

TO NEWSAGENTS
AND OUR READERS.

For the Trade Union Congress, a Double Number with many articles by Irish and foreign leaders of Labour, will be published on August 1st. Price TWOPENCE. Order Early. See within.

IRISH OPINION

The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

NEW SERIES. Vol. I, No. 35.

JULY 27, 1918.

ONE PENNY

The Mansion House Conference. A Call to Action—Plain Talk.

Connolly's Programme for Irish Labour

THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER.

We accept the family as the true type of human society. We say that,

As in the family, the resources of the entire household are at the service of each;

As in the family, the strong does not prey upon and oppress the weak;

As in the family, the least gifted mentally and the weakest physically share equally the common store of all with the most gifted and the physically strongest;

As in the family, the true economy consists in utilising and conserving the heritage of all for the good of all;

So, in like manner, the nation should act and be administered.

THE GUARANTEE OF EQUALITY.

Every man, woman, and child of the nation must be considered as an heir of all the property of the nation, and the entire resources of the nation should stand behind each individual guaranteeing them against want, and

multiplying their individual powers with all the powers of the organised nation.

THE METHOD OF ATTAINMENT.

To obtain that end we seek to organise every person who works for wages, that the workers themselves may determine the conditions of labour. We hold that the sympathetic strike is the affirmation of the Christian principle that we are all members one of another, whilst those who oppose the sympathetic strike and uphold sectionalism in trade union struggles are repeating the question of Cain, who, when questioned about the brother he had murdered, asked, "Am I my brother's keeper?" We say, "Yes, we are all the keepers of our brothers and sisters, and responsible for them."

THE SECOND LINE OF ADVANCE.

From the organisation of Labour as such, we proceed to organise upon

the Co-operative principle that we may control the commodities we ourselves use and consume. Upon such a basis we can build a true demand for Irish-made goods from which all elements of sweating have been removed.

THE CONQUEST OF POLITICAL POWER.

Recognising that the proper utilisation of the nation's energies requires control of political power, we propose to conquer that political power through a working-class political party, and recognising that the full development of national power requires complete national freedom we are frankly and unreservedly prepared for whatever struggle may be necessary to conquer for Ireland her place among the nations of the earth.

THAT IS THE PROGRAMME OF THE MILITANT IRISH LABOUR MOVEMENT.

This article may be had in leaflet form. Price per 100, 1/6; price per 1,000, 13/6.

IRISH OPINION.
The VOICE OF LABOUR

Edited by CATHAL O'SHANNON.

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When finished with this copy give it to a friend and ask him to leave an order with his newsagent.

PEACE WHEN THERE IS NO PEACE.

It is with a certain reluctance and no pleasure that we feel compelled to speak out plainly on the latest pronouncement made by the Mansion House Conference. We do so simply from a sense of duty, and with a clear conception of the ever-thankless task of the critic in Ireland. The best intentioned critic in Ireland, we know, is always suspect, always the victim of a thousand shafts of innuendo, and worse than innuendo. But when an unpleasant duty is to be performed we hope it will never be said of an Irish Labour man that that duty was shirked above all times at a time of crisis. Therefore it is that if others are silent the "Voice of Labour" must make itself heard.

It is false to say, as the Mansion House Conference states, that the country has been saved "from measures which would inevitably have led to terrible and incalculable consequences." The bitter truth is that within the past couple of months the country has been tied hand and foot by just those measures which militarism always adopts in every country. There is not one whit of difference that we know of between Ireland under repression to-day and Finland, Poland and Belgium under repression yesterday. If there is any difference it is in the quiet, restrained and patient bearing of the people of Ireland. We cannot describe the state of Ireland as it ought to be described, but there is not a man, woman, or child in the country but knows that Ireland has been stripped of every vestige of personal and collective liberty. Of the guilt for that state of affairs we cannot in justice acquit the Mansion House Conference.

Has the Mansion House Conference one word of encouragement to give to a suffering people groaning under an intolerable tyranny? Has the conference taken any steps to warn the people of Ire-

land against the dangers that beset them? Has it given them any guidance or any advice that might serve them in good stead when the hour of conscription strikes? Has it taken any steps whatsoever to let the world know the position of affairs in this country? It has indeed sent its appeal to President Wilson, but what means has it adopted to ensure that the terms of that appeal are made known to the peoples and powers in other countries? Above all we want to know if the Conference, having called into existence hundreds of Defence Committees up and down the country, we want to know if the Conference has given any encouragement, any advice, any leading to those committees of its own creation? None that we can discover. We do not say that the Conference can or should draft a full and complete programme for the committees, but we do most emphatically assert that to leave the committees without any guidance whatever is shirking the responsibilities the Conference assumed when it was called together in April. It is sitting now for three months, and we know that hundreds of committees are still waiting in vain for the discharge of the duties and functions with which the people invested the Conference.

The Conference, indifferent to its own contradictions, solemnly assures us that "the danger is not finally disposed of." No, indeed, when everybody knows that the military have divided up the country into a number of convenient areas, and have scattered their troops in every town, village and townland, ready to exact the blood-tax at a moment's notice. That is the literal reality of the situation: within twenty-four hours Lord French could have safely under lock and key as many men of military age as he wants, and we don't suppose the Conference would say as much as "Boo" to him. But, says the Conference, "all the preparations made for dealing with the conscription menace should be carefully kept in existence." It is excellent advice if only the Conference will inform us what preparations it has made. Some preparations have indeed been made, but we do not know that they commend themselves to the Conference as a whole. In fact, and in deed, the bitter truth must be told that the Conference has assisted in no preparations in any part of Ireland. If any local committee can correct this statement of ours we shall gladly go into sackcloth and ashes for the rest of our lives. It is but too true that, with its unequalled resources, with an eager, determined and united people behind it, with moral and material forces hitherto unknown in this country, the Conference has not been able to do anything. It has spoken and written eloquently, but it has given no lead, and it has given no example in action.

Every blow struck at the Irish people within these last few weeks has been struck without a word of protest from the Conference, much less a word of advice to the people whom the blows were intended to stagger. If the people have not fallen beneath these blows they have their own courage and strength to thank,

not the wisdom of the Conference. It is just here that the Conference fails, in wisdom, courage and strength.

What we have said is not by any means all that might be said. It will, however, be enough to impress the representatives of Labour on the local committees with the necessity of firm action and a firm attitude within their committees. They need look for neither guidance nor leadership to the Conference. In the last resort—nay, from the first—opposition to conscription depends upon the individual and the community. At the same time this does not relieve the Conference of its duties and obligations. The Conference, indeed, is not expected to do what, from its very composition, it is impossible for it to do. But it can give a broad, general outline of advice on many questions which are exercising the mind of the local committees. That it shall do so we hope the thinking men on the Conference will insist. There are enough of them to have this done if they will exercise their power, and let them remember that the country will make short work of any man or men who attempt to bluff it, in the name of unity or peace, into a false feeling of security.

Scots' Press Suppressed.

On Saturday, July 6, the police entered the Socialist Labour Press at Glasgow and dismantled the machinery, removing the vital parts, with paper, ink, accessories, and printed pamphlets. The press is owned and operated by the Socialists and Labour Party, and our comrades in the past freely placed its resources at the disposal of James Connolly when the "Irish Worker" was condemned. Those who desire to enable them to replace the stolen plant may send subscriptions to the Secretary, Press Fund, 50 Renfour Street, Glasgow.

Achill.

The Glasgow Potato Merchants, with low perfidy, have not stood by their agreement with Mr. Shinwell, the president Glasgow Trade Council, to submit the demands of the Transport workers to arbitration. Mr. Shinwell has faced slimier creatures before and won out. Mr. Foran proceeded to Glasgow yesterday to assist Alderman Lynch and the other organisers. Meantime the season advances, and the potatoes will not improve.

Coal Saving.

Although economy in coal will not help to improve employment in the coal trade, the outlook for the winter is serious enough to call for careful elimination of all waste of coal. From the money consideration, there is no economy in replacing coal fires by gas. The Gas Company profiteers net the saving. D.O.R.A. might be invoked to take over the Gas Works and supply heat and light at cost price, without allowance for dividends to shareholders.

Up-to-date the "Lidy Dora" has engendered heat without light.

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

The Work of the Congress.

The agenda for Congress, now printed and circulated amongst the Unions, well deserves the thoughtful attention of all who are striving to make Labour the effective instrument of the complete emancipation of the workers. It is neither as daring nor as comprehensive as we should wish and as we have pleaded, but for all that this year's agenda is, we think, an improvement in many respects upon what has hitherto been put before the delegates at the annual meeting. It must always be remembered that for many years the Congress was a mere annual Conference of Unions, Union Branches and Trades Councils. Its Parliamentary Committee was a mere temporary shift for conveying the desires of Congress to the various quarters where, it was thought, those desires should be expressed. It had neither power nor authority, and very little responsibility. Of late years there has been a change for the better, and the change is marked in the assumption of the name National Executive instead of the name Parliamentary Committee. In other words, the Congress and its Executive are adding leadership of a movement and a party to their original functions, and the new functions are gradually and rightly overshadowing the old. That this conception of the new functions is becoming conscious and deliberate is the most promising sign we have seen in the agenda for the Waterford meeting, and we congratulate the unions which have set before themselves this task of extending and developing the Congress and Party until it becomes what it obviously ought to become, the militant weapon of the fighting and class-conscious Irish proletariat.

The Constitution.

Not one, but several of the Unions, we are glad to see, are moving for changes in the Constitution and Standing Orders of the Congress, and a goodly portion of the agenda is taken up with the proposed amendments. The changes suggested are not just all they might be, and we are doubtful if the form in which they are made is the best recommendation they could have. For instance, while we are all for majority rule we do not think that the proposal to adopt voting by card will or ought to, commend itself to the Congress, since its obvious dangers are as great as its advantages. No; we are inclined to think that the motion standing in the name of the Shop Assistants points the better way. This, as our readers will remember, proposes that the whole constitution should be revised and brought up to date, and such a task is in truth important enough for a special Congress untroubled by other business. Yet we must again express our pleasure that the Unions which propose amendments to the constitution are making an effort to make the Congress and Party a real and living thing. We specially commend those proposals which are intended to broaden the basis of the Party and make room for the admission to its ranks of several democratic bodies hitherto excluded.

The Police and the Workers.

From several parts of the country we have well-authenticated accounts of the unprovoked tactics of suppression which the police are adopting. Tipperary is a glaring case in point. On several occasions since the proclamations against Sinn Fein, the Gaelic League and other organisations were issued, the police have prohibited Trade Union meetings and threatened all sorts of dire penalties even when the meetings were private gatherings. The same story is told in Kildare and other counties. In addition, ordinary law cases arising out of industrial disputes are being sent before special juries for trial under the Coercion Acts, a straining of the authority of the law which we hope Labour will resist, and resist vigorously. But, indeed, Labour should not be content with this. Labour should go further to ensure the restoration of the people's right of association and public meeting. To allow these rights to be filched from us will not only hamper our activities, but will also be a surrender of the rights won by many years of hard fighting.

Another American Delegation.

From the "Herald" and the "Labour Leader" Irish readers have learned with some amusement that another American mission has descended upon Great Britain. We hope that on this occasion the Irish daily press will not make itself so foolish as it did when it boomed the capitalist-cum-labour delegation of a couple or three months ago. On that occasion, it will be remembered, the daily press told us how the American delegation had been dined and wined by the military occupation in Ireland, but it carefully avoided telling that Irish Labour had nothing whatever to do with the visitors who were burning to get Labour to invite them to blow off their imperialist steam in this charming but one-horse country. Not content with that the press went out of its way to insult a welcome and friendly visitor, our friend Mooney, brother of the Tom Mooney now awaiting execution through a frame-up in "the land of the free and the home of the brave" by confusing him with the Gompers grafters who forced themselves on Ireland but not on Irish Labour. For the benefit of the ignoramuses of the daily press we are glad to be able to say that the American Socialist Party (Connolly was one of its favourite and most successful organisers) has repudiated the new American mission. The members of the mission represent nobody but themselves. They are opposed to the anti-war position of the Socialist Party and, their loud-mouthed professions notwithstanding, are anti-internationalist, pro-militarist, pro-imperialist, and pro-war. They are great shouters for democracy, but we think a better test of their sincerity would be some effort on their part to restrain the wild orgies of lynching, tarring and feathering, and other barbaric practises their countrymen are indulging in within recent months. After four years of war their blood-lust may have run its course.

Et Tu, Brute!

One of the members of the mission, A. M. Simons, is an expelled member of the Socialist Party. Another, Louis Kouelin, although liable for the military draft, has claimed exemption for himself. George D. Herron, an old "Clarion" and "New Age" contributor, has been out of America, we believe, for several years, and since the beginning of the war has been employed in a financially successful but materially unsuccessful No-Popery stunt for the break-up of Austria. John Spargo has indeed wielded an able pen for Socialism in past years, but not even past services can excuse his present alliance with Sam Gompers and anyway Tillett, Hyndman and Blatchford should surely be enough of that kidney even for Great Britain. And for Charles E. Russell the Socialist Party has never been militant enough, but of course Roosevelt is!

For one member of the mission we are sorry. We wonder what the devil Frank Bohn is doing in that gallery? Bohn we know as one of the brilliant editors of the "International Socialist Review" (prevented, by the way, by the British Government from entering Ireland since 1914), an able and honest man, Connolly always told us, and the well-esteemed friend of Connolly himself. It is difficult to believe that Bohn can have gone back on all his principles. When last we heard from him—in the Spring of 1917—he had regretted Connolly's death, saying he was one of the greatest men in head and heart the working class had ever produced in any country, and expressing a desire to visit Dublin after the war. To Dublin none would have been more welcome than Frank Bohn. If, as is said, he is on this new mission we can only grieve that his friendships and his fights are behind him. Cursed be the war that has brought about such a tragedy.

The International.

Within the past ten days the too long delayed meeting of the International has again been discussed in the British Labour Press as if it were at last to come about. We should like to be able to hold out some hope that this is so. But we are frankly pessimistic in spite of the widespread propaganda of Mr. Arthur Henderson and his friends. Frankly, we do not see any signs of more courage in British Labour now than when British Labour allowed Stockholm to be turned down, and there will be no International Conference until Labour and Socialism in the allied countries have shown much more courage than either their press or their platforms reveal. What is the use of talking about the International when nobody stands in the way of its assembling except the faint hearts of allied Labour? The French indeed seem to be beginning to kick, but Labour in Great Britain talks and resolves and does nothing. Mr. Henderson, if he had the will, could have the International to-morrow. The only question is, has he the will? If he has we wish he would show it.

Transport Union News.

At the Dublin Port and Docks Board meeting on 18th inst. Alderman Moran went out of his way to insult the dock labourers and to charge them with the decay of the Port of Dublin. Moran forgets that despite the epic fights of the Dublin dockers and their years of sacrifice, their wages still lag behind those paid in the ports of Great Britain, where, despite all the disadvantages flowing from conscription, organised labour is respected and is honourably met by employers and harbour authorities.

For many months past the Transport Union has been pressing for consideration of certain requests for higher wages, including the payment of the Churchill 12½ per cent. bonus to the labourer in the Engineering department. The bonus was paid since early in the year to all the skilled men, but the Port and Docks Board has conspired to starve the labourers. Their employees at the Custom House Docks, with 32s. per week—a pre-war value of 15s. 6d.—are almost the worst paid labourers in Dublin.

When the Alderman said the Union withdrew their men from another department at the harbour sometime ago, he is either displaying his ignorance of recent happenings or is playing the old deep game of the Shipping Association and General Fry, which was completely exposed by Sir D. Plunkett Barton's arbitration award. Moran's reference is to the dispute with the military authorities. In interviews during the currency of the dispute Moran revealed himself to the I.T. and G.W.U. officials as an accomplice of those who were trying to lower wages at the Port. He threatened the dockers with all sorts of penalties unless they gave into Fry's demand and worked for 1s. less than the standard.

The award made by Sir D. P. Barton is a complete justification of the Transport Workers' attitude.

The military have made amends, are paying up arrears of wages, and have announced that the ships diverted from Dublin are now being sent back. As Moran must share responsibility with the Shipping Association for misleading the local military authorities and forcing them into conflict with the I.T. and G.W.U., it is he and his friends who have sacrificed the harbour dues and the traffic that was diverted. Either Moran is unspeakably ignorant or gifted with a low cunning of a despicable kind, when he charges the Transport Union with the diversion of traffic.

Crusaders.

The play of that title just published by Maunsell's in their Abbey Theatre series, can be commended to amateurs. It has no subtlety in plot or otherwise, and its success on the stage is in the hands of the actors. Price is 1s.; by post, 1s. 2d.

Drumkerrin, where a meeting of the I.T.W.U. was arbitrarily forbidden on 7th inst., was the scene of another illegal interference by Sergt. Lucas, R.I.C. on Thursday night. A meeting had been summoned verbally, and a good muster of intending members assembled in a private house in the evening. Mr. Sean Burns was in charge of the proceedings, which had barely started when Sergt. Lucas entered with two constables (the rest of the local force being left outside). Mr. Burns protested against the presence of Lucas, pointing out that the Transport Union was not proclaimed, and that the meeting was a private one, held on private property. Lucas said he would not allow any meeting to be held without a permit, and this one must disperse. Lucas is, no doubt, carrying out the "Great Work" Mr. Ben Tillet approves of, and perhaps has direct orders to prohibit trade union meetings from George Barnes.

Kilkenny Branch I.T. and G.W.U., according to Organiser Coates, is now nearly 500 strong. At **Bennett's Bridge** the local branch of the Kilkenny City and County Labour Union has decided to come over to the Transport Union. A new branch was formed at **Ballyneale** on 13th inst.

New Ross branch now musters 256 members. The men engaged at timber felling for Messrs. Thompson and Sons, of Waterford, sent in a request for an advance on 6th inst., and came out on strike on Monday, 8th. The branch secretary induced them to resume work on the following day, but on 13th the men were locked out. Mr. Coates has undertaken to negotiate with the firm.

Arklow members are experiencing more of the Gorman method of conducting the class war. The 12½ per cent. bonus is not yet paid, but P.J. (who loves us) is beginning to thin out the Transport members. We recall the big splutter made by the "Party" about the threatened closing down of Arklow Factory. Will the Party (which, according to "Uladh" of "Freemans", has several labour members) get that 12½ bonus for the Arklow workers?

Meantime, the Liberal Hall officials are hammering the Ministry of Labour.

Roscrea.—Through the intervention of Father Scanlan, a settlement of the Bacon Factory dispute has been reached, on terms little different from those suggested by the Cork I.D.A. The men have bound themselves to consult Father Scanlan in any future dispute. That would seem to devolve on him the responsibility of keeping the directors alive to their moral duties.

Vicarious.

H. H. Maharajah of Patiala says:—"The ruling Princes of India had thrown themselves into this gigantic conflict. They had made great sacrifices of men."

Barabbas Released.

The convicted murderer, Bowen Colthurst, is let loose. Patrick Higgins is still in jail.

CORK NOTES.

Undertakers' Drivers now have a fixed minimum wage of 30s., the men surrendering various allowances hitherto paid. This means an advance of 9s. in most cases. Substantial as the increase is, can it be said that 30s. is a living wage to-day? More than the money advance, however, is the security the men now possess, that at the end of a week's work they can count on a certain wage. A good start has been made in this case.

Egg Packers.—Men are now receiving the minimum wage of 37s. 6d., and women 17s. 6d. The men have received varying increases, and the women an all-round advance of 2s. 6d.

Drapers' Porters.—The minimum wage has been raised by 4s. 6d. to 32s.

Guy and Co.—The staff of this firm has returned to work after arbitration by Mr. C. H. O'Connor, chairman of the Agricultural Wages Board. We hope to publish full details of this struggle next week.

Such is a good week's work in Cork City. Messrs. Houston and O'Donovan (I.T. and G.W.U.) and Owens (N.A.U. Shop Assistants) are to be congratulated.

Netfagh.

Space does not permit us doing more than mention Sean Burn's great meeting on 13th inst., and to commend the "Midland Tribune" for its excellent report, unusual in its fullness and sympathetic display. A special meeting of the branch will be held to-morrow, to begin the campaign for a town minimum wage. Men are generously paid at present with 14s. a week—the equivalent in purchasing power of 6s. 8d. in 1914.

Castledermot.

P. Gaffney reports the formation of a branch here, with nearly 300 members. Mr. Whelan is secretary.

Dungarvan.

Last week the "Voice" pointed out the impracticable nature of the P'shaw proclamation in relation to trade union meetings. A dispute has arisen here which necessitated a Transport Union meeting last Sunday. A police ukase forbade the assembly, and the organiser was forbidden to consult the general body of the members. In this instance the prohibition of the meeting is an absolute preventative of industrial harmony.

The Transport Census.

Over 30 branches, including some of the largest, have not yet returned the census forms sent them. The importance of the Head Office statistical work is not generally recognised by the branches, yet branch secretaries and organisers are daily demanding the information which can only be furnished from the completed census forms. The Union is too big now to run on rule of thumb methods, and the accurate compilation of records is essential to future growth and continued success.

The Worker.

The Limerick Labour weekly is publishing in this issue an address on the Problem of Present Labour Unrest by Very Rev. Fr. Thomas, O.S.F.C. Mr. P. Lynch, president of Cork Trades Council, contributes a foreword, in which he congratulates "The Worker" on adopting the watchword: "No Politics."

CO-OPERATIVE NOTES.

The Week-End School.

Mr. L. P. Byrne, in opening Dublin's first week-end Co-operative School, told of a chairman who called upon Mr. Jones to speak "in a representative capacity," when Mr. Jones interjected "two representative capacities." Mr. Byrne welcomed the students on behalf of three organisations, Mr. L. Smith-Gordon spoke for two, and Mr. Cruise O'Brien for himself and the Co-operative Reference Library.

Professor Hall.

Despite his collegiate experience, the lecturer, Prof. Hall, is unacademic in his appearance and in the matter of his discourses. Obviously enthusiastic himself, he awakens interest in the students, and communicates his enthusiasm. He has discovered how to be informative without boring. He is contributing to our Congress Number, next week, a valuable article on "Co-operation and Trade Unionism."

The Material Basis.

Although he is the Educational expert of the Co-operative movement, Prof. Hall does not believe the co-operative commonwealth will come through preaching. Progress must be made through trade, first by adding members to each society and forming new societies. With more members, and therefore more capital to handle, committees can be enterprising alike in production and distribution. We have not space to offer an adequate summary of his lectures, but we are sorry for all who missed them.

Dublin's Problems.

Mr. Cruise O'Brien, at the Sunday evening session, gave a lively but practical review of the position of the Co-operative movement in Dublin, insisting on the urgent need for joint action by the different types of societies already at work in limited fields, in tackling the supply of things needful to all of them.

The Students.

The school was representative of all kinds of co-operative efforts. There were managers and members of agricultural creamery and bacon societies, of the Industrial Distributal Societies, employees of the I.A.W.S., and the staff of Plunkett House. As all contributed to the discussion of problems of general and particular interest, the school not only added to the students' information but enlarged their understanding of the one positive and presently active agent of social re-construction.

IRISH WOMEN WORKERS' UNION.

The strike at Messrs. Hely's, of Denmark St. ended in a complete victory for the workers. All our claims were conceded, and the wages of that firm are now on a level with the average rates in the printing and allied trades. This victory meant increases of 6s. and 7s. to many of the women concerned.

Exceptional Treatment.

Under the threats of strikes on the Clyde and elsewhere, the Prison Authorities of Scotland are allowing John MacLean to have three meals per day sent into Peterhead Prison from the outside, and are paying the cost.

THE SPOTTER-PROVOCATEUR.

The "Herald" reports the strike of six hundred Mersey dockers because an ex-policeman was placed among them. "To prevent pilfering" was the official explanation of the hiring of the spy.

We have heard of several attempts to suborn trade unionists in this country to furnish reports. Be wary. Remember Alec Gordon. Trade Unionism has nothing to hide, but it is the business of the provocateur to invent.

Stradbally.

The police have forbidden all Transport Union meetings even to take contributions unless under permit. The Head Office refuses to acknowledge this grossly illegal interference with trade union activities, and has instructed the organiser not to ask for permits.

Now, Mr. Barnes! Is this the sort of job the U.I.L. of Blackfriars elected you to perform?

Coal Scarcity.

The shortage of coal shipments is gravely affecting employment at the harbour and among carters and bellmen. The Government which withdraws the shipping should provide for these men and their dependents.

"The Wind Upon the Heath."

Such is the title of a slim volume of charming verse by Nora F. Murray, just published by Maunsell's at 2s. 6d. net (2s. 8d. post free). Many notes are touched deftly and musically, and this little book of simple verse may well find many friends. "The Dead Poets" pays tribute with tender eloquence to the men of Easter Week, described by J. F. MacEntee as "Seers and Scholars, not only scholars but saints."

Pembroke and Rathmines.

Pembroke U.D.C. has consented to advance wages by 8s. per week, provided that total advance on prewar wages does not in any case exceed £1 per week. Messrs. Good, Goodfellow, Beckett and Carpmills showed that the Rathmines spirit exists in Pembroke, but happily, they constitute the minority.

Rathmines is in the throes of a struggle in which the Council has inflicted the maximum of inconvenience and loss on the public. Ratepayers look for results and the strike—virtually a lock-out—has already cost more, directly and indirectly, than the increased wages would total.

L I F E A N D	COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT— Miceal J. Staines, Dr. James Ryan, Liam Tobin, Miceal W. O'Reilly, Frank Thornton, Richard Coleman.	Cumann UNNAOIR na hÉireann. Where is the father who does not spend Sixpence per week on his child? FATHERS! place that Sixpence per week with us, and at the end of 14 years we will give you £20 : 3 : 0 YOU make a profit of £3 : 8 : 0 The gift to the child may be invaluable. HEAD OFFICE— 56 LR. O'CONNELL ST., DUBLIN. NO CONNECTION WITH ANY OTHER SOCIETY Agents required where we are not yet represented.	TRUSTEES— George J. Nesbitt, Dr. James Ryan.	E N D O W N M E N T
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IRISH TRANSPORT and GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.	Free Membership Offered to All. THE advanced wages gained by the Union for its Members exceeds, by several hundred times, the amount of subscriptions paid by them. DON'T worry about your dues—the boss will pay them for you. All information may be had from the nearest branch secretary, or write to the General President, Thomas Foran, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
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PRESIDENT WILSON

on 4th July, at Washington's Tomb, defined America's supreme war aim in the following remarkable sentence:—

“What we seek is the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed, and sustained by the organised opinion of mankind.”

MR. ASQUITH

commenting upon that utterance, said:—

“A League of Nations is not a vague political abstraction. Its embodiment in political shape is by far the most urgent constructive problem of international statesmanship. It is a step which can—and must—be taken.”

UNIONIST COMMENT

“Dr. Wilson stands for the common cause against sectional interests, and holds the ideal of a permanent League of Peace before the world as the only possible goal of sacrifice.”

—*Irish Times*, Dublin, July 5th, 1918.

NATIONALIST COMMENT

“President Wilson's declaration is a definite war aim for which Ireland would sacrifice her substance and her manhood—and imperil her very existence.”

—*Irish News*, Belfast, 6th July, 1918.

If you agree, join

The Irish

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65 Middle Abbey Street, Dublin.

Literature upon application.

THE CONGRESS DOUBLE NUMBER.

Next Thursday our specially enlarged number will be published, and if in these days we cannot approach the previous records of Irish Labour journalism in point of size, our 16-page “Voice of Labour” will contain some of the most important contributions ever made to a labour journal in Ireland.

George Russell, A.E., sends us a plea that Labour, particularly those unions concerned with agricultural workers, should make some experiments in “direct action,” not as that phrase is generally understood, but by financing a scheme to place labourers on the land to cultivate in co-operatively. He quotes Continental examples of similar experiments that have been unqualified successes.

A. E. has been the firm friend of the workers, as he has been the renegerator of agriculture, and out of his experience during the last twenty years his words come, with an authority that will command respect. Mr. W. N. Ewer, who is one of the new school of socialists, clustered around the “New Age,” brings us, by another approach to recognise in co-operation the ultimate solution of the land problem not only for the farmer but for the labourer also.

The agenda of the Trade Union Congress will, of course, come under review in special articles by the leaders of Irish Trade Unionism. We cannot ask Wm. O'Brien to anticipate his presidential address, but we shall have an article from his pen, which, to our loss perhaps, is too seldom employed in the public advocacy of those principles to whose advancement in other ways he gives the labours that absorb his leisure.

Thomas Johnson, Thomas Foran, and others will give their messages, while in the language of our country we have been promised contributions by Cu Uladh and Liam P. O'Riain. Andrew E. Malone will give us some of his steady criticism, and Desmond Ryan an appreciation of Darrell Figgis's latest production.

We expect to have articles from Robt. Smillie, the miners' leader; George Lansbury, who enjoys us with his “Herald” week by week; Maxim Litvinoff, the Russian people's plenipotentiary; and Camille Huysmans, the Secretary of the International. There are so many chances of misfortune attaching to these latter contributions that we hesitate to guarantee their appearance, but if iced drinks from Fuller's can win the favour of Decies' Damsels in the Upper Room at Grafton Street, we shall not hesitate to stand treat.

The practical issues of working class life are so much concerned with necessities like food and clothing that we need hardly bespeak attention for Prof. Hall's article next week on the relations between Co-operation and Trade Unionism. The difference between these forces has been summed up thus: Trade Unionism aims at getting **more wages**; Co-operation aims at getting **more out of wages**. Really both want more than wages or wages-worth. In Connolly's phrase, “We want the earth.”

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THE MARXIAN POST-MORTEM.

Selma Sigerson challenges M. W. Robieson to controversy on points raised in his article on Marx in our issue of 4th May. As Miss Sigerson advances no arguments, we are able only to publish her queries. She asks:—

“Would Mr. Robieson deny that Marx would be one of the first to admit that a century of experimental science would most probably outgrow the theories of his own time?”

“What exactly does Mr. Robieson mean when he says that most of Marx's main doctrines are mixed up with ideas and theories which few people can nowadays accept?”

“What is meant by Capitalism's new lease of life?”

“What is Mr. Robieson's definition of the ‘State’?”

The limitations of space demands the condensation of controversy.

Belfast Hairdressers.

The Hairdressers' branch is to be congratulated on a “bloodless” victory which brings the minimum wage up to 40s. This is the second increase in the 18 months since the branch was organised.

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NICHOLAS DIES AND MURPHY LIVES.

(As Passed by Censor.)

No criminal in history has better earned his fate than Tsar Nicholas II., whose execution on the 4th of July closes his record of hypocrisy, murder, and plunder. In his comparatively short reign Russia was involved in two great wars, and torn internally by one flaming outburst of revolt suppressed by unsparing slaughter. The Russo-Japanese war, as has been plainly proved, was deliberately sought by Nicholas to preserve his investments in Manchurian timber, and the lives of Russian soldiers were poured out by the thousand to protect the Emperor's millions. He was one of two European potentates who could have averted the present war.

"There is a fraternity amongst kings and emperors, and the murder of one of them by his people affects all the others." So writes the scribe of Emperor William of Dartry Hall. The execution of Nicholas by constituted authority, deriving its power from the consent of the common people, justified by the long record of murders, imprisonments, floggings and exiles imposed on a helpless people in the days of his power, can in no sense be termed "murder." It is not forgotten in Dublin that the "Independent," which describes the tardy expiation of July 4th as "murder," shrieked for the blood of Connolly and MacDiarmuid. Nor do we forget that "murder" is visited with varying and partial penalties, for the papers which announced the execution of Nicholas told of the release of Skeffington's convicted murderer, Bowen-Colthurst, against which exposure of the people to the mania of a criminal lunatic the organs of Mr. Murphy have offered no protests.

Fewer Unions, More Unity.

We are pleased to record the amalgamation of the Irish Chemists' Assistants and the Dublin Tobacconists' Assistants' associations with the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks. These organisations will continue to meet separately, and are proceeding at once to draw up minimum standard of wages. Any assistants in these branches of distribution who are yet outside, should join up, chemists at the rooms in Upper O'Connell Street, and Tobacconists at 7 College Street.

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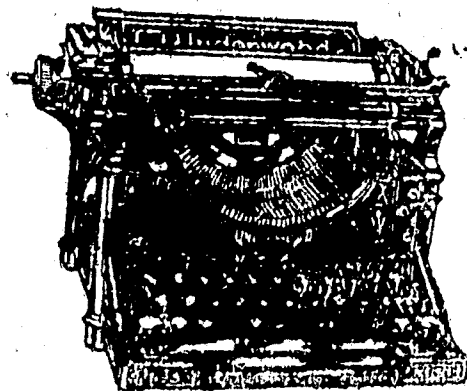
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THE STREET CHAKLA OF BELFAST

(To the Editor, "Voice of Labour.")

Sir—I wish to call your readers' attention to the "First case in Ireland" of the operation of "40 D," D.O.R.A., reported in the "Belfast Evening Telegraph," under which "Sadie Flannigan was sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment with hard labour for communicating disease to a Canadian soldier."

This abominable regulation, which has been brought in under the protecting mantle of the D.O.R.A., is a determined attempt to reintroduce the notorious C.D. Acts or State Regulation of Vice into these countries which Josephine Butler, in England, Mr. and Mrs. Haslam, in Ireland, and many other men and women devoted years of strenuous agitation to have repealed from the Statute Book. Ever since the outbreak of the war repeated efforts have been made to pass criminal law legislation through the British Parliament with the object of reviving the C.D. Acts, but the powerful opposition from both men and women of enlightened views has hitherto proved too strong for the promoters of legalised vice, until now, all else having failed, it is introduced as part of the D.O.R.A. regulations. Thus are we beginning to reap some of the "rare and refreshing fruits" of war and militarism!

Under Regulation "40 D" any policeman has the power to arrest any woman on suspicion, and keep her in custody until she is compelled to undergo a disgusting medical examination to prove her guilt or innocence of the charge. Thus compulsory medical examination of prostitutes, one of the chief and most revolting features of the C.D. Acts, is again in operation. This is the most terrible menace to the liberty and integrity of women that it is possible to conceive. It puts enormous power for blackmail and intimidation into the hands of the police, and while giving them a free hand in harassing and persecuting the wretched moral victims of our corrupt and hypocritical social system.

The paragraph in the Belfast paper is headed, "D.O.R.A. Comes Down on Erring Sister." The "erring sister" gets 6 months, while the erring brother is left at large to communicate his loathsome disease to his wife—if he has one, or to some other woman or woman. Thus is the male prostitute protected by law, while the full fury of the legal code falls upon his woman partner in the guilty transaction.

In order that prostitution may continue to flourish, it is necessary that a fresh stream of women should be constantly recruited for the army of the street, and Regulation "40 D" is a most effective method of manufacturing prostitutes, for women who go through the horrible ordeal of arrest, detention and medical examination are definitely hall-marked,

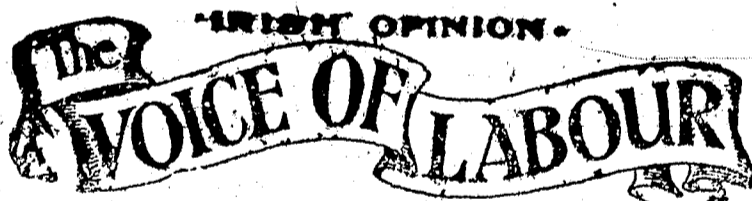
It is hardly necessary to point out that the women and young girls of the working class are those most in danger of falling victims to this militarist vice trap; and organised labour, as well as organised women, should take up this question strongly, and fight it before it takes firmer root amongst us. As it is the first case in Ireland it ought to be made a test case, and "stamped out as if it were a poisonous insect," to quote our military Governor.

In Belfast suffragists are holding a protest meeting on the 22nd inst. to call attention to this shameful case, and Belfast labour should also take action and help to rouse public opinion. The I.W.F.L. intends taking the matter up in Dublin. Women should remember that a number of them now possess the vote, and they must make every possible use of this new weapon to protect their sister-women.—Yours,

M. K. CONNERY.

Irish Women's Franchise League,
Dublin, 21st July, 1918.

THE CONGRESS NUMBER.



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