

# Railway Men and Clerks!

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IRISH OPINION

# THE VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL OSHANNON.

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ONE PENNY

## A LIGHT THAT FAILS.

### P. S. O'Hegarty's Acidulated Appreciation of Arthur Griffith.

Mr. P. S. O'Hegarty presents us with "an illumination" of Sinn Fein in eight chapters and a foreword, and tells us that it is his object to give an account of its historical evolution and to show it in its true light as an attempt to place Ireland of to-day in touch with the historic Irish nation which went down in the 17th century under the Penal Laws. Apart from these professed objects, it is clear that Mr. O'Hegarty desires to show that Sinn Fein as we have known the movement since 1916 is an uncompromisingly Separatist organisation which will have nothing to do with College Green, though it would imitate Dungannon, repudiates the Renunciation Act, and has no use for "King, Lords and Commons" beloved of the old "Sinn Fein."

"The key to Irish political history in the years since Fenianism may be found in the fact that Fenianism has never died out of Ireland since its foundation in 1858 by James Stephens and Thomas Clark Luby, and that the Separatist Minority had always worked through it." When Parnellism disappeared in the clamour of fama raised by the mitred enemies of Fenianism, and the parliamentary representatives lapsed into Imperialism, the Separatist Minority became active, and the "United Irishman," with Mr. Griffith as Editor, appeared as their organ in 1899. "The Resurrection of Hungary" gave them an open policy, an alternative, but not a substitute, for insurrection, and material for propaganda against Parliamentarianism. It was a policy which extreme men would approve, but which required moderate men to put into action. "It is not a policy that could be made effective by a minority."

Arthur Griffith, the author of this policy, practicable only with a people who will abandon themselves to leadership, or who can develop a widely diffused initia-

tive while maintaining solidarity, is depicted thus:

"A small man, very sturdily built, nothing remarkable about his appearance except his eyes, which are impenetrable and steely, taciturn, deliberate, speaking when he does with the authority and the finality of genius, totally without rhetoric, under complete self-control, and the coolest and best brain in Ireland."

It must not be thought that Mr. O'Hegarty has bowed himself before the only real personal force developed and felt in Ireland since Parnell, with unquestioning homage. This passage considerably discounts the impression given by the last quotation:

"He believes intensely in himself, and he has no real faith in anybody else, so that he is always more or less cold towards anybody who tries to do any political work on his own, in or about his own particular sphere. And this unfortunate tendency in him has been strengthened by the fact that his immediate friends and co-workers in Dublin are all far below his level in intellect and outlook, follow him blindly, and are equally suspicious of any other attempt to do similar work." If the language is somewhat confused the meaning is clear, and the truth of it all accounts for the failure of Sinn Fein before 1916, and justifies the anxiety of the "Irishman" and Mr. O'Hegarty to prevent a relapse.

We have a frank record of Mr. Griffith's opposition to the Dublin strike of 1913, when he stood with Murphy and Count Plunkett against the workers, because he identified the cause of Ireland with the success of Irish financiers and employers of labour. Evil social conditions he would remedy by State action, but of course only by the "State" of 1782.

This passage, by the way, is the only ray of illumination that Mr. O'Hegarty throws upon the Labour question. It is claimed that "up to the Sinn Fein Move-

ment Irish Patriotic Movements have all been specialised rather than comprehensive." Are we to assume from Mr. O'Hegarty's omission of all mention of Labour and its problems that Sinn Fein has no illumination for the Irish wage-earners? His summary of the Sinn Fein policy on pages 24 and 25 is lacking in all mention of the workers or of social conditions. Such a policy is not "comprehensive." It is a return to the confusions and hesitations of the Confederates which Lalor stigmatised, a mere negation of foreign rule, coupled however with a manifold anxiety for the interests of the Irish capitalists.

We do not believe that Mr. O'Hegarty has presented in this book a full account of what, thanks to the "Irish Times" and the Parliamentary Party, has come to be known as "Sinn Fein." It owes little to the Sinn Fein of 1905. It is placing less and less reliance on the victory of the Irish manufacturer over his English competitor in the Irish market to achieve Irish freedom. It is creating new economic organisations in the country which will make social freedom possible, with national freedom. One sees the names of the officials of Sinn Fein clubs in the Press, and nearly always, in the rural parts, they are the names of the trade union officials. Of all that movement Mr. O'Hegarty says nothing. No mention is made of the Irish Socialist Republican Party or of the struggles of the uncompromising foes of native and foreign despotism who, like James Connolly, found their most persistent opponents in the old Sinn Fein.

Mr. O'Hegarty's book is truly as interesting in its omissions as in its contents.

He has sounded warnings. He has raised the old flag. He reminds us judicially as far as permitted by the censor of the military factor, and here where the omissions are involuntary the reader will look between the lines.

COLKITTO.

"SINN FEIN: An Illumination," by P. S. O'Hegarty. Maunsel's. 2/6 net, 2/10 post free.



Edited by CATHAL O'SHANNON.

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## THE DEAD SPARTACUS LEADERS.

### By One Who Knew Them.

(From the "Manchester Guardian.")

(As we are unable to say what we think and feel about the murder of the noblest twain the German Revolution has produced, we print below what one who knew them has written on Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in "The Manchester Guardian." The militant Irish Social Democracy will mourn them as sincerely as will any Social Democracy in Europe.)

The deaths of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will cause a sensation among Socialists all the world over. The former was perhaps personally less known than the latter, who was a familiar figure at all international Socialist Congresses. Liebknecht avoided the limelight of publicity, and nothing could have been more maliciously inaccurate than the charge of seeking notoriety with which the German Jingo, including the Scheidemann Socialists, pretended to explain his attitude on the war, and especially his conduct in the Reichstag on numerous occasions. Nor was he "neurotic," as the same critics were wont to declare on other occasions.

Liebknecht was a man of courage and of action, and because he had the greatest contempt for "diplomacy" in dealing either with party or with public affairs he was cried down in one way or another by his opponents as an irresponsible person. But he was not irresponsible, and he knew precisely where the root of the evil in Germany lay. While even Bebel liked on occasions to coquet with German "patriotism" and militarism, Liebknecht, when still a student, was an anti-militarist and, against all the timid injunctions of the party, carried on an anti-militarist propaganda in the barracks and formed anti-militarist leagues of the young.

#### The Konigsberg Trial.

He first attained popularity by his fearless defence in the famous Konigsberg trial in 1905 of a group of Socialists charged with aiding and abetting Russian revolutionists in smuggling litera-

ture and arms across the frontier. While Haase, who was acting with him for the defence, confined himself chiefly to the legal aspect of the case, Liebknecht turned it into a political cause celebre by carrying the war into the enemy camp and establishing the close connection between Tsardom and Kaiserdom.

Since then he had on many occasions to suffer prosecutions and imprisonment for treating Kaiserdom as he would have treated Tsardom. Because the party to which he belonged did not share his view that Germany could as little dispense with a revolution as Russia, he was in violent opposition to it, fighting not only the Right wing but also the "Centre," the followers of Kautsky and Haase, whose sole guiding principle was to maintain the unity of the party, even at the cost of the programme. It will be seen that Liebknecht was right, and that the others were wrong.

#### Rosa Luxemburg.

Rosa Luxemburg was perhaps the most remarkable woman produced by the Socialist movement either in Germany or elsewhere. A doctor of political economy, with large historical and economic knowledge, she was a speaker and a writer of great ability, lucid, witty, and incisive, powerful as a dialectician, and very dangerous as an enemy. She was not a politician who could be everything to everybody. She never spared an opponent even if he was lying on the ground, and she too had a thorough detestation of the "compromisemongers," as she used to call the Kautsky "gang." She too was many times in prison on charges of treasonable propaganda and lese majeste, but as she once said, she rather liked being in prison, where she could rest from political agitation and read and write.

She was a Russian Pole by birth, but she married fictitiously a German in order to acquire German citizenship and be able to work in Germany, while being de facto the wife of a Polish revolutionist. She, too, stood on the left wing of the party, opposing its opportunist policy long before the war. She also took a leading part in the revolutionary movement in Russian Poland, and was the founder of Polish Social Democracy. It will be remembered that a brother of hers, a business man in England, some years ago went to Odessa, and was arrested for the sins of his sister.

#### They Dye For Us.

That old English house, Levinstein, Ltd., of which Lord Armaghdale is chairman, only made 17 per cent. profit in 1914. His Lordship regrets that this year the profits are only 6.15 times greater!

#### NEXT WEEK:

FREEDOM, by Darrel Figgis.

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS, by Louie Bennett.

SHOP ASSISTANTS' NOTES.  
Etc., Etc.

## DAIL EIREANN.

Dail Eireann begins its sessions under very considerable, but by no means insuperable, difficulties. The absence, at their own will, of the Home Rule and Unionist members, will prove a weakness, at least to some degree. More serious is the enforced absence in prison, in interment, or in exiles of about one half of the Republican members, and this will undoubtedly hamper certain of the work, which would ordinarily fall within the functions of the Dail. We do not suppose, for instance, that there will in these circumstances be any particular hurry to draft a complete constitution for the Dail itself, much less for a full-fledged national state. We can turn with more profit to a discussion of the function and purpose of the Dail. Here we may say at once that there is no obligation to draw up an elaborate programme and a national constitution, in short, that the Dail Eireann erected out of the December election should be constituted into a Constituent Assembly. And this for several reasons. For one thing there is the difficulty under existing circumstances of carrying out to the full any proposals of this nature if the most important work of the Dail is to be done effectively. In the next place we consider that it is debateable whether the electorate gave a mandate of this nature, and whether, therefore, it were wise to proceed upon these lines. The people did, indeed, give a clear and emphatic mandate for independence in the fullest sense under a Republican form of government, but that is quite a different thing from a mandate in favour of any particular constitution, or any special form of Republic, Soviet, Federal, Centralised, or Capitalist. Then there is our own reasoned and convinced objection to the parliamentary democracy beloved of Western Europe and America. Modern conditions and the evolution of history seem to us to have decreed the doom of the parliamentary conception of government as an anachronism, but we refrain from pressing this case until its due time comes. Meanwhile the Dail would be well-advised to reflect that the world and most of its institutions and political organs are in the melting pot, and to consider whether it would not be the highest wisdom to wait until the new trials have been made before stereotyping the national organ of government.

To our mind, and we claim to the mind of the people, the immediate work of Dail Eireann is to secure abroad the recognition of Republican independence, to take steps for its maintenance, and at home to make impossible all government other than that of the Irish people and nation. Sufficient for these days are the foreign and home policies here briefly indicated, and we think the Dail will find them not only sufficient for its strength but possible with its resources.

#### Dublin Chemists.

We may have to give unwelcome publicity to those few employers who are trying to evade the Arbitrator's award.



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

## Ireland at Stockholm.

We are again compelled to hold over several articles, including comments upon the references to Ireland in the statements, now published in full, presented to the Organising Committee for the Stockholm Conference, 1917. We may add that certain changes for the better are contemplated for "The Voice," but little headway in this direction can be made until the present abnormal pressure of business upon the directorate and staff of the Irish Labour Press is relieved. The importance of the crisis through which Ireland and Labour are passing demands a bigger paper, and some of us think the demand can be met.

## Party and Parliament.

The assembling in first session of Dail Eireann, the National Assembly of the elected representatives of the Irish people, will make clear the distinction between the Republicans as a Party and the Republicans as a Parliament. The distinction is important, but we fear it has not been as well understood as it might have been. This has not been unnatural, although it might have been regrettable. The peculiar circumstances of Ireland and the dominance of a Party which had no clear conception of the fundamentals of national politics resulted in a fatal confusion of political thought, and the indiscriminate use of political terms, very often in ignorance of their significance, and sometimes without any sense at all. Thus we had alleged "non-political" bodies which, from their very function, could not be otherwise than political. Amongst other things, the General Election has cleared the way for the correct use of political items, and for the even more valuable discussion of real political ideas. This will be of the first importance in the newer Ireland the people are building, and we look, therefore, to the preservation of the distinction between Party and Parliament. No doubt, for some time the personnel of both will be the same, but the one is an organisation and the other an institution, and this should be remembered by both friends and critics. As journalists or as workers in the Labour movement, we shall, no doubt, have plenty to say on both Dail and Party, and we hope that in all we or others may have to say there will be no confusing of the two bodies.

## Belfast Strikes First Blow.

We congratulate our sometimes critical contributor, Mr. James Baird, and his colleagues amongst the leaders of the Islandmen in Belfast on the splendid work on the forty-four hours' question they have done in the shipyards. Last week's unprecedented events in Belfast were magnificent, and they sent a thrill throughout, not only Belfast, but Ireland and many parts of Great Britain. In spite of our differences with the Belfastmen on many Trade Union questions, we have always expressed the hope we held, that the Northern workers would awake and surprise their friends as well as their enemies. The act of the shipyard

workers in giving an almost unanimous vote for a forty-four as against a forty-seven hours' week has more than justified our best opinions of them. They have broken away from a long tradition of following instead of leading in industrial movements, and we are heartily glad that Belfast can proudly boast of them as pioneers in a revolutionary direction. Their defiance of the united Belfast Press, both Orange and Green, was no less welcome than their open break with the bosses. And with that thoroughness and boldness which all good fighters admire they demonstrated with bands and banners on the streets; so that all the world might hear and see. There is great stuff in these men and women (for we know that the Islandmen's wives were an influencing factor), and if they hold fast they will win out, and be the vanguard of the Army of Forty-Four in these islands. The determination to strike sooner than work forty-seven hours is widespread among them, and with the same able and courageous leadership which has marked the agitation up to the present, we may look for a grand fight and glorious victory. All the statements to the contrary notwithstanding, we know that the driving force of the agitation has been found in the Socialists, and we hope they will succeed in holding the men to their purpose again in defiance of all the hoary old catch-cries and prophecies of disaster of the press and the plutocrats. No Surrender is the word, and No Surrender, we trust, will be the deed.

## The Peacemakers.

All does not seem to go as well and as merry as the proverbial wedding with the Peace Conference of the Allied Powers in Paris. The Conference of Paris is to draw up their own terms of peace, and impose them afterwards upon the peoples of Central Europe and Russia. By all the signs they will probably have to impose them by force of arms upon other peoples as well. Already there are rifts in the lute of this nineteenth century Congress of Vienna and Holy Alliance. The obligation of secrecy upon all important discussions, and the sharp differences of attitude upon the question of admitting representatives of the Soviet Republic of Russia reveal only part of the discord. The smaller States, Belgium and Yugo-Slavia in particular, have contributed their share, and the Government of Socialist Poland has also been troublesome. Other territorial questions, Italy and Dalmatia for instance, will give much trouble, and there are scores of others. The small nations still await the application of the principles enunciated by President Poincare as well as President Wilson. Once again the Soviet of Russia provides the problem of problems, and proves the effectiveness not only of its propaganda in half a score of European and South American countries, but as well of its daring and dangerous diplomacy. All this is very much to the good indeed, and gives heart to that growing section of mankind which has sickened of the rule and government

of the capitalist states. There are great days of trial, but greater days of triumph for the Workers' Republic.

## The International Conference.

No importance need be attached to the change of the "siege" of the International Labour Conference from Lausanne to Berne, since it has been made merely out of convenience. Huysmans and Henderson are now in Switzerland making final preparations for the accommodation of the Conference. The date of the full Conference has been changed to February 3. This has been done in order to allow the Belgians to explain to a Conference of the Allied sections their reluctance to meet the Germans. The British have put no obstacle in the way of German representation, and the French demand that the Germans shall not be excluded. For the discussion of the Belgian objection an Inter-Allied Conference, possibly in Paris, but probably in Berne, will be held about January 27. The plenary Conference will follow.

We are glad to note the widespread and generous support our readers in Ireland and England are giving to the fund for the S.P.I. delegation, but we would urge upon subscribers the importance of contributing their share without delay.

## Hands Off Russia.

The Dublin gathering last Sunday was no sectional assembly to promote class interest. Although organised by the S.P.I., the gathering gave unanimous assent to a resolution so drafted as to secure the support of all who reject the right of alien races to dominate any people.

That the "Freeman's Journal" cavils at the resolution merely confirms that the Press organ of the late Party is thoroughly capitalist and imperialist. It is to the credit of the "Freeman" concern, however, that it does not deny publicity to such gatherings. In this it is unlike the Murphy Press. The "Evening Herald" refused to accept an advertisement of the meeting. The support that Sinn Feiners give to the Murphy Press is forging a weapon that will be turned against them. Murphy is a more dangerous enemy of Irish Freedom than even French.

## Significant.

The Ulster Drug Trade Association has circulated among its members the award recently given by the arbitrators on the claim of the Dublin Chemists' Assistants. The Secretary writes thus:

"The Committee desires to draw your attention to the enclosed award of the Arbitrator in the Dublin Chemists' Assistants strike, and in view of the fact that Belfast will be affected—and soon—suggests that each employer should put his house in order before any steps are taken by employees." Any employees who are yet unorganised should see to it that they get into the Union, so that in the process of setting the house in order they will have the power to bargain.

A well-known Dublin tobacco firm is asking for trouble. They'll get it.

# LABOUR IN IRELAND

## RAILWAYMEN AND APPRENTICES.

### Graft and System Men in Unity.

The Dublin railway workers in the shops and on the system have made a further step forward in their organisation, a step in keeping with the developed spirit of solidarity that led the men of Inchicore and Broadstone to "down tools" last week on the introduction of gentlemen apprentices.

This issue became live last July when Mr. Watson, Chief Engineer of the G.S. and W. Railway, intimated to the workmen whose sons were on the waiting list for apprenticeship, that there would be no vacancies, and the boys should be put to some other trade. In December last a premium-paying apprentice was introduced, but was withdrawn when the A.S.E. men went on strike.

The other Unions became interested, and when (as we reported last week) another gentleman was introduced, all Unions took immediate action.

By the courtesy of the Lord Mayor, the Mansion House was opened last Sunday for a mass meeting of Dublin railway workers and workshop employees to consider the arrangement offered by Mr. Watson to Mr. J. J. Redmond (A.S.E.), Mr. Hennessy, and other delegates who interviewed Mr. Watson on Monday, 13th inst.

Mr. Watson stated that the winding up of munition contracts left Inchicore with too many apprentices. The four premium pupils introduced had paid their fees two years ago. He offered to guarantee apprenticeships to the eighteen boys on the waiting list and to introduce only one gentleman apprentice to every three workers' sons.

Mr. Redmond, who submitted the report, urged that whatever settlement was adopted should be communicated to Limerick, Cork, and Waterford, and that the closest unity and watchfulness should prevail among all workers to ensure that the arrangement be strictly maintained.

Mr. R. Hennessy, who seconded, endorsed Mr. Redmond's statement, and said that the imminence of nationalisation and other grave problems of railway life made a firmer organisation of the workers urgent and necessary. Machinery would be set up to safeguard the common interests of all grades and crafts.

Mr. Wm. O'Brien assured the meeting of the full support of the Transport Workers' Union. They should be fully alive to the situation created by the war. It was now realised that the transport system was the life-blood of industry, and so far as land transport was concerned, the railway workers held the key. They should not rest satisfied with the wages and reform programmes of four years ago, but should look for control.

Mr. B. Skene Mackay (U.K.S. Coach-makers) congratulated the Dublin workers on getting together in a way which was at present impossible in Britain, where shop and traffic workers on the railways were squabbling over minor issues. The division of labour into skilled and unskilled categories was dictated by the master-class, and workers should no longer recognise it. Their Unions must

assume new functions and aim at complete control. They were not afraid to face that issue. Vision, intelligence, administrative genius could not come from the top, but only from the experience of labour. Self-reliance, independence, and faith in our own people that they can run the world themselves were the confidences they must cultivate.

Mr. MacNamara (R.C.A.), in a humorous speech, said the difference between a clerk and a coal porter was that the former used hair-oil and soap. He himself (as was evident) used no hair-oil. Labour was being crucified between the penitent thief (the Liberal Party) and the impenitent thief (the Coalition).

Mr. Doran (M.G.W.Ry.) briefly related the stoppage of work there last week because of the introduction of a dilutee from the Royal College of Science.

Mr. J. McDermott (A.S.E.) moved that no pupil or fee-paying apprentice be allowed in railway shops, but on the intervention of Mr. W. B. M. Mahon (R.C.A.), the motion was withdrawn. Mr. Redmond explained that Mr. Watson had guaranteed employment to the boys on the waiting list at the same rates of pay as the boy labourers. This arrangement was accepted by the meeting. A joint committee will be selected by the Engineering and Shipbuilding Federation, A.S.E., I.T. & G.W.U., N.U.R., and R.C.A. to ensure co-ordinated action in all matters of common interest. Nowadays the dollars do not go far, but they go faster.

### SERIOUS.

The Executive of the N.U.R. has instructed branch secretaries to hold themselves in readiness to receive notice that members are to cease work where non-unionists are employed.

Of no less importance is the establishment last Monday of a Supervisors' Branch for the Irish Railways. There was a large enrollment.

The N.U.R. Executive interprets the Eight Hour Day to mean eight hours from signing-on to signing-off, with an interval for meals included.

As a punster put it, the Eight Hour Day includes time for eight-ing!

### TAILORS WIN HOLIDAY PAY. ...

The Dublin tailors' unofficial strike has at length been settled by the diplomatic corps nominated by the Trades Council. The men demanded pay for the compulsory holidays given them at Christmas when the shops closed down for four days. The strike was undertaken by the rank and file, and although the amount of money involved was small, the employers fought the issue on the Cain principle, that they were not their brothers' keepers. They recognise no right to live for the worker except when his labour can be used to their profit.

Faced by representatives of the Drapers' Assistants, I.C.W.U., the Electricians, and Transport Union, the employers compromised. They refuse to pay "wages" for the period in dispute, but they will make a "grant." The deputation did not higgie over words. The men are to get the cash, and Bradburys are

useful whether called wages or grant.

In this instance, as in many others, there have been too many Unions involved. One Union for All Irish Tailors is wanted now, and unity can be attained when the rank and file command it.

### CLERKS' UNION PROGRESS.

#### Victimisation of "Turf" Clerks.

The quarterly meeting of the Irish Clerical Workers' Union's Dublin members last Thursday (Mr. T. M. Murphy presiding) heard gratifying reports of continued progress in all branches. In every trade substantial advances in wages have been secured and the conditions of labour improved. Where men and women remain outside the ranks, as too many still do, the old bad conditions and low wages prevail.

The Lord Decies and other gentlemen concerned with the Turf have a little job to do in connection with clerical workers employed by a prominent racing institution. A "man" has been hired under the auspices of these gentlemen at a wage of 12s. 6d. a week, and has with others been denied the right to join the I.C.W.U. Their hours were from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m., with no meal hour. The office provided no sanitary accommodation.

Needless to say, the lords and gentlemen knew nothing of this until four men were victimised by the secretary for daring to degrade the Turf by joining a vulgar trade union. Matters are now in train for a complete settlement, thanks to the persistence of the Union officials and the unwavering loyalty of the men affected, who chose to risk the permanent black list of the Dublin employers rather than sacrifice their rights.

Mr. D. Logue reported great progress in the provinces, and read a telegram conveying greetings from a simultaneous gathering at Cork, where the Organiser, Mr. D. H. O'Donnell, had successfully recruited the Government clerks of that city. Treasurer Griffin's accounts proved healthy, the provisional estimates showing a large surplus. Mr. F. R. Higgins dealt with the Building Trade Branch affairs, and Mr. Grace claimed that the Printing Trade Branch led the procession.

An opportunity was afforded Mr. J. MacDonnell to invite members to attend the Educational Conference classes. He also made an appeal for support of the S.P.I.'s International Delegation Fund, mentioning that the elected delegate, Mr. J. J. Hughes, was a member of the Irish Clerical Workers' Union. A collection was taken, which amounted to £1 18s 6d. (exclusive of several private subscriptions.)

### Jail-Bird Prime Minister.

T. J. Ryan, who is coming to England soon, was jailed for 12 months in 1891 for labour agitation. While in the jug he was elected to the Queensland Parliament in 1892, being one of the first four Labour men elected in that State.

### Domestic Workers' Section of I.W.W.U.

The meeting to organise Domestic Workers will be held in the Central Hall, Exchequer St., on Friday, January 24th at 8 p.m.

The Archbishop of New York, John Hughes, said in 1848, "There is no law of nature, man or God, that will or can prevent a starving man from taking bread where he can find it."



**IRISH LABOUR PARTY IN GLASGOW**

**One of P. Thompson's Projects Realised.**

The Irish workers in the railway suburb of Glasgow, Springburn, assembled on 22nd December to establish an Irish Labour Party in that district to advocate among the Irish in Scotland and the Scottish-Irish the principles of Irish Labour, and to build up in that centre an organisation prepared to co-operate with the Party at home in its efforts to obtain industrial and social freedom, as well as National and political liberty. At the first meeting Mr. Hugh Bradley was appointed president, Mr. A. Carlin vice-president, Mr. Jas. Roe, 25 Avenue Road, Springburn, secretary, and Mr. John McAreavy treasurer. Mr. John Downie is propaganda and literature secretary. At the second meeting on 5th inst, the following programme, based on that of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, was adopted:—

A—The complete and untrammelled freedom of an undivided Irish nation.

B—To help the people of Ireland to secure complete possession of all the natural physical sources of wealth in the country, and to win for the workers of Ireland the ownership and control of the whole produce of their labour, subject to the supreme authority of an Irish National Government.

C—To help in obtaining for all Irish citizens who give service and allegiance to such a government, equality of political, social, and economic rights and opportunities.

D—To co-operate with our fellow-workers in the British Labour movement in the fight for the destruction of Capitalism, and to assist generally in the efforts of the working class of all nations in their struggle for emancipation.

The question of affiliation to kindred movements was shortly discussed, and will be decided at an early date. On behalf of the General Committee, the Chairman submitted a resolution calling for the immediate release of all Irish citizens lying in British and Irish gaols without trial or charge preferred against them. The resolution was agreed to, and the secretary instructed to send copies to the Premier and Irish Secretary. Several members volunteered to act as literature sellers, and the propaganda secretary (Shaun Downey) announced that good progress had been made in booking speakers for future meetings. Among our new members was a kindred spirit from Dalarnock, showing that our movement is arousing friendly interest in other districts.

**A Bad Example.**

Dublin Labour meetings are little bound by reasonable rules of procedure. They follow the Party's example in having all talk and little business. The railway workers' meeting last Sunday was a case in point. It began about forty-five minutes after the scheduled time, and listened to several speeches, excellent in themselves but quite irrelevant, before a motion was asked for. By the time the motion was seconded the audience began to thin out. A prompt start and disposal of business by regular procedure would have enabled the invited speakers to have made better because definite use of their opportunities.

**TRANSPORT UNION NOTES.**

**Roscommon.**

Carpenters and labourers in the saw-mills have secured increases, and other wages movements are in progress.

**Listowel**

Is preparing for a spring offensive against the tight-fisted local farmers. Increases of from 5s. to 10s. have been recently obtained for twenty-seven town workers.

**Tips from Co. Tipp.**

Drangan is the latest "additional arrival," and Mullinahone and Horse and Jockey are "expected" shortly. Wm. O'Brien's visit next Sunday will probably lead to Clonmel's entry.

**Macroom**

Finds the "Voice" valuable for recruiting, and has trebled its membership in three months.

**Lucan**

Has developed a "kick," 2,000-leg strong. The second Annual Meeting was attended by 1,000 members. Ml. Ashe was re-elected President, and Jem Moore Secretary and Treasurer, and the Committee was formed from the six sections. The report and balance sheet showed the Branch to be flourishing.

**Flour-milling Award.**

Another Sitting by J. B. Baillie will decide the Union's claim that the 7s. 6d. increase applies to juveniles. In some mills the boys have got it, and in Spicer's, Navan, the 48-hour week is already in operation. The conference between the British Millers and the Unions concerned agreed to the principle of a reduction of hours, and appointed a committee to report at once. British day-workers seek a 48-hour week, and shift-men 42.

**Co. Meath.**

F. McCabe, organiser, has started flourishing branches in Ratoath, Cloncurry, and will orate at Drumree on Sunday next. He has also established a branch in Kilmore, Co. Cavan.

**Oylegate.**

Labourers and stokers in Enniscorthy Gas Works seek a 47s. wage, with an 8-hour day for stokers.

**Tralee.**

P. Coates, Organiser, settled the general strike of men employed by Tralee's five big sticks, the carters, on whose account the stoppage was called, getting an advance of 3s.

**Feudal Tyranny.**

We learn that two men who obtained employment on the new railway to Castlecomer were dismissed at the instance of the local landlord, who wants his serfs tied to his estate.

**Ballylanders.**

The six-week-old youngster of the Transport Union is carrying on good missionary work. A section has been formed at Glenbrahane and Knockdea. Cullane and other districts are recruiting well for the O.B.U.

**Drumree.**

The I.T. and G.W.U. branch records its sympathy with Mr. Bernard Tynan on the sudden death of his four-year-old son. The attention of the authorities has been directed to a delay in medical attendance in this case.

**Increases for Wallis' Carters.**

The awards, just received, gives the Dublin mail cart drivers employed by Wallis, carriers, an advance of 5s. on former rates—38s. for double-horsemen, and 28s. for single. The firm's employees in Waterford, Limerick, Cork, Cove and Passage get a 7s. advance (former wages being about 36s.), 3s. 9d. extra for country work up to 9 p.m.; 7s. 6d. per day when detained overnight; overtime, 1s. per hour, and Sunday work 1s. 6d. per hour; holidays, Christmas, St. Stephen's, and St. Patrick's days.

**Dunmore.**

The report presented to the branch of the I.T. and G.W.U. by L. Walsh on 12th inst. was encouraging. In the first half-year of the branch's existence £250 has been gained by the members in weekly increases, harvest bonus, and arrears under the Corn Production Act, which were recovered without reference to the Agricultural Wages Board. A strong attitude is to be adopted towards non-unionists. The Chairman (Mr. J. Shortall) and Secretary (Mr. L. Walsh) were re-elected. The latter is to be honoured with a presentation in recognition of his good work.

Employers of agricultural labour in Oldcastle have not been paying even the miserable wage fixed by the Wages Board, with the result that during the week arrears' claims amounting to over £100 have been served through the local branch of the T.U. The bread-van drivers and bakers are making arrangements presently for a move forward.

The Granard branch, which is only two months old, has already created big changes in wages and conditions of labour in the town. Eamonn Rooney, organiser, visited Granard recently and held a very successful public meeting in the Town Hall. The workers are realising the value of the One Big Union idea, and carpenters, bakers, shop assistants, and labourers of all kinds, have got into line. P. J. Curran, the energetic secretary, has, with the organiser's assistance, negotiated successfully an extensive movement, resulting in advances amounting to about £50 per week.

**Castlepollard.**—A general meeting of this branch was addressed by Eamonn Rooney on Thursday week, when many arrears' claims under the Wages Board were prepared, and arrangements for completing the organisation of the district made.

**Athboy, Trim, Slane, and Drogheda** were also visited by the organiser. Great progress is being made in Drogheda. A successful dancing class has commenced under the auspices of the branch; and extensive improvements have been made on the hall. The formation of a dramatic class on the Liberty Hall (Dublin) lines is in contemplation. There have been further secessions from Sexton's Win-the-War Union; and it is only a matter of time when the remainder of its members will get into the big Irish Union.

Organiser Rooney will speak at meetings in **Kilmessan** and **Trim** on Sunday.

For up-to-date Hairdressing—Mallon, 30 Edon Quay.

## EDENDERRY AND DISTRICT TRADES COUNCIL.

A meeting of the above was held in the A.O.H. Hall on Tuesday, January 14th. In the absence of the Chairman (Mr. Freyne), Mr. O'Neill, V.P., presided. There were present:—Mr. Whittaker, Mr. M'Guinness (Transport Workers); Mr. Shanley (Postmen), Mr. Mangan (Coachbuilders); Mr. Moloney, Mr. O'Connell (Machinists); Mr. Daly (Shop Assistants); Mr. Gleeson (Railway); Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Linehan (Rhode Transport Workers); Mr. Bergin (Bakers), and Mr. Healy (Teachers).

The minutes of last meeting were read and signed. The President wrote regretting his inability to attend meeting, stating that owing to his recent illness he was still confined to his room. He also pointed out very important matter for discussion with regard to labour interests in the district.

A letter was read from Tullamore Trades Council inviting delegates to attend their Labour meeting on Sunday, January 19th. The delegates appointed to attend were Messrs. O'Neill, Daly, M'Guinness, and Healy, and it was decided to ask the Tullamore Council to arrange an interview for these delegates with Messrs. Shannon, Daly, and Johnson on that day, and if possible previous to the meeting.

A letter was also received from Mr. Kelly, asking the Council if they would receive a deputation of three from the Sinn Fein Club in reference to the coming local elections. It was decided to receive the deputation at the next meeting of the Council, on Sunday, January 26th.

A resolution was passed unanimously congratulating Mr. Freyne on his recovery and hoping that he would be quite well again in a short time.—H. Healy, sec.

## CASTLE BOYCOTT.

Dear Sir,—Everyone will agree with your last week's article about the difficulties of a general strike—but why not a Castle boycott—anyway till the prisoners are released?—Yours, etc.,

NANCY CAMPBELL.

Kilmolin, Enniskerry,  
Jan. 14th, 1919.

## A Correspondent's View.

Seaghan O'Murchada asks workers to notice that the British-American Tobacco Company announces a profit of £3,114,170 last year.

The British-American Company is but a branch of the world trust in tobacco, and each of its offshoots is equally prosperous.

It is the workers who are paying these excessive profits, and they have the power to make prices fall. That seems to us a doubtful proposition unless the workers radically alter the control of production and distribution.

Seaghan goes on to commend Corcaigh's article on education, and to suggest that every trade union branch should be a centre for the discussion of economic and social problems. The University scholarships financed by the Irish ratepayers, have become, like the endowments of Trinity and the English Universities, preserves of the rich. What the Co. Councils won't do must be done by the workers themselves.

## GOVERNMENT WILL CONSCRIPT LABOUR.

### "Forward's" Revelation.

Now that the elections are over the Englanders who voted Coalition may expect to get it in the neck. According to "Forward" naval mobilisation is being carried out under startling conditions. Says "Forward":—

"We have the instructions before us: 'When each man's turn comes for demobilisation he will be dispersed to leave under the following conditions.'

"Then follow five conditions, specified as (a), (b), (c), (d), and (e).

(a) relates to pay, (b) to a free railway warrant, (d) to an allowance for the purchase of civilian clothes, and (e) to an insurance policy against unemployment.

But it is condition (c) that arrests attention:—

(c) A protection or identity certificate to prove that he is not a deserter when still in uniform, to prove who the man is when applying for work, and to protect him while on leave should labour be conscripted.

Aha! 'Should labour be conscripted.'

## Reinstatement of Soldiers.

On November 22nd an Act was passed in France which guarantees the soldier the same job as he occupied before the army was mobilised. This applies to government departments and private business alike, and though there are various provisions for providing "analogous" jobs when the conditions of employment have changed—provisions which might be wrongly used by unscrupulous employers—this French Act guarantees something much more definite to the returning soldiers than has been given in England. Further, the proof that the resumption of the contract of employment is impossible rests with the employer; and he is also bound to reinstate the soldiers in their previous occupation, no matter how short a time they had held it before mobilisation.

## India.

Complaints are being made by owners of mills in Madras that Labour unions are being formed amongst their employees by the Indian Home Rulers, with a view to spreading the principle of Home Rule for India. The fact that they have had to be set up by a political party only shows that the notoriously bad industrial conditions of India have prevented their spontaneous growth.

## Co-operative Classes.

The growing interest in co-operation as a solvent of industrial and national problems should secure a large attendance at the course of lectures inaugurated by the Dublin Co-operative Conference. The lectures will be given at Plunkett House, 14 Merrion Square, on Wednesdays, at 8 p.m. Students will find themselves in comfortable surroundings, and will have the use of the splendid library gathered there by the I.A.O.S. The names of the lecturers are not announced, but with Messrs. L. Smith Gordon, Cruise O'Brien, and D. Coffey to draw upon, the Dublin Co-operative Committee has a strong staff.

## The Classes.

Some mix up in the Trades' Council's letting arrangements compelled the Educational Classes to crowd last Sunday into a room too small for the classes by more than half. Next Sunday the Classes will again obtain possession of the Council Chamber, and will begin at 4 p.m., prompt.

## Denmark House Lending Library.

Mr. Seeborn Rowntree has presented the following well-known and valuable books to the Denmark House Library:—"How the Labourer Lives," "The Human Needs of Labour," and "Unemployment a Social Evil." The latter he wrote in conjunction with Lasker. The first two are the results of his own careful investigations into the lives of the workers and his conclusions as to the minimum wage upon which a working-class family can live—or exist.

## Teach Naomh Ultan.

Miss French-Mullen, 37 Charlemont Street, Dublin, appeals for support of a hospital for sick children under twelve months of age, which has been opened and placed under the protection of St. Ultan of Ardbraccan, who in the eighth century was called the "Children's Cleric." We commend this latest charity to our readers' hearty support, although we feel strongly that the Corporation, as the organ of Dublin's communal life, ought to maintain all such institutions.

## Part-Time Teachers.

The Cork part-time teachers in the Technical Schools of the city are demanding an increase in their remuneration. The City Technical Committee has endeavoured to secure a much-needed increase, but the Department of Agriculture, which dominates the situation, refuses its consent. There is likelihood of a strike, in which the part-time teachers will have hearty support from all ranks of workers, and from the full-time staffs.

## Tullamore.

The King's Co. Trades Council having established itself as a vital force in public life within the past few months, held its formal election of office-bearers for the ensuing year last Sunday. The occasion was employed for a demonstration which in size and organization equalled the parades of the great political movements of the past. Three bands participated in a long procession. For the public meeting a strong platform party was assembled, viz., Messrs. M. J. O'Lehane, I.D.A.A.; T. Johnson, Treasurer, Nat. Executive; D. Logue, I.C.W.U.; D. Cullen, National Union of Bakers; Adams, Tullamore; Mr. T. P. Smyth, Roscrea.

## Kropotkin Neither Dead nor Jailed.

The Zurich "Volksrecht" reproduces a Russian Government wireless message categorically denying the report in the capitalist papers of the arrest of Peter Kropotkin. Kropotkin, the message asserts, is enjoying complete freedom and is in friendly relations with the Soviet Government.

In view of the daily press statements that Prince Kropotkin has been murdered, we think this message of great importance.

S. MacS.—Article received.

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**48-Hour Week in Tuam.**

After a fortnight's stoppage, the roadmen had their rates increased to 35s. weekly (from 21s.) and carters to 15s. per day (from 9s.), hours to be 48 weekly in future. A minimum of 30s. weekly has been established for town labourers, meaning an average advance of 16s.

**Waterford.**

Labourers in Goulding's manure works secured a 5s. advance, bringing them to 55s. weekly. Casuals at the Corn Stores got 6s. increase last week, making a total advance of 15s. recently gained through the Union. In the Waterford County, L. Veale has taken two new branches—Lismore and Cappoquin—into the fold.

**Women and Russia.**

The following resolution was unanimously adopted at a meeting of the Women's International Council of Socialist and Labour Organisations, British Section (representing more than 300,000 organised women), held at Dilke House, Malet Street, W.C.1, on Tuesday, January 14th, 1919:—"This Council demands that the British Government shall immediately recognise the Soviet Government of Russia, and shall invite the latter to send representatives to the Peace Congress at Versailles."

**INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION  
FUND.**

The prompt response to the appeal of the Socialist Party of Ireland shows a widespread appreciation of the genuine National Service our delegates will be able to perform at Berne. Time is short, however, and so is money. Send your donations, large or small—individual or collections—to the Treasurer, International Delegation Fund, Liberty Hall, Dublin.

Dear Sir,—In your leading article of current issue you have summed up the essentials of the true and necessary Irish position, viz., "political and industrial republicanism." Anything less is a compromise with Imperialism, a concession to cowardice, a betrayal of principles. The habit of indulging petty prejudices, relics of sham parties and programs of the past, but serve to blind our judgment and obscure the bedrock essentials we desire to win. These mental habits beget differences that impede the work of co-operation, which is the indispensable condition of our hoped-for achievements.

I enclose my subscription toward the expenses of the delegates to the International Conference.—Yours truly,

M. MacNAMARA ("MacClase.")

124 Tachbrook St.  
Westminster, S.W., 18/1/19.

**Subscription List.**

P. Shannahan, M.I.P.	...	2	2	0
J. J. Walsh, M.I.P.	...	1	0	0
W. P. Ryan ("Labour Herald")	...	1	0	0
I.C.W.U. (Collection at Quarterly Meeting)	...	1	18	6
Mr. Minnehan	...	0	10	0
Jim Connell	...	0	10	0
Mrs. Eamonn Ceannt	...	1	1	0
Mrs. Connery	...	0	5	0
Mrs. S. M. Kennedy (Killarney)	...	0	3	6
Owen Hynes	...	0	10	0
Gerald Griffin	...	0	5	0
M. McNamara	...	0	10	0
Eng. Men and Firemen, Forbes St. and East Rd. Pumping Stations (per Jno. McGuire)	...	0	10	0
Madeline Boyd	...	0	5	0
Spartan	...	1	0	0
Vera Hone	...	0	10	0
"Seagan"	...	0	1	0
Emiline Evans	...	0	10	0
Maud Gonne McBride	...	1	0	0
E. A. Boyd	...	0	5	0
A. M. Maxwell	...	0	2	0
C. Cahalan	...	0	2	0
Democrat	...	0	5	0
M.H.	...	0	2	6
M. Burke-Dowling	...	0	1	0
L. McLoughlin	...	0	5	0
		£15	13	6

**CONNOLLY MEMORIAL TREAT.**

Herald League, Glasgow, per W. McGill, junr., 1st instalment	...	1	0	0
Do. Do. 2nd instalment	...	1	5	0

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**IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.  
THOMAS FORAN, GENERAL PRÉSIDENT, LIBERTY HALL, DUBLIN.**

**USURY DRAINS IRELAND.****Boss Class Piles up "Dough."**

Can we trust the industrial progress of the nation in the hands of private persons? We have admitted the justice of the "Leader's" rebuke that little effort is being made to realise the co-operative commonwealth along lines that are open for immediate action. We do not forget, however, that the small individual income of the workers, in these days of constantly rising prices, leave little margin for investment of any kind. (Although it should be noted that 3d. a week will be accepted in payment of share capital in the Industrial Co-operative Society.)

On the other side of the social gulf the money keeps piling up. The Munster and Leinster Bank is not a productive concern. It does not add a single ear of wheat to our crops, or drive a rivet in our ships. It is a mere parasite on industry. Yet its profits last year amounted to £50,897 ls. 7d. Of that the shareholders divide among themselves £12,600 at the rate of 18 per cent. £40,000 is added to reserve.

The profiteers have £15,916,896 lying with this bank. Of that sum, about one million pounds is lent out at short notice. This sum is all that can be said to be in any way used to the advantage of the nation. We hear much discussion of the immorality of the 'unholy doctrine of Socialism,' but our clerical guides have nothing to say about the unholy practice of usury, as carried on by these banks. Despite the fact that candidates for bank directorships back up their claims with Cardinals' letters, we have no hesitation in saying that the system of banking, as practised by the capitalist banks of Ireland, is uncatholic. We leave that, however, having called attention to the matter, to those whose province it is to regulate morals.

The system is, in addition, despite the cheques printed in Irish, anti-national. The Munster and Leinster allows one million to be used in Ireland. Over ten millions of the money entrusted to it is sent to England. One may grumble at the slowness of the workers to put their threepennies into co-operation, but the sterility of Irish industry is due in the first instance to the big farmers, the capitalists, and the bankers who drain the country to enrich England.

**MILLIONS GONE ASTRAY.**

There is neither high art nor abstruse philosophy in Edward McNulty's play, "Mrs. Mulligan's Millions." There is simple but effective characterisation and cheery humour. Mrs. Mulligan, a devil-may-care "ould tramp, the worst ould bedlamite and blasphemous scallywag that ever disgraced the town of Carrigmore," is being tried for the thirty-eighth time in the local courthouse when a solicitor appears to inform the bench that she has inherited four million dollars.

At once she becomes the envy and pride of the countryside, but fortunately for the play she retains her command of forcible language and ability to sum up the

**JOHN MacLEAN AND WILSON.****Will the Duke's Son Become Marxist?**

Among those who are sceptical of the virtues of Wilson is John MacLean, who has refused R. Erskine of Mar's invitation to subscribe to the Scottish Home Rule Association's address to President Wilson.

In the course of his reply MacLean says:—"My blood revolts against the 'Memorial to President Wilson' thanking him for what he has done for Home Rule all round. He has done nothing, and will do nothing for Home Rule anywhere, as he is but the representative of brutally blatant capitalism in America, a capitalism that means to crush Mexico under its 'Heel of Steel,' as it already has the Philippine Islands and Cuba. . . . This year I mean to do more than ever for the ending of Capitalism in Scotland—as elsewhere in the world—and the establishment of the Socialist Republic, in which alone we can have real Home Rule."

MacLean then goes on to express to the Laird of Mar his "joy at learning of your revolt against the traditions of your class and family," and continues:—"I am not acquainted with the extent of your new beliefs, but as one who would like to see you become a 'chief' in thought and action on behalf of humanity, I may be forgiven if I urge you to read Marx's 'Capital,' and his other writings, Engel's 'Socialism, Scientific and Utopian,' and other Marxian literature. The greatest leaders of thought and action in Ireland, America, Russia and Germany are Marxian Socialists."

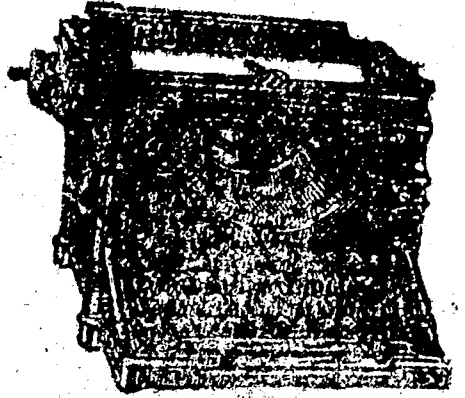
MacLean concludes by pointing out that "the great war, with its accompanying industrial revolution, the 'Coalition Election,' the coming war between Britain and America, as well as the Social Revolution on the Continent, all indicate the need for a thorough knowledge of evolving society, and the structure of society to-day. This can only be obtained in Marxism."

Does John want the descendant of the Jacobite Duke of Mar to become the Citizen Egalite of the Social Revolution?

sycophancy of her former persecutors. She does not take easily to grandeur. Her ould dhudeen she will not surrender and she will not take a bath. After being appointed chairman of the U.D.C., she returns gladly to the open road, when it is found that her millions were destined for Mrs. Milligan.

The usual love interest is interwoven in the plot, but the fun's the thing. There are twelve speaking parts and no excessive demands for properties. The play has been successfully produced by Fred Donovan and Company and is suitable for amateur production.

**Mrs. Mulligan's Millions**, by Edward McNulty. Maunsel's Irish Plays. 1s. net, by post 1s. 2d.

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