

IRISH OPINION

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL DEMOCRACY.

NEW SERIES. Vol. I, No. 16.

MARCH 16, 1918.

ONE PENNY

Ulster Farmers' Feeding. : : :

The Remount Depot Scandal.

WHAT IS OUR POLICY ?

QUERIES BY LECTOR.

A PLEA FOR A FRIENDLY DISCUSSION.

(A.J.R.) O'RAHILLY

Every reader of "Irish Opinion" must by this time realise that there are certain misunderstandings or differences between Irish Labour and Sinn Fein. Let me say quite frankly that the polemics in these columns strike me as generating more heat than light. We have had personalities, sarcasms, offensive remarks, erroneous statements; so much so that an outsider like myself gets the impression that personal animosities and suspicions are behind a good deal of what passes for honest argument. Surely this is not the kind of discussion we want. If certain people have axes to grind and scores to wipe out, let them not identify their own squeaking with "The Voice of Labour." Everyone knows Labour as a whole is strongly inclined to the Sinn Fein policy. Is it not about time, then, that we had a fair, straight, friendly discussion on the subject, avoiding all unnecessary friction and offence? Let us try to explain to one another, let us try to see what we have in common rather than to lay undue stress on subsequent possibilities of disagreement. As one who is identified neither with Labour nor with Sinn Fein—or, if you prefer, as one who believes in both—let me try to start a friendly discussion, even if I am to share the proverbial fate of all peacemakers.

It seems to me an utter mistake to regard Sinn Fein as a political party at all; it is essentially a national and economic movement. It is concerned with the nation as a whole and as regards its external policy; it is therefore compatible with different programmes of internal administration. Both Kerensky and Trotsky agreed on the abolition of Tsardom; they differed as to subsequent developments. Both Labour and Sinn

Fein agree in denying all moral validity to the English domination of Ireland, they agree in claiming for Ireland the status of a nation and the right of absolute self-determination, they agree in rejecting the nominated English Convention. (By the way, a minority of Labour in the North seems to take a different view, i.e., sides with Unionism. Are we to regard this Labour section as Carsonite?) Moreover, both agree that the political issue is really economic. What is the use of Home Rule which leaves Irish economic life still dependent on English Capitalism? And what did Irish Labour (or Irish farmers either) ever get by the Westminster policy? In the world of Labour as in Irish politics, direct action is superseding the effete policy of Parliamentary oratory. (Let us not forget that Russia is syndicalist and anarchist rather than socialist.) Just as Labour relies now on its own Trade Union organisation rather than on humble appeals to the charity of capitalists, so Ireland as a whole is coming to rely on our own direct action and organisation rather than on resolutions of mendicant orators in the English Parliament. If you like to put it thus, you might say that Sinn Fein has copied and imitated Labour! The seizure of ranch-lands for allotments, the buying of foodstuffs for our Irish workers, the stoppage of exports—these are typical of the temper of Sinn Fein and they are true to the soundest instincts of Labour. Peace Conference or no Peace Conference, Sinn Fein (which existed years before the war) is a definite, coherent, syndicalist policy for making the English exploitation of this country unworkable.

Westminster?

I hear some talk of forming an Irish Labour Party. I should like to hear more definitely what is its object. Is it to revert once more to the Westminster policy? to form a new Irish Party, leavened with democracy and untempted by English bribery? Does Irish Labour propose to elect representatives to swear allegiance to the King of England? If it does, then, of course, there is a gulf—moral and economic—between Labour and Sinn Fein. From the standpoint of Sinn Fein, Irish Labour is then merely a new Irish Party, the same old game played by workers instead of gombeen-men. Therefore it is important that Irish Labour should definitely declare its adherence to, or repudiation of (1) Ireland's claim to self-determination and consequent rejection of England's moral right to govern us, (2) the policy of direct organisation and national economic combination, as opposed to the old method of mendicant resolutions and deputations.

Suppose, then, that Irish Labour accepts this claim and this policy. Is there any room for independent Labour organisation? Surely such organisation is part and parcel of the Sinn Fein policy, and is, indeed, its mainstay and backbone. The important point to realise is that the organisation of Irish Labour is not hostile to Sinn Fein, but an essential part of that movement. For they have the same aim—freedom from exploitation—and the same policy—direct organisation. Afterwards, when Irish independence is achieved, might it not happen that Sinn Fein and Labour will be strongly opposed? Of course it might. But surely Sinn Fein would then cease to be a policy at all, its work would be over, and Irishmen—agreeing in a common patriotism—would naturally break up into agricultural, industrial and labour parties. Is it not a little premature to anticipate our independence? Our subsequent divisions will never come into existence at all if we do not maintain unity at present. Sinn Fein, as I said, is an external policy on which we can all agree.

English Trade Unions.

In a recent issue of this paper Mr. Thomas Johnson professed to deal with "Sinn Fein and Labour," but he really only touched on a single minor point. No doubt, Messrs. Griffith and Figgis are very distrustful of English Labour. And, upon my word, they have good reason to be. (By English Labour I mean the Right Honourable specimens, not the decent Lansbury or New Age minority.) Did you ever ask yourself the reason for Jim Connolly's extraordinary change from cosmopolitan communism to Irish revolutionary socialism? Only a man ignorant of Connolly's earlier and later writings would deny this evolution of his views. What was the reason? Jim Connolly told a friend of his and of mine:

Distrust of the English Trade Unions. So, though want of space precludes my saying more, it is significant that Sinn Fein sins in good company. Besides, I have spoken to several Irish railway men, tailors, and carpenters; and, curiously enough, they, too, were profoundly distrustful of the English Unions. Even Mr. Johnson "agrees with a good part of the indictment." Then let us not quarrel about the rest. *No responsible man ought to advocate that Irish workers should cut connection with English Unions as promptly and automatically as one cuts off the gas.* But we are all agreed—are we not?—that Irish Unions ought to secure full autonomy, to train their own officials, and to manage their own funds, and that Irish Labour must be internationally recognised as separate and distinct from English. Without such national organisation there can be no sound or stable internationalism.

English Only.

I take another objection of Mr. Johnson, for he is a conspicuously fair and friendly critic. He says: "If our industrial interests are always to take second place and political strategy to claim our first allegiance, then we may say good-bye to all hopes of building up a strong independent working class movement in Ireland." That objection applies to every political party *except Sinn Fein*, which abandons "politics," and relies on our own organisation. But, urges Mr. Johnson, Sinn Fein aims only at removing the exploitation of English capitalists. Precisely, even Ulster capitalists might agree with so much. And is it not English capitalism that is the real enemy, that is engaged in ruining our industries? If English capitalism is not beaten then there will soon be no Irish capitalism left—and no Irish workers either; we shall all be cowherds and pig-jobbers. Besides, has not Sinn Fein combated food profiteering? And when there is a strike in Belfast, the employers' dodge seems to be to dub the men "Sinn Feiners!"

Socialism.

There is one final point which I should like to see discussed in these pages. That is, Irish Socialism. What exactly does it mean? Personally, I dislike the word "Socialism"—I have found that it is often the refuge of uneducated workers who mistake big talk for practical action and words for ideas. As a Catholic I dislike it still more, especially because it raises prejudices in the minds of many. There is, of course, not the smallest reason why a Catholic should not be a Socialist in one of the many senses of that very elastic phrase. But what exactly does Socialism mean when used in the pages of "Irish Opinion"? Fabian collectivism? Syndicalism? A system of national agricultural and industrial guilds? A plan for the more equitable distribution of private property, and the replacement

of capitalism by co-operative enterprise? It is about time we said plainly and unambiguously what is meant.

RAILWAY MEN AND RAILWAY SHAREHOLDERS.

The recent meetings of the Irish railway companies produced the unique spectacle of a railway shareholder pleading the cause of the railway workers. Mr. F. W. Crossley, well known as the pioneer of Tourist Development and the Shannon Steamer enterprise, resented the statement of Mr. Maguire at the D. & S.E.R. meeting, that there was no justification for the several increases granted to railway workers since the outbreak of war. In Mr. Crossley's view the dole given was little enough to meet the ever-rising cost of living.

The Shareholders.

Holders of railway shares are naturally apprehensive of the future. The old financial basis of our railways has been undermined and it would be impossible to restore the lines to the companies with the obligation to continue wages at their present level. And wages cannot be reduced.

The only solution to the after-war problem of the railways that offers any glimpse of comfort to the shareholder, is nationalisation. When the terms of transfer of the shareholders' private property in the lines come to be discussed, it is to be hoped that the public will see to it that they are not burdened with the payment of interest on capital long passed out of existence except on the books of the companies.

The Men.

The workers will demand that in any discussion as to the future of the railroads, their voice will be heard. Before the war the railway men of Ireland were but weakly united. To-day they muster 24,000 strong and have built up in Ireland, inside the ranks of the N.U.R., an organisation that is concerned not only with the status of the railway workers but also with the welfare of the Irish nation and of all sections of the Irish people, to whose industry and commerce the railways are essential.

In relation to the general community their attitude is not that of holding the nation to ransom. They want to give a real helping hand in the development and improvement of their country. Nor do they seek in the strength of their unity to wreak vengeance for past suppression. They will let the dead past bury itself, and of the shareholders they but ask a reasonable co-operation towards the settlement of the railway questions of control and ownership on a national basis.

MAY DAY, 1918.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Reaction's International

Since the capitulation of Lenin and Trotsky, international affairs have been an almost uninterrupted record of reactionary progress. We have emphasised from the beginning the peculiar unanimity of the capitalist governments of the world in undermining and attacking the Bolshevik movement, the reward being the ultimate surrender of revolutionary Russia. After the howls of delight from the patriot exploiters and their purblind "Labour" friends, we now get the deeds corresponding to the sentiments expressed during the period of the great experiment in revolutionary diplomacy. The French authorities, doubtless encouraged by the success of the military and financial help given to the Ukrainians, are loudly insisting upon the benefits to democracy which must accrue from Japanese intervention in Siberia. The Russians, it appears, are pining to be delivered from freedom by the trusty champions of democracy to whom the Allies, without even a pretence of parliamentary discussion, have entrusted the task of making the world unsafe for Bolshevism.

East is East and West is West.

The bard of Jingoism will have to revise the verse in which he assured us that "never the twain shall meet," for when it comes to the destruction of liberty, the violation of promises, and the protection of capital, East and West display the same wonderful qualifications.

Straws in the Wind.

That the wind of reaction is blowing with the force of a gale is evident from the thousand and one straws which indicate the direction of the current. While Germany is doing her best for the landowners of the Russian borderlands, and is supplying troops to crush revolution in Finland, the applause of the Allies at every knock-out blow is varied only by helpless wails at the prospects of a German hegemony of Central Europe. The Germans have been helped by the Allies' devotion to capitalism as much as by their own cult of militarism, and even the Minimalist Russians now understand that the Germanisation of Middle Europe is more acceptable to the virtuosi of freedom than the rise of Social Democracy. What the Allies would like, of course, is to make the world safe for commercialism by the elimination of their rivals and by the destruction of International Socialism. But if, as seems necessary, this ideal combination is out of the question, then by all means let attention be concentrated on the greater evil. It is easier to destroy Bolshevism than Prussianism; think the master minds, judging from their experiences of the last three years. So now the British Ambassador at Petersburg discovers what a charming fellow Nicholas was, and how devoted to the bond-holding gladiators

of Freedom for small nations. The ex-Czar was too good a colleague of the Lloyd George-Clemenceau-Northcliffe democrats, and they miss him sadly, especially since the loans to Russia were repudiated. Possibly the Japanese are to rescue this distinguished monarch, so that he may be present at the final establishment of the promised millennium. In the meantime, why not canonise dear Father Rasputin, the spiritual adviser of the Romanoffs, in their life-work for civilisation? No doubt Dora will lend her aid in suppressing the awkward testimony of the various books recently published on the subject of the Romanoff-Rasputin regime, now recommended by the British Ambassador, whose word is beyond suspicion.

The Censorship in France.

The capitalist newspapers of Paris have been filled with diatribes against the French Minority Socialists ever since the Inter-Allied Conference in London. The movement towards the Left, which we mentioned here a couple of weeks ago, is so accentuated that the kept press is alarmed. It is impossible to give any details of the cause of this campaign of misrepresentation, owing to the operations of the French Censor. In all conscience the Allied Labour War Memorandum was feeble enough, but apparently the mere expression of a desire to negotiate, and the proposal of an International Labour Conference, have been too much for the financial Sharks of the French Press, who are terrorised at the thought of the money invested in Russia for the War of Revenge. The mention of a referendum for Alsace-Lorraine drives them to paroxysms of indignation, and they sigh for the restoration of the Czar. Japan may have anything she covets, provided only that the investments are saved, and the Hun annihilated. In this shriek the capitalists are joined by Herve, Thomas, and the rest of the tame Socialists. How deep is the split between these forces and real democracy in France can be judged, not as has been stated, from the published utterances of the Left, but by the suppressions of all such opinion. The weekly page in "La Verite" devoted to Labour matters consisted recently of Censor's blanks, with only an occasional mutilated paragraph in type. The caricature was a blank and the article on the front page, by Merrheim, dealing with the Inter-Allied Conference, had half its title cut out. The Trade Union notes were all fragmentary, and many reports of resolutions were entirely suppressed. An article complaining of the political use of the Censorship threw a light on the condition of that particular issue. But almost every issue has been cut up in this fashion during the past few months, and while it is unsatisfactory to be deprived of news whose significance is obvious, the conclusions to which the French Censorship must drive

us need not be laboured. We can at least admire the honesty of those white columns and blank spaces, where suppression of speech is not aggravated by the hypocrisy of concealment.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.

A GUIDE TO BOOKS FOR SOCIAL STUDENTS AND WORKERS. By Alfred Rahilly, M.A., B.Sc. Educational Book Company of Ireland, Ltd., Dublin. 3d. paper; by post 4d.

An invaluable guide to the literature of social conditions, history and economics.

MILITARISM AND ANTI-MILITARISM. By Dr. Karl Liebknecht; translated by A. Sirmis. S. L. P., Glasgow. 1s. paper; by post, 1s. 3d.

States the Social Democratic reasons for opposing Militarism.

THE STATE: Its Origin and Function. By William Paul. S.L.P., Glasgow. 1s. 3d. paper; by post, 1s. 6d.

A survey of the development of the State as the executive organ of the classes possessing economic power.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM. By William Paul. S.L.P., Glasgow. 2d. paper; by post, 2½d.

Clear and pointed.

CAPITALISM AND THE WAR. By J. T. Walton Newbould, M.A. (Man.); with two maps. National Labour Press, Ltd., Manchester. 48 pp. 6d. paper; by post 7d.

Convincingly proves that the Great Powers have definite economic objectives to gain in the great war.

HUNGER. By James Esse. The Candle Press, Dublin. Paper, 1s.; by post, 1s. 1d.

Should be recited in "choirs and places where they sing," taught in schools and read by every worker.

SOUL AND CLAY and PASSION FLOWERS. By Maeve Cavanagh. 1s. paper; by post, 1s. 4d.

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Most of the above books will be given fuller notices in future issues. Readers of "Irish Opinion" can obtain copies from the publishers mentioned, from Christie's, Arran Quay, or from this office on receipt of price and postage.

POINTERS FROM "THE REVOLUTION."

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Leisure is not for slaves.

Your Master is interested in you when you are docile.

Kings, Queens, Lords, Dukes are decorations of the Class State.

The Rich live in Mansions, and the Workers in Kennels.

LABOUR IN IRELAND.

Karl Marx,

The centenary of whose birth will be celebrated this year by the Socialist Party of Ireland on the 5th of May, died on March 14th, 1883. The great economist, the organiser of the International, owed much to the Cork man, William Thompson, whose labours would indeed have been forgotten but for Marx.

Cathal O'Shannon.

Was welcomed at the Trades Hall on Sunday last by a crowded meeting, which welcomed his calm exposition of the relation of Ireland to the International working class movement. Numerous questions were ably answered. Mr. M'Donough opened the meeting by singing Connolly's Call of Erin, and Mr. J. J. Hughes closed the proceedings with a rendering of Connolly's Watchword of Labour, to Mr. Hughes' own spirited air.

Future Meetings.

Next Sunday, 17th inst., Mr. P. Coates, in fulfilment of a promise made, will speak on Industrial Unionism. Mr. Sean O Cathasaigh will take the platform on the following week.

Socialist Sunday Schools.

We direct our Dublin comrades' attention to the letter by Thomas A. Logan in the "Young Rebel" for March. If there are 500 readers of the "Young Rebel" in Dublin, it should be easy to start a Sunday school.

Cuman na mBan.

is to be congratulated on the success of the concert-lecture in the Mansion House last Friday.

The Commune.

The Commune of Paris, March 17th, 1870, was the first attempt of the modern working class to seize the powers of the State. The Red Flag was hoisted on the Hotel de Ville on March 17th, and for two months the workers of Paris held the city against the scum of the prisons hastily released and organised by the Bourgeois Republic to down the rebels. The German army of occupation in France gave aid to the Republic against the insurgent workers. When Paris fell the General, Gallifet, massacred in cold blood 35,000 rebels, and in all 110,000 men, women and children were butchered by the soldiers of the French Republic, with the vociferous approval of the capitalist press in all countries. Out of the depths of sorrow and misery comes the impulse to struggle. Recalling the sacrifices of the French workers, the more recent memories of our own Commune and the triumph of our Russian comrades, let the National Feast this year bring renewed effort to re-create an Irish communal society.

Fling out the Flag.

The S.P.I. has just ordered, for May Day use, a scarlet poplin banner with a portrait of James Connolly, from Messrs. Murray, Kelly and Kain.

The Summer's Work.

The Socialist Party intends to rise to the opportunities now open to it in Ireland during the summer. If one or two organisers could be appointed to tour the provinces from May to September, a large number of branches could be opened and a vigorous propaganda undertaken. At present there is a brisk demand for literature, but the party cannot tie up its slender capital in printed matter. If money were forthcoming from the many Socialist sympathisers scattered throughout the country, the new pamphlets could be printed and the organisers appointed. As "Satire" says, "Man wants but little here, Bolo, but wants that little quick." Subs. to Secretary, Room 3, Liberty Hall, Dublin.

BELFAST.

Wood Workers Strike.

After three weeks' stoppage for an advance of 4s. 6d. per week, 3,000 woodworkers from the shipyards returned to work on Monday on the promise of the Committee on Production to reconsider their decision.

Linen Trade Crisis.

An important meeting was held last week of linen workers of all sections to demand that during the period of short time full wages shall be paid! The demand is that either the Government or the employers shall recognise their responsibilities and guarantee a living wage for all linen workers who hold themselves at the disposal of the industry for the production of linen cloth. Subsidies are being paid by the Government in the cotton trade in similar circumstances, a definite wage being guaranteed for the one idle week in four or five necessitated by the shortage of cotton.

It is a pleasure to read that the present demand is being made by a Federation of Textile Trade Unions. We hope this combined action will continue and that before long we shall hear of one union for Irish textile workers. No other industry is more suited for the single union than the Irish linen industry, and none should be easier to organise.

LABOUR AND EDUCATION.

Can any good for Labour come out of the universities? This question will be dealt with by Mr. McTavish, General Secretary of the Workers' Educational Association on Saturday night at the Trades Hall, Capel Street, Dublin. The meeting is being arranged by the Belfast W.E.A., to give Mr. McTavish an opportunity of explaining to the workers of Dublin what is being done by the association in England for working class education.

To prevent misunderstanding, we are advised that these Irish organisations are quite autonomous and free to develop their own policy.

We hope all men and women interested in this subject will attend at eight o'clock on Saturday.

25 Per Cent. INCREASE IN DERRY SHOP ASSISTANTS' WAGES.

STRIKE ENDED.

There has just closed down to the satisfaction of the workers concerned, Derry's first drapery strike in the establishment of Messrs. J. J. Pollock & Co.

In January last Messrs. Pollock's refusal to grant the union's minimum wage resulted in a strike that lasted only one day as the workers resumed their duties pending negotiations as to terms.

These negotiations, however, broke down owing to a failure to obtain an agreement with regard to junior labour. Pollock's assistants knew that the wages of the lowest paid members of the staff affect the earnings of the others, and although satisfactory terms might have been arranged for the seniors, they determined to secure their own position against under-cutting by junior labour at sweated rates of pay.

Pollocks, although a strong firm financially, had been in the habit of getting a month's credit for the labour power they bought. In other words they paid their hands monthly. The assistants demanded weekly pay, thinking seven days long enough to stand out of their money.

Twenty-one counter hands, from department managers to apprentices, struck work and remained solidly together throughout. Pollock brought his workroom staff into the shop, but Mr. Owens, the Shop Assistants' organiser, brought them into the street. The vanmen joined the other workers.

Pollock, meantime, received attention from the young factory workers, who came to see him safely home from business in the evenings. The local press says they shouted objectionable remarks, and no doubt Mr. Pollock's feelings suffered. Finally, through the intervention of Councillor Logue, the Chairman of the Derry Trades Council, and Mr. T. Cassidy, the Typographical organiser, a meeting was arranged between Mr. Pollock and Mr. Owens, which resulted in an agreement.

Advances ranging from 3s. 6d. to 10s. a week and averaging 25 per cent. increase, have been secured, and the Union's minimum wage scale will apply to Pollock's house in future. Wages will be paid weekly.

As mentioned in a previous report, the generosity of the local members of the Union enabled all the strikers to receive in strike pay the full amount of their ordinary wages. At one meeting of the Union £6 was collected in voluntary subscriptions to the strike fund.

That is the spirit that wins and holds. Derry Shop Assistants, we salute you! There should be no more strikes in Derry if your fellow workers organise as you have done and fight when forced to do so in the unity of the "Prentice Boys."

Chantez!

Fergus O'Connor has published a four-page penny song-sheet, "Songs of the Wren," by Sean O Cathasaigh. Humorous and sentimental is the description, and they make excellent chorus songs.

The Burden of War Taxes.

THE CO-OPERATIVE REMEDY.

In the "Irish Homestead" for 9th inst., we find the following article, which we commend to our readers' attention:— "The cost of living has increased so much, and with it the profiteers' percentage, that living has become prospectively very difficult. It may be possible now, when war prices for what we have to sell act as an offset to the high prices fixed for all requirements. But in two or three years after the war the surplus of the world's agriculture will again invade our markets and prices of agricultural produce will fall, not, it is true, to their old level, but taxation will not fall, but get greater and heavier to bear. The taxes to a large extent are paid out of war profits and war contracts at present, and these are financed by State loans. The interest on these will have to be paid and the indebtedness mounts up daily by about six and a-half million pounds, but after the war the taxes will be raised on the profits of the normal industry of the country, and the normal industries are dislocated and it will be years before the demobilised soldiers and munition workers get back to industrial employment, and many people doubt whether industry in these islands will ever reach its old pre-eminence. So we are faced with the prospect of taxation which will get much harder and not much easier to bear; and this forces on us in Ireland the necessity of economising in our national housekeeping, and the first thing that would occur to an intelligent people would be to economise in their purchases and to take advantage of any saving which could be effected by co-operative purchase of the raw materials of industry, groceries, clothing, oil, machinery, and the necessities of life. That change can only be brought about by the energetic action of the Irish democracy and by its support of an organising body giving it adequate funds and enabling it to set about this work unhampered by any restrictions or conditions other than those imposed by the people who contribute the money."

The Deluge.

Mr. Russell thus continues:—"Ireland is at present filled with a great deal of paper money. Our fat cattle, our pigs, our bacon, our oats, our potatoes, all real wealth, have been exchanged for paper money, which is getting lodged in the banks, and the bank deposits show large increases, and people say how wealthy Ireland is, how it is benefiting by the war. The truth is that every hundred pounds in a bank is equivalent in actual buying power to about fifty pounds before the war, and on the whole the increased deposits in our banks represent less real wealth than the deposits before the war. Paper money is going down in value every day, and real wealth, food for example, is going up in value. Our advice to Irish farmers is to invest their money in the development of their farms, in live stock, crops, or in co-operative enterprises relating to agriculture, all businesses which

must appreciate in importance and value to the community. We personally in the crash and downfall of empires would prefer to have our wealth in the form of oats, wheat, pigs, cows or poultry than in the form of paper. The actual products of the farm will always have a value, and it increases in time of trouble. The paper money may quite conceivably come to be so little regarded that a man may light his pipe with a Treasury note. We believe in Russia paper money has come very near its intrinsic value as paper apart from money. It is likely that our rulers will try to save the civilizations they represent before things get as bad as in Russia, but they will not be able to prevent the depreciation of paper money and the consequent appreciation in comparison of real wealth. For all these reasons we urge upon our readers that it will be better for them, better for Ireland, if they transfer their paper money into real wealth or into good agricultural securities so far as possible. There are many co-operative enterprises which are perfectly safe investments, and between a man's land and his stock his co-operative society and his trade federations, he has arks ready built which will withstand the deluge. We expect some will read this and remember it later on and be sorry they did not act on our advice. We repeat the Deluge is coming, and the sooner men begin to think about saving their belongings in some ark the better."

DUBLIN HOUSING.

"Much has been written and stated regarding the tenement conditions in the City of Dublin, and the Corporation has from time to time been assailed and accused as the body solely responsible for the creation of the existing conditions." Dublin Corporation Housing Committee Report, No. 13, 1918.

The above quotation from the North side survey report of the Dublin Corporation Housing Committee is an interesting opening to a paragraph which then proceeds to assail in a rather intemperate way all critics of corporation administration, and ends by stating that "the suggestions made in most cases display a complete lack of familiarity with the facts and difficulties of the situation and show the authors as ignorant of the essential principles of this extremely complex problem."

The complexity of the problem consists principally in the fact that the Corporation prefer slum purchase to providing cottages and allotments under Part III. of the Housing Acts.

Now it is a specially interesting quotation because further on in the next paragraph this report states:—"The large old mansions and residential quarters built by the nobility and gentry about the earlier periods gradually drifted from their private residential character and ownership into the hands of the

'house jobber,' whose only concern is to extract the best return for his investment by letting out the rooms in tenements."

One is justified in reiterating that the quotation is interesting as a sample of Dublin Corporation Housing "Camouflage," because on reading Report 107/1905 of the Dublin Corporation, we find the following statement of the manner in which the reprehensible "house jobber" is dealt with by the Dublin Corporation. This report says:—

"The Corporation has also proceeded on the basis that utter confiscation of property is too drastic a remedy even in the case of property owners who do not keep their property in a sanitary condition."

On the 10th July, 1905, it was ordered by the Municipal Council in clear and unmistakable terms that this policy of encouragement and reward for the "house jobber" should be radically changed for one of rigid enforcement of the punitive sections of the Health, Housing and Improvement Acts against defaulters; this was just a few years after the "Townsend Street disaster." It would seem, however, that "vested interests" have once again got the upper hand for we have since had the "Church Street disaster." And to-day a corporation which has quite sufficient powers, if "relentlessly utilised" in a proper manner, altogether to abolish slum conditions and slum landlordism, principally at the expense of such landlords, is buying out these same landlords at a rate of about £4,074 per acre, and evicting the unfortunate people before they have new homes to go to. Instance Boyne Street, Crabba Lane, and Spitalfields areas; moreover, slum purchase is advocated in the present report.

It would be well that the workers of Dublin would "sift the subject in all its bearings," and as a preliminary insist that as a minimum 14,000 cottages and allotments be provided on "virgin sites" before any more slum areas are dealt with.

J. VINCENT BRADY.

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IRISH OPINION

THE VOICE OF LABOUR

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF INDUSTRIAL AND POLITICAL DEMOCRACY.

EVERY THURSDAY, ONE PENNY.

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The Capitalist Conspiracy.

The capitalist Press of the world shrieks with joy just now. It has been announced that Japan has undertaken the invasion of the territory of the Russian Republic, so the hearts of aristocrats, bourgeoisie and bondholders everywhere throb with excited joy. Japan is setting out only, we are assured, to preserve the peace of the Far East, but we may be permitted to think, even D.O.R.A. has not yet discovered any way to prevent that, that a Power that has done more to upset the peace of the Far East during the past three years than all Europe during the preceding decade is not quite so altruistic as the Press and the talkers would have us believe. During the past three years Japan has had practically a free hand in China and has become so strong there that even the United States has been forced to recognise that strength. Japan is one of the most ambitious nations of the world and she is at the moment also one of the wealthiest. In 1914 Japan was rapidly approaching financial and economic disaster. She was very heavily in debt and her people groaned under the weight of the taxation imposed upon them. During the war Japanese industry has had a boom, very largely at the expense of Russia, for which a very large munitions trade was undertaken. But Japan did not confine its attention to the output of war munitions, trade has been taken from America and England in manufactured goods ranging from paper to glass. The trade of China and of India is now dominantly Japanese. The outbreak of war found Japan a debtor nation but now Japan is a creditor to nearly all the nations of Europe. Japan has now a finger in all the diplomatic pies, no nation can now afford to ignore the fact of its indebtedness to Japan. And Japan, like her great predecessors, has taken advantage of this indebtedness to force her will upon her debtors. This is the good old game; it is merely played by a new player. So Japan goes into Siberia to preserve the peace of the Far East and to keep the Germans from overrunning Russia. It is, of course, of no significance to the kept scribes of the capitalist Press that the Germans are thousands of miles away from Siberia and are never likely to get there or even to have any great desire to get there.

The fact is that the Japanese are afraid for the debt due by the late Russian Government. A peace with Germany would not affect the Japanese very much, but a repudiation of the Russian debt is of very great importance indeed to the newly enriched capitalists of Japan. Such a repudiation would also very seriously perturb the capitalists of other countries. The British Government has undertaken to pay the interest accruing upon that part of the Russian debt held by British investors. The full interest is not being paid, but instead of being truly thankful for the half loaf, which is said to be better than no bread, British investors protested vigorously. They wanted all and evidently they are very determined to have all as there can be no doubt whatever that the decision to invade Russian territory with Japanese troops is not the unaided decision of Japan. We may be certain that Japan has been prompted in this important matter by France, England, Italy, and America. The Czar's Government owed to France enormous sums; sums loaned by the Republic whose motto is "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," to a Government to which the very words of that motto meant sedition. The Government of the Czar was possible for many years simply because the money required to run it was procurable from France. It is surely ironic that the country which taught Europe the principles of democratic government should have kept up the tyranny of the Czar. Yet so it was. And England did the same despite the protestations of democracy from that country. People who have money will invest it where the interest is highest no matter what corruption may be covered by the interest paid and no matter what torture and degradation the payment of that interest may entail. Capitalism is no more scrupulous of its methods than was the Czar's Government. Its first thought is of self-preservation; its last thought is that of revenge. The action of Japan in invading Russian territory may be traced to the instinct of capital to preserve its rights and to take revenge upon any who threaten its preserves. The Bolsheviki have done both. They are anti-capitalists and they have been courageous enough and logical enough to put their theories into practice. Because they have had this courage they have brought upon themselves the hatred of capitalism the world over and the kept Press of capitalism consequently applauds the action of Japan.

The ideas of the Bolsheviki are dangerous. They threaten the privileges of capitalism throughout the world. They may very easily percolate through the world and the workers of other countries may at least attempt to emulate the triumph of the Russian peasants and the Russian workmen. This must be guarded against at all costs, think the capitalists, and so they organise the attack upon the Russian Republic. It is safe to say that world capitalism would prefer the victory of the German junkers to the victory of the Russian Bolsheviki. Over one hundred years ago France found herself in a somewhat similar position. Then France threatened "the peace and security of the world," and France had to be beaten, so the Powers combined to beat France. The Powers are not the peoples. The Powers are a combination of the interests of the capitalists and the ignorance of the peoples.

The ignorance of the peoples was successfully played upon to bring about the downfall of the French Revolution. The same game is being attempted now and it seems as if the intervention of one hundred years has made no real difference. The workers of Japan, just as the workers of Germany, are being used to bring about the defeat of the Russian Revolution and of the Russian Republic, and the workers of other countries applaud just as they applauded the victory of the aristocracy at Waterloo. Our daily newspapers may, as they do, misrepresent the national opinion.

Lurid tales are being circulated, have been circulated for months, about the alleged excesses of the Bolsheviki. That was merely a preparation of the ground, the preliminary camouflage, for the grand attack that has been in contemplation at least since Kerensky fell. Capitalism must be preserved at all costs, and as only the lives of workers may be sacrificed in its preservation no severe strain is imposed upon the conscience of the capitalists, and they say and some believe that the preservation of capitalism is the highest form of patriotism.

Notes and Comments.

Death of Mr. J. E. Redmond.

The death of the Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party was about the last event we expected to hear. But it has come, and we offer our sympathy to his family. His death at this time may be followed by consequences which we at present cannot foresee, but at least what is possible at the moment is a very serious "split" in the ranks of the Party itself. For some time past many members have not been in agreement with the Party policy, and it would not surprise us if the loss of its Chairman were to lead to the break-up of the Party. For our own part, we have very rarely found ourselves in agreement with either the words or actions of the dead leader. He was always too mild, too kind, too much of the gentleman in politics to meet with our approval in conducting Ireland's fight against England. There was little of the spirit of Parnell in John Redmond. He had none of Parnell's bitterness, none of Parnell's hatred for England, and consequently he leaves behind him at Westminster none of those bitter memories that Parnell left as a legacy to the members of that institution. John Redmond was in fundamentals a Conservative, in our opinion a Conservative of the most conservative kind. In any Irish Parliament he would certainly have been the leader of a "standpat" bloc; in English politics, had he not been bound by the Party pledge, he might have been a member of the small group of reforming Tories who believe in a paternal government. "Do things for the people, lest they do things for themselves," might fit their policy, and we believe that at bottom the social policy of the late leader was the same. He was an Imperialist who evidently sincerely believed in the efficacy of the British Empire. It is not only since 1914 that Mr. Redmond has been an Imperialist, all his life he had been one, and if fault is to be found with him, fault must also be found with the bulk of our people who accepted his policy. It is true, however, that the outbreak of war in 1914 provoked a reaction against Mr. Redmond's policy in Ireland. The leader had misjudged England, but he also very seriously misjudged his own country. He offered peace to England, but England was not prepared to stand by its part of the peace bargain. Redmond might have won had England not thrown him over.

He staked everything on the chance of Home Rule then, and he lost. Ireland was to give all and to get nothing in return. Mr. Redmond may have had great faith, but he had to deal with a people with long memories of British treacheries, who had no faith in the words of British statesmen. We have lost a kindly, sincere man, who tried to do good for his country and to serve his fellow countrymen. More than that one cannot do. We are sorry for Mr. Redmond's death, and sorry for the reasons of his failure.

The Clerks' Victory.

The joint action of the Bakers, Transport Workers and Clerks has again been very effective. The directors of Boland's bakery and mills adopted a position which might easily produce very difficult circumstances for the city generally. Such an attitude on the part of those who control factories should be very severely dealt with by the general public. One would imagine from the attitude of these gentlemen that they were the beginning and the end of all things. The fact is the reverse. Messrs. Boland do not mill flour only for the directors of the firm, not even only for the exclusive use of the shareholders. Bread is not baked by Messrs. Boland exclusively for consumption by directors or shareholders of that institution. They employ men to mill flour and to bake bread for the use of the people of the City of Dublin and surrounding districts. A profit has to be made out of the process, and in fact two profits are made; one out of the men who convert wheat into flour and flour into bread and another out of the people of Dublin, who consume the flour and bread manufactured by Messrs. Boland. In the last resort the people who consume the produce are responsible for the conditions under which foods are produced. If the people make up their minds that only goods produced under the best conditions and by firms paying the best wages should be consumed by them, such conditions would be the rule rather than the exception. The time is ripe for the consumer to do his part as a consumer in forcing the hands of directors like those of Bolands Ltd. The producers and the transporters have done their part, or some of it, anyway. The consumer for whom the whole system is carried on, ultimately has done very little except to

express by unanimous resolutions, passed with enthusiasm invariably, his determination to do something sometime. Yet Bolands are dependent upon such people, and the directors of that firm can, so far as the consumer is concerned, take up an attitude of active opposition to trade union demands. Had it not been for the excellence of the organisation in this strike, the objective could never have been gained. Yet very small pressure by the consumers, if organised, would very materially aid in any future action that may be necessary. To trade unionists particularly, we would commend organisation as consumers as well as organisation as workers. The workers in other lands have found such organisation of very great assistance to them in pressing home their trade union demands. Meanwhile, we hope the I.C.W. Union will be heartened by this victory and press on to others not less necessary.

How We'll Pay.

An ingenious correspondent tells us that as a result of the Business Men's War Bond Week in England the taxation of Ireland will be largely increased. As we have tested his professedly rough figures, we find he has understated the amount of extra burdens Ireland will bear as a consequence of the English business man's patriotism at 5½ per cent. London subscribed £70,000,000. Ireland's annual share of the interest will be over £320,000. Liverpool lent £12,000,000 to ease the Government's worries, and every year Ireland will contribute to Liverpool's future prosperity over £55,000. Big prices to pay every year for one week's loyal demonstrations by England's profiteers. Who said, cut the painter?

Naas.

The Naas Plotters' Association has secured offers of land for "plotting" from several local landholders, and has arranged (1) to take the rent of the plots from applicants in weekly or monthly contributions spread over the year; (2) to supply seeds, artificial manures, and tools on the same terms through the Urban Council or through any trader in the town; and (3) to advance the 5s. deposit to those who cannot spare that amount at time of application for plot. The local clergy and members of the U.D.C. are co-operating.

Transport Union Notes.

HOW ULSTER FARMERS FEED THEIR SERVING BOYS.

The undernoted scale of dietary tells its own story. The Agricultural Wages Board allows 12/6 a week for board. The farmer manages to "skin" 7/3 a week profit by feeding his men as shown.

Breakfast, 7 o'clock a.m.

Piece of wheaten bread and butter—or, if no butter—then dipped in pan dripping or lard.

Mug of tea ... Cost about 2d.

Dinner, 12 o'clock mid-day.

Potatoes boiled, raw egg, salt—"Summer."

Potatoes boiled, small slice of bacon, cabbage or turnip—"Winter" ... Cost about 3d.

Note—Egg is broken on a plate, beat up, and potatoes dipped in it.

Four o'clock p.m.

About 4 ozs. bread and jam and a cup of tea—and five minutes to take it—

Cost about 2d.

Seven o'clock p.m.

Porridge ("oatmeal"), and a cup of butter-milk ... Cost about 1d.

Note—The only items in above list that the farmer has to purchase are—

Quarter tea per month ... Cost 7d.

One lb. sugar per month ... Cost 6d.

Total 1s. 2d.

All the other items quoted grown by him or "raised" on his farm—

Total value per day ... 9s. 3d.

Total weekly value, six days ... 4s. 6d.

Total weekly value, seven days ... 5s. 3d.

Remount Depot Scandal.

Since the beginning of the war civilian labour has been employed at the Remount Depots, and up to three months ago the men were unorganised. When they joined the Transport Workers' Union the superintendents gave them friendly advice to avoid the anarchists of Liberty Hall but the men stuck firm, with the result that they have now obtained through the intervention of the Union an advance of 5s. per week, making 34s. 6d. in all. Since then repeated attempts have been made by the superintendent to terrorise the men by asking them to fill up forms showing their trade-union connection, and in selecting supposed ring-leaders for dismissal without regard to length of service. The men remain loyal to the Union. The authorities have warned the men that unless they are prepared to don khaki they will all be dismissed.

Up to the present, of 400 men only 26 have signified their willingness to join the English army, and these are old men who believe they are not fit for military service. This little scheme of enlistment by belly squeezing, if carried out, will throw 400 more men on Dublin's streets to join the 1,200 dismissed from Kynoch's despite the heroic efforts to save Kynoch's by the old Party. The "Freeman," strangely enough, has nothing these days to say about Kynoch's.

Bright Example.

The Transport Workers' Union has secured an agreement with a leading farmer in Co. Dublin, to pay his farm labourers during the season of 1918 £1.10s. per week, with £4 harvest money payable on October 1st. Overtime will be paid at the rate of 1s. per hour and the horse attendant will receive 3s. per week extra. The average wage with all extras included will equal 35s. per week. This agreement registers high water mark of agricultural labourers in Ireland.

This sort of agreement secures harmony in the work and is bound to promote Food Production. Farmers elsewhere, please copy, and Labourers: the Union that secured this agreement can get it for you.

Baginbally.

A meeting of the I.T.W.U. will be held here on Sunday, 24th March. Mr. T. Farren will speak.

Wexford.

Mr. T. Farren addressed a monster meeting here on Sunday last in the Town Hall, and a great influx of new recruits followed.

St. Margarets.

A new branch was started in St. Margarets, North County Dublin is now completely organised, and the fruits are seen in the agreement published this week.

Limerick.

The agricultural labourers here are moving into the I.T.W.U. in numbers, and the I.T.W.U. organisers quartered at Limerick have had a successful meeting at Nenagh. Other meetings have been arranged at Bruff, Ballybricken and Clarina, from which good results are expected. Cathal O'Shannon will lecture on Friday, 15th inst. in the Theatre Royal, Limerick, on "Connolly and the Workers' Republic."

NOTES FROM CORK.

On the King Street Front.

The strike at Dobbin's continues its wonted way. Pickets are maintained at full strength, and on both sides the determination to fight to a finish is as strong as at the beginning five or six weeks ago. Through its secretary the Employers' Federation has publicly announced that it is supporting Sir Alfred Dobbin. Sir Alfred is losing very heavily in the Palace Theatre, performances in which are almost completely boycotted. Public opinion has been turned definitely against those city shops that stock Dobbin's goods, and in one particular instance the public made a vigorous demonstration of its disapproval of the exposure for sale of tainted goods. Shop assistants are loyally backing the boycott. Another big subscription to the strike funds has been received from the Haulbowline workers per Domhnall Barrett.

Looking for Trouble.

At Daunt's Square one of the largest meetings held recently in Cork showed that the people of Cork are wholeheartedly with the strikers. The speakers were Messrs. P. Lynch, Trades Council; John Good, Railwaymen; and Cathal O'Shannon, Transport and General Workers. The Connolly Memorial Band headed a procession of strikers from Camden Quay to Daunt's Square. Sir Alfred is well beaten but is too stubborn to admit defeat. The secretary of the Employers' Federation does not state that Sir Alfred's request for a lock-out of the Transport workers was turned down by the employers. Nor does he state that the Discharged Soldiers' and Sailors' Federation indignantly refused to supply the firm with blacklegs. The strikers remain in the best of humour, and are enjoying their well-earned holiday.

An Was.

The funeral of Tom Walsh was one of the big events of last week. The Irish Citizen Army, Dublin, of which he was a member, sent a beautiful wreath and representatives to the funeral. The boys and girls of the I.C.A. turned out two strong contingents.

and the Transport and General Workers' Union was strongly represented. Tom Walsh was one of the most popular of Cork workers, and those who came into contact with him in Cork, Dublin, Richmond, and various centres of detention across the water, will mourn the loss of a good comrade, a good Trade-Unionist, and a grand class-conscious worker.

The Farmer's "Boy."

In the Transport Union the agricultural labourers in the Cork area are finding a Union after their own heart. The cry with them is still "Send us an organiser." The branches in Group II. have now laid down their minimum demand at 30/- per week, with increase at harvest, and many labourers have already been hired at this figure. More power to these pioneers, for the farmers in the district are making strenuous efforts to organise themselves for an offensive against their labourers.

Workers and Education.

At the last meeting of the Trades Council the delegates of the primary teachers were heartily welcomed. Now that the teachers have affiliated, it is to be hoped that they will take an active part in the Trade Union and Labour movement. An educational campaign is an urgent necessity, and in this direction the help of the teachers will be invaluable. It was announced at the Trades Council meeting that on Monday, 18th inst. Mr. M. Tavish, Organiser for the W.E.A., is to give an organising address for the Association at University College. The non-convening of the local Committee at an hour that would suit the worker members of the Committee was sharply criticised. This wants some explanation from the conveners of the Committee. Dr. Burke is working hard to make the lecture a success.

S.P.I.

A Cork branch of the S.P.I. has been founded and readers of "Irish Opinion" who are in sympathy with the Socialist and internationalist movement are asked to put themselves in touch with the branch.

Mr. D. Houston is progressing favourably, although still confined to hospital.

The Southern member of the I.T.W. and G.U. Executive reports that the recent meeting of the Executive was the best in the history of the Union. It must have been "some" meeting!

TRADES COUNCIL ELECTION.

We congratulate Mr. T. Foran on his election to the Chair of Dublin Trades Council, a dignity which has been well earned by strenuous and unselfish effort during the past few years.

Scottish Farm Servants.

From the "Herald's" Scottish notes we take the following:—

"The Scottish Farm Servants' Union has made remarkable progress in 1917, enrolling over 8,000 new members in that period, and securing a circulation of 10,000 for the 'Scottish Farm Servant'—all this being voluntary effort on the part of members and officials. They are now out for an all-round advance of 10s. a week, and before long will be ready to control and work the land for the good of the nation."

This Union was strong enough to mould the Corn Production Bill favourably to themselves—yet not one county in Scotland sends a labour member to Westminster. The Farmers' Union has been compelled to recognise the S.F.S.U. and hiring fairs are practically abolished—all by direct action. And the men and women of the Union support their own monthly paper. Can't we go some more and back up our weekly "Irish Opinion"?

AN SINICEALACT.

Le D. O. R.

Da beap agus ba trádamaíl ar fad an leabair úd "Marxian Socialism" do tug an t-ádhair Ó Lorcáin dáinn le goimh, go móir-móir an méir atá le fáil aige i dtéarmaí na Sinicealacta. Is léir go dtuigseann sé an ceirt go n-ionlán. Éinne ar maith leis eolair chumh agus tuigseana ceart beir aige ar an gcumannaíocht, ar an Sinicealact, ar gluaireacht na bfeap oibre ar fad, ní féadfaid sé fuo níof fearr a déanú ná cõip de'n leabair úd a fágail agus é léigead go beaíct ó clárad go clárad. Níl fáiltíof ar an ádhair Ó Lorcáin fonn focal ar bit. Sgríobad airte ran bpráipéir seo cúpla reáctamán ó fonn as cup i n-uil dáinn go dtídeat go minic ar Karl Marx aet ip annam go léigtear ran dtír seo é. Is fíof é rin, dar ndoig bíof go bfuil ádhair as ceáct. Ní n-é amáin imeárs na mbéaploirí atá, sé as ceáct aet imeárs na n-ádhairí. Is corruime agáinn nae gcuirseann fpeir beas ip na ceiteannaib seo pé rseal é ó coas na pó-muinníe i mbáile áca Cliaí cúis blian ó fonn.

POARC AR LORZ CHIRE.

Is deacair an gníomh é cup fíof ar an Sinicealact dtéanga ar bit. Gníomh veib n-uair níof cruádté ip ad é cup fíof ipéir i n-ádhairí. San seáad áca ceáctuis ann cleáctú agus mínead uainn. Mar rin féin, níl aon níof níof rimplíde ná an fíunne. Sean-áca atá ran Sinicealact i n-gan fíof dáinn. Ní féadair ar mbreáir líom rean-áca níof dtíre cup ór bfuil seomair. Sé an Sinicealact ná an neáir ar lortz chire.

Cúis na n'Áoime.

I n-gac ádhair do'n domáin mbíú tá na fíof oibre fonnáin agus a gcúir dá bpléir áca agus a seáct dá dtíof áca. Sé gluaireacht na bfeap oibre an gluaireacht ip láiríe le náil Linne. Tá na fíof cruinníge ipreáct i gcumáin ceíofe moira. Tá a bpráipéir féin áca. Cluáctair a n-guáca i ltrídeáct ar n-annfeap. Romh an seáad seo bíofair féin agus a gcúir as dul i dtíre agus as dul i méir i n-gac aon tír pa bpráinne, i Sarana, ran seápmáin, i n-éipinn féin.

Ádhair atá le ceáct.

Is fíofar o'émne a léigseann páipéirí

na bfeap oibre pá ládhair ip fíofar o'émne go bfuil fíof ceáct aige ceáct áca as rnaomá agus as déanú, ip fíofar o'émne a túsáin pá n-deáca comáiríat an t-ádhair ip fíofar do-ran gan dáct a túsáin go bfuil ádhair le ceáct ar an rnaogal ceáca i neitib a bámeáir le rtao na pó-muinníe. Is péirí le duine seáir-intinneáct an méir rin a túsáin go dtíreáct mar ábi dáime seáir-intinníe i n-ann a túsáin i láir an t-óctmáct áoir deáas go fáil ádhair móir le ceáct ar an bpráinne. Ní móir dáinn cumhú ar an dtíreáct ipéir an dá áoir. Tá an domáin níof luáa áoir. Tá an corruimeáct ipéir tíofaib an domáin le linn na n-uairíe seo. Cuirseann boíteir íarainn agus rseáns rseáluí-deáct agus íl-iongántair na n-eal-ádhair na tíofa le ceáct ádhair líge náir cuirseáct i n-ádhair. Bíonn luáct oibre as tíofa i n-ádhair an bóctanair, an ocráir, na n-éáscóira. Tá maoin ar ndóctam agáinn aet tá na mílte dáime gan bíof. Níl fáil ná rtao áca. Táir ar dtíof oibre; go minic ní tús lea a rtao beáca a fágail agus gan íof féin beir cionntáct leis. Ádhairíseann n cúile duine an méir rin.

Déantúirí na n-Áoime.
Molad dáinn a curú le déan dtíofa na n-Áoime. Táiníse bpráíof ipreáct ionnta dá fáil agus dá maíof an fuo é aet ní fáil an o'ádhair áca a tórná an uair rin. Uí margíofaí áca áca Cliaí, ná eúro áca péir domáin é, comh dona i 1918 agus do bí na túsáinai taláin agus Ríádhair Sarana ádhair. Tuigseann ó fonn go fáil tíofaídeáct dtíofaí an com maíof leis an tíofaídeáct íaráca. Tá léigear le rtaoíl ar fáil oic. Ceáct é an léigear atá le rtaoíl ar o'pó-rtaoíl ar n-áoiríe ip na neitib a bámeáir le rtaoíl an pobul? Tá a rseánsa féin as fáil duine agáinn. Tá muísin as o'péam móir ar an gcóm-oibre. Tá muísin as o'péam láiríof eile ar an seáct. Tá an cumannaíocht as dul ar ádhair fpeirín. Aet ceáct ip Sinicealact ann?

An Focal agus an Niré.
Táir agáinn go maíof ceáct ip Cumannaíocht ann. Is rtaoíl é. Sé tá ó na cumannaíofe ná an rtaoíl áca pá féin ádhair ádhair i seáct go mbéad an taláin, na boíteir íarainn, na maíof, na dtéantúiríofe go léir pá

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By Father Gaynor. No. 2.—The Fallure of
Parliamentarianism. By Revd. Jas. Clancy, P.P.
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**BELFAST INDEPENDENT LABOUR
PARTY.**

SUNDAY, 17th MARCH.

LABOUR HALL, 77a VICTORIA STREET,
AT 7 P.M.: Mr. F. NOLAN,
Subject: "REFORM or REVOLUTION."

NORTH HALL, LANGLEY STREET,
(Off Tennent Street), at 7.30 P.M., "UNITAS"
Subject: "DEMOCRACY."

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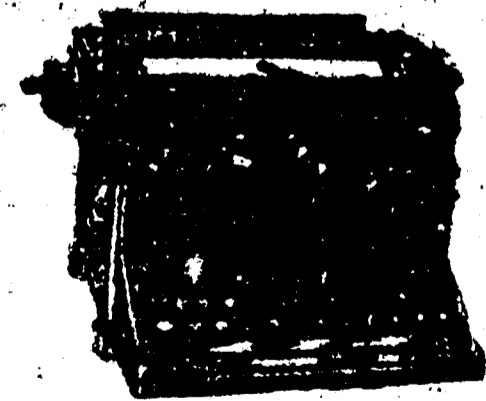
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tion "Irish Opinion."

Where to Re-House the Boyne St. Tenants.

THE BATTLE OF TRINITY COLLEGE. BY CITIZEN.

Passing Trinity College any evening during term time, you may see under the portico a group of gowasmen, neat and dandy in appearance, correct of deportment. They are biding their time to pay gustatory tribute to Lord Rhondda—if it is a meatless day. Like the cricket match luncheon, it is "the best part of the game." For it is the hour of commons dinner.

If they seem to read a curious or profane challenge in our glance, they will freeze us with the steel and scornful eye. Does some far-seeing fellow among them read a minatory flicker in our impudent glance?

For we consider that one evening may come, when the group is discussing a point in divinity, or, it may be, lilting the latest haunting melody caught from the lips of the "star" of the Empire, and the noise of a passion-driven rabble will interrupt them from afar. Then, as the men in possession grow pale, a mob of infuriated sansculottes may rush the doors. One of the moments has arrived when a great people, realising its wrongs, is driven headlong before a tempest of wild, mad indignation.

Then there would be no use for the steel-cold eye, for the cigarette, for the beadle's velvet cap, for the notes from the lectures on economics. The fight would be of primitive savagery—the strongest wins. And they might clang the big bell as the reveillé of the O.T.C.!

The crowd would be the pick of Dublin's very poor—the desperate poor. It would be composed of the fathers and brothers from all the families who live in one tenement room.

Do you think the four three-quarters of the Varsity Rugby fifteen, together with the heavy-weight and bantam-weight champions of the College boxing tournament, relieved by the picked athletes of the "gym," with the beadles in their gamekeepers' caps and suits of plush whipping-in, and finally the whole legion, commanded by the Provost, rhyming martial invectives in Greek—do you think they could put up a fight against the wolf of starvation—yea, ten thousand wolves, with ten thousand empty bellies—snarling at the door?

I would put my money on the big and hungry battalions.

The beadles, in the sportsmen's caps, who have never hunted anything more lively than a poor man off the grass, or than bits of waste paper blown by the wind on to the quadrangle—these hefty and healthy gentlemen would bite the dust.

Professor Mahaffy's academic robes might be left as tattered as the rags worn by the invaders. These latter might swarm into the students' rooms, might tumble over chairs, pianos, gramophones, book-shelves, cigar boxes, card parties, "musical evenings," and vorticist seances. Men who had not had a meal all that day might fall upon cups of tea, freshly made, and slices of rich currant cake, freshly cut. But the earnest men would not eat or drink. They would cry: "We have come to take shelter!"

"The humblest bird," they would say, "has a well-built nest. The snail and the hedgehog is born to his house, the worm to his farm. We alone, whose bodies are the temples of the Holy

Ghost; we who are made in God's image and likeness—we have not whereon to lay our heads."

They would drive out the planters, with the lash of indignation, as the boy Christ drove the money-changers from the temple. And they would go back to fetch their women-folk and children to the new dwellings, model dwellings, indeed—the "Trinity College tenements."

They had looked upon it every day, the cold and supercilious thing holding itself apart—a demesne and mansion in the heart of a slum-ridden city. And it had never struck them before that it would make ideal homes for workingmen.

But the loss to culture? Goldsmith studied there. That is so, indeed, and he slept naked between the feathers of his mattress because he had given his bedclothes to a family who were dreadfully poor. But if Goldsmith, in black robes, were to come back to earth, to Dublin, and walk through the Coombe, or some of our more eloquent areas, and then pass by his own statue right into his old university, he would give a very scornful look if he stepped into that meeting the other evening when the students seriously debated the subject—that a benevolent despotism assures more freedom in a state than democratic government.

After this, the Convention may hurry up with its report on housing, for fear of finding grabbers about its Senate house.

And Trinity, Mahaffy will say, must make some contribution to civic ideals and civic work, and it must come in contact with the realities of industrial life.

Next Week's Special Articles:

The Gaelic Movement To-day

By SEAN O CATHASAIGH

The Commune of the Gael

(Response to Father Gaynor's Challenge),

By E. GUFF.

Military Service and Registration Acts.

Position of Irishmen in Great Britain,

By ALD. A. BYRNE, M.P.

Dublin's Dirty Butchers.

An Exposure of Filthy and Dangerous Practices.

By S. MACDOWELL.

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