



AN APOLOGY.

IRELAND AT BERNE AND PARIS.

To our deep regret we are unable, owing to a certain weariness of the flesh (but not of the spirit) after our Continental trip and the closing down of the printer's on St. Patrick's Day, to issue this week "The Voice's" International Supplement on our experiences, impressions, and work in Berne, Geneva, and Paris. For this disappointment, no less to us than to them, we apologise to our readers. If they will forgive us this trespass we promise them interesting reading in our International Supplement next week. Meanwhile they will learn with pleasure that every newspaper, every government, every public man and woman on the Continent, knows now where Ireland stands.

Cathal O'Shannon.
Thomas Johnson.

The All-Seeing Eye at Berne.

The Intelligence Department of the Irish Trade Union delegation at the Berne International obtained possession of the following report by an English spy to his superiors:—

Dear Sir,—One more delegation has made the appearance at the Conference: an Irishman, who gave the name of Cathal Shanon, who in a short speech recorded the Dublin Rebellion, the programme of the Sinn Feiners. The German did not applaud his speech; the English and French did.

Braillford, the well-known English journalist, has also made his appearance.

You may form an opinion of the interest aroused by the Conference in different quarters when I say that over 250 Press tickets were distributed, whilst many persons had to go without.

You will also inform Mr. Bishop that I shall have to remain here surely till Thursday morning next, because there will be a meeting either Tuesday or Wednesday dealing purely with Russian affairs, of paramount interest now.

I have already written to Mr. Jameson, telling him that financial assistance may be needed, for Thursday may turn out to be Saturday. You may tell Mr. Bishop it is just as well since I am here I should finish the job fully.

Truly yours,

J.

Incidentally it may be mentioned that among the distinguished visitors to Berne was Mr. John Joseph O'Brien, the American gentleman who assured us that there are 10,000 I.W.W. agitators stirring up revolt in Ireland, and that Talbot Street, Dublin, had more toughs to the square yard than Bowery.

DUBLIN WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION CONFERENCE.

TRADES HALL, CAPEL STREET,

On SUNDAY, 23rd March.

AN
ILLUSTRATED LECTURE,

BY

L. P. BYRNE

(Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society)

entitled,

CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE.

Many Unique Slides will be Shown, and Mr. Byrne, who was Irish Delegate to the Co-operative International at Paris, will relate his personal experiences.

Lecture at 4 p.m., prompt.

ADMISSION FREE - COLLECTION

CUMANNACHT NA HEIREANN.

Sunday Evening Lectures, Trades Hall, Capel Street.

LECTURE BY CATHAL O'SHANNON,
ON SUNDAY, MARCH 23rd, 1919,
At 8 p.m., Prompt.

Questions and Discussion Invited.
Admission Free. Music. Collection.

A Special Branch Meeting will be held in the S.P.I. Rooms at 42 Nth Great George's St., on Friday, March 21st, at 8 p.m. Business important. Admission to members only. Usual monthly meeting on the 28th inst.

MESSAGE TO THE WORKERS OF IRELAND.

COMRADES,

The best and the last of the long fight is before us, the watchword is "Organise." Every man, woman and child must be ready to take their stand for Connolly's Commonwealth. Organise Politically and Economically. Put your trust in God and the spirit of Republican Ireland, and full steam ahead.

C. de MARKIEVICZ.

Anti-Bolshevik Slander Apologies.

"The New Europe," the English organ of an Entente group of publicists and politicians, and the semi-official instrument of Russian and Austrian disintegration, climbs down gracefully in its issue of March 13th, with the following:

"THE BOLSHÉVISTS AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN."

"We have received the following communication from our collaborator, Dr. Harold Williams:—

"The statement has been frequently made of late in the Press and in public speeches that the Bolsheviks have issued a monstrous decree for the nationalisation of women, and a Women's Society in Paris is reported to have undertaken a campaign against the Bolshevists on this particular ground. Personally, I cannot be accused of any prepossession in the Bolsheviks' favour, but just because I feel so acutely the enormity of their real crimes and the iniquity of their whole regime I consider it wrong to weaken the case against them by imputing to them crimes they have not committed.

I have made particular inquiries among friends recently arrived from Russia as to the alleged nationalisation of women, and they all assure me positively that they never heard or read of such a decree. It is certain that the Central Bolshevik Government has issued no order of the kind, and if Anarchists in Smolensk or school boys in some other provincial town have printed such abominable productions the Central Government cannot be held responsible. The position of women and of everybody else under the Bolshevik regime is far too tragical to be made the subject of such gross caricature as these reports of the nationalisation of women really are."

"We gladly give prominence to the

above declaration, since—according to the 'Russian Information Bureau' (the Bolshevik Agency in London)—an article entitled 'The Bolsheviks and the Status of Women,' published in No. 107 of 'The New Europe,' appears to have set the ball rolling. In it we gave a translation of a decree issued by the Bolsheviks of Vladimir and published in the official 'Soviet organ' 'Isvestija,' which had been supplied to us by an Englishman personally well acquainted with Russian conditions during the war and of unquestionable good faith. We now find that he was inaccurate in quoting the document from the official Bolshevik organ 'Isvestija,' and that he had confused it with the local Vladimir newspaper of the same name ('Isvestija,' being the Russian for 'News'). As this puts an entirely different complexion on the matter, and as the Central Moscow Government cannot be held responsible for the lucubrations of every local committee, we desire to withdraw unreservedly the imputation and to express our regret for the mistake."

We commend this passage to the people who have spread the same slander in Ireland: Would it be too much to expect that now they too should have the grace to do as the "The New Europe" has done and relieve their consciences of the guilt of slander. If any lover of truth amongst our readers will send us a shilling's worth of halfpenny stamps we shall gladly help to an examination of conscience those high and low ecclesiastics who have built up a moral bogey to frighten the Irish workers on the lies of the English and French capitalist Press and as well give the "Freeman's Journal" and "Evening Telegraph" an opportunity of examining whatever they have where their conscience ought to be but isn't.

TRADE UNIONISM AND CO-OPERATION.

Ginger Wanted in Dublin.

Dublin Industrial Co-operative Society has been pursuing a very erratic course lately. Since Mr. S. Wylie left the service in November, no less than nine employees have been dismissed the service.

It seems probable that more of them are going, for there is a reserve stock of dismissal certificates on hand.

Trade Unions are continually calling for open references being given to employees leaving the service of any firm. Judge of the influence of Trade Unionism on the Dublin Industrial Society when such a document as this is offered as a certificate of character:

Industrial Co-operative Society (Dublin),
Ltd.,
17 Annesley Bridge Road,
Dublin.

This is to certify that _____ was in the service of this Society from _____ to _____. He now leaves, full wages being paid to date.

The Committee would be well advised to call a halt to this policy of wholesale dismissal, and before they take action about an employee whose stock taken one week shows an impossible surplus, and the next an equally impossible loss, to ask themselves if it would not be wiser to call in a stocktaker of experience before coming to a decision.

Half-yearly meetings, nomination days that are not announced, and meetings called without proper notice don't give the members a chance of controlling the Committee. The system of local branch Committees was warmly extolled by the Chairman at last half-yearly meeting, but only one is in existence, and no steps have been taken to call others into being.

Until that state of things is altered, open and public criticism in the Press is the only remedy that members have.

JACK CARNEY ON HARRY FORD.

Dear Cathal,—I am glad indeed to note that your readers, under your able guidance, are becoming wise to our good friend, Mr. Ford.

Ford is the biggest illusion that the twentieth century has produced. Ford is an efficient business man, permeated with a thinly disguised antipathy towards labour, which masquerades as radicalism, amongst our liberal friends. I wish that it were possible for your readers to visit the factory in Detroit. Such a visit would demonstrate to them the real nature of Ford. High wages it is true. On the other hand cases of consumption and nervous ailments are higher in Ford's factory than in any other in Detroit. Work eighteen months in Ford's and you are absolutely unfitted for work in any factory. Your nerves are wrecked and you become one of the wholesale army of human wrecks that just drag themselves along.

When I visited Detroit I was offered a good job at one pound per day, eight hours. But I thought of the green hills of Ireland and happy laugh of the children whose fathers do not get one pound per day, but they still have their health, and I said no.

Better by far to live out your life, tasting life on one pound per week, than to hustle yourself to the grave at six pounds per week.

Ford is the most efficient business man in America. He can skin the workers better than any one I know—Martin Murphy is a fool alongside of Ford—and at the same time convince them that it is for their own good.

Better an Ireland under the sea than an Ireland full of Ford factories.

Yours for what Connolly stood for,
JACK CARNEY.

ANOTHER REPLY TO J. BAIRD.

Current Calumnies Short-circuited by
Electrician.

Sir,—I still think the Belfast shipyard workers put up a grand and united front. It is a sight I shall never forget—a step in the right direction. I believe in revolution of mind—the only revolution worth while at present.

An industrial war, same as other wars, must be dependent on many circumstances and moves. It was quite evident the shipyard workers meant coming out for "44," and I believed in my heart there was every reason to hope for the best at that period. I was in communication with many districts across the Channel, and was doing my best for unity of action and demand.

As it was, the proposals were weeks ahead of the movement in England, where the unions were still haggling over the 47-hour week. The mistake, as far as I can judge, was too many leaders, and if I had had my way I would have got the men back on Lord Pirrie's proposals, and then set to work for effective organisation to enforce them (the proposals) to the letter.

But other counsels prevailed, and I did not give up hope till the Monday following the result of ballot vote (in itself a moral reverse). But figures I received from different centres, facts Lord Pirrie placed before us that morning, convinced me that to keep thousands of men in Belfast fighting a local battle for millions elsewhere would be criminal folly; and that is why I advocated an orderly retirement pending unity of action and demand—the key of success.

In the meantime, perhaps our "revolutionary" friends will let us know a little more of their own city and a little less of far-away lands. Let us know how they can assist the "tame rabbits" in the distribution of coal and food with-chaos during a struggle, and where to put the "make-believes" during the trouble without injuring them. Organisation and honesty of purpose can work miracles, bearing in mind—

Falsehoods which we spurn to-day,

Were the truths of long ago;

Let the dead boughs fall away,

Fresher shall the living grow.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN W. MILAN, B.T.U.

Which Are You

As we said before, every worker is either a submissive slave or a class-conscious rebel.

CUMANNACHT NA h-EIREANN.

A special branch meeting will be held at 42 North Great George's Street, on Friday next, the 21st instant, at 8 p.m., when the report of the Irish delegation to the Berne Conference will be presented by the delegates for consideration of the members, and a large attendance of members is requested.

A large public meeting is being arranged for Sunday next, the 23rd instant, when Comrades O'Shannon and Johnson will speak on the Berne Conference. See advertisement columns for particulars.

S.P.I. INTERNATIONAL DELEGATION FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	141	3	6
Nat. Union of Railwaymen, Cork, No. 1	2	0	0
Nat. Union of Railwaymen, Cork, No. 3	2	0	0
Subscribed by Members of Seamus Ua Congaile Sina Fein Club, Belfast	2	6	6
James Pyke, Birr	1	0	0
F. Lawless, T.D.E.	1	0	0
James M'Partland	0	2	6
R. Turner	0	0	6
John Byrne	0	0	6
R. M. Green	0	0	6
P. Rock	0	0	6
John O'Malley	0	0	6
Collected by James Savage, Belfast	1	5	0
R. Bettison, Barrow-in-Furness (per Thos. Leahy)	0	10	0
	£151	10	0

"Economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war."
—Woodrow Wilson, Sept. 27, 1918.

The modern slave even has to pay for his own alarm clock!

Transport Union Notes.

GRIST MILLING ARBITRATION.

(Official.)
The daily papers wrongly report the result of above. The Union was ruled out on its claim that the wages, hours and conditions in the flour milling industry should be applied to grist mill men, and then went forward with its original demand of December, for a 16s. advance on then existing rates for men, 6s. for boys, and a 48-hour week. The Arbitrator's award is expected in a fortnight. Any branch secretary who has not by this time been notified by H.Q. that the case of grist milling members of his branch was not heard at the Arbitration, will take it that the firms in his branch area did not agree to Arbitration, and must be dealt with by direct action. When the award is received, instructions will be issued to such branch secretaries as to procedure. Meanwhile, carry on!

Lanesboro'.

Is bursting to make its bow on the Union stage. They are clamouring for an organizer. Nothing like a bit of enthusiasm.

Castlereagh.

O'Grady Young, like an infant terrible, keeps bobbing up, and gives a spasmodic kick every little while. Then you hear agreements rip, like "scraps of paper." When will he be sat upon? He's not young enough to spank, and too Young to learn sense.

Ballinrobe.

The last "batch put in" by the bakers was not to the taste of Birmingham and Co., Ltd. It consisted of demands for increases. The firm have bluffed with a month's notice, and think they have each man "done to a turn," but they now find he has "turned to a dum," and will not cease dunning till he gets his "rise!"

Knocklong.

What do we pay the "Polis" for? We would like to see them doing something useful for their money at times, but when a certain Gubbins, of Kilfrush, has them pulling turnips, feeding cattle, driving his horses through the streets, and generally soiling their uniforms and reputations at "dirty" farm work, we think they could be better engaged. But that sort would scab on Judas Iscariot. The Kilfrush strikers are confident of victory, with the support of the Transport Union.

New Ross.

The employees of Cherry Bros. have chalked up "Victory" on getting their full demands. Other members in the Three-Bullet town are looking for more cherries to fall in response to various demands.

Bray.

The inventor of "Empire Day" is being invited, with others, to help his employees meet the high costs imposed by the Great War. We shall see how far the Earl of Meath believes in paying the "price," by his reply to the Kilruddery farm and garden hands.

Westport.

The wriggles of Molloy to avoid recognising the Union are viewed with equanimity by the sturdy and steadfast workers here, who, having taken up the strike with coolness and calm deliberation, are determined to maintain in stoical and uncompromising silence their attitude of firm resistance, until success crowns their efforts. The I.D.A. in this town are offering arbitration.

Dripsey.

Procrastination is the thief of wages! So think the employees at O'Mahony's Woollen Mills, and they are determined to put an end to the soft talk that is being handed out in lieu of hard cash.

Carlow.

Council roadmen have put in for a wage of 38s., carters 40s., a 50-hour week, one o'clock stop on Saturday. Grave-making on Sundays to be paid for at the rate of double time. Garden-men here are also on the upward trail.

Loughrea.

The farm labourers are waking up to their sad condition. Even the miserable A.W.B. scale is not observed. Employers apparently think it is easy to sack any man that kicks. They are finding out their mistake.

Templeglantine.

Starvation and violence are the ruling powers in this district! The Meenahela Creamery Committee defend their munificent wage scale by assaulting and threatening to shoot our members. Riotous living and luxury on 16s. per week!! These "hard" headed farmers who Prussianise over the Creamery—believers in pre-Flood rates and conditions—were merrily edging their carter out of his livelihood, for another farmer's benefit, hen—Bang! went the Union's big gun, "Strike." Their lesson will cost them some hard cash in all-round increases.

Collooney.

A minion of Capital, the manager of the Carbide Works, is on trial for an assault on the Union's Branch Secretary. Watch his case! Will he go to jail? The Union recently fought for, and won, advances from the Carbide Co. in the teeth of this foreign thug, Evans. Verb. sap., meaning tuigean thu!

Ballinasloe.

Members are making a general attack. They have the town well organised. Non-unionism at the minimum. Masons and plasterers already "got home" with 3s. increase and reduction of hours. More power! Skerries.

Bakers are demanding a living wage. Employer Ennis tries to dodge our representatives. He may dodge as much as he cares when the bakers strike this week.

Newbridge.

Secretary Smyth has convened meetings of the Co. Kildare branches to formulate a general demand on the Kildare Farmers' Federation. That's the way to go about it, Branch Secretaries! No more hold-and-corner local movements. See that your demands for farm workers embrace at least a county.

Ballyduff.

Members of the Union have their coats off ready for the County and District Councils fight. The employer monopolists are preparing to evacuate their old entrenched positions.

Flour Milling Hours.

The agreement reached at the Conference was for a 44-hour week for shift-workers and 47 for day-workers. A copy of the agreement will be forwarded each branch secretary concerned within a week. The new hours come into force on or before 28th April. Some of the arrangements are left to adjustment between individual millers and their men, and the latter would do well to be now consulting together on the point.

Mitchelstown.

Records an all-round advance of 5s. per week for the employees of Cusack and Sons.

Maryborough.

And other Leix branches have met in conclave to frame an all-county demand for the agricultural workers. That's the stuff to give them! No parochial limitations about Leix. Other counties should mark, learn, and—get a move on, too!

DUBLIN DOINGS.

The world is moving indeed! Bank totters at long last have smashed into smithereen their effete sectional machine, and have decided to become a cog in the One Big Union machine. Good! Possibly it is now only a matter of days when bank porter and bank clerk will be sitting cheek by jowl in the I.T. & G.W.U. councils stating their common destinies, and perhaps no longer chorusing to their common directorates: "Give us bread"—the cry used by the people during the French Revolution.

The Chemical Workers' case has resulted in a satisfactory settlement. The demand for 150 per cent. on pre-war earnings, and a 44-hour working week having formed the subject of a conference with the members of the Irish Fertilisers' Association, an amicable arrangement was reached whereby the wages demand was conceded, and a 48-hour week established in the industry. Among the men general satisfaction has been expressed on the results achieved by the representatives of the Union.

What may be described as a revolution has been effected in the wage conditions of the Dublin Retail Fish and Poultry Workers. Since last June these men have received advances varying from 31s. to 36s. per week, while the question of a 44-hour week for the trade is under consideration.

The threatened strike in the cross-Channel trade has been suspended, the men having agreed to accept the companies' offer as a temporary settlement, pending the outcome of the negotiations in progress in London between the Transport Workers' Federation and the English shipping magnates.

There is a strong possibility of a rupture taking place this week in the relations of the managements of the Dublin newspapers and their machine-room staffs, unless in the meantime a more conciliatory attitude is adopted towards the men in connection with their claim for better wage conditions.

Everything bids fair for the success of the Theatre Royal dance, to be held on the 28th inst., at the Mansion House. Meantime, the fresh offensive in all the "theatres" of war will not, in all probability, be launched.

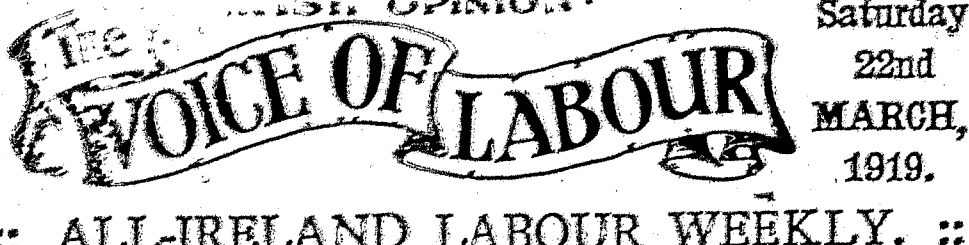
In reference to the dispute at Lucania works, we understand Mr. O'Neill, proprietor and ex-cycle manufacturer, has removed some material with the aid of the British Garrison, his manager, engineer and boy clerk, which speaks well for those who are indebted to the Irish people for support.

Material has also been removed by private motor cars for Monastererevan and other destinations, which will be dealt with in due course.

The position at the Lucania works remain unchanged. It will be remembered that the works were closed down by the proprietor on a demand being made by the members of the I.T.W.U. for increase in wages. The proprietor, Mr. John O'Neill, who has earned something of a reputation in Irish industrial circles, refused to meet the Union officials to discuss the demands with them. We wonder does Mr. John O'Neill favour the building up of Irish industries by sweated, underpaid labour. Industries which can only thrive on such labour are no asset to a nation.

Longford.

What is the great counter-attraction on Branch meeting nights? Is it worth a shilling? Turn up and take your medicine, if only to "pay out" a Fee!



Saturday
22nd
MARCH,
1919.

ALL-IRELAND LABOUR WEEKLY.

THINK FOR YOURSELF FOR ONCE.

There is no leading article in the "Voice" this week. You will see from the note of apology on the front page that the Editor anticipates that some of his readers will be disappointed. He is very sanguine. In respect of his work in the "Voice of Labour" he has reason to be so.

The scribe who pens these lines has to read the letters that reach this office, and can bear witness to the many evidences that readers of the "Voice" are directly influenced by his articles. And they are so hot to do some of blame and self-respect that they admit it.

Doubtless after the rigours of travel under war conditions, and a sojourn in the high valleys of Switzerland, amid the chill atmosphere of the snowy pinnacles of the Alps, there is some reason why both our delegates should break down in health and be compelled to seek rest on their return.

However, the merely physical reasons cannot fully account for the Editor's failure to fill this space. Perhaps during those weeks when he was cut off from all communication with Ireland, when he received no letters from Dublin, no newspapers, and urgent wires (telegraphic money orders, I believe) only seven days after despatch, perhaps then some realisation of the gravity of an Editor's responsibility began to come to him.

There are few newspaper readers who will agree that the difference between journalism and literature is that journalism is unreadable and literature is not read. It is perhaps well for the world that literature is not read. It is often disturbing, giving birth to a yearning for the impossible virtues of its moral giants and thus leading people to forsake father and mother and wife and children and houses and lands at the call of the ideal.

Sometimes the intense moments of a Georges Dupont or a Lewis Seymour sway the reader to follow after the glow-worm of pleasures banned by morality, expecting that, as with his heroes, the secret mastery of the will that musters the resolution to be vile will open to him strange and enchanting avenues of joy.

No. Literature should not be read, for if it move the reader to virtue he will surely find that strait is the gate and narrow the way, a thorn-strewn Via Dolorosa. And if it deflect him from the broad and not unpleasant path of conventional morality, he will find sin to be sordid, experience harsh and short, and repentance, if it be given, bitter, and if it be withheld, the remorse, unrelieved, will be agonising.

As for journalism, it is unfortunately read. The very contempt with which the scribbling fellow is regarded disarms the reader. Revelling in the firm conviction that he is a man of independent mind, he does not realise that his cerebral grey matter is like some inverted mirror, which reflects the prejudices of his morning newspapers, and when he speaks he

is but the echo of the "Daily Gramophone," or perhaps of the "Voice of Labour."

The cheap Japanese pencil or the "Waterman" are indeed mightier than the sword. Words penned carelessly to fill space, words drawn forth by the urgent call of the overseer, or words dictated by some Northcliffe, sway the passions of multitudes, inflame the hates of nations, and throw empires into wars. Journalism is only too readable and the world has reason to regret that it is too often read.

No, although well aware of the physical ill that forbids your perusal of Cathal O'Shannon's story of Berne, it pleases me to fancy that perhaps some measure of the influence that even the smallest sheet of print seems always to carry, has come home to him.

"All influence is immoral," said Lord Henry Westton. "Because to influence a person is to give him one's own soul. He does not think his natural thoughts or burn with his natural passions. His virtues are not real to him. His sins are borrowed."

If there be any, then, who feels aggrieved at the apparent breach of faith that compels the postponement of our Special International Number until next week, or any who is accustomed to find a fresh stock of mental inspiration in these editorial columns, let it be my pleasure to say to such an one, "Be of good cheer."

"For one week you will be relieved from the imposition of an editor's will. Your mind, freed from the dictation of the subtle words of a stranger, will be free to range down every by-road of imagination, and in its own strength, to explore the world of thought. The secret stimulus of another man's motives being withdrawn, you will be enabled quietly to examine the cosmos from a strictly personal and individual point of view."

The possibilities of that loneliness of thought and singleness of aspiration that a simultaneous stoppage of all newspapers would enable us to attain are alluring, but I fear we have been too long accustomed to having our minds propped daily or weekly by the Press to stand long alone.

To say that we are social beings is to admit that we are feeble. Not even the P.P. of Killenaule could endure a world so strictly individualistic that it could not produce a "Freeman's Journal."

It is not my expectation that anybody will thank me for this contribution.

If I have been sufficiently perspicuous to reveal the dependence of the average man to himself, he will, if chance permits, reward me with a half-brick violently propelled. If I have not made myself clear, then the reader will be simply bored, but buoyed up by the hope that Cathal will resume control next week in a six-page paper, replete with interest and enlivened by a mild and genial humour.

COLKITTO.

TO CON LEHANE.

(Verses composed by J. T. Bain, the deputed Secretary of the South African Federation of Trades, and read by him at the banquet given to C. Lehane in London on May 14th, 1914.)

Did ye ever hear tell of such a man
As this friend of ours who is six feet wan?
With a heart as big as a warming pan
And soft as a woman's—
That's Con Lehane!

He's big of body and he's broad of mind;
He's ready to fight for his kith and kind.
You may go wherever you like or can,
And scarce find another—
Like Con Lehane!

Wherever he goes; wherever he stays;
Let's wish him health and a wealth of days;
All of us here—aye, every wan—
Wish health and bon voyage—
To Con Lehane.

So fill up your glasses, every man,
And we'll drink to the health—
Of Con Lehane!

A FRANK CENSORSHIP IN FRANCE.

Here is a sample of a censored article from "Le Populaire." Unlike our noble friend, Decies, the French Censor does not insist on the complete disguise of his handiwork.

When he deletes a word or a passage from an article he allows the space to remain blank:—"Le Parti socialiste doit se dresser de toute sa force contre la paix infame qu'on nous prépare, qui le sacrifice des soldats de la en consacrant le vol de territoires qui ne nous appartiennent pas, le rapt avoué ou déguisé des populations allemandes du bassin de la Sarre et de la rive gauche du Rhin, en nous amenant peut-être — ô honte! — des députés protestataires au Parlement français."

Seven Houses.

Better late than never. A delayed report is that from Sept. 2, 1918, to the end of November, thirty-three men were on strike, which cost the Union £90 10s. in strike pay. The settlement arrived at gave the men £89 2s. 6d. in arrears of wages and £200 in increased wages and bonus. The chairman, P. Ryan, and committeemen Marnell, Barry, Doran, and Bandon are due a word of appreciation for their work.

International Number

Cathal O'Shannon and Thomas Johnson tell the Story of Berne Next Week.

Six Pages :: READY NEXT THURSDAY :: One Penny.

OWING EVIL WE TURN THE OTHER CHEEK.

Should stand in the Dock with Criminal.

have received the following letter from a lady well-known in the city. It is with an evil, the recent growth of which is a direct consequence of the unbridled passions during the great war. We have here "a terrible legacy" which even "Marshal Foch's deeply religious character" nor the eleventh hour of recruiting Bishops can affect. I apply we can only deal with the able results and punish rather than the offenders.

Sir,—We think it essential to public attention in Dublin to the of the increasing number of cases of minor assaults upon children and of their exposure in the streets. Within the past few weeks two disgusting incidents have occurred in a respectable suburb of the city—in one case the girl of 12 was saved from ruin by the timely advent of the driver of a car. It is well known that this form of child assault has become alarmingly prevalent in England. Hitherto it has been rare in Ireland, but unhappily it has now taken the form of vice which spreads rapidly.

We appeal to the men of our city to make a determined effort to crush out this growing evil, and to guard our children from hideous experiences. We demand that vigilance on the part of the police, more drastic treatment of the offenders when arrested, and a careful patrol of the streets at the hour when children are going to and from school would be of great use, and we plead for a careful investigation of the causes of the evil.

Yours faithfully,
G. A. Dunlop,
Dublin, March 6th.

A letter to the Press, Mrs. Moser, Sec. Dublin Watch Committee, writes:—"The man who is found guilty of an act—on those rare occasions when he is brought to trial—receives the penalty of 1 month's imprisonment, or a fine of 40s.; the case is heard in a week; his name is concealed, and in a week—at most—he is once more at liberty to cruelly victimise another little fellow."

We believe that these facts are not known to the public. It is ignorance on the part—and not apathy—that permits such a state of affairs to continue without protest and without effort to prevent it."

Judicial Lenience.

In support of the contention that offences are inadequately dealt with Mrs. Moser appends a list of cases. We select a few of those in which she records convictions.

1. A man—army canteen assistant—aged 40 years—assaulted a girl 7½ years on September 6th, 1918. Received sentence of 1 month's imprisonment, or fine of 40s.

2. A man—discharged soldier—assaulted a girl of 11-12 years on November 30th, 1918. Received sentence of 3 months' imprisonment (usually severe).

3. In such sentences, it will be agreed, the law punishes adequately or guarantees safety against future offences. Indeed, the punishment however heavy can be considered sufficient in such cases—but the hideously unequal criminal should not stand alone in the dock.

Society Responsible.

With him should be ranged all those offenders of capitalism who would rather sacrifice the whole moral code than pay a wage that would enable them to charge properly their functions as citizens. Low wages compelling unnatural and involuntary celibacy and defective education on social duties engender such evils among those who are victims of the capitalist system.

On the other hand, the pursuit of wealth, of pleasure without the necessity of labouring to attain it, develop in the upper social class a disregard of all moral obligations. Equipped with the means of pander to every vice they engage in a course of conduct that sensibly reduces the conventional standards of society as a whole.

Punish, then, as you will the ignorant and debased victims of their own passions, you cannot end, by that means, the evils. They are continually regenerated by the capitalist system—and those who condemn Socialism must offer us some positive remedy for the economic insecurity that is at the root of the social problem raised here.

AUSTRIA.

Socialists Lead in Election.

Vienna, Austria.—Final results of the election for the National Assembly, held in German Austria on February 17, have been officially announced as follows: Social Democrats, 70; Christian Social Party, 62; Liberals, 28; Zionists, 1; Czechs-Slovaks, 1.

A Defence of Capitalism by G. A. Dunlop.

Dear Sir,—I purchased last week's "Voice of Labour" with considerable eagerness, in order to get reading Mr. Darrel Figgis's views on that most pregnant of problems, What is Property?

This subject is one which cannot be debated too much, and with your permission, I shall set down some reflections which occurred to me after reading Mr. Figgis's disquisition.

First, as regards the etymological meaning of the term "property," it seems to me that Mr. Figgis, in denouncing Professor O'Rahilly's phrase, "the Rights of Property," may possibly have misunderstood the particular interpretation which the Professor applied to the term. It is, indeed, inconceivable that any sensible person should attribute "rights" to the material things cited by Mr. Figgis as examples of property. But there is a second interpretation of the word Property, which Mr. Figgis will find in the dictionary. That meaning is proprietorship, the act of owning.

With this definition before us, let us look again at the phrase, "the Rights of Property." If by the preposition "of" we understand that property, proprietorship, confers certain absolute, unquestionable rights upon a proprietor, then indeed the phrase embodies a fallacy. I assume that it was this belief in "absolute" proprietorship which led that great anti-absolutist thinker, Proudhon, to denounce it in the famous phrase—"la Propriete, c'est le Vol" (Proprietorship, it is theft!)

But if we take the word "of" and consider it as standing for "which constitute," so that the dictum is transformed into "the Rights which constitute Proprietorship," then we are indeed in touch with a reality. For property is RIGHT. Not privilege, but Right, Reason, is the sole rampart of property which can withstand the assaults of time. Consonant with REASON, proprietorship is an

eternal and inexorable truth.

We cannot invest one body of men with property by arbitrarily confiscating the property of others. In deciding conflicting claims to ownership, we must ever hearken to the voice of reason.

It is reason which will point out the solution—the true solution—of the present world-wide labour troubles. Mr. Figgis's anti-capitalistic bias is deplorable. At this time of day it seems scarcely necessary to point out that capital and labour are inter-dependent. Capital finds that the reasonable return which it demands is threatened in any way—say, by an unreasonable demand

from those whom it enables to earn a livelihood—then it will endeavour to find another outlet. If it finds all outlets barred, then, of course, it falls into disuse, and in so far as labour requires financial support, in so far will labour suffer also.

It is folly

to suppose that, for instance, mines can be worked by labour only, without capital. The government proposes to sink a shaft in the neighbourhood of Lough Neagh. Before it penetrates an inch underground, however, it has become necessary to lay aside £9,000 capital for the project. To suggest that miners should get a share of the mine-owners' profits—for such I take to be the aim of the present agitation—on the grounds that the owners have no right to their property, is to propagate a dangerous, nay, a fatal fallacy. To argue that it is the miners who bring up the coal, and that the capitalist ought to be abolished, is to argue against all reason. Capital is indispensable to labour. If the miners could, and would, capitalise their own industry, let them buy out the present owners, and pocket those proprietorial profits themselves. But someone must plank down the needful. Capital is, in short, the life of industrial enterprise, and the man who contends the opposite is doing a cruel injustice to all parties concerned.

Of course, the labourer has his own peculiar capital—his muscle, his brains. Equipped with these, he has the weapons which will secure for him the respectful consideration of the financier, the man who, in fact, has profited most by the labourer's efforts. The labourer is in a position to strike as hard a bargain as any financier alive.

Yes, capital and labour go hand in hand. Capitalists are not hard-hearted monsters. It is to the interest of every man, capitalist or not, that this world should become populated with a happy race of men, a humanity as multitudinous as the "laisies pied" which "do paint the meadows with delight." Such, indeed, is the aim of a rational SOCIALISM. Alas! Even at its best, the melancholy thought arises that this happy growth of humanity has its limitations. "All men," Mr. Figgis exclaims, "have rights to property." If that contention has any force, it must mean that the earth is capable of supporting an infinite number of men, and that the wealth of this world, and consequent population, were illimitable. Would that it were so!

—Yours faithfully,

GEORGE WATT, Ltd.,
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Sunday, 2nd March, 1919.

NEW YORK STIRRED UP OVER DEPORTATION ISSUE.

States Kidnaps Just Like (—)

New York, N.Y.—A wave of indignation is sweeping over radical labour circles of this metropolis in view of the announced policy of the Government to deport alien agitators.

The whole matter came to a head when on February 11th, a special car—dubbed the "Red Special" by the kept Press—arrived from Seattle carrying 58 aliens, most of them caught in Seattle, and others picked up in cities along the route. Learning that there were 41 I.W.W.'s among them, Caroline Lowe of Chicago, and Charles Recht of this city, attorneys for the I.W.W., tried to get in touch with them at Ellis Island. They were refused admission. The prisoners were kept incommunicado. Even the list of names, which was given to the newspaper reporters while the attorneys were on the island, was refused them.

They instituted habeas corpus proceedings. Again every technical legal obstacle was put in their way. The writ was dismissed.

Next the attorneys proceeded to Washington to obtain access to the deportation records. After endless red tape and trouble they were finally permitted, "as a matter of courtesy," to examine the records.

Their researches surprised even themselves. They found that in scores of cases the deportees had committed no other "crime" than that they belonged of the I.W.W. There was no evidence of any criminal action against them. From the testimony of many it appeared that they had repeatedly declared themselves opposed to violence. To the attorneys, the connection between the big lumber and other western financial interests on the one hand and these deportations on the other, was so evident that they voiced their suspicions in public interviews to the Press.

With copies of these records in their possession, the attorneys are now preparing for a spectacular legal battle to prevent the ejection of the radicals on Ellis Island from this "land of the free and home of the brave."

Intervention in the Ukraine.

"Volkrecht" of January 22nd reports that the Red Army is in control of South Ukraine. It is interesting to learn that the German armies in the Ukraine refuse to fight against the Red Army, and even provide the Bolsheviki with arms.

UNDER THE UNION JACK.

India is Drained.

Cost of Government is Appalling.

J. Griffiths, Secretary of the England and India League, has compiled some startling figures as to the cost of governing India. He shows that only a very small proportion of the positions in the civil service of India are held by Indians and that the great bulk go to Britishers who have built up a bureaucracy "which is more repressive than the late Russian government, is well entrenched, and has successfully nullified most of the reforms introduced for its modification."

The salary of the Secretary of State for India, for instance, represents a sum equal to the average annual income of 90,000 Indians. The Viceroy draws about £20,000 a year. The three Governors of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, each approximately £10,000 a year; the Lieutenant-Governors, each £8,000. Leave allowances to Europeans total £360,000; pensions paid to Europeans in England, about £4,200,000.

Another imposition on Indian revenue is the support of an alien (Anglican) church. The Bishop of Calcutta draws £3,600, and the Bishops of Madras and Bombay, £2,000 each.

It is instructive, after reading these figures, to consider that the masses of struggling Indian clerks get less than £2 a month, the great masses of labourers get only one meal a day, and the huts in which they live are truly lamentable.

SIR ROBERT HORNE.

An American Estimate.

The rather tame labour man who was Minister of Labour has been supplanted by a "stern administrator," namely, Sir Robert Horne. It appears that, while in previous Governments the Irish Secretaryship was regarded as the post of danger, the Ministry of Labour is now regarded as such.—I.L.N.S.

And, it seems, Ireland is Sir Robert's danger zone.

DORA IN AUSTRALIA.

Workers Want the Lady Pushed.

Australian Labour is experiencing the benefits of British rule. A memorial has been presented to Acting-Prime Minister Watts urging early repeal of the War Precautions Act. The list of things objected to is curiously familiar to the Irish eye.

The memorial calls attention to the fact that "Britons the world over point to their traditional liberties as evidence of the superiority of their institutions. ALL these liberties have been annihilated by the War Precautions Act." It objects to the sending of detectives to labour meetings. It protests against the imprisonment without trial of persons arrested on suspicion. Other actions of the Government objected to are the following: The abolition of habeas corpus proceedings, the arbitrary deportation of agitators, the invasion, without warrant, of the privacy of homes by the military, the taking away of the power of justice to grant bail, and the usurpation of the legislative functions of Parliament by the Executive.

Legislators Assist in Forming Soviet.

Phoenix, Arizona.—In striking contrast to the anti-Soviet attitude of the United States Senate Investigating Committee, four members of the Arizona legislature took part in and addressed a meeting called here recently for the purpose of forming a Soldiers', Sailors' and Workers' Council. The meeting was attended by soldiers and sailors in uniform as well as by workers. A preliminary organisation was effected. Resolutions were passed demanding immediate release of industrial prisoners, withdrawal of American troops from Russia, and censorship by the Typographical Union of copy affecting labour.

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THE FAILURE OF LEADERSHIP.

It is annoying to find that there still survive people capable of repeating the old vile tradition that "all the leanings and traditions of the race have been monarchical." We may suppose that even the compilers of the "Irish Year Book" of happy memories have recanted of their acceptance of Henry VIII. and George III. because parliaments of Planters assembled on Irish soil acknowledged the sway of these now long deceased monarchs.

Yet in a recently published book, "Chief and Tribune," the author, M. M. O'Hara, solemnly renews the assurance that the Irish love kings and hate republics. Hateful as it may be to the rebel mind that wills a kingdom to every Irish soul it must be admitted that the worship of successive leaders by recent generations affords good ground for Mr. O'Hara's deduction.

Uncrowned Kings.

It is the fashion nowadays to deride O'Connell, but Daniel was hardly to blame if a nation insisted on labelling him "the uncrowned King." It is not in human nature, and Dan was very human, to run away from flattery kindly meant, and merely an exaggeration of an undoubtedly well earned appreciation.

Mr. O'Hara depicts Parnell as a despot. He was. He could not help walking on people's necks when such was the only paving of the road to freedom for a nation emerging from generations of subjection. He and Davitt taught them the virtue of solidarity, but both had passed away nearly twenty years before the people began to realise the meaning of the discipline that Chief and Tribune enforced.

Was Parnell Right?

Davitt would have had the people awakened at once. He did not fear unrest and agitation. He would have agreed with the American who said "Every strike is a small revolution and a dress rehearsal for the big one." Not so Parnell. He feared to trust the people to use their power. When he brought Davitt from his prison at Weymouth to London "he spoke of anarchy," said Davitt, "as if he were a British Minister bringing in a Coercion Bill." It may be that in his generation Parnell was wise. Certainly the dramatic end of his dictatorship found the people unable, who had banked their hopes of freedom with him, to retrieve aught in his bankruptcy.

Davitt had foreseen the folly of fetish worship. He had striven to make the national will supreme in the national organisation. The national will, as Mr. O'Hara says, was Parnell. Davitt failed to make the people self-reliant, failed because they preferred the monarchical sway of an uncrowned king.

Are These Days Done?

Perhaps. There are no leaders in sight, but there are many willing followers, sheep without a shepherd. No man more vehemently denounced leadership than Jim Larkin, but despite himself he was forced to lead. The practice of democracy is yet lacking in politics and in trades unionism, and dissent from the decisions of the foremost figures is repressed more by the followers than by those who run the clubs and the unions. We must change all that before we can be really free. Disunity may be the penalty of the effort, but a unity imposed by personality or the machine must break down with the machine or pass away with the personality. An imperfect but yet substantial unity is that which derives its binding force from the unfettered thought and free choice of the individual.

Shielding the Mitres.

Such is the lesson that may be learned from Mr. O'Hara's fluent combination of Barry-O'Brien's "Life of Parnell" and Cashman's old compilation about Davitt, but it is a lesson that the author does not dream of teaching. He is of the old school of gushing surnbursty historians. His moral judgments are continually and needlessly obtruded. He deliberately suppresses the part played by the high ecclesiastics who "threw the first stones" at the fallen leader despite the consequences to the nation; Mr. O'Hara himself says "the Irish cause rose or sank with Parnell." It is too late to praise or blame those who brought the passionate bigotry of a quite non-conformist puritanism to the aid of the English Liberals in their effort to ruin Ireland in Parnell, but a conscientious historian would have marked their action, which, by the way, was consistent in its results with those of all previous intrusions of the same order into politics.

The publisher of this volume of 330 pages issues it without an index. For such a crime there should be a new D.O.R.A. or a guillotine.

Chief and Tribune: Parnell and Davitt. By M. M. O'Hara. (Maunsels). 10s. 6d.

Towards the One Big Union.

Many articles have been recently contributed in the "Voice" on the necessity for closer unity in industrial organisation, and some desire expressed as to how we shall get out of our present maze of overlapping and often conflicting Unions.

To-day it is all too obvious to the interested student of the Labour movement that a vast revision of our fighting forces is urgently needed, but how to get to this desirable end is the rub. We in Ireland are in a no more fortunate position than our English confreres, for there the multiplicity and diversity of overlapping Unions is responsible for that lack of industrial cohesion so necessary in prosecuting the class war. In one case of Glass Bottle-makers, they have five separate Unions, with a total membership of the five amounting to 3,228.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the concentration of the management of industry in the hands of a few industrial magnates—as in shipbuilding, Lord Pirrie, Sir Philip Owens, and Lord Furness—make the

Single Trade Union

unable to cope with the ever-increasing power of the employing class, because sectional unionism fosters a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers within the same industry. This must be changed by the organisation of the workers as a class knowing no craft distinctions, and the industrial unions of the future must follow and be patterned on the industry itself as the unit of organisation.

This lack of complete industrial organisation and revolutionary class education has been responsible for the "cave in" of large industrial movements; and we in Ireland, if we are alive to these facts, may not have to pass through similar harrowing experiences of large strikes to find out our machinery was obsolete and inadequate, and hence our movement was abortive.

The bitter experiences gained by our Clyde and Belfast brethren must be taken to heart by us. There is no use in pretending that what they failed to achieve by

faulty organisation

we are going to accomplish. Their net gain has been undoubtedly large if they now realise the necessity for complete industrial cohesion between all ranks; and that the fight is merely postponed to close up the ranks and put the machine upon a complete modern fighting footing.

Organisation on purely trade lines must nowadays result in chaos and failure, and hence the future must witness a solidifying of the already organised sections.

Thus, says Connolly . . . "in the workshop has been and will be fought out

those battles between the old and new methods of production, the issue of which change the face and the history of the world."

Hence we say if we are to bring about those changes which alter the mode of production and which the history of the world we shall have to commence by altering the mode or method of our economic organisation, so as they may fulfil adequately the functions thrust on them to-day by the national and international organisation and

federation of Capital.

To build up, then, within the existing organisations a new system of machinery, representative of the new order of things, is work of the first importance.

We should consider it inadvisable at present to interfere radically with the old Unions, and hence for our present purpose separation from the English parent bodies need not concern us. The old methods brought into existence to cater for a certain set of conditions which now no longer exist must peacefully pass away; and instead—if it were possible of plucking up the old and roughly casting it out, or attempting to supplant it by an external and hostile organisation, no matter how the new may meet the conditions of the time—the better way would be to make the old the parent of the new; hatching within its own organism the elements of the Industrial Union, the organic structure and framework of

the new Society.

As we cannot here elaborate on the methods suggested above, or go into the minutiae of the internal organisation of the Industrial Union, we can only recommend to our readers a study of the Shop Stewards' Movement and its literature, "The Workers' Committee: An Outline of Its Principles and Structure," "How to Set Up Shop and Plant Committees." We believe that only by such committees can we develop the necessary initiative in the rank and file. The emancipation of the rank and file is not going to be brought about by anybody but themselves; and they will not accomplish it either, until they know how and have an organisation capable of performing the work of the new order.

We believe human society never sets itself to a task until it feels inately it is capable of carrying its objective with success, and hence only in proportion as we progress towards the organisation of the Industrial Union and its revolutionary class education do we deem we are moving towards the Workers' Republic. As we have done with the Trade Union method of organisation, so also must we finish with its motto. And "Defence, not Defiance," must give way to Abolition of the wages system.

EDWARD LYNCH.

DEFENCE AND RETORT.

A Reply to Mr. James Baird.

Sir,—In your issue of March 8, there appears two versions of the events and policy pursued by the Belfast workers during the recent strike, one from the pen of James Baird and the other from the "Mayo News." You rightly give one of the versions "a gem of artistic fiction," and most of your Belfast readers would also apply the same description to the other one.

Mr. James Baird tries to convey that the whole driving force in the 44-hour movement came from outside the strike committee. He then proceeds to pillory them for throwing away the position. As proof of this, one instance is given of a demonstration held in the Ulster Hall by a particular committee, the other meetings being held by the Federation and the ballot taken under their auspices.

The Belfast Strike Committee was formed of delegates appointed specially to carry on the strike. It was not a permanent body which had followed any particular policy, but included those who were associated with the agitation for the 44. When your readers grasp this, they will at once see the inaccuracy of Mr. Baird's version, that the Strike Committee were promising this and that concession or privilege as an inducement to strike. It would be a case of promising something to yourself.

There are only two charges made against the Strike Committee which call for any comment. I refer to the offer of the I.T. workers and the financing of the strike. Before dealing with these I would like to say, as one who was responsible for the policy of the "Bulletin," there is no truth in the assertion that the paper was prevented from giving a lead on certain lines of policy. In reference to cutting out the Transport Trades, the Committee got no offer which would have led them to believe that there would have been a general stoppage by these workers.

Is Mr. Baird aware that there are five Unions competing for the Transport Workers in Belfast?

This has led to an amount of hostility and bitterness between them which prevents joint action being taken. Mr. D. Houston of the I.T. and G.W.U., who

was anxious to help, was under no delusion about our power to get these unions to support us, and there was every sign that an effort to call them out would have failed.

Mr. Baird's sneer at the peaceful nature of funds is surprising to those who know the lack of foresight shown by the Shipyard Committee. The workers were assured that a strike would not be necessary for the 44, it only required a display of force, etc., etc. The attempts made to show the class conflict involved were suppressed by Mr. Baird acting as chairman at the politicians' meeting in the Ulster Hall. Admittedly there was not sufficient finance to continue the strike. The marvel was that the men and women held on for so long. When it is remembered that in the first two weeks we were hoping to see the strike spread over England and Scotland, it will be realised how foolish it would have been to propose collecting funds from these centres. Offers to help financially did come from Dublin and the South, but the collapse of the shorter hour movement all over the United Kingdom was being felt in Belfast.

It was hopeless to expect sufficient finance could have been got to enable us to win. I venture to estimate that £50,000 weekly would not have met the need. No one knowing the Belfast workers would assert that they would face the distress with soup kitchens, etc., for a long period over the fight for one half hour a day.

All credit to them that a stand was made far superior to any made elsewhere for the shorter hours. There was a solidarity and unity displayed unknown in the North before, and nothing will be gained by Jas. Baird and other writers attempting to "muck their own nests." Certainly it will not discredit the Strike Committee with the Belfast workers.—Yours,

SAM HASLETT.

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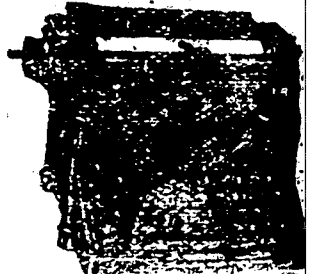
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