

IRISH OPINION

The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

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JULY 6, 1918.

ONE PENNY

Pleas of the Peacemongers.

The Future Republic.

Women's Union for Women Voters.

Keep Your Powder Dry.

The Connolly Ideal.

You may take it direct from me that when that proclamation was framed there was no thought of abandoning the possibility of conscription in Ireland; nor was any such idea intended to be conveyed.

... I must say plainly and emphatically that the Government of Ireland will carry out its duty in this respect unflinchingly, without fear or favour, and in face of whatever opposition, whether of criticism or actual force, may be most unfortunately and inadvisedly attempted.

—The Military Governor-General at Belfast.

An eminent predecessor of Lord French in this tantalising island of ours gave his plundering followers a command and motto that has made history in every generation in this as in other countries. "Put your trust in God, my boys," he said, "but keep your powder dry." The latter part of the injunction has passed into a proverb, and is now the neat and happy equivalent of all other counsels of vigilance and watchfulness. It is in that innocent rhetorical sense and not, we need hardly say, in its literal signification we use the phrase to give point to our caution of last week. For we are peaceable folk, loyal and true, and have no knowledge of powder, wet or dry, of the material, warlike order!

Last week we said that it was intended to enforce conscription by ordinary military methods, and that the time fixed for a fair trial of voluntary recruiting by economic pressure was the latter end of July. Since then we are happy to have the high authority of Lord French and Mr. Lloyd George to confirm what we said. We need, therefore, do nothing more than merely call attention to the public declaration that, no matter what the opposition, conscription is to be enforced with all the power of the present and prospective forces.

If, therefore, there has been any ill-advised or most unfortunate slackening in the machinery of the national will, we trust that the proper measures will be taken to speed up again. This is a solemn obligation and most serious duty, and it is a duty that devolves upon all, the individual, the local committee, the community, and the nation. We look then to those forces and powers that are sincere and earnest in their pursuit of liberty to take the measures ordinary commonsense dictates. For these the only effective counsellors are the individual and the local committee. To depend upon aught or anybody else is to depend upon a broken reed. Let us then be of good cheer, and sing the haunting melody:

"Mo bhron! your hair is white as snow, Kathleen,

Your heart is sad and full of woe,  
Do you repent you bade him go, Kathleen,  
Kathleen?

And quick and proud you answer  
"No!"

SOME NOTES BY MAUD EDEN.

I.

HIS JOYOUS COMMONSENSE.

James Connolly's greatness lay, I think, in the fact that he was in all his works and ways a singularly practical man. His idealism was always based on sound common sense, wide experience, and a shrewd, if very kindly, knowledge of human nature.

Having had the honour and privilege, as a writer for the "Workers' Republic," of discussing the fundamentals of the Labour Movement with him, I want to try to get down to the bedrock of his philosophy. His first principle was, see things as they are. I remember very well one day I happened to be giving him, with some emphasis, my views on Dublin employers, he burst out laughing. I sought an explanation. "I am laughing," he said, with that humorous twinkle we all knew and loved so well, "at the difference between you and Miss ——. She has been explaining to me that all employers are fair, just and honest men, and that if our case is only put fairly before them they will give us all we ask."

Connolly hated sentiment, he hated talk, he hated half-instructed theorists, who out of the depth of their ignorance try to reform humanity.

He liked to see people, especially young people, happy and enjoying themselves. He did not preach a philosophy so much as live a life, and that life was calculated to make all who knew him happy, too.

# The VOICE OF LABOUR

Edited by CATHAL O'SHANNON.

## SUBSCRIPTION RATES.

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You must order your copy of the "Voice of Labour" from your newsagent, in advance. Do it to-day.

## THE VERY BRITISH LABOUR PARTY.

The first Conference of the British Labour Party, under its new constitution, did not cover itself with glory in London last week. Indeed, from its past record and present personnel it was not to be expected that it would. The British Labour Party as a political party suffers from the English national vices, compromise, parliamentism, and the gentle art of giving way. There has never been anything heroic or inspiring about it; there has never been anything in it of real leadership, except in the parliamentary sense; there has never been apparent either in its policy or tactics any statesmanship as distinct from political intrigue. But by its sorry performances of last week it has eclipsed its own history.

The British Conference did indeed resolve at length on many problems of reconstruction after the war. It was severely practical in the bad sense, and applied itself with such vigour and eloquence as it could command to proposals for cleaning up the mess its mad masters have made at home in England. But they were all of them palliatives. Not one of them, except perhaps Mr. Snowden's, on the conscription of wealth, showed a glimmer of vision or introduced a new and far-reaching principle. With many of the proposals even the most severe critic of British Labour might well agree, but it was in omission and not in commission the London Conference sinned most grievously against the light. We can relish in anticipation the flood of criticism the constructive thinkers in the British movement will let loose on their parliamentary party after last week for the Conference revealed its utter barrenness of economic as of political ideas. The truth is the British Labour Party, always respectable, has become liberal and bourgeois, and Mr. Massingham's "Nation" is its organ of the Left. Why, it has taken Kerensky to its bosom and rejected Troelstra. It cries for the International as a boy for the moon, and it tolerates Havelock Wilson and James Sexton. It

talks grandiloquently of three or four hundred Labour candidates (God help us!), of abolishing the party truce (in the constituencies, of course), and it funks at calling its members out of the Cabinet and it keeps Lloyd George in office. Ugh! If we were English we think we should shoot Lloyd George, but we are not so sure that we should not shoot some of Labour's lights first.

Not only has the British Labour Party become Liberal and bourgeois, it is imperialist as well. In its War Aims Memorandum it has many fine phrases on legislatures expressing "the sovereign right of the people," "the interest and benefit of the populations concerned," "to the people the determination of their own destiny," "without regard to imperialist pretensions." But that is in Poland, Belgium, Yugo-Slavia, Armenia, and Africa. Not in Ireland. No, not in Ireland. For Ireland self-determination means, says the British Labour Party, "a wide and generous measure of Home Rule, on the lines indicated by the proceedings of the Irish Convention. The "Irish" Convention, if you please! We are sure the chests of the delegates must have swelled with pride and emotion and generosity when they came to this revolutionary conclusion. We can see the Hodges and the Hendersons and the whole tripe of them smiling proudly and pompously down from the democratic throne at the gallant little band of rebels who raised the cry of "Ireland" and voted in the minority against the official motion and in favour of principle. A big, broad, bland smile. "What fine—aw—fellahs we are—aw—what!" And yet withal we doubt not that the craven, hypocritical, and self-satisfied gang who denied the determination of their own destinies to the people of Ireland cast many a furtive glance around lest some emissary from Scotland Yard should be lurking about waiting to pounce upon them for complicity in the German Plot. The crowds in the British Labour Party who had not the courage to apply to Ireland the principles they mouth about for Belgians and Bohemians have ranged themselves by the side of George and Curzon and Carson, and not even the cut of their cloth or the quality of their shirt-fronts distinguishes these makers of a world safe for democracy. We pity the world, and Ireland is well out of it. For ourselves we think we should prefer the devil we don't know to this mangy beast we do.

Mr. O'Grady was wiser when he recalled his reception in Russia and pleaded that the ghost of Ireland should be laid before England wins the war and goes (as of course she will, who doubts it?) to dictate the Pax Britannica to the world. In this at least we should be glad if the British Labour Party would include Ireland amongst the after-war problems. Like the restoration of trade union rules, practices and conditions, the repeal of laws restricting freedom of speech, publication and Press and other problems of reconstruction, the self-determination of the people of Ireland can wait until after the war, and Ireland will not grieve. For the ghost of Ireland is going to the Peace Conference, and it will haunt more than one Cabinet Minister.

We hope Longuet and Branting and the other Continentals were duly impressed with the sincerity and high principles of their British comrades. We need but add that the minority in favour of Ireland will find their action appreciated where principle and action are worth appreciation. As for the movement in Ireland we pray: God save Irish Labour from the sin of respectability. We were in luck when we got Connolly and Larkin, not Henderson and Webb.

## LABOUR CLAIMS WOLFE TONE.

[Through what was partly our fault and partly the fault of circumstance, an unfortunate hiatus occurred between the second last and the concluding paragraphs of our article on Wolfe Tone last week. We print in this issue the omitted passages.]

Tone was the very incarnation of the Republic, as he was its apostle and its founder; he was, too, an apostle and pioneer of the insurgent working class, for to Tone, as he saw everywhere around him, the working class, the people, the nation, were one and they were his Irish Republic. From them in '98 as in '48 and, in '67, were drawn the men and women who were faithful to Tone, for Tone was theirs—revolutionary, republican, insurgent, democrat.

Hear again from his own lips the aim Tone put before the Society of United Irishmen which was to be his Republic: "It will not be an aristocracy, affecting the language of patriotism, the rival of despotism for its own sake, not its irreconcilable enemy for the sake of us all. It will not, by views merely retrospective, stop the march of mankind or force them back into the lanes and alleys of their ancestors. This society is likely to be a means the most powerful for the promotion of a great end. What end? The Rights of Man in Ireland? The greatest happiness of the greatest numbers in this island, the inherent and indefeasible claims of every free nation to rest in this nation—the will and the power to be happy, to pursue the common weal as an individual pursues his private welfare, and to stand in insulated independence, an imperial people. The greatest happiness of the Greatest Number—on the rock of this principle let this society rest; by this let it judge and determine every political question, and whatever is necessary for this end let it not be accounted hazardous, but rather our interest, our duty, our glory and our common religion. The Rights of man are the Rights of God, and to vindicate the one is to maintain the other. We must be free in order to serve Him whose service is perfect freedom." (Secret Manifesto to the Friends of Freedom in Ireland, June, 1791.)

## British Casualties.

1916—660,071; 1917—854,714; 1918 (Jan. 1 to June 23)—452,857. Total (January 1, 1916, to June 23, 1918)—1,967,642.—Labour Leader.

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

## From an Exile's Tomb.

God send us peace, and keep red strife away;

But should it come, God send us men and steel!

The land is dead that dare not face the day,

When foreign danger threatens the common weal.

Thrice blest the nation that has every son  
A soldier, ready for the warning sound;  
Who marches homeward, when the fight is done,

To swing the hammer and to till the ground.

—John Boyle O'Reilly.

## The Control of Industry.

Itinerant editorship, if it has its good points, has also its disadvantages, and one of the greatest of them is that often a text on which an excellent sermon might be preached comes to an editor's hand when he has preached without any text, and is far away out of reach of the printer's devil. This happened us last week, when the admirable motion on the control of industry to be sent forward by the Transport and General Workers to Congress reached us only when we had vexed the printer beyond all forgiveness. The motion pleases us so well that we print it again in full, and beseech militant workers to let it burn into their minds and hearts. It reads:—"In view of the continuous depreciation in the value of money, and the fact that every increase in wages won for the workers is at once added, with interest, to the cost of the goods or services by the employers, this Congress declares that mere increases of pay, however necessary, are only a temporary palliative for the evils of poverty, that what is wanted is a sufficiency of real wages rather than of money wages, and that the only effective remedy for our present disabilities is the control of industry in the interest of the community by the organised working class." In Connolly's good phrase, "we want the earth."

## The New Policy.

"The control of industry in the interest of the community by the organised working class." Burn these words into your hearts and souls, ye men and women, soldiers of the army of the night, for this is your new charter of liberty, your light shining in the darkness, the end and goal of all your striving, marching and battling. The Transport and General Workers will introduce this new policy to the whole Labour movement through its representatives assembled in Congress in Waterford. It is only in this sense that the policy is new, for it was the policy of James Connolly, and of all who thought with him, and is argued at length and elaborated by him in those imperishable writings he has left as a legacy to Labour. As drafted by the Union (we had almost said, the One Big Union, but that anon), the motion is admirably brief, moderate and restrained in expression,

significant in its aim and comprehensive enough to serve its immediate purpose. We congratulate the Transport Union on this fine lead it has given, not for the first or last time, to Labour, and we look forward with lively interest to the discussion we hope the proposal will arouse. For if this great decision in policy is taken at Waterford with a full realisation of all it means, the Waterford Congress will usher in a golden epoch in the history of the working class in Ireland.

## The Grounds of Complaint.

Yet we would not have this proposal accepted here or in Congress without strict examination and intelligent criticism, for that way all our failure lies. If we have any criticism to offer it is that the proposal, as drafted, arrives at a conclusion without developing the premises of the argument to the full. That omission is easily understandable by anyone who has examined both premises and argument, for neither could be fully elaborated without sacrificing something of the pithy brevity of the motion, and brevity is the soul of wisdom, as of wit. We know that the keen minds that drafted the motion argued that poverty could only be abolished by the abolition of the slavery of which it is the sign, that by a sufficiency of real wages is meant the new order that will replace the present wage-system, and that the new system is an essential condition precedent to the new control of industry by the industrial democracy. But busy men at the throbbing heart of the One Big Union may be forgiven their hurry when we know they have thought out their argument and given its logical conclusion. Perhaps they were excellently wise in declining to hide their jewel in what well might be a waste of words. Connolly has left worthy disciples in No. 7 Liberty Hall.

We have developed the argument further for "The Voice of Labour," especially in its wavery aspect, but sufficient for the week is the wisdom thereof.

## The National Executive.

In the re-organisation of the Trades Union Congress we have said that the National Executive is the body upon which we would first graft the new system. But to do this not only will the functions of the Executive require broadening and development, but the personnel itself will have to be chosen in accordance with the new functions and new machinery, and more important still, with the new spirit and the new policy of Labour. We are not saying that Labour must necessarily scrap its old spokesmen as it scraps its old machinery, but they or others must be both able and willing to work the new machine in the new spirit towards the new end. It will be admitted, we should think, that our present methods will not serve this end. Like all movements, Labour likes to choose its executive members because of their personal charm and pull, and because they are the most popular and best known to the delegates, and not because of their ability to think, act

and lead. Other movements suffer from the same defects, but no more than others need Labour continue on this old and easy, but fatal, path. It is too well known that the soft, easy-going official who makes many friends because he is quiet, inoffensive and too often inefficient, and not because he is strong, bold and determined, is the man chosen for high office. We ought to have outgrown this damnable habit long ago, but it clings to us still and will, if Labour does not now decide more wisely, continue to hamper the movement, clogging the machine and cumbering it with officials who have passed their day of usefulness.

## Labour's General Staff.

Thought and action and leadership, in short, genuine ability to mould, guide, and direct the movement, are what Labour wants in its executive, and we hope it will make its choice at Waterford on these qualifications, and on these only. It is the best quality the movement can give that Labour should seek for in its leadership. To be able to give constructive thought to the problems of industrial and political machinery, of organisation, of control and direction, of manifold activities, national and international, this is a quality indispensable in a member of executive. Still more essential is the ability to act, the gift of making a decision on a big issue with confidence and swiftness, and then carrying out that decision with despatch and energy. Above all things is the gift of leadership demanded, and without both thought and action real leadership is impossible. Leaders, indeed, are not made but born; but the gift of leadership can be cultivated where it exists, and in Irish Labour it exists in plenty. Leadership above all, we have said, leadership above all, at this stage of promise, when the whole movement is in the making on the grand scale, and Labour is becoming the greatest and most powerful force in this country.

At Waterford, then, we are to look for leadership, deep-thinking, broad-seeing, active, energetic, bold and courageous. It must lack none of these any more than it must lack prudence and conviction and passion. Eloquent it may be and popular if it can, but it must be big and broad and bold; it must not be timid, and it must not be little and ineffective. In other words, that may perhaps be more easily understood, in the National Executive we must have the General Staff of the Army of Labour. We have the army, we have the men, the money and the material, we have the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, we have the objective the noblest ever marched forth army to reach. We want the generals, and we want them to be our General Staff.

## Reminder to Labour.

The Industrial Co-operative Society has printed a neat card for display in trade union meeting rooms, embodying the Dublin Trades Council's recommendations to trade unionists to support co-operation.

# Transport Union News.

## NORTH DUBLIN ACTIVITIES.

Mr. T. Farren is closely engaged tackling the work of negotiation following on his organising successes. At **Gormans-town** last week a body of Government workers raised their wages on representation to Col. Kingscourt, from 7½d. per hour to 9½d., dirty work adding an extra penny. **Skerries** has three strikes going on, one strangely enough in these times of alleged working-class prosperity to secure 38s. a week in place of 16s. An endeavour has been made to persuade the Balrothery Guardians to enforce the fair wages clause on the bread contractor. **Balbriggan** had a Town Hall meeting on 28th ult., when Matt White presided. T. Farren and Pat Matches spoke, the latter dealing with the Land scheme. A meeting will be held at **Lusk** on 5th inst. and a new branch section will be inaugurated at **Ashbourne** on 12th inst.

### The Farmers.

Several instances of non-observance of the recent agreement have been reported to Liberty Hall and have been taken up with the Farmers' Association, which is hopeful of making peaceful settlements. Other cases are receiving direct attention from the Union.

### No. 3 Branch.

The Cemeteries Committee and their good friends, the dairymen, have both been dealt with. The former, after arbitration by Lord Mayor O'Neill, have given a much needed increase of 7/- per week. We do suggest that the Committee had no need to tax the Lord Mayor with this labour, and we hope now that their dread of Trade Unionism is overcome, they will negotiate direct with the Union.

At the last moment the milk merchants saw the light and prevented a strike by conceding 45s. a week to milkers of 15 cows or less with proportionate increases for extra work and 32s. to servers, with 1d. per gallon commission.

### A One-Man Case.

The Union has taken up the case of a man dismissed by a local dye-works. The management has met Mr. Farren and is submitting the question at issue to a friendly arbitration.

### Limerick.

The meeting arranged for last Thursday was abandoned in favour of a series of committee meetings devoted to strengthening the internal structure of the local branches. Cleeve's is now a Union shop and is booking its additional staff through the Union.

### Arklow.

The 12½ per cent. bonus still causes trouble here. The chief clerk (we are sorry to have caused him annoyance) continues his endeavour to divide and rule. Staunch loyalty and determination to enforce trade union recognition (as provided in the Munitions of War Acts) will defeat his attempts.

### Slothful Swaddies.

The long-standing dispute with the military at North Wall was arbitrated upon last Tuesday.

### Killarney.

The planter's inheritor, Lord Kenmare, who boasts the Bloody Hand of a 1622 baronetcy, answers no letters from the Transport Union. He is a type we would commend to the notice of Sir T. W. Russell. A strike is likely on his estate. The men are adopting the Kenmare motto "Loyal en tout."

### Wexford.

The Star Iron Works have granted increases ranging from 5/- to 13/3 per week. The Bacon Factory directors have invited Ald. Corish to discuss recent requests by the Union. A Wages Board inspector is looked for at Oylegate and wanted at Castlebridge.

### Longford.

The new Transport branch is healthy. Membership now tops the first century, and the committee remain active. Well done, Mahony—but, does every member buy the "Voice"?

### Transport Membership.

The figure of 100,000, given last week as the membership of the Transport Union, is, we are advised by Mr. J. J. Hughes, much in excess of the actual number, which cannot be ascertained until the census returns are received at Liberty Hall.

### The Census.

Branch secretaries have now the census forms in their possession and the Head Office expects to receive them all duly completed by next week. More than a little trouble will be involved for the branch secretaries, but if shop stewards and the rank and file come up to scratch, the work will be accomplished with ease. For the first time an endeavour is being made to classify the members according to occupation. No less than 34 entries are provided in the form, and each of the 34 occupations specified might with advantage be further subdivided. Branch secretaries are advised to add under "Miscellaneous" a further class for "Employees of Public Bodies," and to make a return of their members in such services.

The information gained from these forms will be of the greatest service to the E.C. and to the organisers in the field.

### Roscrea Rashers.

The Directors of the Roscrea Bacon Factory have closed down the factory temporarily and locked out 12 men, 5 women, and two boys, since Monday week. The Union has offered, on the workers' behalf, to agree to arbitration, but the Directors will not agree to any such peaceable settlement. Some five clerks and two mechanics, all non-union men, are above sympathetic action though strong on sympathetic talk. The manager and chairman are actually scabbing on the men, as is also a Queen's Co. land-

grabber named Scully. Town and country are with the workers, and many shareholders have begun to kick. Even the Cork I.D.A. cannot get the Directors to be reasonable.

### Nenagh.

Mr. Michael Bergen, chairman of the Nenagh Branch of the Transport Union, has been arrested. Mr. Bergen, as a shareholder, wrote vigorously on behalf of the locked-out Roscrea workers in last week's "Midland Tribune." The "Tribune," by the way, quoted last week's "Voice" in the Roscrea dispute, and is thoroughly democratic, as we should expect.

### Fry's Ties.

The International Union of Tailors, etc., reports that Messrs. Fry, scarf-makers, have agreed to advance wages to weekly workers by 10 per cent., and have given an increase of 2d. per dozen to piece workers. We believe Messrs. Fry is the best paid staff in the Dublin scarf trade. Trade unionists, Note!

### Irish Tailors.

As will be seen from the advertisement on another page, a provisional committee has been formed to promote an All-Ireland Union for the clothing trade. We hope this committee will not be satisfied to form another small competing union, but will try, on the other hand, to incorporate all grades and sections of the garment making trade in Ireland in one big union.

### Tobacconists' Assistants.

The Tobacconists Assistants' Association is the next group to seek reinforcement of their strength by linking up with another union in the Distributive trade. It is hoped that negotiations will be fruitful. There are too many unions, and weakness follows division.

### Butchers' Hours.

Isn't it time the Butchers' Union moved for earlier closing? A walk round Moore street late on Saturday showed several shops closed. At the others the assistants were doing nothing. Why hang on?

By the way, our articles on the meat trade have not been without result. Several butchers have put windows in their shop fronts protecting their stock and premises from dust. We hope the public will show their appreciation by patronising the sanitary butcher shops.

### Chemists Come Into Line.

The Irish Chemists Assistants' Association which has brought the spirit of fellowship into being among corpse-revivers has resolved to unite for trade union purposes with the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, in the Dublin branch, in which the majority of the wholesale chemists and druggists are organised. The union has successfully organised both retail and wholesale houses in England, and wages in the latter are now subject to quarterly revision by employers, the Union, and the Ministry of Labour.

The I.C.A.A. will continue its ordinary social and educational work, and control all its affairs as heretofore, with the exception that it will now definitely move for higher wages and better conditions.

We should aim at a Society where people will be at harmony in their economic life—A. E.

**THE IRISH WOMEN WORKERS' UNION**

The I.W.W.U. hope to send three delegates to the Trade Union Congress in August. The committee have sent forward resolutions on the subjects of Education, Housing, Mothers' Pensions, Women Factory Inspectors and Workers' holidays. We want a general and united effort made for a 48-hour working week, and a week's holidays on full pay in addition to the usual Bank holidays for all workers. Our claim in regard to factory inspectors is that more women are needed, that they must be Irish women, and that facilities should be given to make these posts open to workers. The women workers' faith in resolutions and speeches is weak. Education and housing have been crusted over with admirable resolutions, and a veritable settlement of castles in the air built around them. We should like to see the Irish Labour Party tackle these questions with real determination to get something done about them, and so we urge the Congress to appoint a committee of men and women on housing and on education who will act throughout the year and make the Labour point of view on these subjects felt as a force. Without really big reforms in these two matters, so vitally affecting physical and mental powers, trade union and Labour parties must remain feeble and ineffective. An unhealthy environment will counteract the advantages of good wages, however good; and without education the workers cannot acquire real control of their industries nor successfully administer municipal and political affairs.

Discussing these matters at Denmark House the other night, a member of the committee said:—"Why ask the Congress to repeat its annual resolutions on these subjects? Why not ask the well-established Unions to start building the sort of houses the workers want for themselves? Why not start a school which would give something like a real education to the children of the workers?" These remarks sound visionary; but the suggestion to do more than talk—to give practical proof of the sort of thing we want—has merit. And in a country like Ireland which can boast of a fair number of idealists, to whom the mere making of money is not the be-all and end-all of existence, it ought to be quite possible to make some experiment in carrying out the suggestion of our committee member. Such an experiment might be a failure as a business proposition (it probably would be); but it would certainly be a contribution to thought, and from that point of view money spent on it would be money well invested. There are better dividends than hard cash drawn from some enterprises!

**WOMEN'S DAY.**

The part played by women in Irish history is vividly described in "Women in Ancient and Modern Ireland," by Miss C. M. Doyle. Do not fail to read it. Of all newsagents (price 6d., post free 8d.), or direct from the Kenny Press, 65 Middle Abbey Street, Dublin.

**THE UNEMPLOYED WOMAN.**

Several organisations are busily engaged trying to capture the working-class woman voter for the support of their reform nostrums and outworn parties and Labour ought to be in the field to win and hold the women workers of Ireland for their class-organisation in industry and politics. There is, perhaps, no need for a new women's labour association, for the vigorous Irish Women Workers' Union affords a basis of organisation into which all women can enter.

Founded as a trade union, its main work must be industrial; but effective industrial action may be reinforced by systematic use of political government and administration. Even the older women brought up in what seems now to have been another world, realise that if governments can make sugar dear, women ought to control the governments.

The unemployed woman voter—that is the married woman, and the home-staying women who do not go out to work—will be welcomed as members of the I.W.W.U. No special provision has yet been made for them, but they are welcome to share some of the labours of the industrial struggle and will gain much for themselves in having some few interests in the world outside the home. The entrance fee to the Union is 4d. and the weekly dues 2d. Inquiries about membership should be addressed to Denmark House, Great Denmark Street, Dublin.

**Australia for Independence.**

The Interstate Labour Conference rejects the proposed British Empire Federation and resolves to maintain the Independence of the Commonwealth.

**THE DRAMA.**

Ernest A. Boyd's public may be disappointed in his "Contemporary Drama of Ireland," which lacks the concentrated brilliance of expression that sparkled in, say, "Appreciations and Depreciations." He has left his post at the East of Paradise and relinquished the flaming sword for the pen of the recording angel, and in spite of himself has provided the per-fervid with new inspirations of pride in Ireland, the home of a native drama, as consciously our own as the Elizabethan was England's. The Irish Literary Revival, he says, "has been a manifestation of nationality, which has given us a literature and a theatre essentially different from those of any other English-speaking country."

"The Contemporary Drama of Ireland" is an indispensable index of twenty years' effort in the creation of the Irish Theatre. The author's name is a guarantee of its critical value. It is usual to hand out compliments to the publishers of Irish books, but Irish printers and publishers, like Irish dramatists, cannot afford to live on the credit of the pioneers. Mr. Boyd's book is worthy of the typography of T. N. Foulis or Martin Secker's printers. It should be free from those errors that might have been corrected at the first reading of the proofs and the pages might have been more carefully folded. The exterior get-up resembles that of a rural bindery. The Talbot Press can and should do better.

THE CONTEMPORARY DRAMA OF IRELAND, by Ernest A. Boyd. The Talbot Press, Dublin. 5/- net. Post free 5/6.

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**Thomas Foran, Liberty Hall, Dublin.**

# Pleas of the Peace-Mongers.

There is at this time a spate of pamphlet production on the subjects of Peace and the League of Nations, and few of the slim volumes are of much value in themselves. It is hoped, however, that they may stimulate thought on subjects which receive too little consideration from us. We are too much concerned about our relations with one foreign power to care about the general equilibrium of the great States and their humble servants, the other small nations, and, being a nation, but no State, we have not the organs through which to establish communication with the peoples of the world. When we do devote interest to Ireland's foreign relations, it is usually in a moment of reaction from our pre-occupation with England. It was so in the Franco-British imbroglio over Siam, in the hopeful conflict between Kitchener and Marchand at Fashoda, and more recently, when the bully was at our throat, we decided to turn our eyes away from Westminster, and, despite our Sinn Féin doctrines, direct them upon Washington.

## This casual flirtation

with our enemies' foes is fatal to any understanding of the problems of the chancelleries. Sustained pursuit of their intrigues, a knowledge of their history, an investigation of the domestic factors that in each country modifies its relations with its neighbours, and a due appreciation of the international forces at work are urgently required to fit our politicians, not only those of parliamentary rank, but those humbler persons who mould opinion in clubs, trade union branches, and public bars, for the discharge of Ireland's duties not only to herself but in that aggregation of nations that our Idealists desire to become a community.

Therefore we welcome the essays and speeches which deal with any phase of the International questions. We know the approved method of dealing with proposals for a League of Nations is to investigate the past history of the authors, and if any hint or trace of association with the United Irish League can be detected, to strafe the writers and reject their proposals, while maintaining a discreet silence about any authors or patrons of such proposals who happen to have their friends in another camp. There is

## no criticism

in mere objections to the personnel of the propagandists. "That a man is a poisoner is nothing against his prose," and Mr. W. G. Fallon's name as author, and Kenny's imprint as publishers, on the title page of "Perpetual Peace, a Catholic Ideal," afford no reason for adding it unread to the pile of valuable waste-paper.

Mr. Fallon cannot be congratulated on having established beyond question his thesis that Perpetual Peace is a Catholic Ideal, except, perhaps, in the millennial sense. He does, indeed, mass a considerable amount of evidence by selection from the Fathers, Doctors, and eminent theologians, from Popes and laymen all tending to show that the Church has at all times been pacifist. One has the feeling that by Mr. Fallon's Protestant method

of selection and textual exegesis, a contrary plea could be equally well supported by an impressive cloud of witness. He has more success when showing the mediatorial work of the Holy See from the tenth century onward, although the evanescence of the Truces, Pacts and Leagues for the maintenance of peace, and the regulation of warfare on Christian and humane lines does not increase our confidence in Leagues of Nations. And the most recent precedent for the desiderated League is the infamous Holy Alliance formed after 1815 ostensibly to regulate international relations on "Christian principles."

## Catholic Action.

The present difficulties of Catholic action to promote peace and the community of nations are not really faced, indeed Mr. Fallon confesses that the "failure of the once famous Catholic Central Party of Germany is humiliating"—a warning that action by Catholics, as Catholics, in the politics of their fatherlands, is not likely to be any more idealistic than that of those citizens who organise as citizens and do not try to induce ecclesiastical authority, like a new Balaam, to bless their friends or curse their foes.

In view of the general failure of Catholics outside the Holy See to develop a consistent policy on the present war, it is somewhat out of place for Mr. Fallon to sneer at the alleged failure of Socialism. Indeed, he makes the quite false allegation that the leaders of International Socialism in Europe rushed breathless to their respective national—not international—flags. The Socialist, indeed, might ask with reason where are those in Europe who have uplifted the Cross as the symbol of the Catholic Ideal of Perpetual Peace, and where are the Catholic Skeffingtons, Leibknechts or MacLeans. But for the imposing witness of the Holy See, and, in England, the quiet courage of the Guild of the Pope's Peace, the only evidence of a Catholic opinion on this present war would be the recruiting pastorals of the Bishops and the harangues of the recruiting clergy.

## The Syndicate of Pirates.

As for the League of Nations, neither Mr. Fallon nor Eoin MacNeill, nor Miss Louie Bennett, has found the solvent for the suspicion with which organised labour regards all proposals to establish Continental or universal syndicates of the present-day States, even with the beneficent object of making "wars to cease throughout the world." The workers' experience of the most democratic of existing States is not such as to warrant their welcome to a further imposition of powers more remote from popular influence than even the bourgeois, capitalist, national parliaments of Western Europe.

Rather than spend their time on advocating the five points of the English U.D.C., which certain tired brains have imported as they stand without even verbal concession to Irish opinion, or in pleading for a reference to neutral tribunals, or seeking to aid the employing classes of Europe to set up new super-

(Continued on Next Page.)

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**PLEAS OF THE PEACE-MONGERS.**  
(From Page 322.)

states—as efficient for the suppression of revolutionary effort as was the Holy Alliance—the Irish workers will concentrate on realising what Miss Bennett with truth calls the primary aim of Democracy, Economic Justice, at home. Beyond, there is the great fellowship of those born in slavery, winning power through labour, and everywhere preparing to realise the aims set forth by Leon Trotsky, **Peace without indemnities, the right of all peoples to self-determination, the United Industrial Republic of the World, without monarchies, without standing armies, without feudal ruling castes, without secret diplomacy.**

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**War and Revolution** by Leon Trotsky (S. L. P., Glasgow), 3d.; by post, 4d. [10,000 copies have been stolen by the police at Glasgow.]

**Perpetual Peace: a Catholic Ideal,** by W. G. Fallon (Kenny's, Abbey St., Dublin), 7d.; by post, 8d.

**Ireland and a People's Peace,** by Louie Bennett (Maunsel and Co., Ltd., Dublin), 2d., by post 3d.

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Perhaps D.L.G. was not flattered, for the Scripture goes on: "whose name was John"—not David.

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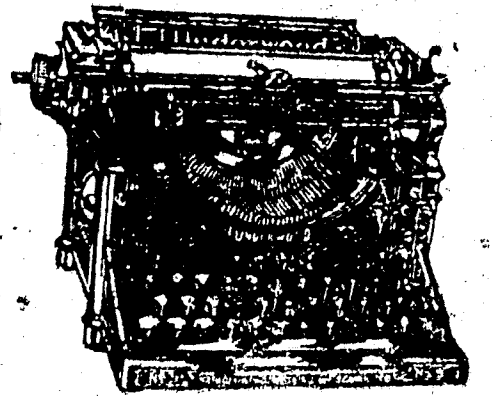
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## GUFFIANA BY J. McD.

Mr. Patrick Thompson, of "The New Way," has sent us a reply to Mr. Guff's article which, for reasons of space, we are not publishing. With both of these gentlemen we are agreed that "we must live in the present with eyes and mind intent on the future." The past, indeed, has its lessons, but a labour weekly of eight slender pages has not the space to devote to the investigation of pre-historic social systems, about which Father Gaynor, Mr. Thompson and Mr. Guff hold such different opinions. As to the present, we venture to say that despite the conflict of views expressed in their previous articles, there is more agreement between them than the challenges of controversy permit us readily to see.

Mr. Guff is right in warning us that a political revolution which would exchange English masters for Irish, would not, in itself, benefit the Irish nation, that is all the people who live in Ireland by the exertion of hand and brain. That revolution might be the beginning of a new course of evolution leading to the larger economic freedom. Without that revolution, Irish labour has a double handicap. Always behind the Irish employer it is fighting, is the embattled might of the English Government, which is uninfluenced by its minority representation at Westminster, or by its votes at home.

Remove the external bolster of petty domestic tyranny and bring about the institution of a native government open to the direct influence of public opinion and dependent upon the votes of the Irish people. With such a political state there is a reasonable chance that Irish Labour will be as influential in its own territory as Norwegian Labour in Norway.

Our Norse comrades have not gained their greatest desires, but National independence has enabled them to attain a unity in spirit and formal organisation, impossible while the minds of the workers were distracted by the menace of the Swedish oligarchy.

If there are Sinn Feiners who date the social millenium from the English evacuation, and who find the explanation of every ill that Ireland bears in her subjection to England, they are probably not conscious allies of Irish capitalism or subtle friends of the English or International variety, but may be merely ignorant of the workings of the economic forces that make society.

It was for them and such that Connolly wrote "Labour in Irish History," "Labour, Nationality and Religion," and the "Re-Conquest of Ireland." The first and the last are available in excellent shilling editions, published by Maunsell's. We would rejoice if the trenchant writings of Guff, Thompson, and Father Gaynor were to lead, not to the sour, self-absorption of those who take sides with any of the parties, in their own views and prejudices, but rather to an open-minded study of the writings of him who was the first Irish exponent of Marxian methods in economics and history.

Therefore, O Gentle Reader, if Mr. Guff has trodden on the bunion of national self-conceit—and we know he has—go to Connolly.

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