

IRISH OPINION

The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

NEW SERIES. VOL. I, No. 25.

MAY 18, 1918.

ONE PENNY

Lord Pirrie—
Boss.

Are We in
U.S.A.

Dark Days
in Belfast.

The Human Carcase Traffic. INQUIRY :: DISCLOSURES.

The gruesome scandal which we disclosed last week has been the subject of a Local Government Board inquiry, and the reports of the evidence in the daily press, condensed as they are, afford ample confirmation of our allegations.

Mr. T. Foran's cross-examination of the witness established that the Master of the Workhouse is paid 7s. 6d. for every corpse supplied by him, of which sum 2s. 6d. is divided between the gate porters. There is something more than a suspicion that the medical officer of the Union infirmary who attends the patients and certifies the death receives a payment for his share in this Burke and Haré traffic in human clay.

The legal gentleman who conducted the inquiry refused to permit questions that would bring to light the medical officer's share to be put to witnesses. Evidently the professions protect one another in exploiting the public.

Nevertheless the conviction remains in the public mind that the medicos are paid for every corpse that finds its way to the dissecting table. Doubtless the commercial nature of the traffic is "camouflaged"—but we invite the responsible organisations of the medical profession to state in unequivocal terms without reserve or economy, either,

1. That no payment is made to medical officers for the supply of corpses as specimens, or,
2. That the profession renounces once and for ever any such payments.

The guardians' share in the traffic is that for years it has been carried on with their knowledge and therefore with their approval. They have encompassed the poor with the fear of death and added a new category to Eschatology. Between "Death" and "Judgment"

they have interpolated "Dissection"—the fate of the poor and the poor only. We await the defence of the South Dublin Guardians in respect of the general question of the disposal of the bodies of the poor and of the gross abuses which they have permitted in the management of the Workhouse.

The inquiry has shown that patients may be brought into hospital without being seen by a medical officer—although there are a staff of clerks to register all incomers, a sister-in charge of the ward, a staff of nurses and resident medical officers.

It has proved that from the lowest grade to the highest, from the promoted inmate to the University graduate, the staff is infected with absolute indifference to the proper discharge of duty—a duty none the less urgent because these people are expected not merely to perform official functions, but to act as the stewards of the community, administering the charity and the care of society to the poor—God's poor.

When such indifference to human beings is shown in life, it is not surprising that the bodies of the dead are treated as carcases to be sold for the benefit of the officials. The Guardians must stop the traffic, turning a deaf ear to the stupid and insincere cry that the "specimens" are necessary to the progress of science.

If our medicos are so devoted to Science why don't we hear of them bequeathing their own remains to the dissecting rooms. What could be more instructive than Dr. Oliver Gogarty lecturing on the dissected remains of Sir Charles Cameron, and dilating on the effects of cocoa sampling on the alimentary canal. Or some distinguished alienist explaining the psychology of the authors of "Blight" from the convolutions of their brains?

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THE NEW AGE OF EXPEDIENCY.

In company with our immediate predecessor, Mr. Andrew B. Malone, we have been challenged by the "New Age" to reasoned argument and discussion of the issue between Ireland and England, or, if you like, between the Irish Nation and the British Empire. To certain items of the challenge Mr. Malone has replied in last week's "New Ireland," and on these we need only say that we are in thorough agreement with our friend. To others we shall have something to say, but we must insist that no journal in Ireland is in a position to take up the challenge in full, for you cannot argue the national case under a censorship that makes ducks and drakes of everything you write, as the censorship does in Ireland, nor can you attempt to reason with an enemy who is setting up a military regime in Ireland with Lord French as military governor, an "Ulster" Covenanter in command of the British forces, and the whole civil and military government of Ireland in the hands of the Carragh mutineers. No; the Irish case was argued at full length in the Irish Press in the early months of the war, and if the "New Age" had then desired, as it did not, a reasoned statement of a case it could have had it and welcome, but it preferred to see neither reality nor actuality in Ireland. Now, when the events of these last weeks have brought it right up against the most actual of realities, the "New Age" must make the best of its folly. We must continue to follow the naked, brutal truth of the "Spectator" when it said: Shoot; but do not argue.

Yet we would not have even the "New Age" misunderstand us. We have had considerable respect for its writer, of Notes of the Week, and we ungrudgingly admit the high service its writers have given to the labour and Socialist movements and their contributions to the world of thought. But on its Irish side it is as blind as most of its English contemporaries, and that is saying much indeed. Even now occasional flashes of

the truth light up the columns of our challenger, as for instance, Ireland "is in fact a neutral to be won to her own as well as our defence," "after all, no nation, small or great, can lose more than it has," and "because we cannot forget that Ireland is nominally a part of England we insist upon our recognition as a condition of receiving Ireland's support against the common enemy of civilisation." But they are, as we say, only occasional flashes, little more than rockets momentarily lighting the night of "New Age" darkness. What shall we say, on the other hand, of the writer who sees in the opposition to conscription a united front of Home Rulers, Sinn Feiners, the Church (in true perspective, we readily admit), and some Ulstermen, and cannot see the significance of Irish Labour in the alliance? Or what of the writer who seriously proposes that Ireland is to be won over to England by a propaganda under the aegis of the British War Aims Committee and carried out by a British selection of American, French, Italian, Belgian, Serbian, Slav and British publicists? As well expect the Serbs to be won over to Austria by a German selection of Austrian, Prussian, Turkish and Bulgarian publicists, and indeed since August, 1914, Ireland has never been free from the direct attention of Entente propagandists from Mr. Asquith to Messrs. A. M. Thompson and Horatio Bottomley, not to speak of the whole and united Irish daily Press. The "New Age" has even inflicted Mr. Bechofer on us.

At the risk of understating our own position we shall ask our readers to consider what it is the "New Age" regards as life and liberty for Ireland. "Under no probable immediate circumstances will the demand of Sinn Fein for secession be seriously entertained. For self-determination to the utmost limit compatible with our own self-determination, opinion in England is, we believe, prepared in the case of Ireland. But, on the other hand, for a self-determination which would imperil our own similar freedom we are not prepared. After all, as we have said before, the right of self-determination ("ourselves alone") cannot be regarded as absolute any more among nations than among individuals, or if in theory it may be regarded as absolute, it cannot be unlimited in practice." It is, therefore, necessary to assert explicitly that for the present the Sinn Fein demand for absolute self-determination is one that will find no support in this country." What is this, may we ask the "New Age," but the assertion in so many other words of the German plea of military necessity for the invasion of Belgium, of Austrian state rights in Bohemia, of Imperial claims everywhere in Europe? It is the iron hand in the velvet glove. Need we say that for our part this is not our conception either of self-determination

or of liberty? It is not the conception of the Russian revolutionists who first gave the principle and then the practice to the world. It is not the conception held by those claimants for self-determination whose allegiance is given, and rightly given, to their own subject nationalities under Austria-Hungary and Germany. It is not the conception held by those British and Entente politicians, publicists and propagandists who claim self-determination for the French, Slav and Italian peoples under the yoke of the Central Powers. It is indeed the interpretation and practice of Englishmen in their application of the principle in Ireland and within the British Empire. In this the "New Age" differs no whit from the "Times," the "Spectator," the British Cabinet, Mr. George Barnes, Mr. Lloyd George and the War Aims Committee that told Europe Ireland had got self-determination when the British Premier nominated an "Irish" Convention, and even explicitly dictated its decision. We wish the "New Age" joy of the company in which it sins, but we fancy its satisfaction in its fellows will be less keen than ours.

We have already given our interpretation of self-determination, in the "Voice of Labour," and we do not intend to repeat what we have said. In its own words we have given the "New Age's" interpretation and shown that it differs in no respect from that of the most blatant jingo in England. There is nobody but knows that English self-determination for Europe is different from English self-determination for Ireland. Now we are anxious, and have always been anxious, that Ireland should stand well with Europe and the world. We are as eager as Mr. T. M. Kettle was that Irishmen should be good Europeans, but Irishmen cannot be good Europeans until they are good Irishmen. Ma's rud e nach Eireannach maith go Eorpach, is fíor fosta nach Eorpach maith i n-Eirinn go Gaedheal. There is not a sincere believer in nationality in Europe who will disagree with us when applying self-determination to his own people. We only ask that the same sincerity be shown in applying the principle to Ireland; so far as England is concerned, we ask in vain. If it takes two to make a discussion, as the "New Age" says, and we agree, it takes also agreement on the meaning and interpretation of definitions and terms. It is there that we and the "New Age" are poles apart. What profit then is to be gained from the discussion?

Were we to accept the "New Age's" definitions of self-determination and historical necessity we should agree with the burden of our English contemporary's criticism and comments upon the "Voice of Labour" last week. But they are the "New Age's" definitions, not ours. To the "New Age" we can only reply, therefore, that we propose to stand upon both legs. But they are our own legs.

A MIXED GATHERING.

Having said so much, let us agree with the "New Age" where both of us can agree. Ireland, we are told, must be brought "back into the world." Our hand on that. Ireland has been out of the world for many generations, and is only now slowly and painfully finding her way back. She is finding her way back through blood and tears and sorrow, not through reasoned argument and literary logic only, but through the lives of her sons who followed Connolly and Pearse in Easter Week. It was for no other purpose than to bring Ireland "back into the world" that Connolly and Pearse went out "in insurrection. Here in these columns and elsewhere we have tried to make this clear once and for all. But it is not yet clear to England or if clear it is ignored. Bring Ireland back into the world by all means, but before she can be brought back into the world she must be brought out of the British Empire. There is no other way. Is the "New Age" willing, is anybody in England willing, is the Entente willing? Is the "New Age" willing to leave Ireland to her own self-determination with the neutrals of Europe for umpire, or with the Peace Conference for arbiter? That, at all events, is all that Ireland wants, it is all that Irish Labour wants (and Irish Labour has taken steps to tell Europe so), it is all, so far as we can judge, that Sinn Fein wants. It is not, as the "New Age" phrase has it, "Home Rule with the self-determination of the Irish nation"; it is not, as Mr. Lloyd George has it, the self-determination of the "Irish" Convention; it is not, as Mr. Barnes has it, self-determination on the basis of "Federalism."

When the "New Age" is willing to agree upon the definitions we shall be happy to continue the discussion. In the interlude let us go on repeating with the "New Age" that this "is a world-wide war that will settle the fate of the world, including the fate of Ireland." Secure in this belief we can confidently commend the wisdom that says no nation can lose more than it has, and Ireland cannot therefore lose liberty.

Labour will now get on with its campaign against conscription, for the blood-tax may be another gate through which is the entry to the world.

"No-Popery."

Ramsay MacDonald confesses he is afraid that the "No-Popery" cry may catch on in Labour circles. The activities of the notorious Sexton, Milligan and Burns group of anti-Socialist Catholics, who enjoy clerical patronage in Salford, Liverpool and Westminster dioceses, and the attempts to form separate Catholic trade unions play into the hands of the "No-Pope" element. Dublin knows by bitter experience how Sexton and his gang serve Labour. Labour must preserve itself from any tincture of sectarianism.

Are We in U.S.A.?

We have long since given up Mr. George Barnes, whilom Labour "leader" and now Cabinet Minister, as past praying for. His latest stunt—on a Federal "solution" of the Irish question—to the American Labour delegates in London, shows him getting worse and worse. His new "solution" must have been conceived during one of those Irish nightmares which, he has said, have been troubling him for the past month. Labour in Ireland may thank its stars that it has never reared a Barnes.

The Americans.

The air is full of suggestions that the American Labour men at present in England should be invited to visit Ireland. We were even told that an Irish city had invited them over and was to give them a civic reception. Now the Americans tell us they know nothing of this invitation. "Pure and simple" and guileless sons of Uncle Sam! Irish correspondents in America have written us telling us all about the visitors, but we daren't print their letters! So far as we know, the Americans' tour is directly under the joint auspices of the British and U.S.A. Governments, and is conducted by the War Aims Committee. If the British Cabinet wants the Americans to visit Ireland it will send them over; if they want to come themselves we are sure nobody in Ireland is going to prevent them. But why all the public and private letter-writing on so simple a matter?

The New Arithmetic.

The bogus delegates from Belfast have issued a statement that 90 per cent. of the organised workers of Ireland are in Belfast, and that they hold credentials from the Belfast Trade Unions. They have got credentials from no body of trade unionists or labour men and several of their own unions have since repudiated them. There are 40,000 organised workers in Belfast; in the Irish Trades Union Congress (and represented at the All-Ireland Congress last month) are 160,000 organised Irish workers. One hundred and sixty thousand are 10 per cent of 40,000! "That's von per cent." as the Jew said, when he sold the six-penny picture for a shilling.

"Democracy! What Crimes—!"

Will somebody please tell Mr. Barnes that the men whom he described last Sunday as "good trade unionists and good democrats," included a number of scabs who remained at work when the members of their trade were last on strike in Belfast? When the enforcement of conscription begins, we hope Mr. Barnes will visit Ireland. If he does, we promise him that real trade unionists and real democrats will give him a hearty reception. Dublin was cold to Mr. Thomas compared to what it will be to Mr. Barnes. No, Georgie, lad!

AE.

The letter written by Mr. George Russell (A.E.) to the "Manchester Guardian,"

lacks the fine fervour and magnificent eloquence of his letter to the Dublin masters, but it puts the case for no-conscription with a lucid logic that is sorely needed in England.

Crowded Out.

We regret that we are compelled to crowd out the Russian Government's May Day manifesto, sent to us as we go to press, by a Russian correspondent.

The Sinews of War.

We understand that the National Executive has decided that the special levy of threepence per head on the whole membership, struck by the All-Ireland Congress, shall be raised for four weeks, and for four weeks only, as a beginning. All unions and branches of unions would do well, therefore, to raise this levy at once and forward the amount realised through their own officials to the National Executive. This matter is urgent and must be attended to at once if the movement is to carry out the obligations into which it entered on April 20th. It is to be distinctly understood that this is a trade union levy, raised to enable the movement to complete the good work already begun. Officials and members who neglect this duty are simply shirkers and deserve to be conscripted.

Local Defence Committees.

From many quarters we have complaints that organised Labour is not represented on these committees and that representation as workers is refused the workers by certain individuals. This is not to be tolerated, and we ask officials, secretaries, organisers and members to insist that the Mansion House instruction that representation of Labour according to strength be given on the committees in their respective localities, shall be carried out. If necessary we shall publish a black list of committees refusing representation to workers. No individual has the right to pack these committees, and if forced to it, Labour will take very drastic measures to deal with those who applauded Labour's general strike and refuse local Labour a share in the control of the campaign. Where the instructions of the Mansion House Conference and the All-Ireland Congress are not being strictly carried out in the spirit and the letter, we ask the branches of unions to take steps simultaneously (1) to fight the local committee into giving proper representation; (2) to inform their union headquarters; (3) to inform the Mansion House Conference and the Labour representatives on the Conference; and (4) to send details to "The Voice of Labour." No humbugging on this matter of life and death.

Complaints.

We frequently receive complaints that the "Voice of Labour" cannot be purchased on Fridays and Saturdays. News-agents cannot afford to stock excess quantities of any paper for chance sales, so readers must order "The Voice of Labour" in advance.

LABOUR IN IRELAND.

Four Courts' Bright Example.

The fumbling inferiority of Trade Unionism is luridly exposed by contrast with the efficiency of the solicitors who, in consultation with their ex-hireling, the Lord Chancellor, have given themselves a rise of 25 per cent.

We direct the attention of the amateurs of Liberty Hall and the Trades Hall to the interesting fact that the solicitors' employers have not been negotiated with or even consulted in the matter. All they have to do is to pay.

South Kildare.

The President of the Labour Union met the farmers of the district on 8th inst. and presented the demand of the Union for an advance of 2s. 6d. on the weekly wage and a 4 p.m. stoppage on Saturdays. The former demand may be conceded, but the farmers may resist the shortening of the working day. If they do, trouble will follow, for the men are determined to have leisure. The Scottish Farm Servants' Union has made the one o'clock stoppage universal in Scotland.

Holidays.

The Court and Mirror laundries are arranging to close down for a week during the summer to give all workers a genuine holiday. Mr. Watson is practising what he preaches in the current "Better Business."

Downpatrick.

The Workers' Union is pressing for the rural workers' 30s. a week minimum in this district. A strike in harvest time is the alternative. Dublin's victory should encourage them.

Connolly Commemoration.

The S.P.I. celebrated the second anniversary of Connolly's martyrdom last Sunday, by a meeting at Liberty Hall. Walter Carpenter and William O'Brien gave eloquent and touching appreciations of Connolly's life work and unveiled the Socialist Party's new banner of scarlet poplin, bearing a striking portrait of the founder, executed by a fellow worker and soldier, T. Kain. A recital of Connolly's works was given, of which the most notable item was the song, "For Labour's Right," sung to a new setting by the composer, J. J. Hughes. The S.P.I.'s edition of "The Legacy and Songs of Freedom," was presented to each person.

Tailors Again.

Dublin Bespoke Clothing Co.'s premises was the scene of a strike on 6th inst. A section of the workers came out, but the others were, contrary to the Factories Acts, locked in by the boss, who recovered his senses in a few minutes and settled up with the International Tailors' Union.

Mr. O'Callaghan, of the Tipperary Co-operative Creamery, boasted that he would run the creamery himself on the National Down Tools day. The workers organised in the Workingmen's Benefit Society, put pickets on the roads and turned all the farmers, so that Mr. O'Callaghan had an easy day's work. The English firm, Casein, Ltd., had also to stop work.

Dublin Farmers.

If ever a body of presumably sensible and level-headed business men have made themselves ridiculous in the public eye it is the Dublin County Farmers' Association.

As our readers know, they broke off negotiations with the Transport Workers' Union on the wages question, declaring they would not pay a penny more than the legal minimum. Finding the workers adamant they went whining to Sir T. W. Russell to obtain higher prices to enable them to pay the new demands of the workers. T. W. gave them cold comfort in the Biblical language of his Temperance League days: "Make terms with thine adversary."

So back the farmers had to come to Liberty Hall to conclude the agreement that might have been made a month ago, viz., 30s. per week minimum wage, free house or allowance for rent, £4 harvest money, 3s. for tending horse or cattle on Sundays, 1 o'clock stoppage on Saturdays, and overtime at time and a quarter rate.

The public remember that the Corn Production Act was passed to enable prices to be fixed to ensure decent wages for the workers and something more than reasonable profits for the farmers. The latter cannot be expected to pocket the profits without satisfying the just and almost too moderate demands of the workers for a bare living.

WATERFORD NOTES.

"Danny Boy" assures us that Labour Day in Waterford was an eye-opener to local trade unionists.

Cabinet makers, after four days' strike, have won an increase of 5s. per week to their 35s., with another 1s. in a month's time. Rev. Prof. Kelleher assisted in the negotiations. Several points await final determination.

Carpenters and Joiners, after threats of a strike, have secured 11d. per hour and a 50-hour week.

The Citizen Army, recently started by Ml. Moore and J. Coogan, two Fianna officers, is going ahead under Comrade Larkin, N.U.R. "Our hope, our strength, is in ourselves alone."

Transport Workers have enrolled the employees of Messrs. Graves and other firms.

Mem. for Waterford.

Congress Entertainments' Committee should put P. T. Daly down to recite "Tam o' Shanter." He has taken to studying Bobbie Burns.

Dock and Riverside Union.

Ben Tillett, M.P., denies that he voted for Irish conscription. His union executive has forwarded a striking protest to the government, all the more impressive because Ben and his union are whole-hoggers in support of English Imperialism.

Monasterivan.

Cooper, the Scotch steward at Kildangan; is asking for trouble. He sent two men out to work on the 3rd in pouring

rain, and when they were soaked to the skin, stopped work at 4 p.m. Cooper promptly sacked them. The brother of one of the men was also dismissed just on account of his relationship. The best horse on the establishment has died because of the exposure on that day. The three men have been locked out for ten days for trying to save their own lives. Dominic More O'Ferrall, D.L., should look into this.

Portarlington.

Russell's have secured only three scabs in five months trying.

Turran.

The turf works trouble has been settled favourably to the men.

Builders' Providers.

The Dublin labourers have requested an advance of 8s. on their present wage of 32s. per week. The employers have offered 2s., which the men have rejected, as the 8s. asked will only bring their wages to a pre-war purchasing power of 19s.

Hotel Workers.

By last Saturday over 300 had enrolled, and at the meeting in the Trades Hall, addressed by T. Foran, William O'Brien and T. Farren, many more joined.

Dublin Countermen.

The Shop Assistants have rented premises at 7 College Street, which may be let to other unions on reasonable terms.

Inchicore.

The Transport Union members were addressed on the subject of conscription and exemptions, by Cathal O'Shannon, last Monday. His advice was, "No Exemption."

Pamphlets on Marx.

To those who wish to know more of Karl Marx, his life and work, we commend two pamphlets, just issued, "Karl Marx," by A. E. Cook, published by the Plebs League, Glasgow, and "Karl Marx, His Life and Teaching," by Zelda Kahan-Coates, issued by the B.S.P., London. Both contain interesting summaries of the theory of value and the materialist conception of history. We observe that the B.S.P. is also issuing a new translation by Florence Baldwin of Marx's "Wage-Labour and Capital," with Engel's introduction. Despite the progress of economic science, this survey of the relations between the wage-workers and the capitalist class has not been improved upon and the booklet at 2d. is within the reach of every Irish worker.

We must not overlook in our references to Marxist literature, the temperate criticism of Fr. Wm. Larkin, O.F.S.C., and the characteristically querulous but useful preface by Prof. A. Rahilly, published under the title of "Marxian Socialism" (6d. net), by the Educational Book Company, Talbot Street, Dublin.

A TOAST.

The world is ours: so God decreed;
Let's hear no more of right and wrong;
If weaklings, we in vain will plead;
Here's to the strong.

Tyrants who a world embroil
Of manly praise more worthy are,
Than we who but for wages toil;
Here's to war.

ENGLAND'S THOMAS ASHES. (As Passed by Censor.)

"An English Political Refugee" sends us a long letter in reply to the speech delivered by Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas, M.P., in the Mansion House, Dublin, recently. The criticisms are in the main sound, but we have no more space for them than we had for their occasion. The following extract, however, has relevance to the present situation:—

"I appeal to Irish workers to reserve their judgment upon the political refugees. It is wisdom and prudence to preserve your mind and body, if you can, against a policy of overwhelming brutality. It is not cowardice."

Conscription Literature.

There is special interest for Irishmen and women in the now numerous publications of the experience of the English C.O.'s, which so many of us may share. Mr. T. Scott Duckers, a London solicitor, was among the first to suffer under the Military Service Act, and in the brief intervals of release from prison he has compiled a jail journal, under the title "Handed Over." The Rev. Stanley B. James' book, "The Men Who Dared," is full of telling instances of bold defiance and sustained courage of the Conchies. Tolstoy's "Ivan the Fool" is as fantastic as commonsense always seems on this inverted globe. Messrs. Daniels are to be congratulated on their work not merely as publishers of these books, but as propagandists of the Rights of Conscience.

Trades Councils.

All secretaries of Irish Trades Councils who have not received the questionnaire relating to the history, organisation and work of trades councils should write at once for a copy to the Fabian Research Dept., 25 Tothill Street, London, W.C. 1.

The Fabian Research Department's Monthly Circular says: "The establishment of the 'Voice of Labour' (formerly 'Irish Opinion') as a co-operative venture democratically owned and managed, should greatly strengthen the Irish Labour and Co-operative movement. Particulars can be obtained from the Irish Labour Press Co-operative Society, Ltd., at 27 Dawson Street, Dublin."

Farm Labour in England.

The Cheshire labourers' strike, although brought to an end by the threat of conscription of all strikers, has not been valueless. Most of the farmers have now conceded the demand of 35s. a week minimum wage.

RUSSIA'S TRIBUTE.

On May 5th, Maxim Litvinoff, Plenipotentiary for Great Britain of the People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, visited Highgate Cemetery and placed a wreath on the grave of Karl Marx, on the occasion of his centenary, inscribed, "From Russia, the first Socialist Republic, in memory of Karl Marx, who showed the workers of the world the path to self-emancipation."

Nineteen cotton-spinning firms in Lancashire have made an average profit of 45 per cent.

John MacLean.

For the second time the Russian Consul at Glasgow has been convicted of "sedition" by the political prostitutes who sit on the Bench at Edinburgh. This time the sentence is five years' penal servitude. The sedition consisted in advocacy of the abolition of parliament and their replacement by councils of soviets. The Sunday papers were supplied with scandalous slanders and an alleged interview with a Glasgow Trade Union official, who said: "There will be no down tools to release MacLean." A MacLean Release Committee was set up two days after his arrest, and is getting to work now.

Protestant Protest.

Despite the endeavours of the Rev. Mr. Bernard and the Rev. John Baptist Crozier to arrogate to themselves a spiritual authority in things temporal that the practice and canons of the Church of Ireland deny to them, and to condemn as contrary to faith and morals, the Protestant protest against conscription, its supporters grow daily. Miss Nelly O'Brien, 11 Hume Street, Dublin will gladly supply forms for signature. Residents in and visitors to Dublin may obtain forms at that address between 5 and 7 p.m.

Barnes.

The "Freeman's Journal" says that George Nicol Barnes knows little or nothing of Irish ideals or of Irish history. That is strange, for Barnes has always been closely associated with the U.I.L. of Great Britain and holds a membership card of the Home Government branch,

Glasgow. Although born at Dundee, he boasts of his Irish parentage. He is not ignorant, but recreant.

N.C.C.L.

The National Council of Civil Liberties has placed at the disposal of the Mansion House Conference, its lists of organisations opposed to conscription, and is making opposition to Irish conscription a vital part of its work in Great Britain.

Labour Support.

Resolutions condemning the conscription of Irishmen have been adopted by Paisley Trades and Labour Council (8,000 members), Scottish Dockers Union (Glasgow and Clyde ports, Dundee, etc., 10,000 members), Southampton Trades and Labour Council (8,000 members).

Dublin General S.S. Co.

The lock-out has ended in the concession of the principle that only union labour will be employed by the home-shoer.

Egregious Craig.

The Recorder of Belfast, notoriously loose in the tongue, has fears of bankruptcy when men with £3 17s. 0d. a week go on strike. He advises workmen to leave their unions. Cheer up, Craig! If you do go broke, there's a home for you up the Grosvenor Road.

Measly Business.

Measles keeps French out of the Vice-Regal Lodge. Was it German measles kept him out of Berlin?

The Friends.

Is it not time the Quakers were speaking out on conscription. Are the Irish Friends too busy hunting money?

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"Do rinnear tairdeán agus de-ghrádú le deánnaí ar il-leabra, iomrann agus filioct, a baineas le raogal agus le rnaoincé ar sean. Tá eolur agus ar éirí acu le cianca; cinn eile díob ní pacas iad go dté le goim. It iontae a bfuil deánca ag rfoláirí na heorpa ar pon léiginn agus licríocca na rfolá: Zeurr, Winoirch, Zimmer, Thurneyren, Meyer, Szepn, arboir de Subanville, Sarooz, Villan, agus rfoláirí eile nac iad. Nac airtcaé an ruo é rseáiníocet agus filioct ar sean a beic pa nSeapmáinir, pa bfrainncir, pan iouáilir, agus san iad a beic aganna i nSeadúis ar n-ainmne péin go fóill!

Cúirip agus Cúir.

Sa nSeapmáinir tá an tÁin, Seinglí Cúculainn, Coimarc Écáine, Coimarc Fepbe, Eactra Coimarc i'ócín Eapngaire, agus rseáilca eile, cuio máic de sean-óanáca óiada, r. Sa bfrainncir tá Seinglí Cúculainn mar an rseáilca, rseáilca eile um an tSeapmáinir, iomrann máolúin, Caé mág Turpead, piannáicet, r. San iouáilir tá éigre um Úrseandain naomca (mar acá pa nSeapmáinir), um "Dunraoóir Máorais," um fír Tnúogaile; agus mar rin díob. It pada an rseáil é; go deimín r ann acá ábar leabair máir.

TAR AR n-ÉOLUS.

"Ó éir na rseáilca úo no léigead úom tá ainmip omn i ngeall ar tairc áirice táir an "rriopad Saolac," an "meanna Saolac," an "móu Saolac," (i ríomáó agus i ranncaet), agus táir úicár na nSeaveal ar paó. Tá uoaine ann agus bu úóig leac omca gur ruo potéir é aigne na nSeaveal, agus go bfuil eolur iomlán acu péin ar an aigne céadna. Ní ámlaíó acá, uar liom. It il-ghnéiceac iad, aigne agus anam na nSeaveal—mar it léir ó na rseáilca réamrúice—agus ní moirú ná i mbárac a beac eolur iomlán aganna ar a mbuáda r a ucréite. Ar rli níl reona leo.

Mósh Phádraic.

Díob ag rnaoincaé ar an rseáilca rseáilca agus "Seacé mbuáide an éirge amac," le pádraic ó Conaie (Mauriel, 5r.), dá léigead agus. Déircaer a páó gur b airtcaé an leabair é ar rlice, agus nac ucrédeann an ruo ro agus an ruo páó—pan rseáilca deimíó go háirice—leir an "rriopad Saolac." Nílím cinnce de r. Ac it cuma liom é. Acá ruo it máic le rseáilca rnaoincaé mpirúil uo cup i rseáilca úóin bíonn páilce agam poime pé tuairim a híor agam péin na taóib. It uóin an agus it páirpings é an raogal uoanna, airtis agus amúis, pa Saoltaet agus taob amúis de'n Saoltaet. Díob a rli péin cup a míngice ag an agóar rseáilca uar; ná curtear copg ar. Tá neite rliceac an-uóibim ann co máic céadna. Cítear liom go mbéirip uo rseáilca níor uóinne uo deánnaí uo "Anam an Earbuic" pa uerpe. It iona liom anám-eolur acá uo deapbárad pan rseáilca rseáilca (a baineas le "Sman"). Meapam go bfuil "Rún an fír Máir" beagán ravalac áiriceanta. Ac na úaró rli a r ule tá iol-buáda lreáilca i "Seacé mbuáide an éirge amac."

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BELFAST NEWS NOTES.

Unionists and Labour.

Over two hundred men are on strike at Belfast Gas Works because the Unionist Corporation refuses to pay the arrears of wage advances due. About 100 scabs are being lodged in the Gas Works and coddled at the expense of the ratepayers. Owing to their incompetence a serious fire occurred in the works and now members of the fire brigade are permanently on guard to prevent further outbreaks.

We mention the Unionism of the Corporation because no intelligence or efficiency is requisite in a Belfast Corporation, but devotion to the Union Jack. Belfast workers have proof in the present strike that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel.

The remedy Belfast needs is not a Nationalist, but a Labour Corporation.

Strike Settled.

Darkness covered the land on Thursday and Friday. On Saturday the Unionist Committee caved in, and the men returned to work on Monday. The scabs included one member of the Electrical Trades Union, one of the A.S.E., and several unorganised clerks from the City Hall.

Shipyard Troubles.

Several members of the N.A.U.L. have been fined for illegal striking. The strike arose out of a dispute between the N.A.U.L. and the Workers' Union. This division in the face of the common enemy—at Queen's Island—could have easily been avoided by reference to the Disputes' Committee of the Trades Council. Perhaps Messrs. Greig and Adamson will explain why that method was not tried?

Belfast Carters.

A demand has been made on all horse-owners for an increase, beginning in June, of 12½ per cent. on present wages.

A Test.

Out of 520 members of the E.T.U. at their meeting in Belfast, only 8 could be found to support conscription.

The Fakirs.

The action of the local trade unions in repudiating the fake deputation of Belfast workers in London has compelled the Unionist Council to summon "mass meetings" in the yards, to give sanction to their pets—locally described as a kind of "sucker," which we do not care to particularise. The alleged mass meetings, like the deputation, are fakes.

Lord French's Sister.

Mrs. Despard was one of the speakers at the proclaimed meeting in Finsbury Park on May 5th.

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Lies.

The reported disturbances at Glasgow and Leicester May Day meetings are now shown to be mere inventions. Several London comrades were arrested for defying the Proclamation forbidding the May Day meeting at Finsbury Park.

LORD PIRRIE—A REAL RULER.

From J. T. Walton Newbould's pamphlet, "The Solidarity of Shipowners," we learn something of the vast economic power wielded by Lord Pirrie, now Controller of Shipping. We know him as an Irishman, a Home Ruler, and a foe of Carson in that perpetual battle of Scarva, that is called politics in Belfast. He controls Harland and Wolffs, with ship-building yards at Belfast, Glasgow, Liverpool and Southampton. Through the Belfast Bank and the L.C. and M. Bank he exerts a potent influence in the linen trade. Harland and Wolffs control the colliery, iron and steel and ship-building firm of John Brown and Sons, Ltd., of Sheffield and Clydebank, which through Lord Aberconway and other directors is united with the great International Armaments ring.

Pirrie succeeded the late Sir Alfred Jones in control of the Elder Dempster Shipping Company, which has a practical monopoly of West Indian trade. It has no competitors in its West African business, which is immensely lucrative, being the main source of the raw materials of the soap, cattle food, margarine and rubber trades. Two years ago the Pirrie interests induced Bonar Law to impose a prohibitive tax on all exports from West Africa to neutral countries, thus forcing all trade into the hands of Elder Dempster. In addition to shipping, Pirrie is a West African palm and mineral oil concessionaire, dock, harbour and lighter owner, coal merchant, banker and commission agent.

The chief sources of fertilisers, Chile and Peru, are tapped by the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, with which Pirrie is connected through his associates, the Phillips family, the controllers of the world's biggest shipping combination, the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company.

Margarine, oil cake, scum, cotton, esparto, rubber, grain, cattle, dead meat, all prime necessities of modern life, pay tribute to the monarch of Queen's Island. He holds the world to ransom.

The Reformers' Bookstall, Ltd., Glasgow, publishes this pamphlet at 2½d., post free. It contains pretty full accounts of the commercial activities of Sir John Ellerman, Lord Furness, Lord Inchcape and the Geddes and Gladstone families. If we are to be governed from abroad, don't let us waste time on the paltry circus tricks of the Georges and Bonar Laws. Let us learn who are our real masters.

Derry Building Trades.

The strike of bricklayers and plasterers in Derry has been settled, the men agreeing to accept 1s. 1d. an hour without war bonus. Why do all sections of the building industry in Derry not move together at the same time as the sections in Dublin, Cork, etc., have done?

BRITISH LABOUR AND IRISH CONSCRIPTION.

[We print below, as an important historical document of weight, the statement issued by the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress and the National Executive of the British Labour Party on the conscription of Ireland. It is to be observed that this is an official statement from the two national executives and does not necessarily reflect the views either of Irish Labour or of the left wing of the movement in Great Britain.]

The proposal to empower the Government to enforce conscription upon Ireland was passed by Parliament only fourteen days ago, and already the country is faced with the most menacing situation since the outbreak of war. In view of the relationship between British and Irish trade unionists, the Labour movement is deeply concerned with all the possible consequences of such a position. When the Military Service Bill was before the country organised Labour declared its opposition to the proposal to enforce conscription upon the Irish people without their consent.

We are not influenced in our decision by hostility to enforced military service or indifference to the nation's requirements successfully to prosecute the war.

But we were of those who realised what the attempt to impose conscription at such a critical moment would mean.

We had information which enabled us to gauge the strength of Irish feelings and to form an estimate as to the fierce resentment which would be excited. That we were

Correct in Our Forecasting

of the position is only too obvious, for, though men have doubted whether, after all, Ireland is a nation, no one who knows the state of the country to-day can still doubt, and the passing of the Conscription Act has done more to cement the national unity than any other Act could have done.

It must be clearly evident to the Government that the attempt to enforce conscription will mean not merely the shedding of the blood of thousands of Irishmen and Englishmen and Scotsmen too, but also the maintenance of a huge permanent army of occupation in Ireland. To-day every soldier is needed at the Western front, yet the Government is proposing to take a course which will involve the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of soldiers to

Engage in a Civil War

which will outrage the conscience of the civilised world. Nay more, Irishmen are scattered over the world—in America, in the Dominions, in Great Britain itself, and there are large numbers in our armies on the Western front.

The tragedy cannot be merely local or confined to Ireland. It may easily be the beginning of a world tragedy in which our last hopes of a fairer future will be extinguished.

We confidently appeal to the Government at once to take the necessary steps to avert the appalling disaster which now threatens our country and our national good name.

We appeal to them, on grounds of principle and of expediency alike, not to violate the national conscience and not to jeopardise the whole future of this country and its allies and their success in the war by imposing conscription upon a nation without its own consent and in face of the certainty of the most determined and united opposition. At the least we appeal to them to give an open and

Unmistakable Public Promise

that no proclamation applying conscription to Ireland will be issued until an Irish Parliament expressing the real will of the Irish people has come fully into existence.

ENGLISH LABOUR PLEBISCITE.

This resolution has been adopted by the undermentioned Unions and Trades Councils:—"That this meeting of membership condemns the action of Parliament in deciding to apply Military Conscription to Ireland, believing it to be an outrage against the principles of liberty of Small Nations and self-determination of peoples and calculated to lead to serious loss of life in Ireland. Copies of this resolution to be sent to the Prime Minister, Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Geo. Barnes, and The Labour Party."

Earlstown and Newton Trades Council (2,000); Gen. Union of Textile Workers (42,000); Accrington and District T. and L.C. (17,000); Hull and District T. and L.C. (18,000); Rossendale Union of Boot, Shoe and Slipper Operatives (3,500); Keighley T.C. (5,000); N.A. Furnishing Trades Association (17,000); N.U.R. Wolverton, No. 2 (500). (Figures in brackets show membership).

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