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The Struggle for Liberty.

BY THE LATE JAMES CONNOLLY.

"Give me the people, the democracy, the men who till the fields, the men who build ships and cities, the men who subjugate the wilderness, train and rear it into a noble civilisation, and so far consummate the Divine purposes of creation. From this element have some of the most powerful intellects and potentates of the world sprung. Homer, Shakespeare, Michael Angelo, the great jurists of England, the great statesmen of America, the marshals of Napoleon were from the democracy. Give me the people, the democracy of Ireland! Should they demand the liberty of Ireland I shall not wait on any lord or pedant, nor on any lord or pedant's flunkey to ratify the claim. Give me the peasantry—the repiled, scorned, ignored peasantry of Ireland. Their wretched cabins have been the holy shrines in which the traditions and the hopes of Ireland have been treasured and transmitted."

We quote this extract from the speech of Thomas Francis Meagher on St. Patrick's Day, 1866, at Virginia City, for a two-fold purpose.

First, in order to draw the attention of our readers to the speech itself which ought to be easily accessible in any published edition of Meagher's speeches. Second, in order to emphasise a point we would wish our readers to ponder over, viz.—that in the evolution of civilisation the progress of the fight for national liberty of any subject nation must perforce keep pace with the progress of the struggle for liberty of the most subject class in that nation, and that the shifting of forces which accompanies the development of the system of society leads inevitably to the increasing conservation of the non-working class element, and to the increasing revolutionary vigor and purity of the working class. This second point as the most important on the future of the Irish working class we propose to make the burden of our remarks in this issue.

We have elsewhere pointed out that the protracted nature of the struggle for the subjugation of Ireland was due to the circumstance that the English conquest of our country involved a complete change in the social system as well as a transference of power from one race to another. Feudalism,

based on private property, was the foundation of the social system of the Norman invaders, whilst on the other hand, the Irish system of society was based essentially upon clan or common ownership. As a result the fate of Ireland could not be settled by the result of a single battle as was the fate of England, where one victory of the Normans sufficed for the practically complete conquest of that country.

The Irish chiefs were not rulers by divine right, they were the elected choice of the clansmen, and as a result the conquest involved the abandonment of the right to choose and control their rulers, and not merely a change in the personality of irresponsible despots as was the case in England. The land of Ireland was the common property of the people, the conquest involved making it the private property of the English nobles or of Irish traitors, and hence was not so easily effected as if it had been previously private property and the conquest had only effected a change of owners. We are aware that this reading of Irish history has been fiercely disputed by some, and badly interpreted by others. Yet from the time we first outlined it briefly in our pamphlet, "Erin's Hope," this conception of the essential underlying fact in the mystery of a people continuing a struggle for 700 years against the overwhelming military force of an oppressing nation has made headway amongst thinking Irishmen as the only explanation of that phenomenon. The present Celtic Revival in Ireland, leading as it does to a reconsideration and more analytical study of the laws and social structure of Ireland before the invasion amongst its other good results will have this one also, that it will confirm and establish the truth of our conception.

Hitherto the study of the social structure of Ireland in the past has been marred by one great fault. For a description and interpretation of Irish social life and customs the student depended entirely upon the descriptions and interpretation of men who were entirely lacking in knowledge, of an insight into the facts and spirit of the things they attempted to describe. Saturated with the conception of feudalistic or capitalistic social order, the writers perpetually strove to explain Irish institutions in terms of an order of things to which those

institutions were entirely alien. Irish titles indicative of the function in society performed by their bearers, the writers explained by what they supposed were analogous titles in the feudal order of England, forgetful of the fact that as the one form of society was the antithesis of the other and not its counterpart, the one set of titles could not possibly convey the same meaning as the other, much less be a translation. Much the same mistake was made in America by the early Spanish conquistadores in attempting to describe the social and political systems of Mexico and Peru, with much the same results of introducing almost endless confusion into every attempt to comprehend life as it actually existed in those countries before the conquest. The Spanish writers could not mentally raise themselves out of the social structure of continental Europe, and hence their weird and wonderful tales of despotic Peruvian and Mexican "Emperors" and "Nobles" where only existed the elaborately organised family system of a people not yet fully evolved into the political state. Not till the publication of Morgan's monumental work on "Ancient Society" was the key to the study of American native civilisation really found and placed in the hands of the student. The same key will yet unlock the doors which guard the treasures of our native Celtic civilisation, and make them possible of fuller comprehension by the multitude.

But as the first requisite of such a study will take the student back to the Norman invasion into all accessible literature antedating that time, that key must be wielded by one to whom Irish, old and modern, is as familiar as the tongue of his childhood.

Meanwhile, the student attempting to understand Irish political life down to our own day had best keep in mind its primal beginnings. The result of the long-drawn-out struggle

so far has been that the old chieftancy has disappeared or through its degenerate descendants has made terms with iniquity and become part and parcel of the supporters of the established order; the middle class growing up in the midst of the national struggle, and at one time, as in 1798, through the stress of the economic rivalry of England forced into the position of revolutionary leaders against the political despotism of their industrial competitor, have now also bowed the knee to Baal and have a thousand economic strings in the shape of investments binding them to English capitalism as against every sentimental or historic attachment drawing them towards Irish patriotism. Only the Irish working class remain as the incorruptible heritors of the fight for freedom in Ireland.

The clansmen of ancient Ireland, when they fought the invader, fought the attempt to make them landless serfs in their own country, fought the attempt to deprive them of the ownership and control of their means of subsistence; we of the Modern Irish Working Class, the lineal heirs of the ancient clansmen, heirs of their spirit and heirs of their wrongs, find embodied in the social order of capitalism the injustice against which our fathers fought, find ourselves homeless, landless, propertiless, exiles in every country as well as our own, and hence, recognising a brother in every soul in travail under the like injustice we join hands with the Socialist working class to reconquer for all the ownership and control of our means of subsistence, and thus break the chains of mankind and our own.

(Parts of the foregoing article are embodied in the "Foreword" to "Labour" in Irish History, by James Connolly, of which work a new cheap edition has just been issued by Maunsell & Co.; price 1s.)

The Workers and Industry.

By W. M. A.

"The development of Industry" is a phrase made common by constant use, but frequently used without depth of meaning. Statesmen and company promoters alike, imply that this or that country should control particular key industries so that they may hold a position of privilege. Their advocacy of such a claim or aspiration may differ slightly in terms, but whether it be for national advantage or private gain—most probably the latter in both cases—there is seldom, if ever, any desire to directly raise the social standard of the workers by such means, and this must be of supreme importance to the workers. Briefly, the furtherance and development of industry is merely, under existing circumstances, capitalist enterprise for private profit.

The workers, however, in highly developed industries are beginning to understand the fact that they are only "instruments of production" under modern methods, and recognise to a certain degree that they must control to some extent the industry they are engaged in, so that they may be able thereby to control their own lives.

Herein is opening up a new social order that industry should really be managed and developed according to the requirements and welfare of the workers. The cultivation of food; the weaving and manufacture of wearing apparel; quarrying and building of habitations; engineering and kindred trades, etc.—all because they are necessary for the people of all nations—will be scientifically carried out with the aid of machinery with the minimum of applied labour essential, and entirely in the interests of the common good.

Capitalism, nevertheless, not only grows fat on profit-making industries, but also neglects necessary development if immediate results are not forthcoming, or which may be detrimental to transport or other interests.

In Ireland to-day, coal and mineral deposits are neglected, and where, as in the case of iron ore mining, the industry is

being partially worked, there is no connecting industry to assist in its development, but the product is shipped at high freightage charges which tend to keep labour wages low, instead of using it in extending the industry for home requirements and thereby saving freightage on raw and finished production. According to a report on the "Resources of Metalliferous Ores," recently issued, numerous instances are given in Ireland of valuable mineral products of high percentage lying waste except in isolated cases. Even in the latter instances there is no possible means of using the ore except to ship it across channel. The same report states that in Arigna, Co. Leitrim, a blast furnace for smelting ironstone procured there was actually in operation in 1765.

In extending Irish industry the experience of intensely industrialised areas should serve as an example to prevent the establishment of similar evils. By all means establish every possible industry required to make Ireland more self-supporting, but beware that they may fall into the clutches of profiteers, ready to exploit the workers, forcing them to live in smoky, congested, badly housed areas, enslaving them and their children to inhuman conditions. Control of industry by the workers engaged in the industry, and the products of the industry being used for the collective welfare, is the only method of solving the economic and social problems inherent in our present-day system of society.

We, the workers, must therefore prepare the means and adopt the methods to accomplish this or similar objects. This can only be achieved by making the workers' ranks proof against division, able to withstand the assaults of the unscrupulous enemy, and ready to fight for the interests of one as the interests of all. Organise, then, for this ideal. Organisation is power.

W. M. A.

International Notes.

The reference to the Grand Orient in these Notes last week must not be regarded as in any sense an apology for that institution. It could not be the policy of "Irish Opinion," or of any journal speaking for democracy, to recommend the Grand Orient as a centre of progressive ideas. In dealing, however, with the international relations of Irish Labour, it is necessary to point out that European politics are not capable of being simplified to the degree implied by current criticism in our independent nationalist Press. While it is interesting to people who like that sort of thing to know exactly how many of the prominent Allied statesmen and politicians are Freemasons, no serious argument can be based upon such facts, however discreditable they may be to certain members of the Party. The point we wished to establish was that, in France at least, the organised opposition to the Grand Orient is composed exclusively of the Royalist reaction, so that Republicans, whether members or approvers of the Grand Orient or not, must support it when it is challenged on political grounds. Not to do so would be to assist and encourage the unscrupulous enemies of the Republic.

Ireland has no reason to criticise one side of French politics while ignoring the other. The Grand Orient looms large in the affairs of the Allies. It was Lemaitre, Barrès, Léon Daudet and Company who operated by means of the League of Patriots and the Action Française in such a way as to foster the spirit of revenge for Alsace-Lorraine, and to arouse the militaristic spirit in France by capturing the higher ranks of the army. The loudest denunciations of the Grand Orient have come from the upper military circles, and a long campaign of chauvinist nationalism ended in the imposition of the Three Years' Military Service Law. Every Socialist in France opposed that Law, but the reaction triumphed, and when this war was imminent the assassination of Jaurès removed the most powerful witness of the campaign which he had fought so vainly to defeat, and whose inner history he knew too well. If the Grand Orient is so well represented in the ranks of the Allies to-day, let us not forget how its adversaries had worked for a quarter of a century to bring about the present state of affairs in France.

In all this domestic history of a foreign country the only aspect of any interest to democracy in this country is that

which relates to the struggle of the French working class against the exploitation of patriotism by the reactionary capitalist cliques. As we propose here to comment upon foreign politics from a purely democratic point of view, it is essential that our readers should understand how meaningless all references to the Grand Orient must be, so long as the other side of the controversy is not mentioned. When both sides are considered it is seen that the subject has no bearing whatever upon any Irish problem. Neither the friends nor the enemies of the Grand Orient are distinguished by any qualities which would endear them to us; both are fervent haters of the Hun, and each side has done its "bit" in the present war. As a matter of political fact, all we have to remember is that while the Grand Orient stands for the French Republic, its opponents are fanatical monarchists. As for Viviani, whose atheism is of such international importance, he was entertained in America by a vast assembly of Protestant believers, whose singing of the hymn, "Onward, Christian Soldiers," moved him to a confession of faith! The light of heaven he once claimed to have extinguished once more illumined the sky and enabled him to see God, but it is the "God of vengeance" whom he now claims to have seen. So now he is fit to consort with the pure in spirit nearer home!

Now that it is quite clear that "Irish Opinion" does not propose to set up a branch establishment of the Grand Orient, we may be permitted to mention a topic of more importance, to wit, the recent municipal elections in New York. The defeat of Mitchel's grandson was due mainly to his own imbecility. He had an excellent record for his term of office, and had actually given New York its first taste of honest municipal government. If he had not allowed his enthusiasm for the Allies to take the accustomed form of treason and spy mania, the city might now be spared the prospect of a resumption of Irish-American misgovernment in its worst—i.e., Tammany—form. By a liberal application of the term pro-German, Mr. Mitchel succeeded in winning for Judge Hylan the German-American vote, thereby affecting the conjunction of Irish-American and German-American voting power which did not come about this time last year, when it might have kept America out of the war by defeating President Wilson's candidature for the Presidency. While we are glad that Mr. Mitchel should thus be forcibly reminded of his grandfather, whose views would certainly have recommended themselves to an independent American electorate, we have no enthu-

siasm for Tammany, even though Justice Cohalan was one of Hylan's principal backers.

We should like to have seen a general rally in support of Morris Hillquit, the Socialist candidate, whose election would have combined good city government with sane war views. As it is, the election has been a real victory for Labour. In spite of an incredible campaign of lying and scurrility, in which the Republican and Democratic candidates emulated Mr. Mitchel, Hillquit had the second largest poll in two Boroughs—28,413 in the Bronx, and 12,748 in Queen's; his total number of votes being 142,178. The super-patriot, Mitchel, with all the capitalist Press, except the Hearst papers, behind him, and supported by ex-Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, only secured some 7,000 odd votes more than Hillquit, who has recorded an increase of 450 per cent. in the Labour vote. Further, New York will have seven Socialist Aldermen, for the first time in its undemocratic history; and the number of Socialists in the New York State Assembly has increased from two to ten. What a glorious opportunity was missed by Irish-America, whose faithfulness to Tammany brings discredit on themselves and on us. They could have punished Mitchel and served Ireland by voting for a real champion of national and international freedom. However, while Tammany grafts, New York will have the satisfaction of knowing that jingoism has received a serious set-back, in the person of an official who ranks next to the President in importance. Our regret is that two birds were not killed with one vote.

Apropos of Lord Lansdowne's letter on the discussion of peace terms, we are glad to know that Camille Huysmans, the secretary of the International, has telegraphed to Arthur Henderson, suggesting that this is the time to give effect to the Stockholm resolution. Contrary to the reports sedulously circulated by the capitalist Press, the Socialists of Europe have all voted in favour of the Stockholm Conference, and now is the moment when Labour must insist upon its right to meet and discuss the problems of war and peace which so intimately affect the masses of all the countries concerned. We cannot allow the arbitrary negation of liberty to travel, and the equally arbitrary assumption of representative power, to keep us apart. When the Conference assembles our first concern must be to secure the representation of Ireland.

AR n-ARAN LAETEAMAIL.

Di an fogmair go maic a'ainn i nEirinn i mbladna com maic l' don vladain da' de' me l' p'ic' vladain. Agus ni amain go maic an bairi fein go maic a'c' de' p'ic' na zcunnar cuir ad' 700,000 (p' a'c' zc'ad mil) ac'ra d' p'ap'ir-bairi. An lon' paot'ruis ad' n-ai' d'c'ir fein de'ap'ad' p'e' cu'ir d'uin' b' ag'nac' go c' ann na vlad' a, go mb'ead' an ce'ad' fog'mair eile ip'ic' a'ainn da' p'ga'oil'ci linn. A'c' am'ad'an' agur am'ad'an' am'ain p'ip' ad' go no'ean'p'ad' a' l'ic'io; don' duine go maic p'p'ic' na ce'ill' agur an' le'ap'p'ur am' cu'is p'e' nac' no'ea' p'aid' a' mal'air' a'c' an' zc'uir' p'g'io'bad' uainn' ai'om' ta'p' tu'inn.

Sa' z'oi'p'ic' l' an' cu'p' an' Al'm'ine'ac' agur vlad' i zc'om'air' lu'c' de'anta' an' lon' co'g'air' ip' mo' a'c' d' d'ic' an' z'lum'ac' a' b'p'uil' p'ail' p'ea'la'od' a'c' an' an' d'ic' p'o. D' ip'ic' linn' an' p'ic' d'ob'air' ai'om' co'p'air' o'p'ia i n-ai'm' d'oin' an' Re'amon'na'is' agur na' m'bo'c' z'all'oa. Cuir' ad' i zc'e'ill' do' S' an' Du'ic' agur da' z'iolla'ic' i b'p'ur' nac' n-e'ir' o'ca'ic' le' don' p'p'ic' ap'ail' p' ap' i n'e'ir'inn, m'ini'g' ad' do' p' a'c' t'm'ain' na' Ca'z'a' an'p'air' d' go mb'ead' ai'p' cu'is'ca'p' p' ap' an' a' la'g'ad' cu'p' cu'g'ainn' le' b'p'ic' an' don' p'ea'p' am'ain' agur na'p'ic' p'iu' e' an' co'p'ca'p'. Ag' ca'ill'ead' a' cu'ic' p'ea'p' b'ead' p'e' go' cinnte' agur z'an' da' b'air' a'ise' a'c' na' m'ilt' co'p'p'. An' ion'g'na'ic' le' duine' p'an' m'bit' b'p'ic' p'o' z'up' z'e'ill' p'e' do' n' o'ca'ic', z'up' cu'is' p'e' an' b'p'ic' ap'ail' p'ea'p' b'ic' p'aoi' de'ap'ain' ann'p'o'?

A'c' ma' d' ip'ic' p'e' an' b'p'ic' ap'ail' p'ea'p' n'io'p' e'ip'ic' p'e' an' p'p'ic' ap'ail' an' b' d'. Bi' vlad' do' n' uile' c'ime'ail' ag' z'ap'ca'ic' uaid' agur z'an' e' le' p'ag'ail' a'ise' n-a' d'ic' fein' agur an' ca'bl'ac' b'ic' z'a' ta'ba'ic' cu'is'ge' o' t'io'p'ca'ic' an' Do'm'ain' To'ic' agur o' t'io'p'ca'ic' an' Do'm'ain' T'ia'p' ag' d'ul' go' co'in' pu'ill' le' n-a' lu'c'ca'ic' i n-a'g'air' an' lae: a'c' b'ic' vlad' ag'ainn' ann'p'o' i n'e'ir'inn—an' b'p'ea'p'ad' p'e' an' vlad' p'ic' p'ag'ail' an' ai'p' no' an' e'ig'ic'?

Bi' an' m'uin'nc'ic' p'e'ic' bo'c't'. Ni' p'a' b' ob'air' no' p'ag'ic' le' b'aint' am'ac' na'p' b'ail'ic' mo'p'a' ma'p' b'ic' le' p'ag'ail' ag' an' lu'c' o'ib'p'e' ta'ill' b'ic' ag' de'ana'm' lon' co'g'air' agur eile. Bi' an' p'e'ilm'ea'p'a' i b'p'ur' p'ann'ca'c': d'p'ea'p'aid'ic' ioc' go' b'p'ea'g' an' co'p'ad' a' p'ao'ca'ic' ta'ill' pu'o' nac' b'p'ea'p'aid'ic' de'ana'm' i b'p'ur—an' ion'g'ant'ar' mo'p' le'ac' e' z'up' ce'ap'ad' ta'ill' go' b'p'ic'p'ic' d'e', an' ai'p'g'ea'o' p'air'p'e'ic' p'ap'ir-b'air' de' co'p'ad' agur d'e' vlad' na' d'ic' p'e'o'?

Ac' bi' d'ul-am'uda' p' ag' an' S' an'. C' ap' p'e' go' no'io'p'ad' a' p'aid' ag'ainn' le'ip' o'p' a'ise' b'ic' an' p'g'ill'ic' b'a' mo' agur b'a' z'ic'. Ni' de'ap'na'ic' e' p'ic' an' an' d'ois' p'ic' p'e'. Co'm'ic' ad' cu'ic' mo'p' o' n' vlad' p'a' m'ba' l' i n-ai'm' d'oin' na' m'p'ic' mo'p'. C' ap' an' p'e'ilm'ea'p'a' go' mo' p'ea'p' d'o' ma'p' a' m'uin'nc'ic' p'e' n' co'inn'ea'l' p'a' p'g'io'ba'ic' p'e' an' b'ic' lu'c'ca'ic'p'ic' d'o' ai'p'—mo' ma'ic'ic'! a'c' t'e' de'ad' ag' pu'ill' le' vlad' o' Sa'p'ana' an' t'e' de'ad' ag' pu'ill' le' iad' o' Sa'p'ana' an' ai'm'p'ic' p'e'o'. P'ea'p' ce'ille' b'ic' p'a' b'p'ic' m'ea'p'a'. Co'm'ic' p'e' cu'ic' mo'p' d'oin' d'uro' lon' p'a' m'ba'ile' an'p'air' d'o'.

C'e'ap'o' b'ic' le' de'ap'ain' ag' S' an' ann'p'ia' d'ic' o'ip'ic'ic' co'g'air' a'ise' d'p'ic' il' do' n' o'ca'ic'; R' a'c' Co'p'air'ca' na' R'io'g'ac't' an' t-ainn' cu'is' p'e' p'e'ic' an' an' o'ip'ic'p'ic' p'ic', agur o' b'ic' an' vlad' uaid' ta'ill' b'ane' p'ad' p'e' am'ac' e' p'aoi' n' p' a'c' p'ea'ic' p'aid'ic' p'e'o' cu'm'a' ce' n' z'o'p'ca' b'ead' an'p'o'.

E' z'o'ic' uainn' an' ead'? An' no'ois' ni' de'ap'ad' an' p'ea'p' ma'ca'nt'a' a' l'ic'io? Ip' cu'm'a' liom'p'a' ce' n' t-ainn' t'iu'p'ic' p'e' an' an' n'g'io'm' a'c' z'a' de'ap'ain' a'ise'. Ni' uainn' a'c' an' z'm'om' p'e'ic' a' no'ca'ic' do' mo' m'uin'nc'ic' agur a' co'p'ad' co'p'z'.

A'c' p'ul' cu'is'p'ic' co'p'z' le' b'ic' am'ac' no' l' p'io'p'air' z'ad'uid' ni' mo'p' p'io'p' ma'ic' b'ic' ag'ac' ce' n' mo' d' o'ib'p'ic' a'c' a'ise'. Ma'p' p'o' a'c' an' p'g'e'al':

An' b' a'c'a' ag'ainn'e'. E' ag' t'ea'p'oa' l' o' S' an'. E' ag' cinnt' an' e' m'alla' d' uainn' an' ai'p'ic' ad' b'p'ea'g'ac' p'air'p'e'ic'. Z'le'ap' eile' t'p'oda' a'ise' p' a'c'ap' ai' b'p'ic'. E' n-a' cu'm'ap' o'p'rou'g'ad' p'aoi' R' a'c' Co'p'air'ca' na' R'io'g'ac't'a' de'ap'ain' a' p'ad' z'up' le'ip' p'e'ic' i zc'om'air' a' cu'ic' ap'ic' a' b'p'uil' do' vlad' ag'ainn' i n'e'ir'inn' io'p'ic' e'ail'ac' agur ap'ob'air' p'ea'p' agur o'lann', ad'm'uid' agur le'ac'ap' agur u'ip'g'ea'ca': z'ad'uid' a'c' an' ead'? Ip' b' ag' an' S' an' an' t-ainn'.

I'p'ic' an' z'e'ilm'p'ic' p'e'o' agur i zc'a'ic' am' an' ca'p'p'ic' agur an' t'ra'm'p'air' p'o' cu'g'ainn' de'ap'ap' an' z'ad'uid'. a'c' p'o' o'p'ia' ma'p'a' m'b' io'm'io' an' an' n-ai'p' agur p'ic'ic' ce'ap't'a' ag'ainn' le' co'p'z' cu'p' le'ip'. Ce'ana' p'e'ic' ta' z'p'ic' am' ag' an' b'p'ic' an' ta'ill' an' an' ap'ob'air' an' an' b'p'ea'p' t'ic'ic' an' an' e'ail'ac' no' p'ic'le'ann' p'e' go' b'p'uil'. Ta' vlad' z'ann' ni' am'ain' i Sa'p'ana' a'c' p'a' b'p'ic'ainn'e' p'an' e'ad'ail' p'a' Ru'ic' agur p'an' O'ile'an' U'ic' p'e'ic' d'e' b'air' an' o'p'oc'-fo'g'm'air' agur e'ap'bar'ic' p'ea'p' le'ip' an' ta'lam' a' t'p'ic' ad'ad' agur an' p'io'l' a' cu'p'. Ni' am'ain' go' m'b'ic' d'o' an' Sa'p'ana', p'p'io'm'cu'ail' na' zc'a'ic'p'o'. Co'g'ad', vlad' p'ol'ac'ap' da' m'uin'nc'ic'ic'

p'e'ic', io'p'ic' m'ilt' ad'ca' agur eile, a'c' ca'ic'p'ic' an' t'ic' p'ic' p'oin'nc' cu'p' do' n' p'p'ainn'e' agur do' n' e'ad'ail' no' e'ip' o'ca'ic' p'ia'op'air' an' an' zc'og'ad' an' p'ad'. Agur o'p' am'la'ic' a'c'a' an' p'g'e'al', ca' b'p'uil' an' t'e' d'e'ip'p'ea'p' liom' nac' no'ean'p'ad' na' Sa'p'ana'ic' a' no'ic'e' a'ill' b'air' agur b' a'c'a' a' b'p'uil' p'ag'ca' d'e' vlad' p'a' t'ic' p'e'o' p'g'io'ba'ic' uainn'?

Ni' l' a' l'ic'ic'io' d'e' duine' ann', ma'p' ta'ca'p' z'ap' m'ban'ug'ad' i n-a'g'air' an' lae' an' t-ainn' mo'p'la'ca' a'c'a' ann'p'o' i n'e'ir'inn' le' na'p' zc'oinn'ea'l' i m'p'ic'ic'ic' an'ap' co'cu'is'ic' an' ann'p'o' iad'. An' ca'bl'ac' t'p'ac't'ala' a'c'a' n-ai'p' zc'al'ca'ic' p'ic' le' vlad' b'p'ic'ic' uainn' agur n' le' vlad' ta'ba'ic' cu'g'ainn' an' ca'bl'ac' p'ic'p' u'g'a' an' vlad' p'ac'ac' z'ainn' ag'ainn' p'e'ic'. Ta' an' vlad' ag' m'ic' a'c' agur ag' m'ic' a'c' agur ag' m'ic' a'c'—agur b'ead' an' p'g'e'al' n'io'p' m'ea'p'a' ag'ainn' ma'p'ac' co'm' m'ic'ic' ip' ca'ic't'ea'p' ca'la'd'p'o'p'ic' a'c'a' Cl'ia'c' agur d'e'ap'p'e'ic'p'ic' agur eile' d'uin'ad' ma'p' z' a'ill' an' b'air' p'o'm'p'ic' na' n'al'm'aine' b'io'p' ag' p'io'p'—i'ap'p'air' co'p'z' cu'p' le' m'ic'ic' an' b'ic' an' e' p'ic'ic'.

B'p'uil' a'c' l'ic'ic' an' ag'ainn' an' an' p'g'e'al'? Si'm' p'e'ic' go' b'p'uil' agur l'ic'ic' an' e'ip' a'c'ac' p'ic' ip'ic'. Sa'n' zc'ea'o' ai'p'o' eile' b'ea'p' uainn' p'a' p'air'p'ea'p' p'e'o' t'p'ac't'p'ad' an' an' l'ic'ic' an' a'c'a' an' p'g'e'al'.

M'ic'p'e,
p'AD'RA'IC' O' CO'NA'IRE.

Lurgan Gas-Workers' Strike.

For a fortnight past the labourers employed by the Lurgan Urban District Council at the Gas Works, thirteen in number, have been on strike for an advance in wages. In this industrial centre of "prosperous Ulster" fully-grown men—married men with families—have been employed at laborious work for 16/- per week, plus 2/- war bonus. The men, who are members of the Workers' Union, demanded an increase of 6/- per week. The Council refused even to discuss the question, and the men ceased work. 18/- a week is the reward of "loyalty"! Lurgan is a town which boasts of having sent more men to the "Colours" than any town of its size in Ulster, and it has had more than a due share of casualties. At 18/- a week one may well ask if the casualties of peace—starvation and disease—are not likely to be even more fatal than the casualties of war. We wish the men success.

Derry.

The recently published report of the Derry Trades Council shows that twenty-eight Societies are affiliated, and that after a very strenuous and successful half-year, the Trade Union movement in Derry and district is stronger than ever before in its history.

A Lesson from Australia.

By M. NOLAN.

In a recent speech Mr. Hughes, the Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth, denounced Sinn Feiners and the International Workers of the World as the main obstacles to the enforcing conscription on the Australian people. These two bodies, according to Mr. Hughes, working in concert, were strong enough to defeat the measure on which he had staked his political existence; and his latest orations have been mainly occupied with the attempt to discredit them by referring to "German gold," "Germany's secret agents," and all the rest of the claptrap of the "patriotic" orator.

Readers of even the English Press have by this time got a pretty good idea of Mr. Hughes and his aims. They know that he was returned to power as a leader of Labour; that he has declared the conscription of wealth for war purposes to be out of the question; and that he led the campaign in favour of conscription of the lives of Australian citizens. They also know that the people of Australia, in spite of the organised breaking-up of anti-conscription meetings, rejected his proposals by an enormous majority; and that in the fight against those proposals the forces of Sinn Fein and organised Labour led the way.

The problem has now arisen in Australia for the second time. Mr. Hughes and his followers are using every weapon in their armoury to discredit Sinn Fein and Labour in the eyes of Australian public opinion. They know that these two forces are the only ones with sufficient vitality to avert the conscription of lives. They also know that if they could be diverted or suppressed, there would be no further obstacle in the path of the Government; public opinion could be dragooned by emergency legislation and the judicious employment of illegal force; the rich man's investments would be safe, while the poor man's son could be dragged off to death on the battlefields of Flanders. But while Sinn Fein and Labour stand united, they are perfectly well aware that their new conscriptionist campaign is doomed to the same failure as the campaign of 1916.

It is, in one sense, a remarkable circumstance that in Australia Sinn Fein has found it possible to work in such close co-operation with the International Workers of the World. Sinn Fein is a national movement, pure and simple. Its economic theories are not necessarily those of advanced

Labour. It numbers capitalists as well as workingmen among its members. The International Workers of the World, on the other hand, represent advanced Labour in twenty different countries: they are not, strictly speaking, pro-Irish any more than they are pro-American or pro-Dutch. Yet in the present struggle the two bodies are able to act together in spite of their theoretical divergence of ideals.

In Ireland, Sinn Fein and Labour have the same battle to fight as in Australia. The forces opposed to them are more powerful and more cruel. There is all the more need for them to stand together. Two years ago they had learned the lesson. James Connolly, one of the greatest men that Ireland has ever produced, realised from the beginning that in Ireland, even more than in any other country, Nationality and Labour must stand or fall together. Before his death his ideas had spread, and Ireland and Labour shed their blood together in Easter Week. Since Connolly's death Sinn Fein and Labour have not become estranged, but they are less closely allied. It is right that each should have its separate province, but it is also right that each should remember that it can only triumph with the other's aid.

The only kind of Irish State worth working for is one in which the claims of labour will be recognised as they are not recognised in Ireland or England to-day. If Dublin is to remain a city of slums and tenements, of unemployment and starvation, it is as well off under an English monarchy as under an Irish Republic. The ideals of Connolly must permeate the Sinn Fein movement if it is not to fail as Smith O'Brien and Young Ireland failed.

But it is equally true that the cause of Labour in Ireland is irrevocably bound up with Ireland's national emancipation. So long as Irish industries can be crushed by one stroke of the pen of a Government official in Whitehall, so long will Ireland be empty of industry, empty of enterprise, empty of everything but hunger and squalor. If Connolly saved Sinn Fein by allying it with Labour, he set the feet of Labour on the true path when he told the labouring-men of Ireland that Labour could never be free till Ireland was free.

M. NOLAN.

Irish Labour Party: Organising Scheme,

At the Derry Congress held in August last a scheme was adopted for organising those active members of the Trade Unions who desire to promote the growth of an Irish Labour Party. According to the circular letter which has been sent by the National Executive to the branches of affiliated Societies, the scheme depends for its success upon the cordial co-operation of the branch secretaries or shop-stewards or other specially appointed collectors, "and the branches are urged to adopt the scheme with enthusiasm and endeavour to enrol as large a number of subscribing members of the Irish Labour Party as possible."

Every week that passes (the letter continues) brings additional proofs of the necessity for strengthening the influence on Irish public affairs of a well organised Labour Party. The pressure we have been able to put in the past on local corporations and the Irish Government has been considerable and of much benefit to Trade Unionists and the working classes in general, but the urgent problems arising out of the war, the need for a sustained agitation to secure

that Labour's voice shall be heard in the Councils of the Nation, demand that a much greater effort than ever must now be made. To do this effectively we must enlist the active personal assistance of those thousands of workers who hitherto have been but passive sympathisers. We are confident that the members of your branch will do their share in this work. The Organisation and Labour Representation Fund which we propose to raise will be used for strengthening the Trade Union movement in those places where it is weak, and to assist in securing the return of Labour Representatives to the National Legislature.

Throughout the world Labour is emerging from its obscurity and proving itself a force to be reckoned with by the governing powers—soon perhaps to become itself the governing power. In every nation of Europe, in America, Canada, Australia, South Africa, even in far China and Japan, there are National Labour parties supported by the subscriptions of the workers. We will not have it said that

of all the Nations of the world the workers of Ireland alone were inarticulate!

The following is a summary of the scheme decided upon:—

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It is also recognised that there are Societies or branches of Societies which are as a whole opposed to the Irish Labour Party, but which contain a minority who desire to become actively associated with us.

The National Executive believe that it is necessary to gather these all in, and bring them into direct relation with the Party, and that this may be done by the expedient of recognising them as "Subscribing Members."

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We have pleasure in directing our readers' attention to these proposals. It is inevitable that it will be left to a few members in each branch to be a "ginger group" and become the propagandists of the political side of the Labour Movement in Ireland. These few, then, must see to it that the proposals of the Congress are discussed by the branches and collectors appointed.

Without adequate funds the Executive cannot do the work that is demanded of them. With funds they can appoint organisers, print and distribute literature, co-ordinate the policy of the Labour representatives on the various Local Governing Bodies, and do all the rest of the work that lies to the hands of a National Labour Organisation.

We note that the scheme is a voluntary one, that there is no compulsory levy for this fund. This implies that the subscribers will be personally attached to the organisation as individuals, and should ensure that the subscribers will take a more active interest in the growth of the party than is the case when the funds are all subscribed by the Society collectively.

We hope to learn that the scheme is being given the fullest measure of support throughout the country.

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The Irish Labour Party.

We print this week an outline of the organising scheme of the Irish Labour Party, which we commend to the earnest attention of our readers. It is pointed out in the scheme that every country in Europe, without distinction, has a Labour Party pledged to work and strive only in the interests of the toiling masses. We in Ireland have toiling masses, too, and in the interests of these toiling masses political organisation is as necessary as it has been found to be in other countries. We have problems in Ireland similar to those with which the Labour and Democratic Parties grapple in all the countries of Europe. Sweating is certainly not unknown in Ireland, long hours of work are common enough to pass almost without comment, low wages are the rule rather than the exception. These basic problems can be best solved by a combination of political action with direct Trade Union action. A political party may do much in an Irish Legislature, but even then it cannot take the place of the Trade Union. The two forces must work together in perfect harmony if the best effects are to be achieved. In the country and in the towns are problems awaiting solution. They have really waited too long, but in the peculiar political position in which our country finds itself neglect of the worker and his problems was, perhaps, inevitable. Some small attention has been given to the agricultural labourer, but even he has much leeway to make up. The conditions under which our town workers live and work are appalling. They are a disgrace to the thing we used to call civilisation, a disgrace to our common Christianity. Housing, for instance, seems to us a problem for national rather than local solution, though our local authorities may help very considerably. A Labour Party in a National Legislature must be strong enough to urge the solution of these problems as speedily as possible.

We are glad to note that the basis of organisation is the existing Trade Union Congress and Labour Party and the Trade Unions of Ireland. This is the line of least resistance in Labour organisation. The Trade Unions are the only possible basis for an Irish Labour Party at present. In the Trade Unions are contained all who are actively engaged in Labour agitation, propaganda and organisation in our country. Such a basis will ensure a direct contact between the political and industrial sections of the Labour movement, and such direct contact will be beneficial to both sides of it. In the narrow sphere of an ordinary craft union the larger problems and ideals of Labour as a whole might never be considered. Absorbed as they necessarily are in the detailed problems of their particular craft and in the problems that most immediately concern themselves, the larger world of labour might very easily be overlooked. The trees may obscure the wood. The proposed party will aid largely in the rectification of such a narrow outlook. It will bring to its members a sense of perspective opening to themselves and their followers a vista of a larger whole, which without it might be lacking. Given adequate financial sup-

port, its organisers will assist the Trade Unions in their work, will aid them towards national thinking upon labour affairs and upon labour problems. It can undertake an educational campaign to bring home to the minds of our people as a whole, to our workers in particular, what the demand and rights of Labour are. This is very necessary to-day, when not only the old problems with which we have been familiar for so long still await solution, but new problems caused by the war, the nature and extent of which we are still unaware, will demand solution when peace comes.

We trust that every organised labour body in the country will give our new Labour Party all the support, both moral and financial, of which it is capable. It is a Party which should attract the support of the rural labourer as well as the town artisan. The minimum wages fixed for agricultural labour cannot be regarded as satisfactory, and very much remains yet to be done. It is probable that most of the Trade Unions will join the Party collectively; at least we think they ought so to do, as it seems to us their obvious duty. But even if they do not we are glad to note that individuals, members of Trade Unions not joining collectively, may still join the party. It would be well if members of rural labour societies not calling themselves, or acting as, Trade Unions, could have the same conditions extended to them. Even in these days, when the high cost of living taxes our ability to live to the utmost, the subscription rate fixed is well within the reach of every man and woman worker. In the very near future our women will have that vote for which so many of them have struggled and suffered. We hope that an effort will be made to organise these women within the Labour Party. There is no necessity for special sections or separate organisations for women: they might come in on the same terms, with the same rights and duties as men. Pending the opening of our own Legislature there is much to be done in the realm of local and municipal affairs. The organisation now proposed will co-ordinate and vitalise Labour effort in our country, so that the experience of one place will be at the disposal of another.

A strong, democratically-controlled Labour Party is most urgently needed in the Ireland of to-day. Labour is being theoretically catered for by every political organisation in the country, but however well-intentioned their interest may be it can at best be only theoretical and academic. In our Labour politics we must have men of experience, men of knowledge, men who are familiar with the details of the worker's life in the workshop and in the home. We must have realists as well as theorists. The facts of the worker's life must be known and understood as well as sympathised with. To have such understanding one must have very intimate and continuous contact with the worker's life, and such direct contact and understanding must be sought for within the ranks of the Trade Union Congress, which is the basis of the proposed party. Affiliated to our Irish Trade Union Congress are most of the Trade Unions at present active in Ireland, not only distinctly Irish Unions but also the Irish branches of amalgamated Unions. The Trade Union Congress is our Irish Confederation of Labour. It contains in its official ranks the best brains of the Irish Labour movement, its officers have the confidence of our movement, and to them, for the present at all events, they are the natural leaders of organised labour. Labour in politics will follow the same leaders it has followed in the industrial struggle, and we can only trust that its success be as great in the political arena as it has been in the industrial. The outlook for organised labour is bright if labour is true to itself. If Irish workers pay the attention to their own affairs that the importance of these affairs deserve their lot in the future will be better than it has been in the past. We have much to do for ourselves and our fellow-workers. In many ways we are the most backward nation in Europe. Our industrial problems, as is perhaps to be expected when the political conditions under which our country suffers are taken into account, have received very scant attention. In an Irish legislature we must be strong enough to insist upon adequate attention being given to industrial problems, and to do this a Labour Party is essential. For this we wish the Labour Party every success, and we trust it will receive loyal and hearty support.

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Matter intended for publication in the following issue must reach the Office not later than Monday afternoon.

The Irish Labour Party.

We print this week an outline of the organising scheme of the Irish Labour Party, which we commend to the earnest attention of our readers. It is pointed out in the scheme that every country in Europe, without distinction, has a Labour Party pledged to work and strive only in the interests of the toiling masses. We in Ireland have toiling masses, too, and in the interests of these toiling masses political organisation is as necessary as it has been found to be in other countries. We have problems in Ireland similar to those with which the Labour and Democratic Parties grapple in all the countries of Europe. Sweating is certainly not unknown in Ireland, long hours of work are common enough to pass almost without comment, low wages are the rule rather than the exception. These basic problems can be best solved by a combination of political action with direct Trade Union action. A political party may do much in an Irish Legislature, but even then it cannot take the place of the Trade Union. The two forces must work together in perfect harmony if the best effects are to be achieved. In the country and in the towns are problems awaiting solution. They have really waited too long, but in the peculiar political position in which our country finds itself neglect of the worker and his problems was, perhaps, inevitable. Some small attention has been given to the agricultural labourer, but even he has much leeway to make up. The conditions under which our town workers live and work are appalling. They are a disgrace to the thing we used to call civilisation, a disgrace to our common Christianity. Housing, for instance, seems to us a problem for national rather than local solution, though our local authorities may help very considerably. A Labour Party in a National Legislature must be strong enough to urge the solution of these problems as speedily as possible.

We are glad to note that the basis of organisation is the existing Trade Union Congress and Labour Party and the Trade Unions of Ireland. This is the line of least resistance in Labour organisation. The Trade Unions are the only possible basis for an Irish Labour Party at present. In the Trade Unions are contained all who are actively engaged in Labour agitation, propaganda and organisation in our country. Such a basis will ensure a direct contact between the political and industrial sections of the Labour movement, and such direct contact will be beneficial to both sides of it. In the narrow sphere of an ordinary craft union the larger problems and ideals of Labour as a whole might never be considered. Absorbed as they necessarily are in the detailed problems of their particular craft and in the problems that most immediately concern themselves, the larger world of labour might very easily be overlooked. The trees may obscure the wood. The proposed party will aid largely in the rectification of such a narrow outlook. It will bring to its members a sense of perspective opening to themselves and their followers a vista of a larger whole, which without it might be lacking. Given adequate financial sup-

port, its organisers will assist the Trade Unions in their work, will aid them towards national thinking upon labour affairs and upon labour problems. It can undertake an educational campaign to bring home to the minds of our people as a whole, to our workers in particular, what the demand and rights of Labour are. This is very necessary to-day, when not only the old problems with which we have been familiar for so long still await solution, but new problems caused by the war, the nature and extent of which we are still unaware, will demand solution when peace comes.

We trust that every organised labour body in the country will give our new Labour Party all the support, both moral and financial, of which it is capable. It is a Party which should attract the support of the rural labourer as well as the town artisan. The minimum wages fixed for agricultural labour cannot be regarded as satisfactory, and very much remains yet to be done. It is probable that most of the Trade Unions will join the Party collectively; at least we think they ought so to do, as it seems to us their obvious duty. But even if they do not we are glad to note that individuals, members of Trade Unions not joining collectively, may still join the party. It would be well if members of rural labour societies not calling themselves, or acting as, Trade Unions, could have the same conditions extended to them. Even in these days, when the high cost of living taxes our ability to live to the utmost, the subscription rate fixed is well within the reach of every man and woman worker. In the very near future our women will have that vote for which so many of them have struggled and suffered. We hope that an effort will be made to organise these women within the Labour Party. There is no necessity for special sections or separate organisations for women: they might come in on the same terms, with the same rights and duties as men. Pending the opening of our own Legislature there is much to be done in the realm of local and municipal affairs. The organisation now proposed will co-ordinate and vitalise Labour effort in our country, so that the experience of one place will be at the disposal of another.

A strong, democratically-controlled Labour Party is most urgently needed in the Ireland of to-day. Labour is being theoretically catered for by every political organisation in the country, but however well-intentioned their interest may be it can at best be only theoretical and academic. In our Labour politics we must have men of experience, men of knowledge, men who are familiar with the details of the worker's life in the workshop and in the home. We must have realists as well as theorists. The facts of the worker's life must be known and understood as well as sympathised with. To have such understanding one must have very intimate and continuous contact with the worker's life, and such direct contact and understanding must be sought for within the ranks of the Trade Union Congress, which is the basis of the proposed party. Affiliated to our Irish Trade Union Congress are most of the Trade Unions at present active in Ireland, not only distinctly Irish Unions but also the Irish branches of amalgamated Unions. The Trade Union Congress is our Irish Confederation of Labour. It contains in its official ranks the best brains of the Irish Labour movement, its officers have the confidence of our movement, and to them, for the present at all events, they are the natural leaders of organised labour. Labour in politics will follow the same leaders it has followed in the industrial struggle, and we can only trust that its success be as great in the political arena as it has been in the industrial. The outlook for organised labour is bright if labour is true to itself. If Irish workers pay the attention to their own affairs that the importance of these affairs deserve their lot in the future will be better than it has been in the past. We have much to do for ourselves and our fellow-workers. In many ways we are the most backward nation in Europe. Our industrial problems, as is perhaps to be expected when the political conditions under which our country suffers are taken into account, have received very scant attention. In an Irish legislature we must be strong enough to insist upon adequate attention being given to industrial problems, and to do this a Labour Party is essential. For this we wish the Labour Party every success, and we trust it will receive loyal and hearty support.

Local Notes.

DUBLIN NOTES.

The autumn of this year afforded strong confirmation of the statement that the fall of the leaf is the signal for "labour troubles." 1913 was a time of brave and hardy pioneering, but 1917 will be remembered as a period of definite advance in Trades Union methods and solidarity in Dublin, bringing with them, as they must, large and widespread improvements for the workers. The scarcity and dearness of the necessaries of life caused trade after trade to look for increases in wages. This movement was wisely availed of by the Trades Council to call a conference of delegates from all labour bodies in Dublin in the Trades Hall on October 30th, with a view to formulating a joint demand for all. Useful discussions ensued, as a result of which the Executive of the Trades Congress was asked to convene a special conference to consider the price and exportation of food, and meeting of industrial groups formed of allied trades were arranged to frame a demand in common.

One effect of this step was that the various organisations sent in their several demands more or less simultaneously, thereby creating a situation which all parties felt could only be met by arbitration. With the cost of living admittedly 100 per cent. up there could be only one result of arbitration, and so the Dublin papers have been chronicling award after award, giving satisfactory improvements in pay and conditions to the men. In only a few cases was a stoppage of work necessary, and except for the printing trade this was not of long duration. This latter dispute has just been settled. Other settlements reached are those of bakers, mill-hands, gas, chemical, and coal workers, with numerous allied trades and individual firms' employees. In many cases the employers took time by the forelock, and gave the advances before they were asked. Disputes under discussion are the dockers, carriers' men, Railway Crafts Union men, fishmongers and poultrymen, and drapers' porters.

The bakers' dispute showed a notable advance in organisation and method, inasmuch as the drivers and clerks formed a joint committee with the operative bakers, and together they put forward their joint claims with success. The decision of the Teachers by a large majority to affiliate with the Trades Council is a remarkable example of the growth of public intelligence. The publication of the award of the Agricultural Wages Board with its 25/- minimum wage is another sign of the times. The sufferings and struggles of the past have not been in vain.

In the long list of settlements just mentioned, the Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. L. O'Neill) has taken a very active and judicious part, but perhaps the weightiest work of this sort he has yet handled is the formation of a Conciliation Board for Dublin, inaugurated at a meeting held in the Mansion House under his chairmanship on Wednesday, 21st ult., at which the Trades Council and six Employers' Associations were represented. The Recorder of Dublin also attended. The principle of a Conciliation Board for the prevention of industrial disputes was unanimously agreed to. A further meeting will shortly be held to discuss details and procedure.

BELFAST NOTES.

The Belfast bookbinders and machine rulers, after a strike lasting six weeks, have a distinct victory to their credit. They demanded 10/- per week advance. The employers offered 4/6, but insisted upon certain re-arrangements in regard to time-sheets, which the men refused. In the settlement the employers agreed to pay an advance of 5/6 per week unconditionally. About 100 men are affected.

Linen Industry.

In the spinning department of the Belfast linen industry wages for women now range from 18/- to 20/- per week, against 13/6 two years ago. The advances have been gained by organisation and pressure through the Unions. The rates are still too low, and the pressure must be continued. We are glad to hear that efforts are being made in Cork to bring the mill-workers in that district up to the Belfast level.

Collective Holidays.

The modern movement in favour of "collective holidays" is growing apace! These differ from the ordinary general holiday such as "Twelfth week" in Belfast or wakes week in Lancashire in several ways. The works are not closed down, and the workers don't take their families to the seaside. There is no expectant preparation for a jolly time at a given period. On the contrary, these "collective holidays" of the workers occur spasmodically, often without any preparation whatever, and usually they are taken by the workers in one trade only or a group of closely-related trades. Sometimes they last for only a day or two, sometimes for several weeks. If not too prolonged the men return to work strengthened in mind, body and estate, and with an increased respect for their value of collective action!

Recently the engineering trades in this city resolved upon a "collective holiday," and about five thousand men participated in the enjoyment thereof. Relaxation for a few short days from the stress of labour and excessive hours of overtime will, we doubt not, be productive of nothing but good health. If it also induces a sound mind concerning the claims of the engineers in the Ministry of Munitions, it will be so much added to the blessing!

Mr. Matt McCusker, publican, ex-city Councillor and "friend of the people," is showing signals of distress. He has lost his temper. In the course of the barmen's fight for the abolition of the living-in system and recognition of their Union, Mr. McCusker's Queen's Square house was picketed, and handbills distributed to prospective customers. One of the pickets was prosecuted in the police courts for "conspiring" to damage McCusker's trade. He is said to have forcibly prevented customers from entering the house. No person was brought to prove that he was molested in any way. But a renegade from the Union was produced to swear that customers had been interfered with, and his evidence, being supported by Mr. McCusker, was sufficient to satisfy a bench of publicans and their friends. The defendant was fined £5, and bound over to keep the peace. McCusker is vexed; he showed that in the witness-box. He has won this round, but his customers are Trade Unionists, and if

they do their duty he will soon realise that vindictive prosecutions of this kind are resented by the workers.

But the sinners are not to be outdone by the publicans! Robinson and Cleaver's, of world-wide fame, linen manufacturers to the King, Queen and all the little princes and princesses, are also having a police court interlude. Several members of the Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association are being prosecuted for picketing. It is alleged that the pickets have annoyed some ladies and scandalised the firm. One of the defendants has three sons fighting with the Ulster Division to "make the world safe for democracy." But B. and C. think that President Wilson's message was wrongly transmitted—that it really reads, "Make the world safe for plutocracy!" In that belief they prosecute the drapers' assistants for taking action which will endanger the cause, as a strike against sweating employers undoubtedly does. The case is still undecided, so we refrain from comment.

LIMERICK NOTES.

The Town Tenants' Association and the affiliated Labour Societies and the Plot-holders' Union of Limerick, having appointed a Housing Committee, known as "The Limerick City Housing Committee," to agitate for the provision of better housing accommodation for the working classes, and to consider and draw up plans for the solving of the housing problem in Limerick, and the Committee being of the opinion that the most practical solution of the problem is the housing of the city worker, on the basis of eight houses to the acre; and as it is now recognised by the Government that the conservation of the health and well-being of the worker is a paramount duty of the State; and as Mr. Lloyd George, on behalf of the Government, stated in the House of Commons on November 24th, 1914, that the Government would, immediately on the termination of the war, provide sufficient capital for the re-housing of the working classes, free of interest, we call upon all interested to join in a national demand on the Government for the grant of a sufficient sum of money, free of interest, to finance the building scheme necessary; furthermore, to prevent inflation of prices of land in the vicinities of cities, landowners be compelled to set a price upon their land and pay taxes on that basis. The Committee are also of opinion that all public bodies concerned should devise plans and estimate the probable cost of settling the housing problem in their immediate area on these lines, so that a concerted national demand can be made for the necessary funds.

The Committee feel that the present time offers an opportunity for the settlement of the housing problem on national lines which may not occur again for a generation, as there is bound to be a very considerable reaction after the war so far as grants of public money are concerned.

NOTES AND COMMENTS—(Continued from page 18).

grants are being made for technical education in Great Britain, the reverse is the case in Ireland. Here, under the guise of a war economy, the grants are being actually reduced. This is a policy that no sane country alive to its future economic interest should tolerate for a moment. We are being taxed heavily enough to provide for the technical training of our future workers, and we must see to it that justice is done to them and that they have at least an equality of opportunity with workers across the Irish Sea.

War Expenditure and Taxation.

The "Co-operative News" prints the following from a correspondent:—

"This war is putting many things in their true light so far as political economy is concerned, and some of the men in high places obtain glimpses occasionally of the true inwardness of things. Thus Sir Auckland Geddes asks us to think of war expenditure in terms of labour rather than in terms of millions of money. We cannot do better than take him at his word when we come to consider the questions of taxation and who is to pay for the war. On that plan we should proceed somewhat as follows:—

"The war necessitates the doing of work by (1) combatants; (2) producers of munitions, food, clothing, etc. The work of production is performed by the application of labour to the materials and resources of nature by means of such tools as the workers themselves have fashioned. The workers have made everything. Stating the war expenditure in terms of labour, then, we see that the war is being paid for as we go along.

"Nevertheless, these same statesmen who ask us to think of the war expenditure in terms of labour point to a huge debt which they tell us has been piled up, and to which they refer in terms of thousands of millions of pounds. Thus we have two war debts; as workers, we are paying for the war twice over—once by the sweat of our brows in terms of labour as we go along, and again by taxation spread over future years, for we must remember that all taxation, like everything else, comes out of the products of labour.

"Have we, as workers, sufficient courage to refuse to pay the debt twice over? Need we bother to argue the matter with the drones who at present have lawful control of the resources of nature, and will certainly assert their so-called rights and show fight for them?

"The drones will ask: 'What about capital? You cannot produce anything without capital to give you access to and enable you to make use of the resources of nature.'

"To this we may reply briefly and to the point: 'Granted. But the only capital we require is the same as that with which you started, namely, political power.' Think this over, and see whether it is not so."

ARBITRATOR'S AWARD IN DUBLIN BAKERY DISPUTE.

The award of Mr. H. Hanna, K.C., the Arbitrator in the bakery trade dispute, has been received. An increase of 9s. for bakers, bringing the rates up to 49s. for tablehands and 58s. for ovenmen; an eight-hour day and abolition of Sunday work, as well as a minimum of 45s. for breadvan-drivers, are the chief points. A minimum is also struck for apprentices, inside workers, stable, and yard-men. Although the demands of the men are not fully met, we think the Unions concerned can congratulate themselves on having achieved so much. That this was possible is due to the linking of forces of all engaged in the trade. When one reflects how bad the outlook was some few years ago and now sees what has been accomplished, it is a convincing lesson of what determination and persistence can do. It is less than six months since a union of forces was effected, and already we have fruitful results; and with continued activity along these lines future gains will far outweigh these. The demand for the employment of Trade Union labour only was not granted, but as only one firm employs non-union labour to any great extent, and that firm caters largely, if not wholly for the workers, the solution of this problem should not present much difficulty. At any rate, when the necessity of making our Unions blackleg-proof is being more and more felt, when joint action in industry is more insistently demanded, the non-unionist must disappear, especially when he is less than 10 per cent.

In this instance the value of solidarity has been clearly demonstrated. The teaching of Jim Connolly, that all sections in an industry should stand and move together, has been put into practice, and with a result that would gladden his heart were he still with us; and when so much can be accomplished now, what cannot be done when our organisations and methods are better perfected? It is interesting to note that the Derry bakers have also linked up with the breadservers there, and have put forward demands for betterment with, let us hope, as good results as here.

CHEAP (I) FEEDING FOR CATTLE.

It has come to our knowledge that many farmers are buying wheaten meal and flour for calf and cattle feeding. The maximum price for bread and flour was fixed by the Food Controller with the intention of enabling the poor to buy wheat products at a comparatively reasonable rate—the Treasury bearing the loss between the maximum price and the actual cost of wheat, freight, milling, and mar-

keting. And the world shortage of wheat necessitates urgent appeals for economy in the use of bread and flour if the poor are to be ensured a supply of their normal food. But because this maximum price is lower than the market price of the ordinary cattle feeding stuffs—maize, etc., farmers are giving this scarce human food to their cattle! It is a crime against the poor and must be prevented by every means in our power. We direct the attention of the Food Controller to the practice, and call upon him to take such action as will put a stop to this cruel waste of the poor man's food in time of scarcity.

Apropos of Food Control, we are curious to know what the Central Irish Committee think of their position in relation to Lord Rhondda? Are they satisfied with being merely an advisory body? If their advice is being accepted and acted upon promptly, well and good; but the times are critical and we fear in too many instances the urgent advice of the Irish Food Control Committee is passed over or ignored. We are glad to see that the National Executive of the Irish Trades Congress and Labour Party is demanding that the Irish Food Committee should be endowed with executive powers. At the special food conference held in the City Hall, Dublin, a year ago, and again at Derry Congress in August last, the Trade Unionist delegates passed unanimously, resolutions calling for an Irish authority to take entire control of the export and import of food from and to Irish ports. A mere advisory committee to Lord Rhondda is of little use when drastic action is required in the interests of the Irish people.

The personnel of the present Irish Committee may not be all that the occasion demands, but we believe it is sincerely desirous of serving Ireland's needs before everything. We suggest that every public body in Ireland should back up the Irish Trades Unionists in demanding that the powers of the Irish Committee be greatly extended.

The Clerks are Moving!

Recently organised as the Mersey District Shipbuilding and Repairing Clerical Society Cost Clerks, the time-keepers and store-keepers employed on Merseyside have been successful in obtaining a standard rate of wages. A mass meeting of new Society members approved of the scale granted by the masters, which provides wages of 24s. a week for juniors of 18 years of age, rising to 50s. at the age of 24. Clerks, time-keepers, and store-keepers of over 22 years of age are to receive 60s. per week, and payment for overtime. Sundays and Bank holidays are to be on the 47 hours' agreement sliding scale.

ALLOTMENTS OR GARDEN PLOTS.

In this column will be found, from time to time, information concerning allotments, the various conditions affecting allotments and allotment holders as such, and general notes on reasonable work which ought to be done at various parts of the year. Allotments in Ireland have had a run of about ten years, the primary efforts having been made in Belfast and Dublin—the former being a scheme of "Garden Plots" for artisans, etc., under the Garden Plots Association, and the latter a scheme of allotments for casual workers, under the Dublin Vacant Land Cultivation Society—a scheme inaugurated through the work of the late Mr. Joseph Fels. Since the successful establishment, and gradual growth of these schemes, the allotment or garden idea has caught on, but more particularly so since the stern necessity of the war and reduced wages have made the question one of economic importance.

From 1915 onwards the movement became a popular one, bringing as a result the laudations of the Press, of "public-spirited" persons, and the lip service of politicians. It is estimated that there are over 20,000 allotments or individual plots, ranging in size from 300-600 square yards, in Ireland at present, a big proportion of which are in the North around and about Belfast, and a smaller proportion around and about Dublin; while there are schemes in Limerick, Waterford, Cork, Naas, etc., etc. At the present time the demand for allotments is very great. Thousands of would-be food producers, having sufficient spare time to cultivate allotments, are waiting anxiously for an opportunity to cultivate some of the waste land—i.e., land which is not in cultivation although capable of being so. For such land prohibitive rents are being asked—up to £10 per acre (while allotment land in England lets at under £3)—and other absurd conditions are being laid down, as to dispossession without a quarter's notice, or compensation for crops; while in many cases the landowners refuse to let their ground for allotments, on the score that allotment holders will want security of tenure, and will, once they get on to the ground, do all they can to remain there; that the ground is too valuable to have working people constantly in possession of it. As a consequence of this (patriotic) action of the landowners in preventing an increase in the food supply, an Irish Plot-holders' Association has sprung into existence. This association has a rather ambitious scheme of objects, but, strange to say, it has not as yet laid down in its programme as its first demand "the increasing of the number of allotments by any and every means in its power." At the present time it is largely a Dublin district organisation, but, given careful management, it will readily grow into an All-Ireland scheme, and bring all classes of Irish opinion together on to the one vital point, that of getting workers back to the land.

The recent meeting of this association in the Mansion House, Dublin, with the Lord Mayor in the chair, seemed to breathe of labour, and the possibilities of allotments in connection with Irish housing and other problems. It may be possible in a future issue of this paper to refer to some of the objects of this association, and to offer suggestions thereon.

Those who have allotments should do all they can to bring others in as applicants for allotments.

Those who want allotments should make application to the local authorities for them, and worry the authorities—councillors and permanent officials—until they get them.

The D.O.R.A. regulations give certain compulsory powers which can be used—although apparently certain clauses in the English and Scottish allotment regulations do not apply to Ireland—Ireland having the usual good point left out, i.e., that limiting the amount of rent to be paid. The principal work to be done on the allotment at present is that of digging or trenching the soil, so as to have it in good order for the spring. To dig a plot efficiently, it may be better to mark it off into strips about 10ft. wide across the plot. Then at one end of the first strip mark off a portion about 2ft. wide, after which remove from this portion the soil to the depth of about 12 inches, placing it at the far end of the ground, thus making the first trench 10ft. by 2ft. by 1ft. Behind this mark off another portion, about 18 inches wide this time. With the spade lift off the surface layer of grass or soil, and throw into the bottom of the first trench; then dig down the soil to the depth of 12 inches, throwing this also into the first trench.

Proceed similarly by marking off 18 in. portions across each 10ft. strip and digging or throwing the soil forward, leaving it in a lumpy condition, until all is finished, when the soil which was first taken out should be filled into the last trench. Where wire-worms abound, a dressing of from 4 to 6 ozs. per sq. yd. of gas lime about 6 inches from the surface will work wonders.

"PLOT HOLDER."

The Food Question in Spain.

We have before us a statement issued by the Merthyr Tydvil (South Wales) Trades and Labour Council, calling attention to some facts in connection with the recent Spanish industrial situation. The story is full of significance for Irishmen—we trust the parallel will not be worked out too fully. Unfortunately the news is still incomplete and fragmentary, but the facts so far are clear:—

"Spain is a self-supporting neutral, who might have been expected to suffer less than most from the present holocaust in Europe, but Spain has the misfortune common to all modern States of being ruled by capitalists in the interests of profit, accentuated by the intense greed of her capitalist class. These capitalists, in whose hands rests the full powers of a reactionary government, discovered that larger profits were to be made by exporting food stuffs produced in their country, than by its distribution amongst the Spanish peoples. Food prices soared in Spain until gaunt want stalked through the land, and the spectre of hunger gripped the vitals of the workers' children.

"The Spanish Labour movement, naturally concerned with the fate of its units, began a constitutional agitation for the Parliamentary control of food prices. The reply of the Spanish Government, dictated by its capitalist controllers, was one of defiance, and a challenge to fight. Labour then had no other resources than to withdraw its labour. This was the signal for the use

of all the forms of reactionary oppression; the best and bravest of the leaders were seized and cast into prison, along with thousands of the rank and file; the army turned their guns on the mobs, exasperated into revolt by the heartlessness of the official treatment, and in one case it is recorded that the artillery was used for the demolition of a house in which a handful of strikers had taken refuge. Women did not escape the treatment meted out to the sterner sex, and today they lie in the Spanish jails, the flower of Spain's democratic womanhood."

Seamen and Firemen.

The first wage decision of the National Maritime Board has been made, the following standard rates having been recommended to the Shipping Controller and confirmed by him:—

For Seamen and Firemen on Monthly Articles:

Deck Department.

| | | | | |
|------------------|-----|----|---|-----------|
| Carpenter | £14 | 0 | 0 | per month |
| Boatswain | 13 | 0 | 0 | " " |
| Boatswain's Mate | 12 | 0 | 0 | " " |
| Lamp-trimmers | 12 | 0 | 0 | " " |
| Quartermaster | 12 | 0 | 0 | " " |
| Able Seaman | 11 | 10 | 0 | " " |

Engine-room Department.

| | | | | |
|-----------------|-----|----|---|-----------|
| Donkeyman | £13 | 0 | 0 | per month |
| Storekeeper | 13 | 0 | 0 | " " |
| Leading Firemen | 12 | 10 | 0 | " " |

(When carried)

| | | | | |
|----------|----|----|---|-----|
| Greasers | 12 | 10 | 0 | " " |
| Firemen | 12 | 0 | 0 | " " |

The rates of pay of sailors and firemen on weekly articles, finding their own food, will be £3 17s. 6d. per week, but rates for other ratings on weekly articles, and for ordinary seamen and trimmers on monthly articles have still to be fixed.

The rates named are inclusive of all bonuses and additions, and do not apply to vessels under 200 tons gross, or to vessels sailing under the share system. These and railway-owned vessels will be separately considered. The Board is considering the case of men who signed articles previous to Oct. 6.

Wages in the catering department have also been considered, and a provisional determination made for passenger lines.

Trades Councils.

Belfast Trades Council have arranged a round of deputations to non-affiliated Societies. As a result, it is expected that a large number of new branches will become affiliated in the New Year. In the new conditions arising out of the war, it is of the utmost importance that every trade should be represented in the local Trades Council.

Portadown and Lurgan.

A new Trades Council has been formed for this district, and has made a promising start with a membership of about twelve Societies. We hope to have good news shortly about the movement in this hitherto low-paid industrial district.

WELCOME CRITICISM.

Dear Sir,—In your interesting and significant notes, in one paragraph you attack those who have dealt in an uncritical manner with foreign affairs. I think you will not object to my putting the view point of that large section of Sinn Fein who are fervent Catholics, although I, as one interested in Irish public affairs, have a horror of involving religious quarrels with political or industrial movements. Still, the psychology of the Irish Catholic must be clearly put.

Men are extremely sensitive where their religion is concerned, and where but yesterday Viviani was acting with amazing intolerance towards Catholicism, those who cherish that religion as the apple of their eye, recognised, as you yourself did in a previous paragraph, that there are principles which can never be subordinated to political opportunism. The average Catholic wants the principle of "to live and let live" to apply to all religions, including his own. He therefore resents most vehemently an attack in France or anywhere else upon his religion. A good deal of mystery is attached to the activities of Freemasonry in Europe. But there appears to be a large mass of opinion in Spain, France and Italy which is profoundly convinced that it is the enemy "forcene" of Catholicism. Hence Irish Catholics become passionately indignant with men like Nugent who, posing as a Catholic, has attempted to imitate the methods of Freemasonry, and then fraternises with one who is out to exterminate Catholicism. In a recent issue of the "Cambridge Magazine" I have observed that the Socialists of Italy are as vehement in their opposition to Freemasonry as the Catholics, because they regard that body as representing "bourgeois capitalism." A recent speech from Nathan, the great representative of Masonry, the late Mayor of Rome, would go to confirm the view that Freemasonry is allied to the Jusquian Contiste movement and the Jingos. As to the Republicanism of the Freemasons, so far as one can draw the truth from the heated controversies in the foreign Press that Republicanism is far more anti-religious than it is democratic. "Irish Opinion" should have a great future before it, as there is a great work to be done for democracy. I know perfectly well that, so far as the first principles of public life are concerned, I agree with you, but I feel that if a democratic movement is to grow strong in Ireland the religious feelings of the majority of Irishmen, which happen also to be mine, must not be hurt. An attack

on Viviani and French Freemasonry is no more an attack on France than an attack on Nugent, the A.O.H., and T. P. O'Connor (who deserves more than he gets) is an attack on Ireland, or an attack on Carson, the Orangemen, and the Kensittes is an attack on England.

Wishing your Notes and the journal a long and sturdy future. I appreciate the difficulty of the work you have undertaken.—Yours, etc.,

A READER.

N.B.—I gather from your remarks on America that a bourgeois Republic is hardly better than a Monarchy or Empire, hence the quarrel between Freemasonry and the Royalists of France, as a political squabble must leave a real democracy cold.

CLERKS AND TRADE UNIONISM.

The unorganised clerk has long been an eyesore to Trade Unionists, but judging by the progress made by the "Irish Clerical Workers' Union" since its inception hardly a month ago, the unorganised clerk will soon be the exception, at any rate in Dublin, and what Dublin does to-day all Ireland does to-morrow.

The I.C.W.U. is an all-Irish Union, and this fact, judging by the number of applications for membership, appears to be appreciated. That a Trade Union for Irish Clerks was not, until recently, a reality, is a proof of the old saying—What's everybody's business is nobody's business.

The clerks of Ireland, both men and women, have at last made up their minds to become Trade Unionists, and the least to be expected is that they will make as good a show as their brother workers.

The old idea "that clerks were too respectable" to be Trade Unionists has, like many another, been swept away by the hard fact of economic pressure and the democratic tendency of the times. Lack of opportunity can no longer be pleaded as an excuse for not being organised, and by joining the I.C.W.U. the clerks of Ireland can show their appreciation of what has been and is being done to further their interests. Of lip service there has been an abundance; what is now required is real service, animated, if necessary, by a spirit of self-sacrifice.

Many unthinking or prejudiced people imagine that an Irish Union tends towards a narrow national outlook, but many of us believe that real internationalism must be based on a frank recognition of the principles of nationality.

DOMNALL.

MINISTRY OF FOOD.

POTATOES ORDER (No. 2),
1917.

UNDER THE ABOVE ORDER THE MINIMUM PRICE of £6 per ton for Sound Ware Potatoes has been abolished, and a New BASE PRICE, which will be fixed month by month, has been substituted.

The BASE PRICE for the period from the 19th November, 1917, to the 31st December, 1917, is £4 per ton, free on rail or boat.

Growers who sell their own Potatoes in Lots of FOUR TONS or over at the BASE PRICE, or at Prices between the Guaranteed Price of £6 per ton and the BASE PRICE, are entitled to Compensation assessed on the amount by which their average Selling Price falls short of £6 per ton.

Growers may sell their own Potatoes in Lots of 4 tons or over at less than the BASE PRICE, but such Sale will be deemed, for the purpose of Compensation, to have been made at the BASE PRICE.

Growers may sell their own Potatoes in Lots of less than 4 tons at any Price not exceeding a Price at the rate of £6 10s. 0d. a ton, but no Compensation will be paid in respect of any such Sales.

Claims for Compensation can only be entertained for Sales of Lots of 4 tons or more, including, however, Deliveries to One Buyer of smaller Lots amounting in the aggregate in any one week to 4 tons or more.

Growers entitled to Compensation should sell their Potatoes through a Licensed Government Agent. The Names and Addresses of such Agents may be obtained at the nearest Police Barracks.

The Compensation will be paid to the Grower by the Government Agent to whom he sells the Potatoes, either at the time of delivery or at the end of each Base Period.

The necessary Forms of Application to be filled up by the Government Agent are to be obtained from, and when completed are to be returned to, the Assistant Director, Ministry of Food, Vegetables Branch, Kilworth House, Kildare Street, Dublin.

When Potatoes are delivered in Lots of 4 tons or more direct to the Purchaser, and not through a Licensed Government Agent, every such transaction must be recorded on a FORM to be obtained from the ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, MINISTRY OF FOOD, VEGETABLES BRANCH, KILWORTH HOUSE, KILDARE STREET, DUBLIN, and the delivery of the Potatoes must be verified in the space provided thereon by a SERGEANT of the LOCAL IRISH CONSTABULARY.

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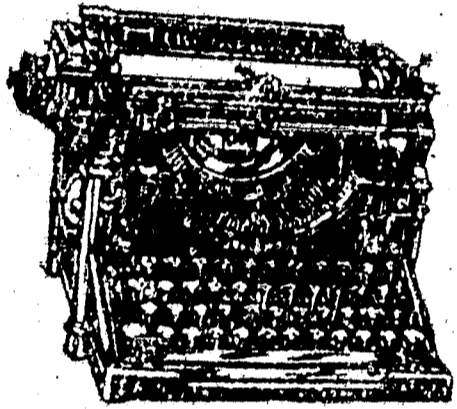
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[Founded January, 1909.]

Head Office:—Liberty Hall, Dublin.

Affiliated to the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, and with all local
Trades Councils. Reg. No. 275. Approved Society No. 52.

THIS organisation was established in order to provide for the workers of this country
a Trade Union with headquarters in Ireland, having its affairs managed and
controlled by Irish Workers, and its policy and programme based on Irish conditions,
so as to secure for all workers in Ireland higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions
of employment, improved housing, a higher standard of living, and a fuller and freer
life for all who labour.

A Live Union for Live Workers.

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