

• IRISH OPINION •

# The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

NEW SERIES. VOL. I, No. 22.

APRIL 27, 1918.

ONE PENNY

## We Will Not Have Conscription.

### Open Letter to the English Labour Party.

To the Right Honourable and Honourable Gentlemen,

But for the malign fate that links our nations and the unfortunate fact that you stand before the world as representatives and types of the English working class, we would treat you with that indifference you have always exhibited towards Irish Labour, whose very existence you have ignored, for when you have sought to learn aught of Ireland, you have made your enquiries of our governors and masters.

We are of the workers, labouring in harmony with the International to awaken our fellow-countrymen to a consciousness of the destiny of our class. We advocate industrial solidarity and we are answered with jeers: "What about Havelock Wilson and 'Captain' Tupper?" We urge independent political action by Labour and our fellow-workers point in scorn to the names of Barnes and Hodge.

Everywhere your puerilities, your follies, your servilities, and your crimes are used to libel Labour in a country that has been served by James Hope and James Connolly, which has given to England the earliest pioneers of Labour's freedom. Everywhere we must repudiate you and demonstrate your falsity to Labour, Democracy and Internationalism.

Largely by the zeal and practical political instincts of our fellow-countrymen you were created as a political force, and their unselfish labours helped you to Westminster, pledged publicly as men of honour and the trustees of your class to maintain complete independence of all capitalist parties.

You sold your independence and barter the people's trust for money, for place, and for patronage. Shackleton and Bell are but two of your leaders whose treason has raised them above that fear of to-morrow and its poverty which haunts our class. One Irishman, Willie Walker, your patronage bought, as in Britain it bought not a few "whose minds were fixed on pelf and place."

When two lives were sacrificed in Belfast in August, 1907, we heard no voice of protest from your benches in the House. We were not surprised at your silence. But Llanelli, Tony-pandy, and Liverpool which paid their pence to make you great, passed into history with your silent approval. But when an English statesman from the green benches of "the finest club in Europe," announced the execution of men who had dared all for land and liberty in the streets of Dublin, your voices swelled the chorus of "Loud cheers."

And members of your Party served England and Capitalism in the Government that sent James Connolly to his death.

Irish Labour can never acquit of that betrayal your leader, Henderson, who shares with Asquith and George the guilt of a martyr's blood.

You were the foremost battalion of the workers' army fighting for industrial democracy, seeking to escape the shackles of age-long slavery, but the weapon of political power they forged for you to wield, you turned upon the workers of England.

When the blight of war fell upon Europe you proclaimed a truce of God between Capital and Labour, a truce kept by your dupes until they awoke to the fraud of the master class and your deception. Their incipient revolts you strangled, their new leaders you penned in prison-houses, and you forged new laws—Defence of the Realm Acts, Munitions of War Acts, Military Service Acts, National Service Acts, aye, even Regulation 40d to punish the victims of your war lust—to bind in slavery the masses who had looked to you for deliverance.

You sneaked into the International with pledges of loyalty to your class and ours in its world-wide struggle for emancipation.

"War to the Bitter End," to the "Knock-out Blow" is now the cry of you who once preached the gospel of the Prince of Peace, the glad tidings of great joy of the Poor Man of Nazareth. You once had your disciples, simple, honest men who walked in the fear of God, led by your teaching. To-day these followers of your Christian doctrines of self-sacrifice, of abstinence from blood, are herded by your orders with criminals—vile criminals, perhaps, but not with your foulness. You have betrayed your God and persecuted His children.

Pledged by your latest word to battle—by proxy, of course—for the liberties of small nationalities, you have joined with the confessed and convicted peculator George, the German Milner, with Bloody Balfour, and all the vileness that has risen like scum to the top in mud-minded England stirred by the storm of war, and with them you would enrol our manhood to fight the battles of your war-lords.

Before the International we denounce you, traitors to our common class, false to your own people, accomplices in the oppression of the Irish race. Your ranks are not redeemed by one honest figure. No voice of sincerity and truth speaks from your midst.

But we have no hate for you. A man may kill a louse—he cannot hate it.

COLKITTO.

IRISH OPINION.  
**The VOICE OF LABOUR**

Edited by GATHAL O'SHANNON.

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**APRIL 24TH.**

Oh, ever-glorious deed!  
 The crowning point of history.

—The Legacy.

**The Impending Struggle.**

The greatest and most important conference of representatives of Labour ever held in Ireland has sent a clarion call from the Mansion House to the workers throughout Ireland and to the workers throughout Great Britain, Europe, and the world. The Mansion House has seen many notable and historic gatherings, we doubt if it has ever held within its walls a more momentous convention than that of the Labour of All-Ireland on last Saturday. In numbers, in spirit, in determination, in resolve, in decision, Labour in Ireland has done nothing in its history to equal this; indeed, in many respects, and these the most important, Saturday's Convention has had no parallel outside Russia since the All-Russian Congress of the Soviets. If only Saturday's had been a Congress of Soviets and not of Unions! But as it is, the Unions have done the next best thing.

From all parts of Ireland, from all kinds of unions, from all classes of labour, came upwards of two thousand delegates. They came for one purpose and one purpose only. That purpose they made clear and unmistakable in language that admitted of no misinterpretation by friend or by foe. With one voice they declared their united solidarity in their determination to resist by every means in their power the imposition of conscription under no matter what circumstances. It was an epoch-making decision, and it was made with all solemnity, with due deliberation, and with a welcome earnest of fulfilment.

The Convention was nothing if not thorough. It left nothing to chance. Its pledge was no mere lip-service to the cause of liberty. That was seen in the tone and temper of the speakers, the close and rapt attention of the hearers, the grim air of resolve and action hanging over everything, above all, in the magnificent enthusiasm with which the Convention decided that an earnest of its faith should

be given this week by a general strike of the workers of Ireland. More effectively than Ireland, England might have done this, France might have done it, Germany might have done it. All of these failed when the day of action came. The Irish working class has not failed, and will not fail. We are neither the oldest nor the greatest member of the International, but we are at least second to none of them when we are called upon to translate our words into deeds. The Irish working class can, without fear or shame, clasp the hand of its Russian brother and with just pride and righteous fervour claim, in this anniversary week of the Republic, that it is following James Connolly.

This week's one day strike may be but a beginning, a sign, a token, a warning. That was perfectly understood by the vast gathering of delegates thronging the Mansion House. It is a preliminary demonstration and as such it may or may not effect the purpose for which it was called. Whether or not it does the workers of Ireland are ready, prepared, and eager to follow it up by such further action as may be necessary to complete the present task. We hope such further action may not be necessary, but if it is the Irish workers, their delegates and their leaders, know their duty, have made up their minds and taken their decision. We warn all whom it may concern that if compelled to take this course, the workers on the next occasion shall not content themselves with mere prayer and meditation.

Ireland and the Irish working class have given much of their best to labour and democracy abroad. We have given freely and are willing to give again and as readily. William Thompson, the forerunner of Marx, was ours, Fergus O'Connor and Bronterre O'Brien, the Chartists, were ours, James Fintan Lalor, and Michael Davitt, who helped to build up the movement O'Connor and O'Brien began in England; were ours; Sheehy-Skeffington; and greatest of all, James Connolly, were ours. The world and the working class of all countries are the richer for their service, their sacrifices and their labours. We moved with the French Revolution, we rose with Europe in 'Forty-Eight, we fought and won the Land War, we made, in 1914, the most effective protest against the European War, we raised the Republican Tricolour in 1916, even before the great heart of Russia broke the chains that bound it; we were the first to hail the Russian Revolution, and have never calumniated it or deserted it, we were and are still true to the International. To-day, again, we are setting a headline for the working class in other countries, to-day again we are putting their faith to the test of action; to-day, again—and we say it in no spirit of boastfulness but in all humility and simpleness of heart—we are challenging not only the twin-devils of Capitalist and Militarist Imperialism, but as well we are challenging the democracy of Europe to emulate us.

For this is what Labour meant when it declared at the Mansion House: "Believing that our success in resisting the

imposition of conscription will be a signal to the workers of all countries now at war to rise against their oppressors and bring the war to an end, we pledge ourselves in the name of the oppressed of every land, in every age, to use all means that may be deemed effective to defeat this present conspiracy to enslave our nation. We call upon all lovers of liberty everywhere to give assistance in this impending struggle."

We do not know whether the voice of Irish Labour will be hearkened to or unheard as Russia's was. But this we do know, that if Labour in other countries was unable or unwilling to save itself, Labour in Ireland will make its attempt to save the Irish working class. In that attempt it expects, and has the right to get, the help of Labour everywhere. If that help is refused the shame will not be Ireland's. In saving ourselves we may save the world. If it cannot save itself, then the Irish working class will die as it has lived, with no stain upon its soul, no blot upon its banner, with its glorious history behind it, with its traditions unbroken, its resolution unshaken, and its courage undaunted. It will go down in good company, for it will go down with James Connolly.

But yet again, "Courage, all you that Jacobins be." We have high hopes and great faith. Irish Labour is still unbeaten, still unconquered, stronger, more resolute and more united than it has ever been. Not failure that lies before it but success, not defeat but glorious triumph. The issue is knit and Labour is buckling on its armour. There is a mighty virtue in the solidarity of the men and women who are marching behind the Red Flag of Labour. Theirs is the power of powers, "for they are the movers and shakers of the world forever, it seems."

**Labour Will Not Have It.**

There are still some people to whom Labour's position on conscription is not yet quite clear. These people are to be found not only in Ireland but in Great Britain as well, and to some extent even in the Labour movement across the water. It seems to be taken for granted, for instance, that if Ireland had Home Rule there would be little or no Irish opposition to conscription. There was never a greater illusion. We warn, as the All-Ireland Labour Convention has warned, both friend and foe that so far as Irish Labour is concerned opposition to conscription will not cease with the enactment of any new measure of Home Rule. Labour is dead against conscription, whether inspired by the Parliament at Westminster or by any Parliament in Ireland to which Westminster may devolve certain functions of government. Labour is opposed to conscription because it is against all our principles of liberty that any body of men should compel another body of men to take up arms against their fellows. No power has such right of compulsion except the conscience of the individual. Personally we should object as much to being conscripted in America, Germany, or France as in England or Ireland, and the resolutions that have come to us from many branches of

# "No Work" was "Good Work," last Tuesday.

many unions furnish abundant evidence that on this the Irish workers are of one mind with ourselves. Furthermore, we warn those whose principles are not ours that so far as we can judge the opposition of the people of Ireland (except that minority that believes in the present war) will be as vehement, as determined, and as well organised under Home Rule as it is to-day under direct Imperial rule. Nobody in Ireland is giving a single thought to Home Rule, and we venture to prophesy that four-fifths of the people of Ireland will ignore the very discussion of Mr. Lloyd George's promised Bill. Home Rule will not purchase conscripts as assuredly conscription has not purchased Home Rule.

The general strike decreed by the All-Ireland Labour Convention compels us to go to press earlier this week than usual. That strike has been declared by Labour for the purpose of giving all workers an opportunity of signing the Labour Party's covenant against conscription. Since Tuesday is the printer's busiest day in ordinary circumstances, we are obliged this week to complete our make-up too soon to comment on the changes that have taken place since the Man-Power Bill became law. We hope our contemporaries will not be inconvenienced by the measures Labour has taken, and if they are that they will recognise the necessity that compels all of us to make sacrifices in the common interest. At the same time we would remind the organised workers that their obligations have not been fulfilled by their downing of tools for a single day's meditation and prayer. Far from it, if circumstances should dictate otherwise. We do not know what further steps Labour may be compelled to take, but whatever they be Labour is prepared to take them. We can say no more here for reasons that will be obvious. But we can and do ask the workers, the unions, and all branches of the unions, to hold themselves in readiness for whatever eventualities the turn of affairs may bring about. When we say readiness, we mean preparedness, not merely willingness but willingness translated into deed. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and no matter who may advise to the contrary the working class must understand that there must be no slackening in the preparations that are already, we are glad to say, nearing completion. It is all now a question of organisation, and if in any part of the country organisation is not by this time completed we advise the immediate putting of the finishing touches to Labour's machinery. Labour has already made some sacrifice; it must be prepared for more and greater if need be.

## Karl Marx.

A committee has been formed in London to commemorate the centenary of Marx in a permanent and appropriate manner. Subscriptions should be sent to 21a Maiden Lane, London, W.C.2.

## Labour in the Irish State.

### The Coalition Conference.

The Irish Labour Party has entered the Mansion House Conference on conscription because Labour is a factor that cannot be ignored in the present situation and because the Conference gives an opportunity of solidifying, for the time being at all events, the various forces which have a common point of agreement with Labour in their determined hostility to compulsory military service. It is extremely unlikely that on any other issue such a Conference could be brought together, and it is as unlikely that Irish Labour would enter into a Conference except under these or similar circumstances. Unlike Labour in some other countries, Labour in Ireland is, as a general rule, unfavourably disposed towards coalitions. Therein Irish Labour is wise, as the experience of the movement abroad bears sad witness. But when circumstances arise, as they have arisen in these last three weeks, calling for united national effort and action upon a vital principle without the sacrifice of independence of thought and action, Irish Labour has been, is now and will be, prepared to co-operate whole-heartedly and with the whole of its strength in any joint conference or joint action that may be necessary for the achievement of ends it may have in common with other parties. We wish to make this clear and definite, for in this, as in other countries, there are many who have a certain genius for misunderstanding and misinterpretation.

### The Independence of Labour.

We wish to make equally clear that in entering the Coalition Conference Labour still maintains, as it must maintain, its entire and complete independence. Labour is as free to-day to follow its own lines and decide upon its own course of action, even upon conscription, as it was three weeks ago. That course of action is not in any doubt and will not be in any doubt even should the present happy harmony of the Coalition be disturbed. Labour holds itself free to take that course of action it knows to be most effective in achieving the ends it has in view. Its only test of its policy is the test of effectiveness. We presume the same holds good of the other parties to the Conference. With them as with Labour there need be no surrender of principle, not even temporary hauling down of their flags. They are united upon one issue and upon one issue only, and so long as they are united upon that and are free to use their own particular weapons in their own particular way, as Labour is free to use its economic power, so long can they count upon the loyal co-operation of Labour and Labour of them. Labour is giving of its ablest in the Conference as it is giving of its best outside. It has taken its place as the equal and peer of the oldest

and the greatest of the political movements in Ireland, and we are safe in asserting that within and without it is proving its ability, both in the industrial and the political fields, to claim an equal share of the honours and fruits as well as the burdens of its labours.

### To All Brave Hearts.

Turn we now to Labour in its unions, its fields, factories, and workshops. Labour's task is not yet finished, it is but beginning. We do not know whether the Conference is to continue its sittings, we hope it is until at all events the question of the conscription of the people of Ireland is relegated to the realms of history. Nor do we know whether the Conference is likely to result, or is even discussing, anything in the nature of a provisional authority. We should hope so, but we are not in a position to say, though we may point to the magnificent and unprecedented opportunities of this grave hour. Whether or not, Conference or no Conference, Labour in the country must continue to prepare, to get ready to exercise its power and fulfil its function, and to make with thoroughness and effectiveness whatever efforts it may be called upon to make. This means hard work, good organisation, swift decision, and the clearest and most constructive of thinking. Here the young men, as well as the old, can work wonders, and we call upon them to give themselves up to the holy work. Let no humbugging about politics and parties, no question of ancient foes and new friends, divert them from the path the most supreme of duties dictates. To the work, then, brave hearts. You have only your chains to lose, have a world to win. Local Soviets, Watch Committees, Emergency Councils, call them what you will, they are the urgent and pressing and desperate need of the hour in every town and county. Choose your men well—we say choose advisedly and not elect—choose them for their ability, not for their popularity, for their foresight and promise and performance, not for their names and reputations and offices, and choosing them entrust to them your destinies and the destinies of your class and people. Be not afraid of allying yourselves with whomsoever can contribute to the strength and power and directing capacity of whatever local authority you set up. To the work then, brave hearts, and with you be the memory, the inspiration and the example of your master and ours, the memory, the inspiration and the example of James Connolly. Would that we had him to-day!

### Votes.

The Sean Connolly Club of Sinn Féin is opening its rooms at 33 North Summer Street, N.C.R., every evening between 8 and 10 and on Sundays from 12 to 2, to assist voters to have their names enrolled under the Franchise Act.

# LABOUR IN IRELAND.

## THE NORTHERN IRON.

The saddest spectacle we have witnessed in these days of waiting has been neither the military preparations for gathering in the blood tax nor the imbecile attempts that have been made to talk round and about conscription in the House of Pretence. No; it has been the sight of young men in Belfast, men who are likely to be amongst the first to be called up, attempting to break up the no-conscription campaign. But their action must not be misunderstood. The organised gang from the "Black Squad" on Wednesday week demonstrated, not in favour of conscription, but against Home Rule. Their demonstration was arranged in the Orange Lodges on the night previous. We are certain it would have failed had the organisers of the no-conscription meeting taken the ordinary precautions and arranged for the stewarding of the meeting. They did not do so, with the result that the organised minority was able, as organised minorities in unorganised majorities always are able, to make theirs the only voices clamant in a crowd of thirty thousand. Of the thirty thousand four-fifths were indubitably anti-conscriptionist, but they lacked that disciplined organisation necessary for effectiveness. Above all things, opposition must be effective, else it is not opposition but mere disagreement.

Mr. Devlin's tactlessness and inaccuracies at Westminster contributed materially to the break up of the no-conscription demonstration, for they lent themselves admirably to anti-Home Rule exploitation. Yet it is something to have thirty thousand people come out against conscription on a Wednesday afternoon in Belfast.

There is still hope for Belfast, much hope, even outside the Nationalist elements. We refer particularly to that ever-growing class-consciousness that has been organised by Socialist propaganda extending over a number of years. There are many anti-conscriptionists in Belfast. We are much mistaken if they have not also got the spirit and the daring. Their objection, like that of Labour generally, is based upon principle and not upon the authority that arrogates to itself the right to impose conscription in certain circumstances. We are much mistaken if there is, after the experiences of these last few years, and particularly these last few weeks, a majority of what we may call the Tolstoyan ethic to be found amongst the anti-conscriptionists in Belfast. We hope and believe that the Socialists in Belfast are as militant in their principles as their comrades in other parts of Ireland. The Belfast man is not by nature a pacifist, whether he hails from Falls or Shankhill, Crumlin or Ballymacarrett. To him and to his comrades, if we may, we should say: These are not times in which we can afford to spend our days and nights in logic-chopping. These are times for action. We would plead not only for action, but for united action. We can-

not all agree upon the means but we can agree that each and every section has not only the right but the duty to take such action as it can justify to itself. If Belfast is agreed in its opposition, we hope to see the Belfastmen throw their whole weight, their whole energy, their strength of will and great gifts for organisation into the organisation of opposition. For they are of the Northern iron and the steel.

**Lurgan.**—The R.D.C., the biggest sweaters among the public authorities of the North, approve of conscription.

**Bray.**—A meeting of shop assistants was held here on 18th inst. in the Trades Hall. The attendance was disappointing, but some enrolments were made. Bray should have a strong branch, and if sectionalism could be overcome, would have it. There are four organisations catering for shop workers; and that is folly.

### May Day in Bray.

The vigorous Trades Council has arranged Bray's first Labour Day for May 5th, the Marx Centenary. Councillor Daly of Dublin, secretary of the Trades Council, will be the principal speaker. Two pipe bands will fire the blood of the demonstrators.

### Cross-Channel Dockers.

The I.T.W.U. has been in negotiation with the Shipping Association to secure increased wages for the regular dockers employed by cross-Channel companies. The present wages are 48s. per week, 54s. is the sum asked for. The limitation of hours to 48 per week is also sought.

The usual press campaign against the dockers may be expected, but it should be remembered that the apparently high wage of 54s. buys less than 24s. 6d. of pre-war times.

### Minerals.

The employees of the Irish Direct Trading Company after a three days' strike have obtained a settlement which gives the vanmen a rise of 6s. per week and a revision of commission yielding 2s. or 2s. 6d. per week extra. The factory workers have an all-round increase of 3s. 6d. weekly. Trade Unionism pays.

### Pierce's Again.

Some months ago we warned the public that there were better firms in the implement trade than Pierce of Wexford. The Amalgamated Society of Engineers has been forced to call a strike at their works, and two hundred men are idle.

Pierce's are the typical stupid boss. The world might never have heard of them but for D.P. Moran christening them the Dark Brothers. They learned one side of their business from him, but they have yet to learn to give the square deal to their workers.

Has your Union joined the Irish Labour Press Society?

Many Articles and Notes Held Over.

## Irish Labour Press.

When the fate of a people is trembling in the balance it may not be opportune to appeal to the ordinary reader for cash contributions for propaganda purposes. But while we hope our readers and the workers generally will contribute generously to the fund now being raised to fight conscription we appeal also to them to take shares in the co-operative society that is forming to take over the control of the Irish Labour Press and "The Voice of Labour." Our readers have already received the statement issued last week by the provisional committee that has assumed responsibility during the transition period. That Committee includes two of the Labour delegation to the Mansion House Conference on Conscription, and we can assure our readers that theirs has not been the least fruitful of the ideas contributed to the common stock. In this crisis Irish Labour is playing a most important part, and not a little of its importance is derived from the voicing of its principles and policy through the Irish Labour Press. We therefore urge strongly upon individual supporters in the Co-operative Labour and Democratic movements, and particularly upon branches of Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, Clubs, etc., the claims of the Irish Labour Press and ask our friends to enable the Press and its paper to become a still more effective and influential organ of Labour in Ireland. Get your branch or branch committee to discuss our circular and subscribe for shares. To encourage it fill up a subscription form yourself and post it to The Secretary, Irish Labour Press, 27 Dawson Street, Dublin.

## Labour Party.

Cork Trades Council has been discussing the National Executive's scheme of Labour representation. Opinion is still divided as to the merits of the local or the national basis. Final decision has been postponed on account of crisis on conscription. We should think conscription should be an added argument for the national basis.

## The Peelers Again.

After Dobbin's, the bread-van drivers. The police are prosecuting a number of the bread-van drivers recently on strike. The R.I.C. are mere instruments in the hands of the capitalists in Cork.

## Transport Union in Congress.

Delegates of the Cork branches of the Transport Union met recently in conference and discussed labour representation, the new franchise, the Connolly commemoration, etc. Further conferences are being arranged.

## Dockers.

Last week we told how conscription had defeated the rural workers of Cheshire in their effort to raise their wages. So far the dockers of Dublin have not yielded to the efforts of the authorities to break their solidarity. The soldiers still continue, in violation of pledges made time and again by H. J. Tennant, James Ian MacPherson, and Lord Derby, to do the work of civil labourers at army rates of pay.

**CHEAP LABOUR AND FREEDOM.**

By the late **JAMES CONNOLLY.**

(From "The Harp," March, 1909.)

"Some innocent people cannot see what the rise of a modern labour movement in Ireland has to do with the question of freedom for Ireland. Poor souls, they never paused to consider what is meant by the word 'Ireland.' They never paused to ask themselves which of the classes in Ireland were interested in freeing the country: which are keeping it in subjection. Had they paused to think they would have reached some conclusions rather startling to the beneficiaries of the present system—perhaps rather startling to themselves.

"They would have reached this conclusion, that a class that is interested in having a plentiful supply of Irish cheap labour cannot be expected to do anything to abolish the cheapness of that labour. That the oppression of Ireland keeps labour plentiful and cheap; that the Irish capitalist wants labour plentiful and cheap; and that therefore the Irish capitalist is interested in maintaining this oppression of Ireland in fact, although he may desire to change the form of that oppression.

"The Irish capitalist and the English Government are in entire agreement upon the proposition that the Irish worker should be skinned; they only disagree as to which of them should have the biggest piece of the skin.

"An Irish Republic, the only purely political change in Ireland worth crossing the street for, will never be realised except by a revolutionary party that proceeds upon the premise that the capitalist and landlord classes in town and county in Ireland are particeps criminis (criminal accomplices) with the British Government in the enslavement and subjection of the nation.

"Such a revolutionary party must be socialist, and from Socialism alone can the salvation of Ireland come. It is a hard lesson for some men to learn, the lesson that property relations are at the bottom of all political fights. But it is a lesson that must be learned. Wolfe Tone learned it, and by cleverly utilising it brought all the warring creeds of Ireland into his organisation; the Fenians learned it when they threw in their lot with the Land League and initiated the so-called New Departure, and the Redmondites forgot it and became the sport of British parties.

"It was for private property that Judas sold his Saviour; it was for private property that the long list of Irish recreant chiefs betrayed their clansmen from being Irish freemen into West British serfs; it was a belief that the rights of private property were more sacred than human rights that caused the Irish people in 'black 47' to pay their rents to a robber landlord class and then lie down and die like dogs in the midst of plenty which their own hands had created; it was on the altar of private property in the means of life that the Irish race has been sacrificed for 700 years."

**OPPOSE THE STATE REGULATION OF VICE!**

**GET THE REGULATION 400 REPEALED.**

"No woman who is suffering from venereal disease in a communicable form shall have sexual intercourse with any member of His Majesty's forces or solicit or invite any member of His Majesty's forces to have sexual intercourse with her.

"If a woman acts in contravention of this regulation she shall be guilty of a summary offence against these regulations.

"A woman charged with an offence under this regulation shall if she so requires be remanded for a period (not less than a week) for the purpose of such medical examination as may be requisite for ascertaining whether she is suffering from such a disease as aforesaid."

"The defendant shall be informed of her right to be remanded as aforesaid and that she may be examined by her own doctor or by the medical officer of the prison.

"In this regulation the expression 'venereal disease' means syphilis, gonorrhoea, or soft chancre."

There are two deductions to be made from this piece of extra-constitutional law making:—

First, an innocent woman may be kept in prison for **not less than a week**, pending the proof of her innocence.

Second, any woman may be arrested on suspicion and subjected to the horrible ordeal of a personal examination, on the complaint of an individual.

**Irish Labour Press.**

The first to use the application form issued in last week's paper was that genial Cork man, Mr. P. J. O'Callaghan, bookseller, Glasgow, well known in Scotland for his work on the Govan School Board, the premier educational authority of that country.

"A.E.," that pioneer of the economic and spiritual reconquest of Ireland, was next. Earlier subscribers include Mr. M. W. Robieson, of Queen's University, Belfast, and Liam P. O'Riain, whose "Peasant" represents the high water mark of Nationalist journalism, and whose work for Labour in the London "Herald," puts us all in his debt.

**Prospectus of the Irish Labour Press Co-operative Society sent post free from 27 Dawson Street. Write now!**

**Appreciated.**

Miss Rae Cole, of Belfast, thanks us for the Editorial note on the article, "Irish Labour and Irish Freedom," and for its spirit of hope and forbearance.

**Beetroot.**

S. MacKenzie Kennedy urges that co-operative clubs be formed in rural places to set up machinery for extracting sugar from beetroot so that farmers may be encouraged to sow next month. This would ensure a sugar supply for next winter.

**Transport Branches Note!**

The General President has circularised the branches of the I.T.W.U. on the subject of conscription. The advice given to form joint committees in each district should be carried out at once.

**Irish Transport and General Workers' Union,**

**A LIVE UNION FOR LIVE WORKERS,**

**AN IRISH UNION FOR IRISH WORKERS.**

**Improve your Conditions.**

**Reduce your Hours,**

**RAISE YOUR WAGES**

By joining one of the 70 branches. *Over 40,000 members will back your claims.*

If there is no branch in your District, don't leave the District—just write to

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A remarkable coloured picture, typifying the spiritual side of the 1916 Rising. A very inspiring subject. Price 1/-; by post 1/6.

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An imprisoned Volunteer is taken as the subject, and the delicate colouring renders the production one of first Grade importance. Price 1/-; by post 1/6.

This picture visualizes the twin ideas of religion and patriotism.

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# COAL SHORTAGE

## Urgent Need for Economy.

Owing to tonnage and other difficulties the supplies of coal imported from Great Britain to Ireland are greatly reduced. Notice is therefore given that it is of the utmost importance that every economy be used in the consumption of imported coal. Substitutes such as peat, wood, and coal from Irish collieries should be availed of as far as possible.

A Committee of Coal Merchants, Managers of Gas and Electric Lighting Works, Tramway Companies, etc., recently investigated the whole position and made the following recommendations for the guidance of all Public Authorities, Institutions, Traders and the general public:—

1. That in private houses kitchen fires should not be kept going all day.
2. That no hall lights should be used in houses.
3. That all lighting should be greatly reduced.
4. That no artificial light should be allowed to be used in shops after sundown during the operation of the Daylight Saving Regulations.
5. That shop windows should not be lighted.
6. That no lights should be used for advertisement purposes.
7. That regulations should be put in force limiting the internal lighting of shops or business premises.
8. That Institutions, Hospitals, &c., should be asked to aim at saving both coal and light to the extent of 25 per cent., or more, if that is found possible.
9. That the various Denominations be asked to arrange for the holding of their services during the hours of daylight.
10. That places of entertainment should be closed on or before 10 p.m., unless under special licence.
11. That in Clubs and Hotels lighting should be reduced, and that the use of light be prohibited in rooms not adequately occupied.
12. That Tramway Companies should be required to revise their services so as to get the maximum saving in the consumption of Coal.

Issued by the Director of Cross-Channel Transportation  
& Coal Controller's Dept., 19 Westmealand St., Dublin

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### Seacht mbuartha.

Seacht, is seacht linn, is ádhair ádhair ó bhinn, an pphoiaó nua atá ag teacht cun cinn ra tír. Ac ní cóir náinn beir ag ceapao nac bpuil ac don ceirt amáin ar ar scómair. Tá pé ve óualgar ómáin na pphoia- cunpóirí eile vo cup ar ágaró. Anoir an tam cun gac uile pphoia ve'n náirúntaact vo lároirú go lán-póirac: cúir na gaeóilge, cúir na raóirúite, có-óibhuú ríora, agus eile. Bíod il-ghaíora agus líríóct dá raóirú ágamn. (Is breas liom go bpuil "Seacht mbuartha an eirge amac, le páoiaic ó Conaite, veir teacht 'nár órreo). Cuirimír iol-cúmaact an náirúin i bpeoim ar choí ar noicill. Véro ríor-náirúntaact raoi blátaact dá bhár. Véro breir agus teacht mbuartha eile ágamn i n-am 'r i órtaact.

L. p. Ó R.

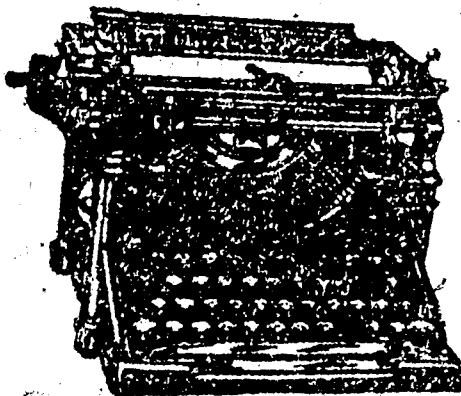
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A little knowledge saves much medicine. [Copyright.]

By James Connolly.

The VOICE OF LABOUR

LABOUR IN THE IRISH STATE.

STRIKE ONE — STRIKE ALL.

THE WORKERS' WAR.

If we call a man who works in on a strike a blackleg, and we call on the general public to cease supporting shops which do not concede the workers' demands, why have we nothing to say to the section of trade unionists who remain at work with employers who are at war with trades unionism? During the strike of girls at Christmas time in Cork, I remarked that the printers, in some shops at least, not alone stayed on in the employments which held out against the Union, but worked some of the machines which were usually worked by the girls. This they explained was permissible under the rules of the Typographical Union. Nowadays the breadvan drivers are on strike and we see trade union bakers continuing to give their labour and skill to the employer. Consequently I say they are supporting him against their fellow workers on strike. Without the help of the bakers the masters could not hold out yet the shops denote "business as usual."

Another aspect which has come under my notice is the slave-mind which wage-slavery has so engendered as to make the unfortunate beings who work for wages unable to

Rise from the Muck

they have been reared in. I have heard workers criticise the demands of the strikers as exorbitant. Apart from the fact that the granting of those demands by some employers disproves this, I wish to remark that a worker who criticises other workers' demands is despicable-minded enough to be an R.I.C. man, and that is the depth of degradation in Ireland. We are too apt to judge things by a pre-war standard, which was made and adjusted to suit only one section, and that was the profiteer. The war has weakened the position of the profiteer (all employers are profiteers) and the change has given the worker his chance to adjust matters. Remember that after the war high prices will remain. Opportunities which now offer to the workers, to demand a readjustment of the share which Labour should secure of the profits, may not remain. Capital may again be able—as before the war—to manipulate the labour market to secure that part of Labour's share should be given in exchange for the right to work. Therefore every worker should recognise that Labour's demands nowadays are not alone for the right to live but for the right to claim

Labour's Share

in the production of wealth. Capital has had long centuries of manipulation of wealth, and history tells of how the pauper and the palace were the real products of

Capitalism's rule. The war has given Labour a chance to claim that in place of the pauper and the palace, we must have peace and plenty both for the labourer and the labour master. This problem is now in the process of solving, and the worker who criticises, even in a tap-room, should be looked on as worse than a scab.

I do not mean that we should not criticise. On the contrary, in a former article in "Irish Opinion," I stated that I believed that before a demand should be made it should be ratified, not by the individual society but by the Trades Council of the district, who should then have the declaration of war or peace. This individual trade strike is antiquated, and the sooner the workers recognise it the better for all concerned. I sometimes think the pace set by the Transport Workers too hot—not for the times—but for the slaves who, having smug billets wherein they can support their families without going into debt, are afraid their comfort will be jeopardised.

The Fear of Poverty

is too real in Ireland to be negligible, and the weak ones have to be encouraged to trust themselves and they have to be made understand that the pre-war position of employer and employee is as dead as the slave system of the middle ages. In some respects, if not most, the latter was really better than the wage slave system. The slave's family were supported by the owner and both slave and family received the attention which other property, such as horses and cattle, received. The pre-war wage slave received no attention to keep him fit, the employer having no other interest in him than to get as much work out of him as possible at as little cost as possible. Of course, the latter has his freedom, Dia limn!

To secure the maximum advantage we have got first of all to remodel the workers' fighting wing. We want an Irish Labour Party led by Irishmen who are not stuck in the mediaeval mud. We are now in a period of transition that may be marred by muddlers with localised minds as well as by fatheads with West-British minds. To the ordinary common or garden young Irish worker I say, study Connolly, not so much to follow him as to educate yourself for your own and the general benefit. Then educate the rusty, fossilised old chaps working with you, who have more fear for their pensions from England than they have for their nationality. Remember, young fellow that lads of your age are, without any help from their seniors, changing the map of Europe. This is the day of the young man and young woman, and solidarity is their strength. It is not solidarity to help a boss; it is slavishness.

Printed for the "Irish Labour Press," 27 Dawson St., by Messrs. Cahill and Co., Ltd., Ormond Quay, Dublin. Registered as a Newspaper.

NOTES AND NEWS OF THE INTERNATIONAL

Socialism in U.S.A.

In "Canadian Forward" and London "Call," Eugene Debs tells of the advance of Socialism in the United States: "When the Party declared its attitude toward war at the St. Louis convention it was fiercely attacked from within as well as without as an anti-patriotic, seditious, traitorous organisation. The chairman of the committee that framed the war resolution was indicted and sentenced to the penitentiary for a term of five years. The national secretary was arrested upon one charge, indicted and tried upon another, and is still under bail pending further trial. Hundreds of the Party's speakers and organisers were arrested. . . . Since President Wilson's recent message, virtually recognising the Bolsheviki and proposing to accept their peace terms, there has been a marvellous change of sentiment towards Socialists and the Socialist Party. The capitalist press is to-day actually covering Lenin and Trotsky with fulsome praise in the vain attempt to square itself for the foul abuse it has poured upon their heads."

Ireland, India, Egypt,

A correspondent of the "Vossische Zeitung" has asked various members of the Reichstag to give their opinion on the question of the right of self-determination in India. The reply of Scheidemann, leader of the German Majority Socialists, is interesting:—"There is no need of any fresh statement from me, since we expressed ourselves roughly as follows in our Stockholm memorandum: Either it is a matter merely of a rearrangement of the territories which have changed hands in the course of the war, in which case the question of Alsace-Lorraine would not arise; or else Lloyd George wishes to rearrange the whole world at the conclusion of peace. In the latter case we must immediately ask: What is to happen to Ireland and Egypt? and, to name but one of all the other countries, What is to happen to India?"

Barnes' Price.

John MacLean has been arrested, charged with making statements which are obviously the concoction of police agents. His real crime is that the Labour Party of Gorbals Division, the new name of Blackfriars Division, for which G. N. Barnes is sitting member, selected John unanimously as candidate, not one of the affiliated societies could be found to put forward the Cabinet Minister's name.

Wales, Too!

MacLean's Welsh colleague in Independent Working Class Education, W. H. Mainwaring, has been convicted on police evidence of slandering the W.A.A.C.'s, and fined £50. The defence, supported by a host of witnesses, was a total denial of any reference to the W.A.A.C.