinstated. County branches increase in number, membership, and prestige, and the city is active.

Newbridge.

Excellent premises have been bought out by the Branch and a Co-operative shop will soon be in full swing. Curragh Turf Club men settled at a 6/- advance, and negotiations are proceeding for stable lads and sewage farm workers.

Lucan.

One of the local racing stables has given an advance to 37/-, with other perquisites. At Ballykisteen Stud and Oola, Co. Limerick, stable men got an 8/6 increase to 35/-.

Mitchelstown.

The Newmarket Dairy Co. secured full demands—skilled workers, 18/- to 20/- increase; labourers, 15/-; boys, 10/-.

Glanworth.

The recent demand resulted in good improvements for woollen mill employees.

Swords.

Last Sunday a mass meeting of the Union, and a similar gathering at Cloughran, in all over 400 people enthusiastically endorsed a projected Co-operative Society for the workers of the district. Members were enrolled, and the smaller gathering at Cloughran paid over £20 in hard cash, with more to follow.

Pictures in Dublin.

The oldest Picture House in Dublin, The Electric, in Talbot Street, remains in front of the procession. It is the home of genuine picture drama that thrills and interests without shocking. The programmes are well assorted, comedy, drama, interest, and the latest gazettes being always in view. The Electric is par excellence a "family" house.

I.O.W. Union—Secretary (Whole Time) re-quired for the Miscellaneous Branch (No. 4). Applications to be made from members of the Branch, in writing, addressed to the Chairman, Comrade R. T. Blackburn, on or before 23rd inst.

TO UNITE THE SEA-DIVIDED GAEL. Back to St. Columba!

From time to time we are urged by Ruairaidh Arascain is Mhair to promote in these pages a revival of the perpetual covenant between Irish and Scots that was made as far back as the year 675 by Colum Cille.

We can conceive of no better way of doing so than by recommending the widest circulation in Ireland of the two admirable reviews of which the same Erskine of Marr is editor.

Before the appearance of "The Irish Commonwealth" and "An Branar," the "Scottish Review" and "Guth na Bliadhna" were the sole exponents of Gaelic thought among serious periodicals. Now that Ireland has her own organs of thought as well as of propaganda, the "Scottish Review" in particular may be recommended to our readers in Belfast.

Mr. H. C. MacNeacail's article on the Celt in Ireland, with its account of the ancient traffic to and from Ulster and Scotland, of which the famous "Plantation" is only one instance, and which has its repetitions to-day in the continual fitting of shipyard workers across the Sruth na Maoile, would go far to knock the two races' humbug on the head.

In the spring number of the "Review," too, William Diack gives a survey of the political situation of Scottish Labour, and it would comfort us to know that Scottish Labour was drawing its policy from this fount of sanity rather than from the stunt Labour Press of London, or the hysterically pacifist State Socialist Weekly of Manchester.

It is curious that efforts towards self-expression by Scottish Labour appears to be confined to the Socialist Labour Party. The big membership of the I.L.P. seems content to leave the exposition of its hopes to the very Gladstonian MacDonald and his disciple of the "Forward," whose genuine ability and forceful personality are obscured by his own hero-worship of the former.

But apart from theories and traditions of the common origin of Scots and Irish, what practical steps are to be taken to revive the convention of Drumm-Ceata, and to bring Labour in Ireland and Labour in Scotland into line against Capitalist Imperialism?

Can't we begin something by having at least a joint session of the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress and the Parliamentary Committee of the Scottish Trade Union Congress and the Executive of the Scottish Labour Party?

Kilmallock.

The Branch has succeeded in having the peelers who were scabbing for Greenall's locked-out farm labourers called off. Organiser Dowling is visiting the scene.

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—J. J. Hughes

is Musical Editor of the Labour Song Supplement that's given free with the May-Day "Voice." The name of this versatile vocalist and composer is guarantee that songs will be accurately set in singable form.

The Programme: Words and Music of these famous songs

JAMES CONNOLLY'S SONGS: "The Watchword of Labour," "For Labour's Right," composed by J. J. Hughes; "The Rebel Song," composed by Councillor G. W. Crawford, Edinburgh; "The Call of Erin," to the air of "Rolling Home to Bonnie Scotland" (Connolly's choice), adapted by J. J. Hughes.

JIM CONNELL'S SONGS. "The Red Flag." This Dublin author's world-wide anthem of consecration to human uplift to the air of his own choice. "The White Cockade," adapted by J. J. Hughes; "Workers of Ireland," sung the world over to the air of "O'Donnell Abu!"

PEADAR KEARNEY'S SONG, "Labour's Call," has become an instantaneous favourite, rivalling his "Soldier's Song," and is set to the popular air of the "Red Flag," known in Germany as "O Tannenbaum," and in America, as "Maryland."

"THE INTERNATIONAL," the universal anthem of the working class. The marching song of the Russian Revolution.

The words and music of these eight songs form a special supplement to the specially enlarged number of the Voice of Labour which will be on sale everywhere in Ireland on April 30th, and the First of May.

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