

The VOICE OF LABOUR

NEW SERIES. No. 75.

APRIL 26, 1919.

ONE PENNY

To all whom it may Concern

The WORKERS OF IRELAND have decided to Celebrate

LABOUR DAY

(THURSDAY, MAY 1st)

As a **General Holiday**

All work will be suspended for that day to demonstrate that the Irish working-class joins with the

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT

in demanding a

DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE OF FREE NATIONS

as the necessary condition of permanent peace based upon the

SELF-DETERMINATION

of all peoples including the

PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

For the National Executive of the

Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.

WM. O'BRIEN, Secretary.

The Future of Labour.

BY DARRELL FIGGIS.

At the present moment a large, misrepresentative, patchwork body is sitting in London, convened by men constitutionally incapable of looking facts in the face, calling itself a National Industrial Conference. It has before it an agreed Draft Report of the Joint Committee appointed at its earlier meeting, and a Memorandum drawn out by the Trade Union representatives on that Committee. To be sure, matters that proceed in London do not profoundly agitate us as a nation. Yet if the Conference accepts the Draft Report, the English Government may pass it into legislation (though it is far more likely they will promise the treasures of heaven and leave it at that); and they may make some parts of it applicable to Ireland.

Anyway, we can at least clear our minds by considering that Report: though in doing so I should perhaps make it clear that I do so with no possible sort of authority from anybody, but simply as a lone mind thinking for its country, and thinking for it, not in terms of some select few of its inhabitants, but in terms of all its inhabitants, myself included.

First of all, let us consider what the Report does not recommend. It was not, of course, from its composition, to be expected that it would consider the Wages System, which

Is like a poison

at the roots of the whole Industrial System, and which until it is annulled will continue to poison every nation's desire for industrial output. But it might have been expected that it would consider the question of joint control of production. Workers are at least essential partners in industry; but their rights as partners have not even been considered, and are not considered by this Report. The recognition of this is not merely a human right (though that in itself is enough); it is, as a fact, essential to efficiency.

I know very well that to Efficiency Experts (known, I believe, in America as Employment Managers) this will sound as clear nonsense. But Efficiency Experts have a habit of dealing with men as dehumanised units in a machine; whereas men, and, to their glory be it said, women even more, have a habit of asserting their humanity at critical moments; and bringing the whole machine to a standstill, to the national loss.

In political affairs Czarism was an inefficient way of conducting business; and proved it so when the crisis came.

Even so, in industrial affairs Czarism—that is to say, an irresponsible autocratic head, with an intricate bureaucracy directed solely by that head, without respect to the human beings it proposes to order—is equally an inefficient, though to a certain kind of mind a very pleasurable, way of conducting business; and it too is

heading for disaster.

That, however, the Report does not consider, and perhaps discreetly, because its recognition, for reasons that I have not space now to consider, involves the whole Wages System. Let me only

say that the way out in this requires imagination and courage, but need not, to us in Ireland certainly, prove too difficult to discover and then turn to the Report, again. As a whole, the Report tinkers at things.

I believe that if we in Ireland, as a free State, had the consideration of these matters, we would go far more fundamentally to work, and sooner produce a healthy system. But as our free State exists as yet only in our allegiance, and has not yet been translated into fact, we must consider the Report, with all its pathetic papering over of cracks in the wall.

Recognition.

It seems strange, for instance, to see space given, at this time of day, to the recognition of trade unions as "the basis of negotiation"; though it is as well to get this down in black and white. It marks a stage anyway. Fortunately it will be impossible now to get back to the position when this in itself was a subject of industrial warfare. But when it is added that "Members should accept the jurisdiction of their respective organisations," employer or labour, this implies that each such organisation should be more democratically organised than they often are now.

Hours.

In recommending a "maximum normal working week of 48 hours," a certain important factor is neglected. It is often assumed that this means an eight-hour day. But at this end of the world we are accustomed to a half-day in the week—not as a philanthropic dole, but as a recuperative necessity to get the best out of our work. To charge that half-day on the other days of the week is simply to neglect this. The demand from Belfast for a 44-hour week was, thus, an acceptance of an eight-hour day, with half of one day taken for recuperation. To a good part of our population, things being as they are, Sunday is not available for that recreation that is the best recuperation.

Minimum Wage.

I neglect the question of minimum wages, partly because of reasons I have mentioned. The economic organisation of our society being what it is, no minimum wage can be constant. It reacts on the cost of living, and therefore becomes again submerged, leading to renewed conflict. I do not believe that any machinery under the present system can obviate that conflict, though it may diminish its frequency; and I will deal with the machinery later.

Unemployment.

If we were dependent on this Report, with its recommendation for the regulation of "Government orders" for the diminishing of unemployment, we might as well in Ireland throw up our hands in despair. In this matter we have to rely on our own reconstructive work, as created by the assembly we ourselves have appointed. It is within the power of that assembly to do that work; and it must do it or come to account. We are faced by considerable peril in this

(Continued on Page 3.)

Three Years Ago.

(As Passed by Censor.)



May their place to-day
be found in peace.

AMERICAN ANTI-SOCIALIST SAYS 97 PER CENT. OF RUSSIANS BACK THE SOVIET.

After having been repeatedly ruled out as a witness by the anti-Bolshevik Senators, Col. Raymond Robins, former head of the American Red Cross Mission, has been allowed to tender his evidence about the new regime in Russia.

An anti-Socialist, Robins had no preconceived love for Bolshevism. He does not love it now. He was an eye-witness, however, of the corruption that ruined Czarism and wrecked Russia as a military Power and an industrial resource for Czarism's Allies, long before Lenin arrived back in Russia.

This is His Testimony.

"The Russian people—97 per cent. of them—are solidly organised behind their Soviet Government. The old ruling class, the 3 per cent., have plotted and spied against the Soviets, but they can never come back, because the people will not give up the land nor the industries to them. THE REVOLUTION HAD THE LAND AND THE INDUSTRIES AS ITS STAKES, AND THE PEASANTS AND WORKMEN HAVE WON THE GAME AND WILL KEEP THE STAKES.

"The Russians will never accept an individualist, or private capitalist, state of society because the Russian mind is a collectivist mind. For hundreds of years they have thought in terms of the village and the community; they will not change to a system of great private fortunes, now that the secret police and the Czar and his Cossack whips are gone.

"Premier Clemenceau, the heroic leader of France, may survive the assassin's bullet, but his cause is dead. France, like England, sees her labouring masses turning to Socialism as the instrument of securing for themselves the chance for a better life which they insist must be theirs.

"America, I tell you, Senators, is still strong enough to grant justice to all her people, to remedy these economic wrongs, to continue to be the freest and happiest home of men on the globe. But we cannot meet this Russian challenge with bayonets, nor with repression, nor with laws against the display of red flags. WE CAN ONLY MEET IT BY ESTABLISHING JUSTICE FOR THOSE WHO DO THE WORK OF THE WORLD."

JIM LARKIN ACTIVE.

Recent American advices show that Jim Larkin has succeeded Teddy Roosevelt as the prime practitioner of the strenuous life.

He spoke recently at Akron (Ohio), supporting the demand for the release of Eugene V. Debs. At New York he has lectured on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

On March 24 he was one of the principal speakers at the "Red Week" meetings in support of the "Revolutionary Age" and the "Novy Mir," two Radical journals. Eamonn MacAlpine is associate-editor of the former, which is published in Boston, Mass.

One thing enables us to keep tab on Jim in his wanderings. Where he has been the locals send orders for "The Voice." For that service, Jim, much thanks!

MINERAL WATER WAGES.

The exorbitant prices charged for mineral waters may have led to a belief that the men workers in the factories wear spun silk pyjamas at night and the ladies array themselves in the "Rough-on-Rats" coats by day.

'Tis not so, but last week the Transport Union lifted the wages of all employees in Dublin by another ten shillings. The members don't regret amalgamating their Union with the O.B.U.

GOOD FRIDAY IN NASSAU STREET.

A part of Messrs. Brown and Nolan's staff spent Good Friday window-dressing. Does Drumcondra know?

SOLIDARITY FRACTURED

BUILDING BOSSES PRESENTED WITH HARD CASH BY DUBLIN'S SMALL UNIONS.

The outcome of the prolonged negotiations in the building trades of Dublin is a severe reverse to Labour. True, a strike has been avoided, but the superior organisation of the employers has been skilfully used to divide and conquer the workers.

The grouped Unions which successfully negotiated substantial advances in 1917-18, have been sundered by the acceptance of different rates of advance—advance, mark you, not of pay—the skilled men obtaining 3d. per hour and the unskilled 2d. per hour increase on a 47-hour week.

The Transport Union is the only one of the group which refuses to recognise this agreement as a final settlement. The United Builders' Labourers' Union had perforce to accept the insult to their members. The craft Unions were in little better a position.

Little groups of three hundred workers cannot face the risk and money loss of a strike, and must take with thanks the crumbs from the master's table. Men so organised possess, against employers' federations which unite millions of capital, little more power of resistance than the non-unionist.

Small local Unions have therefore lost 3s. 11d. per week to each Dublin labourer in the building trade. The total loss will be not less than £61,150 during the current year.

The One Big Union would have saved that loss. It's the tip for the rank and file of the Unionettes, if your officials obstruct the closer union, join up the O.B.U. as individuals.

DEPARTMENT LYING.

Has T. P. Gill Been Misled?

The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction used Murphy's "Evening Herald" last Thursday to deny that any victimisation of trade unionists was intended in the recent dismissal of temporary clerks.

The men were sacked because there was a reduction of work under the Tillage Orders.

That is D.A.T.I.'s second thought. Some of the men were informed that the Treasury had not provided money for the payment of temporary clerks. Taking the last story, however, as the one Mr. Gill intends to stick to, let us tell him,

It is Simply Not True.

Contrary to Government Regulations obtaining in other offices, temporary clerks are being dismissed while permanent Civil Servants are working the maximum of overtime.

Some clerks are nightly carrying home envelopes to be addressed in hand-writing at overtime rates. Evidently the fat sow is being greased. The well-paid established man is hogging overtime and driving the temporary clerk out to starve.

Work under the Tillage Orders is not reduced and cannot be until at least one year after the Peace Treaty is signed.

The Irish Returns Order has recently been extended to cover more than double the number of articles originally dealt with. These are the jobs in which the work is said to be lessened, compelling the dismissal of temporary clerks.

It is not true, Mr. Gill—and if it were why retain the fifteen-bob-a-week girls with the crepe-de-chine slips and drive out the married man with a family to support?

CLERKS ENDORSE LIMERICK.

The mass meeting of the Dublin members of the I.C.W.U. last Friday showed a sound appreciation of the revolutionary significance of the Limerick dispute. It was resolved to yield every support to the men and women of Limerick. Money was liberally subscribed, and the members of the union are ready for more drastic action to uphold the Limerick Soviet.

Caledon Strike Fund.

An urgent appeal is made to all to weigh in with red gold or parti-coloured Bradburys for the Caledon strikers' dependants. Subscriptions should be sent direct to Denis Houston, I.T. & G.W.U., 122 Corporation Street, Belfast.

The need is urgent—that should be enough!

IRISH OPINION

The VOICE OF LABOUR

Saturday
Twenty-sixth
APRIL,
1919.

:: ALL-IRELAND LABOUR WEEKLY. ::

ALL POWER TO THE LIMERICK SOVIET.

The direct challenge of British Militarism to the workers of Ireland has been taken up. There has never been any doubt about the workers' attitude towards the invader, although there have been those who would trust any sort of politician, experiment with any project of national government, but would on no account recognise the right of labour to speak in the councils of the nation.

Many districts of Ireland are at this moment proclaimed as special military areas. These are districts where the people's patriotism is fervent, the lively inheritance of a Fenian ancestry. The political organisation and even the military might of the districts are as well nigh perfect as circumstances permit, and events have proved the perfection of both. Yet there has been no resistance, no mass answer to the challenge of the English Government.

The reason is not far to seek. It is not due to any weakness of the individual, but to the lack of organisation among the workers. In Limerick with its ancient traditions of craft and merchant guilds, and continuous organisation in the ranks of trade unions, and with its powerful and closely knit union of all unions in the Trades and Labour Council, the power and force to resist was present.

We have abstained, not altogether of our own will, from comment on the Workhouse tragedy. The death of Robt. J. Byrne after years of conflict and struggle, not for himself but for his principles and for the freedom of action and political rights of his fellow-workers in the Postal service, could not but have its sequel.

Add to that the vexatious division of the homes of the workers from their places of labour and the claim that only those who were approved by the Competent Military Authority (which in practice means the local R.I.C.) should have leave to earn their bread, and you have a set of circumstances in which even the English Labour worm would turn.

If Poplar and Deptford and Peckham men required a permit to enter Woolwich; if Salford workers required permits to enter Manchester; if the artisans of the Shankill and Crumlin road must sue at the local barracks for permission to pass daily across the Queen's Bridge at Belfast, the conditions that have been imposed by the Military Authorities in Limerick would be paralleled.

WHO CARES FOR CORK?

Capitalists Boast their Betrayals.

The Cork Incorporated Chamber of Commerce and Shipping has issued an interesting volume, entitled, "Cork: Its Trade and Commerce," in which there are presented surveys of Cork history, of industry, past and present, and of opportunities for better business.

The History, as might be expected, ignores Cork in its relation to the Irish nation. Its past is summed up in a list of charters from English kings. The works of Mrs. Greene appear not to have penetrated the Quaker quarter of the alleged rebel city.

The history of the Chamber of Commerce itself is illuminating. Founded as recently as 1883, the Cork capitalists who founded it wisely decided to allow no religious or sectarian questions to prevent them from pursuing harmoniously their class and personal interests. This rule has been strictly adhered to. No breath of political difference has disturbed their amicable relations.

Can Cork Trades Council say as much with equal truth?

As a natural result of the continual suppression of the one great political issue that causes grave antagonism between honest and disinterested people, the Cork Chamber of Commerce has been able to assist the British Government considerably. It is the Chamber's proud boast that it has anchored a foreign fleet in the Harbour, and that it has secured the establishment of great arsenals and dockyards of the stranger. After twelve years' petitioning and humble prayer it obtained the great grace of a training ship.

Palm Sunday saw the Trades Council of Limerick in consultation on this menace to their personal liberty. On Monday the general strike was begun and the Council became the Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

The Soviet is in being. It obtained the adhesion of the Mayor and the support of the Bishop and clergy. It has had the co-operation of the merchants, and in any case it has taken effective steps to ensure that the employing class will not sell the pass.

Day by day its effectiveness has increased. It has maintained food supplies and distributed them equitably. It has regulated prices and prevented profiteering. Milk has been reduced to pre-war prices. The courage and manfulness of the townsment has evoked the practical aid of their rural neighbours and the commissariat of the beleaguered town is guaranteed against famine.

The issue of Treasury notes on the security of the Trades Council is a financial expedient that will facilitate exchange within the walls, and it becomes incumbent on Irish Labour to back the Strike Treasury with its subscriptions.

The donation of £1,000 by the Transport Union, and £100 by the G.A.A., and the series of matches in aid authorised last Sunday are the first substantial guarantees of the resolve of the Nation's Labour to ensure the success of Limerick's protest. Every trade union and every assembly of workers must at once take the necessary steps to ensure a regular flow of money and food to Limerick.

That may not be all that will be required of us, for if the test of Garryowen should fail to convince the brass-hats of their folly the Nation is ready "to challenge and master its fate."

At this moment there must be no standing aloof. The forces of Labour in each centre must be in closer co-operation with the disciplined organisations. Communications must be opened and maintained from district to district, and all prepared.

The O.B.E.'s and other rats will fight Irish labour, but their power to betray us as they betrayed Belfast and Glasgow is nil, and the result of their action will be to cut the painter and to throw their Irish members into the one Big Union.

Limerick, once again in Irish history, has set a headline for Ireland. This time there will be no Treaty and no flight of the Wild Geese.

On the late Convention at Trinity the Chamber stood stoutly for special representation of minorities in the future Parliament of Ireland. As the Chamber has no political or religious prejudices, we must conclude that the minority the Cork Chamber of Commerce wants to protect by making them dominant in the future government of Ireland is that "small body of very rich men" who have laid a burden little better than slavery itself upon the labouring poor of Cork; who have sold Cork's shipping to England, transferred its bank balances to the custody of English banks and the English Treasury, sold Cork's "Lung" to Harry Ford, and having destroyed local shipping profit by giving quay space, dock and harbour facilities at special rates to Furness, Withy and Co.—notoriously the British Government in the shipping business. No wonder the Chamber laboured so long to obtain a local bankruptcy court! Their stewardship of national wealth, the product of the labours of the nation's workers, has been false and treacherous.

It is up to Cork Trades Council to use this volume, and to map out its policy of conquest and control. More it is incumbent on the rank and file to make Cork Trades Council a body that will not deserve either the scorn of Lector or the odious patronage of Sir Bertram C. Windle.

Cork: Its Trade and Commerce. Edited by D. J. Coakley, F.A.A. Guy and Co., Ltd., Cork.

NEVER HAPPENED IN DUBLIN.
Customer—By Jove, I am glad to see you back. Has the strike been settled?
Waiter—What strike, sir?
Customer—Oh, come now! Where have you been since you took my order?

BELGIUM, 1914.

And they who knew the end was near them,
Feared not death, but waited its coming;
Sat in the silence of the night,
For the advent of the black messenger.
Saw with their vivid souls the dawn breaking,
The grey in the east—the amber of the day;
Heard in the distance the orders;
As they prepared
The Firing Parties.
The soft footfall of the physician of souls,
As he came to help them over.
And the loud tramp of the soldier.
The grim and forbidding wall,
The spaces marked—the measure of their death.

The faces of comrades led forth,
Bearded, unkempt, and pale.
Youth with the hope of life and love
(Perhaps home and a sweetheart),
Old men worn in the struggle;
On them the dawn turns their locks to a halo.

Then the benediction and prayer,
Ere the rifles send their leaden message
To brain or heart, or both.

Every hour in the long night;
Aye, every minute, until the dawn,
This vision passed before them.
That was the agony of their death.
To wait thro' the night.
To them the dawn was true liberty—
And all things came as they saw.

PATRICK HOGAN.

STRIFE CAFE TO BE FILMED.

Dublin Hotel Workers Locked Out. Take a "Busman's Holiday."

At the moment of writing the Hotel Workers' dispute is the subject of negotiation. The employers have put up the big bluff by locking out the workers, but no sooner were the workers on the street than the Master-class Ministry of Labour sought to intervene. "Never let the right hand know what the left hand is doing!"

The maximum of inconvenience has been given to the travelling public, but that is the result of the Hotel Proprietors' decision to close their premises.

The men and the women maintain the enthusiastic solidarity that marked their previous revolts. A cafe has been opened for them at 31 Eden Quay, and after the strike is over it will be thrown open to the public. The Cafe will figure in next week's "Irish events" at the picture houses of Ireland.

MURPHY-ANDREWS COMBINE TO DUPE TAME CLERKS.

There still exists in Dublin a yellow or sham union for clerks which was founded in 1873. The office-bearers include William Martin Murphy, J.P., Edward H. Andrews, D.L., J.P., and no less a person than Laurence O'Neill, the Lord Mayor.

To remove all doubts as to the functions of this master class organisation it will alter its rules at the next meeting to provide that no benefits will be paid in cases of unemployment arising from strikes or lock-outs.

The importing of this new clause into the rules is little less than constructive fraud on members who have paid in their subscriptions for years and may now find that they are by the action of others deprived of all benefits for which they have paid.

The annual meeting takes place in the Central Hall, Exchequer street, at 8 p.m. on Monday, April 28th.

NATIONAL AMAL. UNION OF LIFE ASSURANCE WORKERS. Dublin Branch.

At the last meeting of the above, Mr. Dunphy in the chair, the following resolution was proposed and carried unanimously:—"That we, the members of the Dublin Branch of the National Amalgamated Union of Life Assurance Workers, having learned of the decision of the National Executive of the Trades Congress calling on the workers to celebrate Thursday, 1st May, as a Labour holiday, has our heartiest approval, and we call on all our fellow-workers to cease work on that day, and so demonstrate their loyalty to their cause and class." It was further decided that the Branch would assist in every possible way to make May Day a real success.

ITALIAN SOCIALISTS WILL NOT PROP CAPITAL.

The Italian General Confederation of Labour has resolved that none of its members shall accept appointments to any of the commissions created by the Government to deal with after-war problems. The Socialist Party Congress carried a similar resolution dealing with Parliamentarians. "The question," says the Rome correspondent of "Le Populaire," "is this: Are the Government nominees, with the approval of the Socialist representatives, to be able, at the price of certain concessions, to prop up the tottering privileges of a decadent society, or is the proletariat to be left free to establish its rights in the society of to-morrow?"

THE FARMER PROLETARIAN. SHOULD HE BE ORGANISED?

The Templelantine branch of the I.T. & G.W.U. has adopted a resolution that no man with a farm of land should be employed on direct labour while there are poorer men available.

This is a sound and reasonable demand, to which the Co. Council should give effect. The hiring of men with acres of land, horses, and cattle, while labouring men are idle is a shameful scandal, and gives rise to the suspicion that the old jobbing of contract labour is being revived under the new system.

The resolution raises another question which Transport branches must face dispassionately. The small farmer who must by force of circumstances hire himself out as a wage-labourer cannot be left unorganised.

Necessity dictates that he should earn money as a wage-earner. Wisdom and prudence suggest that he should at least get the highest market price for his labour-power. It is therefore to his own personal interest to come into the One Big Union.

If he is left outside he is a danger to the ordinary wage earner. Partly assured of his livelihood from the produce of the farm, he need not look for a full living wage from his part-time employer.

The employers, being aware of this, will try to use him, as elsewhere they are the pensioned soldier, to depress wages.

The small farmer must therefore be brought into line, both for his own advantage, and that of the unionised labourer.

FARMERS' BREAK AWAY.

Farmers in Crumlin district have settled with their labourers by paying them £2 a week, all perqs., and allowing the Saturday half-holiday. These farmers were members of the Farmers' Union.

DUN EMER GUILD.

The International Tailors' Union has applied for a 30s. minimum wage, and a 50 per cent. advance to learners. Work will be suspended on May Day.

IRISH WOMEN WORKERS' UNION.

Substantial increases for various classes of workers in the Union have been won in the past few weeks. Bewley and Draper's, O'Dea's, Lucan Woollen Mills, and Thompson (Confectioners) are amongst the firms with which good settlements have been made. Thompson's have adopted a method of shortening hours which strongly recommends itself to us—they are adding an extra quarter hour to the dinner hour.

The Convent Laundry in Kilkenny now take the lead in laundry wages, giving 4s. a day.

The employees from Mitchell's Bead Factory have been on strike for the past week owing to a dispute in connection with a bonus which was withdrawn when the piece rates were raised, thus nullifying the benefit of the increase. Arrangements are being made for arbitration, and Rev. John Flanagan has consented to act as one of the arbitrators. We hope a similar arrangement may be made in regard to the workers in the Dublin Bead Factory. It is deplorable that so many Irish industries have been established by the exploitation of the sweated labour of women. The workers are as anxious as any Irish class to encourage Irish industries—but not at the cost of Irish life. The test of the sincere friends of Irish industry lies in the value he sets on life and profit.

The Domestic Workers' Union is organising a number of propaganda meetings in the city and suburbs. The Committee are outlining an interesting scheme for the reformation of the present system of Domestic Service, and have entered into conferences with the Domestic Householders' Association in regard to such a scheme.

Organiser Hiss Hoyne has established a new branch in Edenderry and is now organising in Wexford.

CUMANN LUCHT CEAPACH NA H-EIREANN.

(Irish Plottolders' General Union.)

A very representative meeting of above was held in the Gaelic League Hall, Parnell Square, last Sunday. The revised Constitution and Rules were approved; and a Provisional Organising Committee was appointed. This Committee (which includes a Ralahine man) is organising a "live," national, non-sectarian union—"neither Saxon, Italian, nor Hibernian"—and it is hoped the 25,000 Irish plottolders will join up at once. A co-operative committee was also appointed. The address of the Hon. Sec. is 169 Botanic Avenue, Dublin.

S.P.I. Prize Drawing.—The announcement elsewhere of the result of the ballot should be supplemented by mention of the fact that Miss Timmons returned her winnings to the Party funds. The money prize was a donation from Mr. Cowan of the Franco Portrait Studios, 111 Grafton street, who was also responsible for the handsome portrait in oils of F. Sheehy-Skeffington, which was the first prize in the Ballot.

Newbridge.
The women workers at the Laundry are to be left at time-work and got the time-workers' increase last week.

Mental Ginger for the Editor and "Æ."

Administered by R. Connolly.

The principles of Bolshevism were being discussed. At one part of his answer to the discussion, the lecturer fell hopelessly in error. "Until Trades Unions did more than fight for higher wages, which were always counteracted by higher prices . . ." ending in applause. Now, my opinion of the good sense of Dublin men inclines me to believe that the criticism of the restricted sphere of Trade Union activity, rather than the enunciation of the principle of economics, received applause.

The idea that wages when increased influence prices is still prevalent, though it dates back to the beginning of last century, and is yet found in, for example, "Æ's" "National Being." Here, in chapter 10, we find "a wage war never truly or permanently improves the position of labour"; "wages might be doubled by Act of Parliament, and the net result would be to double prices, if not to increase them still more."

We can excuse "Æ" for enunciating this ancient fallacy, but a Marxian, a follower of Connolly, to do so!

These statements result directly in the law that wages regulate prices. Without examining the theory of this law, an appeal to facts disproves it immediately. "The Ten Hour Bill was introduced 1848. . . . What was the result? A rise in money wages of the factory operatives . . . a continuous fall in the prices of their products . . ." (Marx's "Value, Price, and Profit.") Factory operatives' wages were increasing from 1849 to '59, and generally in the same period "there took place a rise of about 40 per cent. on the average rate of the agricultural wages of Great Britain." "Despite the Russian war, consecutive unfavourable harvests from 1854 to '56, the average price of wheat . . . fell from about £3 per quarter for the years 1838-1843 to about £2 10s. per quarter for years 1849-'59" (Karl Marx.) "From about 1875 till 1896 prices tended to fall whilst wages tended to rise, and from 1900 onwards prices have risen enormously whilst wages tended downwards until huge strikes . . . generally checked the drop" (J. M'Lean, M.A., "The War After the War.") This law is founded on a superficial glance at things, and not on an investigation into the facts of any period.

Why are capitalists forced to concede higher wages only after long strikes—during which no profit is being produced—when by conceding double wages they may "double prices, if not increase them still more," and reap a greater profit? The Marxian explanation of what would occur will easily be seen to be correct by an ordinary man's limited observation of facts. A general increase of wages means an increase of the purchasing power of the working class. An increased demand for the necessaries of life—upon which the proletariat spend the most of their wages will cause a temporary rise on the market price of these necessaries.

The producers of necessaries will reap a higher rate of profit. An immense proportion of the national production is produced in the shape of luxuries or commodities exchangeable for luxuries.

The producers of these will have a smaller income due to increased wages. A smaller income will mean a reduced mutual demand for their respective commodities. Thus, higher wages, reduced incomes, higher cost of necessaries, reduced demand for their respective commodities will occasion a fall in the rate of profit of those producing luxuries, or anything exchangeable for luxuries. On the whole, the capitalists producing necessaries will enjoy an increased rate of profit despite the rise of wages, and the other capitalists will incur a fall in the rate of profit.

The difference in the rates of profit will cause capital to be transferred from the lesser remunerative to the more remunerative branch of production, as is done daily on the Stock Exchange. With capital goes labour, and the increased capital invested in producing necessaries will result in an increased supply of these commodities until competition brings down the prices to about the former level. But, the transfer of capital has also resulted in a decreased production of luxuries, or commodities exchangeable for these, and this, together with the increased incomes of the capitalists who have transferred their capital, will increase the demand, and thereby restore the rate of profit, until the necessaries production becoming unremunerative, capital will flow back to its former place.

This continuous flow of capital daily performed results in the fall in the rate of profit being equally distributed and equally borne by all branches of industry, and tends always to equalise the rate of profit in all industries. The shifting of capital changes not the amount of production but the form. The fall in the rate of profit is always counteracted by the intenser application of scientific management, the resorting to various expedients to increase output, the perfection of machines, the increased efficiency of the labourer due to a greater degree of comforts and security being obtained by the increased wage. These factors enable capitalists to increase wages, decrease hours, lessen the price of their commodities, and still reap greater profits.

A final mention of the "how." Wages regulate prices. Wages and prices are respectively the value of labour and the value of commodities. "The value of money," says "Æ" in the same interesting chapter, "is simply what it will purchase." The value of money is regulated by the amount of commodities it purchases, or the value of commodities. That is, the value of labour is regulated by the value of commodities. Thus, we start with the value of labour regulating the value of commodities and end with the value of commodities regulating the value of labour, and so on in a never-ending circle. It is well for the community that O'Shannon and "Æ" do not always reason like this, or where would they bring us?

NEXT WEEK:
Miss Bennett propounds some
:: problems on this subject. ::

THE FUTURE OF LABOUR.

By Darrell Figgis.

(From Page 1.)

matter. And in shaping its schemes it will have to meet a question that I may best consider in the next section.

That is so at present, in the matter of

Pensions and Sickness Benefit.

This section reads: "Sickness and infirmity benefits and old-age pensions require immediate investigation with a view to more generous provision being made." I exclude old-age pensions, as being, under whatever system, a natural change on the State. Over that we have now no control, and never have had. Old-age pensions and such matters as sickness benefits, to which unemployment should rightly be added, are in entirely different categories. The whole of the latter end of that clause should be revised thus: Such matters (excluding old-age pensions) "require immediate investigation, with a view to their being made a proper charge on the industries concerned."

sickness, with clerky work. And in many decent firms it is so in other work. But it should not be left to chance—such chance as the disposition of the employer. It should be faced as part of business organisation, and unemployment should be faced with it. Otherwise, as happens to-day, industries, if they do not undertake their proper responsibilities, may whistle for men, because they are being maintained by the State independently of them.

National Industrial Council.

This section is the most important, and on it the rest depends. In my "Gaelic State" I argued the necessity of creating, round the central national assembly, a number of representative Councils. In that book, for reasons which I need not now enter, I suggested separate Councils of Industry and of Labour, the two of which could meet as a common Council with a President who would be, in the Assembly, the Minister in charge of the work so covered.

The present Report recommends "a permanent National Industrial Council," to "consist of 400 members, 200 elected

by employers' organisations and 200 by trade unions," with "the Minister of Labour as President of the Council." But the Council I proposed was essentially different from the Council the Report proposes. This Council merely "considers and advises the Government" on all "national industrial questions," such as wages, and so forth.

The Council I proposed for our independent Irish State had absolute power within its jurisdiction, that jurisdiction being defined. I believe our national assembly, Dail Eireann, cannot do better than create such a Council forthwith. In the present Report, however, the Council being purely advisory, is simply a deception though it may in England serve a certain purpose. It binds no Government; and if it divides on clear lines, as on critical issues it will, the position is as before, with a resort to force. No question, such as the matter of minimum wages will be settled in such a Council. Nor do I see it facing the abolition of the Wages System, for by its constitution it recognises that system as the essence of the principle of representation within it.

Yet a National Council of Industry is necessary, for it reduces to order and system a mass of tangled material. I do not believe we could do better than seek the creation of such a Council in Ireland now, without seeking the sanction of any foreign Government. By so doing we would do real constructive work, and do it as a matter of self-government.

DARRELL FIGGIS.

CO-OPERATIVES AMALGAMATE.

The meeting of the Dublin Consumers' Co-operative Society, Ltd., on Friday, 25th inst., will be followed by a special meeting at which a resolution will be submitted to approve the amalgamation of the Consumers' and Industrial Societies.

This is a step in the right direction, but what about the pathetic survival at Inchicore?

The enrolment of Transport Union members in the new branch of the Industrial proceeds apace.

"TIP NA nÓ5."

IRISH INDUSTRIES FAIR

In aid of the Funds of the Cork Industrial Development Association.

IN THE CITY HALL, CORK,

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SPLENDID ARRAY of ALL-IRISH GOODS

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Twopence Per Second.

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WORKERS ! Help the Cause of Irish Industries.

—J. J. Hughes

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

The Programme: Words and Music of these famous songs

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

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

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

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

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

NOTE THE PRICE

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Place Your Order Now.

QUESTIONS FOR THE A.M.U. Is It a Class Union or Merely Classy?

We are invited to ask the Amalgamated Musicians' Union a few questions.

Do they consider themselves superior to other workers?

If so, are they satisfied that their superior ability is recognised by their masters?

And is the superior ability recognised by higher wages?

Or—only by the bosses insistence on the musical operative spending more on clothes than the labourer who earns higher wages?

We ask these questions entirely without prejudice or without imputation of any kind.

We know that the only basis on which a trade union can be effectively organised is that of recognition of the class struggle.

That being so, the workers organised will insist on fighting the bosses on every issue of wage-slavery, beginning with the disputes about pay and hours and leading up to the final struggle for control.

If the A.M.U. is not built on that basis, it can't be a real trade union.

Our correspondent would like to know.

Clonmel.

The Trades Council will be glad to give Mr. M. Slattery a chance of repeating his slanders face to face. Let him fix a date and the secretary will get the meeting called.

All Power to the Soviet!

So say the Bishop of Limerick, the Mayor, and Colivet, T.D.E. A gathering of Dublin Clerks made a whip round and raised £15 for the Limerick funds.

THE SHIP THAT SAILED TOO SOON.

Under that title Maunsel's have just published a collection of Aodh de Blacam's short stories, for which we ask a hearty welcome, for Mr. Blacam can tell a story well.

He is biassed, of course, in favour of the Irish Nation and the Gaelic Commonwealth, but that is not a fault nowadays. The price of the volume is 3s. 6d., and we can conceive of no better gift to boy or girl.

ONE BIG UNION FOR ALL

The new topical Labour song, entitled "One Big Union for All," has caught on tremendously in Dublin, and well it might, for it is one of the best propaganda songs we have ever heard. The verses are all to the point, and quite up-to-date. The song deals with all the most popular subjects of the day, and every verse meets with great applause. The chorus is irresistible, and the audience at once join in and sing it with gusto. No concert can be dull while "One Big Union for All" is included in the programme. The author is that good friend of the Labour movement, Florence Angelos, whose identity is only known to a select few in the Labour movement. Copies can be obtained from the publisher, F. W. Crossley, 23 South Frederick Street, Dublin. Price 6d., words and music.

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HOW COULD YOU, JEAN.
APRIL 28, 29, and 30,
Jane Gray in
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LECTURE ON
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PROGRESS,"**
By **PROF. C. H. OLDHAM,**
in **TRADES HALL, CAPEL STREET,**
Monday, April 28, at 8 p.m.

N.B.—The Lecture will be illustrated by numerous slides.

CUMANNACHT NA HEIREANN.
Prize-Drawing Result.
1st—R. Hawkins, 27 Grattan street, Cork.
2nd—Miss R. Timmon, 39 Harold's Cross Road, Dublin.
3rd—Bridget McKenna, 4 St. James's Avenue.

Members' monthly meeting will be held at 42 North St. George's street, on Friday, April 25th, at 8 p.m. More members wanted. Important business. A large attendance is expected.

Look out for the Party's advertisement in the May Day number of the "Voice."

CUMANN BAN-OIBRE EIREANN.
Irish Women Workers' Union.
Bealtaine.—An all-night céilidhe and dance will be held in Banba Hall, on Labour Day, May 1st. Dancing begins, 9 o'clock. Clarke-Barry's band. Tickets, 2/- each. High-class refreshments will be sold at cost price.

"THE IRISH HOMESTEAD."
A Weekly Journal founded by Sir Horace Plunkett, keeps you in touch with Modern Agricultural Economics. It is obtainable only by Subscription, 10s. a year, 5s. half year (post free), from the Manager, 18 South Frederick Street, Dublin.
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You cannot enjoy good health if you have a mouthful of Bad Teeth, because you cannot masticate your food properly, and because stomach trouble and indigestion are sure to follow. Then you do not know the minute when they will start to ache and rob you of your sleep, giving you no peace.

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ADJOINING ARNOTT'S DUBLIN.

Transport Union Notes.

Rathcoole.
The men at Saggart Paper Mills have secured 3s. per week increase, and boys 1s. 6d.

Women workers are demanding shorter hours. Start at 8.45 a.m. instead of 6 a.m.; finish 5 p.m. instead of 6 p.m.

Newcastle West.
Strikers at the Clouneagh Creamery held a huge demonstration at Knockaderry and marched to the Creamery. The bold manager, in a panic, rushed up a body of farmers' sons armed with lead piping to "defend the fort." Organizer Neligan delivered a few home truths, which seemed bitter to the garrison.

Drogheda.
A settlement here has been reached, the Foundrymen getting a 5s. advance, and a 47-hour week. Agricultural workers have drawn up and presented a list of demands covering permanent and casual labour.

Carlow.
Master Tailors have each received a copy of the "Tailor's Log," detailing increases demanded. Wallis's men are offered 36s. per week and 2s. extra for Sunday work. The Urban Council has conceded our demand—37s. per week for roadmen; 39s. for carters; time and a half overtime; double time Sunday; half day Saturday. This is a net all round increase of seven shillings.

Baltinglass.
Farm workers are asking 40s. per week, a 9-hour day, time and a half overtime, and no broken time.

Balbriggan.
A sliding scale is demanded for discharging coal boats:—under 175 tons, 35s.; 200 tons, 40s.; 225 tons, 45s.; 250 tons, 50s.

Limerick.
In a central branch of Cleeve Bros., in the South of Ireland, our Branch Secretary was ordered to cease his work for the Union or be sacked. He is still secretary, but the threat is not carried out! For two years past he has waged successful war in defence of the Union.

Gowran.
Lord Annaly has been told there's no room for non-unionists on his estate. Another step and there will be no room for L— A—.

Dunmore.
At Jenkinstown Park another "noble" man is screwing ha'pence out of his workers. For instance, Lord Bellew charges a stableman 1s. per week for sleeping in his stable, and cooking at the harness-room fire. One thinks of Russia!

Laurencetown.
Workers are organising for a general push.

Newport.
Creamery Committee are afraid of the county demand for a standard rate. Was it necessary to adjourn until next week?

Ballyhaise.
The I.A.O.S. are interesting themselves in the Co-operative Society dispute and may help a settlement.

Athy.
Painters demand 45s., time and a half overtime, and Saturday half day.

Farm workers in South Kildare are negotiating with the Farmers' Federation.

Thurles.
Some employers have made offers in response to general town demand. The others will soon fall into line.

Tuam.
The A.W.B. Inspector has just touched the pockets of local farmers to good effect for long overdue arrears.

Ballinrobe.
It is a sad fact that of all the employers the most merciless is the Convent of Mercy. The workmen who asked for the standard wage is still unemployed.

Clonmel.
Branch has been successful with most of the demands recently made. Numbers are still increasing; a large body of Cleeve's men have just "come over."

Ballina.
Branch has several successes to record. Moy Fishery strike ends with increases of 10s. to 12s. per week to boatmen and watchmen; overtime at time and a half; reduction of hours from 60 to 54 per week for boatmen, and from 84 to 54 for watchmen; overtime to be paid for time worked over 54 hours. The boat captains get increases varying from 15s. 6d. to 17s. 6d. per week, and reduction of time by 6 hours. Only Union men to be employed. Saw-millers and builders' labourers have 4s. to 6s. increases and reduction to 54 hours. Tailors also have substantial increase, on piece-work rates.

Balbriggan.
Gallen and Co.'s latest offer is nearer the mark. Some of the increases are satisfactory, but the weavers are still being excluded. An increase of 1s. per cut of 100 yards would make far more difference to the weavers than to the firm.

Enniskerry.
Easter Sunday. Bray, etc., Trades Council, with its brass band and St. Kevin's Pipers, proceeded to Enniskerry. The local life and drum band led to way to the fountain, where Councillor Metcalfe and Comrades Harmon, Tom Nagle and Joseph MacDonnell held forth. Many new members joined the I.T. and G.W.U. on the spot.

St. Kevin's Pipers are the Bold Bad Boys who bore the Papal Banner through Dublin last Monday despite Gen. Shaw.

Moneygall.
P. Kahan is visiting this district on Sunday next to form a new branch.

Orange-Bellevue.
New section has been opened at Cloghead, following speeches by E. Mullen and Thos. MacDonnell (Drogheda) and Secy. Evans. The youthful secretary won over the Termonfeckon Land and Labour Union, bar one member.

One Thousand Pounds!
That is but an earnest of the Transport Union's support.

The Executive's donation is a headline for branches to copy.

Every meeting on May Day should pass the hat for Garryowen's defenders.

Kilkenny.
Demands have been made on the builders for masons, carpenters, and plasterers, £3 per week, and builders' labourers, 36s. per week of 48 hours. The local Builders' Association tried to quibble out of consideration of the demand, but, nothing doing! Carriers are in for an increase and are offered 35s. without change in the holidays.

THE MAY DAY "VOICE."

The enlarged issue for May Day will be on sale everywhere in Ireland on Tuesday evening next. It will contain articles by such leaders of thought and action as

**GEORGE RUSSELL ("Æ"),
DESMOND RYAN,
COUNTESS MARKIEVICZ, T.D.E.,
MME. MAUD GONNE MacBRIDE,**

and many others. The Chairmen of Ireland's Soviets in embryo, the Trades Councils, will recount the progress of Labour in their respective areas.

In addition to the special articles and verse, the Labour Song Supplement, eagerly awaited, will make the May Day "Voice" a prize that only prompt action will secure. **Order it now from your newsagent.** Remember, the special price for next week only is **THREEPENCE.**

To my Newsagent.
Date April, 1919.
I shall want copies of the May-day number of the "Voice of Labour," price 3d. each. Ready on April 30th.

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Shock the highbrows.
Make the capitalist rub his eye.**

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THINGS WE FORGET!

The workers of this country, like in France, Italy and England, are being fooled with the idea that good times are ahead. Their masters tell them that Germany is going to pay for the war, and so all the wealth that is collected from Germany will go towards giving us all a good time. The exact opposite is the truth.

Germany cannot pay her war bill in gold, therefore she will have to pay it in goods. The goods will be manufactured in Germany, by German workers in German factories. The German workers will receive one of the blessings of the system, the privilege of working overtime. The goods produced will be sent over to this country to be disposed of. The result will be that the American workers will be out of work. There will be no need to open the American factories, because Germany will supply the necessary commodities. Who did you say won the war?

Why not all join hands and refuse to work overtime at all? Let us band ourselves together and take over industry and quit fooling ourselves that the workers of any other country can assist the workers of this country, by paying war debts?

Also remember that the workers of Germany have a forty-four hour week, and the moulders in Duluth are striking for a forty-eight hour week.

Who won the war did you say? Ask dad, he knows.

JACK CARNEY.

ATTEND CEILIDHE MHOR

In the Mansion House, Saturday, April 26th. Tickets, 4s. 6d. Can be had at Irish-Ireland shops.

IRISH FUND FOR THE FAMINE-STRICKEN.

First Irish Consignment has gone to a Maternity Hospital in Central Europe. Help to send further supplies quickly to the Starving Mothers and Babies. Contributions received by Treasurer, Irishwomen's International League, 20 South Anne Street, Dublin.

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