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IRISH OPINION

# The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

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OCTOBER 19 1918.

ONE PENNY

Articles by

J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. Professor R. M. Henry.  
J. T. Walton Newbold, M.A. M. W. Robieson, M.A.

## Labour Party's Achievements : MEMORANDA FOR THE POLITICIANS.

Last week we set out in James Connolly's own words his reply to those who urge that Labour shall not meddle with politics. There is no escape from his conclusion that Labour must take part in politics and strive for the mastery of the powers of government as for control of industry.

We want our readers, however, to go to Connolly direct. His name is being invoked to-day by those who were his bitterest enemies in life and who would fain blot out his memory and teaching. That they cannot do, so, like Canon Murphy of Kilmanagh, they content themselves with slandering the dead by innuendo and misrepresentation. We have no special reason to complain of the good Canon. We recognise his limitations, but there are others, for whose perversions we cannot with the best will in the world find excuses.

It is insidiously suggested that Labour's approach to politics is a deadly insult to Connolly's memory, and quite contrary to his teaching, and that the nomination of Labour candidates is an entirely new plan devised by William O'Brien, Thomas Johnson, and a few other prominent Labour men.

What are the facts? As far back as 1912, under the leadership of Jim Larkin and James Connolly, the Irish Trade Union Congress, then a "pure and simple" non-political organisation of trade unions, enlarged its functions, became a political organisation, and added to its title the words "and Labour Party."

As a Labour Party it has contested Local Government elections, and it has, since elections were abolished, had the mortification of seeing Labour seats snatched by the co-option of Sinn Feiners and Mollys in Dublin and elsewhere. As a Labour Party it has fought one bye-

election, thus carrying out the policy that Connolly initiated.

Is there a line in Connolly's writings that would justify the workers of Ireland in abandoning to middle class theorists, to lawyers, politicians, farmers and shop-keepers, the choice of political representatives?

He was not the man, to create an organisation democratic in structure and working and entrust it when made to the political bosses of any party, and least of all to any of those who, in the life and death struggle of 1911-13, were ranged with the enemies of the Transport Union.

That the political activities of Irish Labour have not up to the present been strongly in evidence is due to the intense and sustained efforts of the Labour Party in the industrial sphere.

The real battle of the workers is not in politics. The bitter struggle that means life and death to working people, success or failure to the Labour movement, is that which proceeds day by day on the fields and in the factories and workshops. Out of that battle the Labour Party has brought victory and the fruits of victory.

Compare the achievements of the politicians. One set circulated last week to their weekly papers in the country this piece of political wisdom:—

"The desire in some quarters that Sinn Fein should have a Labour programme is a desire that cannot be fulfilled at present. Sinn Fein stands less for a Party than for the nation, and being a composite body as it is, it cannot, as such, have a programme for Labour any more than it can have a programme for capital. Besides which there is no doubt that any programme which might be evolved while

not entirely satisfying Labour would of a certainty not satisfy capital."

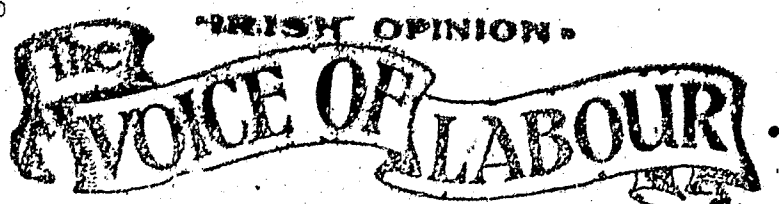
Since that party has no social policy, the working-class need expect nothing—and, expecting nothing, will not be disappointed. The other set of politicians boast of their record of service in the House of Commons. With their assistance the Corn Production Act was altered to put the Irish labourer in a worse position than the English rural worker. Bad as the Act was, it set up a minimum, but

without the Irish Labour Party working through its components, the I.T. and C.W.U. and N.A.U.L. in Ireland, the minimum wage would be a dead letter

That in Dublin, Kildare, Cork, Derry, Antrim, Down, and elsewhere, the workers have a wage in excess of the legal minimum; that wherever Labour is organised the minimum is enforced, and that the town workers' wages have been raised in every trade are due to no politicians, Westminsterian, Hungarian, or All-for-Murphy, but to the workers' own efforts and their own organisation.

With all their resources, the politicians fought labour, organised gangs of scabs and blacklegs, backed the police in their baton-charges and assaults, and invoked the forces of bigotry to destroy labour organisations. Despite them, and in face of adverse economic conditions, the Irish Labour Party has put money in the pockets of the workers, has maintained and raised the standard of living for great masses of the people—and that without a single seat in the Parliament at Westminster. The same organisation, the same men and women, and these alone, can master the powers of local and national government.

COLKITTO.



Edited by CATHAL O'SHANNON.

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## TO OUR READERS.

With all apologies to the Editor of the "Socialist Review," we are compelled to lift the following articles from his pages.

The Winter Number of the "Review" is one of the most interesting yet produced under the editorship of Mr Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., and its articles cover a wide field of interest.

## HOW PUBLIC OPINION IS MADE

By J. Ramsay MacDonald.

Never in the history of any country has the manufacture of public opinion and emotion been such an expensive affair, and never have Governments paid such attention to it. For so little does conviction count on the militarist side, that funds from voluntary sources cannot be found to carry on the war propaganda, and the majority of the propagandists have to be paid handsome fees. The War Aims Committee was started on voluntary subscriptions and failed. It was then given access to the unlimited public purse. In the first eight months of its existence it spent £28,058. During April and May this year, it spent £23,200, £5,800 on meetings (some of which addressed by Ministers had not half a dozen persons in the audience), and £17,400 on literature, little of which is either able or dignified. In June it spent £15,000, and in July, although complete accounts have not been rendered, it is known to have spent £15,750. These figures are disgraceful.

The Ministry of Information was official from the commencement. It has had a varied career. Its publications have been ineffective, and it has neither understood its problems nor faced them successfully. It is spending little short of £2,000,000, and it is staffed by a group of directors, more than one of whom ought to be disqualified for public service.

Part of the work of this department is to state our case to neutrals. Its work, however, is also to touch up public opinion at home, and this it does mainly by an abuse of the cinema. Some of its films, like the "Hearts of the Empire," are stupendous examples of the art of fake, and weave together Arcadian scenes of peace with hellish representations of war; love stories of the kind adored by readers of the "Penny Novelette" and the "Family Herald," and atrocities too cruel to be looked upon. The audience forgets that it sees a made-up affair, that it is Allied subjects who represent the Prussian armies and behave on instructions given by stage managers, and that the bruised and wounded women walk off to a good dinner with the villains after the photographs of the evils done to them have been taken. The audience is harrowed and horrified, and goes away imagining that it has seen the real thing and reads the show of the evening in the "Daily Mail" of next morning.

Thus, Hymns of Hate, far more diabolical and disgraceful, and, one has to admit, far more effective for mischief, have been, and are being, chanted from hundreds of screens in hundreds of towns up and down the country. One marvels that any decency of thought or balance of judgment can stand up against such a propaganda. I went to see one of these films recently, and came out in the middle so violent became my disgust. But I studied the audience first and I came to this conclusion. These dramas of hate do not change opinion. They strengthen the emotional ignorance and hooliganism that are always with us. This in normal times is restrained by rational social habits, for in its heart it knows that it is unworthy and has to show itself with circumspection and in its own surroundings and companionship. The film of hate, however, gives it countenance, encourages it to dominate and come out in the open as a socially acceptable thing. The balance of social decency is upset, and whilst there is no more evil in public opinion than before, what there is is more powerful and is encouraged to take more licence. This is supplemented by a propaganda in which some of the most discredited Labour leaders play a part. Motor cars are put at their disposal, and money is at their command. Their propaganda is blackguardism, and they are supported by troupes of pierrots, music-hall artistes and others who pander to thoughtless crowds by words and statements and methods that sensible people ought to despise and wise ones deplore. We are, therefore, paying millions a year not to enlighten people on the war even from a militarist point of view, but to give degraded social habits more influence, a coarsened social mind more vociferousness, an ignorant social intelligence more credulity.

## HOW INDUSTRY GOVERNS POLITICS.

BY J. T. WALTON NEWBOLD, M.A.

In whatever direction we turn, into whatever industry we inquire, into whatever area brought within the range of capitalist exploitation we may go, we find everywhere the same tendency towards amalgamation and unity of forces upon the side of our adversaries. When we pass from the economic to the political field we discover that we have not left behind the personalities and the corporations whom we have so recently been observing, but that they are operating behind the more or less successful screen of Parliamentary and propagandist camouflage, which they have rigged across the stage to conceal their real manoeuvres and identity. In politics, also, we discern that the great interests are consolidating their position, and are reflecting in official institutions and governmental departments the sacred union of what were, until recently, divergent class parties. The explanation of this change is not to be found so much in anything that is apparent in the world of politics, anything that is visible in the current literature—if so we may name it—which is being perused by the mass of the people. Nowhere can it be so clearly perceived as in studying the nature and relationship of modern property-holding as exemplified in lists of stocks and shareholders, in partnerships and the like; as well as in the more or less romantic tale of fashionable marriages or of birthday honours.

The propertied classes are now woven and interwoven; locked and interlocked economically, socially and politically to a degree that almost baffles description. This being the case, suspicions, jealousies, antagonisms which sundered them one from another, have been removed and, whilst it would not be true to say that they are an entirely happy family, the capitalists and the landed proprietors have very little use left for party politics except as "a game" to distract the workers from forming a party and conducting a political battle on their own account.

All the dominant elements in the capitalist class have waived their traditional objections to State action and to Government interference realising that now when their interests do not conflict with, or if they conflict with overshadow, those of the old-established landed, banking and mercantile communities, they can control and make use of the instrument of government against "the enemy abroad," and also against the "enemy at home." The Liberal elements in present-day politics are at a discount because they are disorganised and can, moreover, exert no economic power. The two classes of exploiting interests, labelled respectively "Liberal" and "Tory," having combined on the economic field, there is no powerful section in politics to maintain civil liberty, freedom of expression, freedom of trade, individual initiative, private enterprise or public control.



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

## Riders to the Sea.

It was with a great sense of shock that the many who knew them in the Labour movement learned of the tragic fate of Paddy Lynch and Alderman McCarron. With both many of us had our differences, and nowhere, perhaps, were those differences so deep and so strong as at the recent Congress in Waterford. Whatever our differences they are as nothing in comparison with the feeling of loss and the grief that death should come upon them so suddenly and so sadly. When all is said and done both of them were men who served Labour according to their lights, and if their lights were not ours it is all the more reason why we should mourn in death those who were our opponents in life. They were not opponents only, they were often comrades and colleagues. Derry and Cork are the poorer for their loss. We can personally testify that as President of the Cork Trades and Labour Council—the tact, urbanity and goodwill of Paddy Lynch were ever exercised on behalf of any body of workers who needed his help. Cork will not easily replace him. Alderman McCarron, too, will be missed, and nowhere more than at the Irish Trades Union Congress, of which he was one of the original members and, if we remember aright, one of the founders. Both served the workers as officials of their own unions, as officials of their councils, and as officials of Congress itself. They were leaders of the Old Guard, and in all sincerity and with truth we can say that the Young Guard will not refuse them their due credit. It was not inappropriate that they should go to their deaths on a voyage undertaken for Trade Union business.

## The Cork Council.

We are glad to see that the Cork Trades Council has decided to look after the welfare of the young family its chairman has left behind. For this most deserving fund we bespeak the support of readers of "The Voice." It was through our connection with the paper that he and we crossed words so sharply at Waterford. But so long as we have a say in it "The Voice" shall never be raised in aught but justice to the dead, whether supporter or opponent. And so long as life lasts we shall cherish no personal feeling even when we differ with a fellow-worker. Lynch cherished no personal feeling, and indeed on the last occasion of our meeting—when we travelled together to Cork on the Thursday before his death—his laugh was as hearty and his welcome as warm as any time we had acted together in defence of Cork workers. May the sod rest lightly upon him, upon Alderman McCarron, and upon those workmen and women who kept them company on their last sad sailing.

## A Personal Note.

In reply to statements in the London "Daily Chronicle" referring to ourselves we have only to say that neither of its statements is correct, that we are not responsible for them, that none of our friends is responsible for them, and that

in any case no member of the National Executive of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party is free to accept nomination from any Party except the Labour Party. Our friends will understand our position in the matter, and when they do it is not of much importance whether our enemies understand or not. The sting is in the tail of the "Chronicle" report. Mr. Lloyd-George's organ states that "Sinn Feiners are aware of their drooping fortunes," and implies that our alleged refusal of a seat is a sign of that drooping! If the opponents of Sinn Fein have no better evidence than that we can assure them that they may look out for squalls. From our knowledge of the position of parties in Ireland we reckon that at the elections Sinn Fein will sweep the field, and for our own part, as Republicans, we shall be delighted when it does. It is neither rising nor drooping fortunes that win our allegiance to the Republic, but the cause itself.

## Membership of the Party.

As in the old constitution so in the new, the road to membership of the Irish Labour Party and Trades Union Congress is through the affiliated Trade Unions. This rightly subordinates the political function to the industrial function for economic power must precede political power. This does not mean, as some recent critics of the Party seem to think, that Labour must not attempt to function politically until it has won economic power outright. No, for as Connolly said, Labour must not leave the political weapon to be the monopoly of another class or party. On the contrary, Labour must seize such political instruments as it can, and if it does not it will find that when its day of political power comes it will be compelled to seek its administrators outside its own ranks. It is now seeking its future captains of industry within its own industrial ranks, it must seek its political captains within its own political ranks. Hence the great majority of the membership of the Irish Labour Party is drawn from the Trade Unions. Men and women who still remain outside the Unions are not, indeed, excluded, but their influence is subordinate to that of the Trade Unionists. They are to be organised in local Labour Party groups affiliated to Congress through their affiliation with Trades Councils or Local Labour Parties. The Trades Councils are, so to speak, Labour organised politically to cover local or parliamentary constituencies. Where they adopt the political function of the Party there will be no Local Labour Party. Where they prefer to confine their function to industrial activities Local Labour Parties will be organised, but it is hoped that this may be unnecessary.

## The Basis of Representation.

Congress now becomes in name as well as in fact a real governing authority, and it will be supreme, so far as the organisation is concerned. An important and much-needed change is made in the basis

of representation at Congress. In future each organisation will affiliate its actual membership and be represented according to its numerical strength, but it is proposed that, in the interests of the smaller organisations, representation shall not be strictly proportional. Trades Councils or Local Labour Parties shall have an additional delegate for each parliamentary constituency in their areas, but this again secures a preponderance of Trade Union votes. The per capita affiliation, it is proposed, shall be raised, and this, it may be expected, will occasion considerable debate, but it is an absolute necessity. The card vote is not to be introduced except in questions of finance. Here, again, we may expect a sharp difference of opinion, but again we back the Drafting Committee's proposals. Another important change is the making permanent of the hitherto temporary affiliation of the Unions and Councils.

## THE MOONEY CASE.

### ENLARGED NUMBER NEXT WEEK.

Our next issue will have 12 pages, in which we shall publish the first complete account of the Judicial Scandal in California, which for two years has agitated the North American Continent, and remains to-day an acute difficulty for the U.S. Government. For two years State office-holders in California have defied President Wilson, and

### Tom Mooney Will Hang

on 13th December,

a victim of a deliberate plot by Western capitalists, who have corrupted the legislature and administration, hired gunmen, spies and thugs for murder and abduction, perverted the course of Justice, suborned witnesses to perjure themselves, faked plots more efficiently than could the English, all for the purpose of

### Stamping-out Trade Unionism.

All Ireland must learn the facts. The life of an Irish-American is at stake. A loyal, sacrificing organiser of Labour has imperilled his life by fighting for a square deal for the workers.

**Every Trade Unionist must read this story.**

**Branch Secretaries must order supplies for their members.**

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### TO BRANCH SECRETARIES AND THE TRADE.

**IF YOUR ORDER IS NOT RECEIVED AT THIS OFFICE BY TUESDAY, 22nd INST., YOU MAY BE DISAPPOINTED. ORDER AT ONCE.**

Get busy now hunting orders for next week's "Voice of Labour." Join with American Labour, with the readers of the "Irish World," with the Russian Republic, with enlightened labour the world over—and save Tom Mooney's life.

# LABOUR IN IRELAND

## In Cork's Own Town.

Many thousands of Cork workers took part in the funeral of the late Mr. P. Lynch, President of the Trades Council, on Sunday. At a special meeting of the Council on Saturday, feeling references were made to his memory. All the city Trade Unions marched in the procession, headed by the Connolly Memorial Band.

On Wednesday Messrs. T. Foran and W. O'Brien addressed a delegate conference of the Transport Union on the suggested centralisation of branches. On Thursday night in the City Hall an extremely large aggregate meeting of members, addressed by O'Brien, Foran, Houston, Hawkins, and O'Shannon, heard the centralisation proposals, selected delegates to the Cork Labour Conference, and decided to back a Transport worker for the representation of Cork. The many members of other Unions who were unable to hear O'Brien will be compensated when he addresses a public meeting in Cork in the near future.

## In Mallow.

Mallow turned out en masse on Friday night, when Houston and O'Shannon completed the organisation of the town. The Town Hall was packed to overflowing. Mallow has now more than 500 in the Transport Union. Frank Dempsey, N.U.R., presided at Friday night's meeting.

The Transporters have knocked up a record of enlisting 480 members in six weeks. The majority of the town workers have had rises but the coach-makers—skilled men—are striking to obtain at least as good wages as the labourers! Go on, Sophieville!

## Connolly's Own.

The I.C.A. ceildh was the biggest, best and most enjoyed of the Girl Corps' functions.

## Ballinasloe.

The Transport branch is now making strides on the 300 mark, and meanwhile is putting money in the hands of its members. Labourers now have 30s. for fifty-one hours. Coachbuilders, smiths, and saddlers are pocketing from 8s. to 12s. weekly increases, and now the women are coming in to swell the ranks. Boys of from 16 to 21 years are receiving from 7s. to 10s. extra. L. Conroy has the unenviable distinction of being the sole trader to resist the Union's call for betterment.

## Permits.

We are asked to say that the Transport Union has not changed its policy with regard to permits for meetings. It refuses to apply for permits, and its officials will not take part in permitted assemblies.

It should be noted, however, that trade union meetings are perfectly legal. Those who are bullied or persuaded into either applying for permits or abandoning meetings are giving away a right that is neither to be bartered or discussed.

## Drumree.

The meeting announced for Drumree last Sunday was not held, as someone had applied for a permit. J. T. Hughes and F. McCabe, the appointed speakers, held a conference with local men and visitors from adjacent districts, reviewing the prospects of organisation in the district. Notable work has been done by Dunboyne branch.

## Newry.

A Transport Union meeting will be held in the Minor Hall on Thursday, 17th inst., at 8.15 p.m., when Cathal O'Shannon will speak.

## Sligo.

Sligo branch is protesting against the savage sentence imposed on Alderman John Lynch for participating in an "unlawful assembly" at Ballyfarnon. The meeting was an ordinary trade union gathering to promote the interests of the Arigna miners. Perhaps Messrs. Clynes, Barnes, Hodge and Company will tell us when a trade union organising meeting becomes an unlawful assembly. The Alderman is now doing six months hard in Tramore Jail, Sligo.

## Carlow.

The Transport branch must stiffen its organisation, capable officials are not enough. The rank and file are the strength of the movement, and must do their part. The routine business of a branch meeting is often dull, but it is up to the man who realises the dullness to cause a diversion. Why should we not have a reading circle and tackle, say, "Socialism Made Easy" by Connolly? That pamphlet has a bad title, for it deals with the fundamentals of trade-unionism rather than with what is more properly called Socialism.

## Newcastle West.

The employers who pay men 18s. a week in these days must wake up.

## MAGISTRATES MAKE LAW RIDICULOUS.

### PETTY FINES AT PETTY SESSIONS.

At Kells (Co. Meath) Petty Sessions, before Messrs. W. O'Reilly, R.M. (presiding); J. H. Nicholson, D.L.; J. O. Cooney, and Dr. J. Brangan, Patrick Conlon, Cookstown, Kells, was charged with failing to pay the legal minimum wage to a labourer in Grade III. The arrears amounted to £32 14s., which Conlon was ordered to pay, along with a fine (God save the mark) of ONE SHILLING.

It is safe to say that if the labourer had stolen a loaf to supplement the fraudulent wage of 8s. a week the same bench would have sent him to hard labour.

### Worse at Stoneyford.

P. D. Sullivan, R.M., in a claim under the Corn Production Act, gave a decree against Wm. Claxton, Rathduff, for £8 16s. 4d. wages underpaid, and fined the defendant ONE PENNY.

### Buttevant.

The Bakers have won by peaceful means 36s. for 9 batches and 4s. for each additional batch. They asked for 40s. for 9 batches, but in the public interest sacrificed the difference.

### Maryboro'.

A Trades Council for Maryboro' is mooted, the teachers being the movers in the matter. The Transport branch is active with claims and wages movements.

### Tullamore.

The Transport branch in Tullamore has now modelled itself according to the principles laid down in "Lines of Progress." The new committee consists of shop stewards, representing every branch of industry and the principal factories and workshops. The several maltings, saw-mills, breweries, distilleries, bottling stores, chop yards, plasterers, masons, casual workers, transit workers, the skilled tradesmen in the larger workshops and the agricultural labourers are all represented.

In this way every staff of employees has direct representation on the committee, ensuring complete organisation. We have here the Soviet in being, fitted not only to bargain about wages, but also to take and hold and use for common purposes the wealth created by the workers' labours. Think it over, boys!

The "Midland Tribune," George Pike's paper, gave eight columns to reports of labour meetings in Tullamore last week.

### Galway.

Jack O'Sheehan having been put away, the police have vindictively prevented a concert being held to raise funds to support Mrs. O'Sheehan and her children. A similar concert at Gort was prevented, Mrs. O'Sheehan's properties being thrown out into the road in the rain. Under this form of persuasion it is expected that "I thank the goodness and the grace" will replace the F. . . of our L. . . on the P's and C's repertory.

### IRISH WOMEN WORKERS AND THE VOTE.

On Tuesday, 22nd October, at 8 o'clock Mr. Cathal O'Shannon will deliver a lecture on Women Workers and the Vote to the Irish Women's Franchise League, at 34 Westmoreland Street, Dublin.

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**IRISH MILLING AWARD.**

Mr. J. B. Baillie held an arbitration in Dublin on October 3 between the members of the Irish Flour Millers' Association and their employees, who are members of the Irish Transport Workers' Union, with reference to the claim of the Union that the awards of the Committee on Production to the workers in the flour milling industry of Great Britain should be extended to the Irish workers, and has issued his award, the principal clauses in which are:—That the workmen at the mills concerned in the application, aged 21 and over, shall receive an advance of 7s. per week, or such part thereof as will, together with the increase already paid since August, 1914, produce a total advance of 18s. a week for country mills, and of 4s. in the case of other mills. Country mills are defined as mills not situated in or near towns of 5,000 population. Women of 18 years and over and youths of 18 and under are to get an advance of 3s., and youths of 16 to 18 an advance of 2s. on existing rates.

**KING'S CO. TRADES COUNCIL.**

At a meeting in Tullamore it was decided, after hearing an address by Mr. T. Farren, to establish a Trades and Labour Council for all King's Co. The meeting revealed some differences of opinion, but on the necessity for the Trades Council it was unanimous.

Cashel branch has enrolled over two hundred members and grows every week. The Urban Council is being gingered up to carry out needed improvements. After next election the branch will be the Urban Council if Labour keeps solid and masses its political forces.

**WATERFORD CO.-OP. PROGRESS.**

The Co-operative Society held its third quarterly meeting on 16th inst. The balance-sheet to be presented is a healthy one. A dividend of 8d. per £1 is paid to the members on their purchases, and a bonus at the same rate to employees. We endorse the committee's remark that the members cannot be congratulated on their trading. They have, as the balance-sheet shows, an economically managed store and would themselves reap the advantage by giving more than 8s. a week of their trade to their own society.

The share capital is more creditable, but the committee's power in the markets would be increased if they had ampler capital. No better investment for a workingman's savings can be found than this society, which pays 5 per cent. interest on share capital. Such a balance-sheet should attract more than 18 new members in thirteen weeks, and the committee should see that a deputation visits every trade union branch in the district in search of recruits—not forgetting to attract the rural workers.

Rosegreen sub-branch is investigating a case of alleged victimisation on the part of Mrs. Sadleir, Baldoyle.

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**NEXT WEEK:****How I saw Tom Mooney in Jail,**

BY

Mrs. H. SHEEHY SKEFFINGTON

**ENNIS UNITED T. AND L. COUNCIL.**

Ennis Trades and Labour Council is projecting the organisation of all nearby districts which as yet are without the pale of Trade-Unionism. At the last meeting, on 7th inst., the Council endorsed the claim of the National Teachers to the full Civil Service bonus, and assured their fellow-workers that the Council would support all their efforts to obtain justice.

The claim of the employees of the Ennis District Lunatic Asylum for £1 per week increase on pre-war wages was discussed. As we have already indicated, this is a very moderate demand, for an increase of £1 a week falls short of the higher cost of living. With the full amount asked for, Ennis Asylum workers would still be worse off than before. Drogheda.

E. Mullen has been elected as full-time secretary. Such an appointment was made necessary by the growth of the branch and its sections. Tributes were paid to the retiring secretary, Mr. Tom Behan, who gave unsparingly of his leisure to make the union the success it has become. Michael Evans is doing good work around Grangebellow. The mill at Slane is unionised, but can't the boys gather in the farm labourers?

**WORKERS' CAPITAL**

The Industrial Co-operative Society offers facilities for the workers to invest small or large sums of money, thereby providing the means of controlling their own industry. All money invested is retained in Ireland, and is used to develop Irish Industries.

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# Who should Control the Peoples' Schools?

Two Professors and a Boilermaker give their Views Below.

## POPULAR CONTROL IN EDUCATION.

Sir,—Within the last few weeks we have heard a good deal of the idea of popular control as the basis for the reconstruction of the educational system in Ireland. Mr. Jas. Baird, of Belfast, writing in the "Voice of Labour," has, in fact, gone so far as to say that a new system of education under popular control will go further than any other measure to win over the Ulster trade unionist to co-operation with Labour in the South. Our purpose in writing is to take strong exception to this suggestion, and to call the attention of our fellow-teachers to the existence of this threatened danger to their promised freedom. At the best such a change in the educational system could mean no more for them than the exchange of their present for other masters. They would find themselves under the close immediate direction of a small elected body composed probably of a selection of their former managers. Their salaries, it is true, might be a little higher; but their status would remain substantially unchanged.

When we talk of the popular control of education we refer to no new thing. Scottish teachers have had nearly 50 years of it, during which the condition of the profession has gone from bad to worse. On the whole, salaries have fallen; the position of the teacher has declined in public esteem; and the better men from the universities latterly for the most part simply refused to go into it, with the result that the profession was passing to an increasing extent into the hands of women. The New Act will alter things a little for the better, but it carefully avoids the real heart of the subject. So burdensome had local control become that we have known many Scottish teachers advocate in desperation the making of education a civil service as the only means of escape. Irish teachers can tell them exactly what that means. But their friends, in turn, advise popular control!

What other course is possible? For our part we are content to accept as the basis of a reconstruction and statement of the Irish Labour Party:—"To secure the democratic management and control of all industries and services by the whole body of workers, manual and mental, engaged therein, in the interests of the Nation, and subject to the supreme authority of the National Government." Final responsibility for the supremely important function of education, in other words, should be entrusted by the State to the teaching profession as a whole—primary, secondary, and university. In asking for the control of the organised service which they render, Irish teachers would be claiming no more than they are presumably prepared to concede to other industries and professions. But they can ask no less, if they are to be free.

In Ireland, in particular, the educational reformer has difficulties to face graver, perhaps, than elsewhere. Those who have advocated popular control in education would not deny that a prin-

cipal object of their activity is to get rid of clerical influence. About this two things ought to be said. The first is that so long as people retain their religious faith, popular control would not necessarily mean that the clergy cease to have control of education. And, secondly, even if this were not so (as has happened in some districts of Scotland and England) how much better off is the teacher under the domination of the farmer and the small business man? The clergyman, it may be observed, has at least been educated once.

A policy dictated by hostility to religion, however, should hardly commend itself to Irish Labour. If people desire an education for their children under religious influence, toleration demands that they should be allowed to have it. That influence must be exercised primarily through the teacher; and the line of reconstruction which we have mentioned is the only one which seems to offer even a hope of a solution of this difficult problem, because it is the only one which concerns itself primarily with those actually engaged in teaching.

R. M. HENRY.

M. W. ROBIESON.

Queen's University, Belfast.

## POPULAR CONTROL OF THE SCHOOLS.

Sir,—In your issue of October the 5th a correspondent in a reply to a letter of mine previously published in your columns adopts the ancient device of erecting a bogey and demolishing same to his own satisfaction, assuming your readers would fail to note that he had made no attempt to deal with the suggestion I put before them with a view to removing the misunderstanding which divides "Ulster" from the other provinces, and prevents that active co-operation of North and South which, from all points of view, is most desirable.

What I proposed was that the Irish Labour Party should demand a system of Education under popular control calculated to assure every boy and girl in Ireland the opportunity of receiving a full and free education from the infant school right up to the university, and I am of opinion that if the children of all denominations were educated in what are called mixed schools a better feeling would develop, and after the rising generation had received the benefit of such an education old bigotries, passions and prejudices would die out and the way be prepared for the fusion of what is sometimes called the "Two races in Ireland."

I submitted this simple proposal for the consideration of your readers, but the reply published contained no reference to such a trivial matter as education, but the Trade Unionist from Cork makes an attempt to imitate the great "G.B.S." in his effort to reply on sarcastic lines. As I am referred to as an "Imperialistic Shipwright" I hope you will pardon a personal explanation.

I am not a believer in the "No

Popery" cry. On the contrary, I favour the repeal of the remaining anti-Catholic laws. I have been a pronounced Home Ruler and Socialist since 1893, not in Cork, understand, but in the Queen's Island, Belfast; so you can see that I have some interest in the Irish question.

I request anyone who may be opposed to a system of education such as I suggest to place their views before your readers, and I ask those responsible for the policy of the Irish Labour Party—popular control of education one of the planks of their platform, and, if not, why not?

JAMES BAIRD.

## A Bold Priest.

Comrade Conrad Noel is the Anglican priest of Thaxted, in Essex, and is supposed to be in full communion with the Church of Ireland over which that gaitered strike-breaker, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, exercises an irritatingly dogmatic sway.

What would happen if any of His Grace's priests were to write, as Conrad Noel wrote to "Justice" last week:—"Last Sunday there appeared among the prayer cards the following: 'For the Social Revolution,' 'For the Irish Republic,' 'For the English Revolution.' The candles before the various shrines were contributed and lit by the people themselves, as the symbol of the flame of their devotion to this or that saint; to our Lady of the Mighty put down and the Poor Exalted, to St. Francis, the poor man of Italy; and to St. Thomas of Canterbury, champion of a People's Republic—to all these revolutionaries, whom we believe to be living among us, though unseen, to help us in the Holy War for Justice. A little group has been started, called 'The Catholic Crusade,' to teach and practise the Whole Faith, and especially those portions of it that the modern world omits—e.g., the right of rebellion, as taught by the Catholic Fathers in the Middle Ages, the restoration of the property of the Folk, and the right to steal. 'Not Reconstruction but Revolution' is our watchword." We invite the editor of the "Church of Ireland Gazette" to try that on his readers.

## WALTER CARPENTER IN SCOTLAND.

The old war-horse of Dublin Socialism has been touring Scotland expounding the old message and relating facts about Ireland which cannot safely be dealt with in the Press. His campaign opened on 6th inst. in Clydebank's magnificent Town Hall. In the evening he addressed a great gathering at Dumbarton. Monday he spoke at Patna, Tuesday at Dronagan, Wednesday at Kilbirnie, with Cleland, New Stevenston, Greenock, Kirkintilloch, Lennoxton, Bellshill, Croy, Blantyre and Springburn following. For obvious reasons we were unable to publish this itinerary in time to bring the tour to the attention of our Scottish readers.



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Legacy and Songs (Connolly), Problems of New Russia (Arnold), Lessons of Russian Revolution (N. Lenin), Should the Workers of Ireland Support Sinn Fein (Russell), Loyalty and Disloyalty (Green), Handbook for Rebels (Johnson)—3d. each.

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## The "Voice of Labour" Pulls Ahead

CIRCULATION GROWS EVERY  
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But Still More Readers Wanted.

When the "Voice" came into the field as a trade union weekly, it was unable, owing to D.O.R.A., to issue posters or indulge in the pre-war methods of circulation boosting. It had to rely on the faithful help of the few keen spirits in trade union circles, on the S.P.L. and the Belfast I.L.P. branches. How heavy was our handicap may be judged from the fact that an advertisement canvasser from a Dublin daily who called at our office the other day confessed he had never seen a copy of the "Voice"!

Our recent growth is due to the organised salesmanship in Transport Union branches, which have taken up the "Voice" with enthusiasm and are inducing every member to become a subscriber. Good as that is, we ask them to go further and to see that the paper circulates in the other Unions, and especially to make sure that the non-unionists see a copy every week.

We invite other Unions to consult with us as to ways and means of securing the distribution of the paper among their members. We commend to their consideration two items from the "Tri-City Labour Review" of Oakland, Cal., U.S.A. The first is a resolution of the Locomotive Engineers' Trade Union:—

"Whereas, the press of the United States is controlled by the enemies of organised labour and has always been and is still ever ready to mis-state labour's position through its misleading statements and brazen falsehoods, and will, if not opposed by some organised and efficient effort, make it impossible to counteract its effects on public opinion;

"Therefore, be it Resolved, That this Convention assembled instruct our grand officers and advisory board to enter into communication with the executives of all other labour organisations with the view of establishing a comprehensive and efficient counter-press and, if in their judgment found necessary to establish news agencies in the different industrial centres, they be empowered to do so."

The other item puts into practice the Locomotive's resolution. The only hindrance to the adoption of the Boilermakers' method in Ireland is that the British Post Office being operated in the interests of the wholesale newsagents would compel a charge of half-a-dollar more.

Boilermakers' Subordinate Lodge No. 238,  
Oakland, Cal., Aug. 27, 1918.

The Editor, Tri-City Labour Review,  
Dear Sir,—Action was taken by this organisation at our last regular meeting, by which we shall subscribe for your paper for our entire membership at the rate of 1.00 dol. per year per member, papers to be delivered by mail to the member's homes.

Such action will naturally make your paper the official organ of this Union, and in notifying you we wish to thank you for the stand you have taken in the near past on the several questions on which we have been at issue with the employers and the Federal Government's representatives.—Yours truly,

H. M. MORRIS, Treasurer.

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To acquire funds to finance its propaganda, and in particular to enable it to publish several useful works, including "Erin's Hope" by James Connolly, and "Economic Discontent" by Father Hagerty, the Socialist Party of Ireland is promoting a prize ballot.

The gifts offered are £3 in cash, a Kapp and Peterson hall-marked, silver-mounted pipe in case, and "Labour in Ireland," but the special offering is a portrait in oils of our late comrade, F. Sheehy-Skeffington.

Tickets, 6d. each, from Room 3, Liberty Hall, Dublin.

# TRADE UNIONISTS!

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Full information from Secretary, National Union of Life Assurance Agents, 35 York Street, Dublin.

## Editor of "Truth" (U.S.A.) on League of Nations.

September 4th, 1918.

Dear Editor,—Our attention has been drawn to an article in one of your recent issues on the proposed League of Nations.

The proposed League is receiving the endorsement of many pseudo-radicals on the grounds that it implies an international understanding between the common people. As one of those who attended one of the first conferences of the proposed League, with a view to really getting down to a thorough understanding of its aims and objects, we wish to state that the idea as implanted in the minds of W. G. Fallon, Miss Bennet and others is far from being true.

The major premise in the case is the felt need of security from aggression at the hands of Germany and its auxiliary Powers; seconded by an increasingly un-approachable attitude on the part of the prospective line of conduct on the part of Japan, etc., on a similar quest of dominion. The nations that go to make up the French and English-speaking nations are compelled to recognise, due to the logic of events, that no one among them can provide for its own security, even though they may spend every available penny they have in building of war implements. Such is the outline of the League and its premises. A careful analysis of such outline will convince all students of economics that such a League has no foundation, much less any value to the common people. Unfortunately the world is full of many people, possessed of a rather superficial mind and more prone to take things as they are rather than spend a little time probing beneath the surface.

Japan and Germany, both alike, are unable to relinquish their quest for dominion, except in so far as stronger Powers completely annihilate them, and so the idea of a League of Nations is contrary to the facts of the case. Industrial development in any nation brings that nation to a point where it must dispose of its surplus products. The disposal of those products is the mainspring of all wars. You cannot arbitrate the question. Ask any merchant on O'Connell Street can the question of his getting the trade his competitor obtaining same, be arbitrated. We live in a world of concrete realities, and we have to sometimes allow certain things to be done, even at the cost of our very existence, because the things that are done are inevitable. A League of Nations can only come about when ALL nations are free and developed. The soul of every nation will continue to express itself, whilst there are members of that nation alive. In the same way as a rose, or shamrock—pardon my forgetful-

ness, editor—will continue to spread its fragrance so long as it is alive. Do not let us waste our time on the idea of a League of Nations, but just go about and always bearing in mind that when every doorstep in the village is clean the whole street will be clean.—Fraternally yours,

JACK CARNEY.

Duluth, Minn., U.S.A.

### A UNIONIST JOKE.

"If we were out to crush Germany as a nation, we should be violating our own principle, that every nation, great and small, shall be allowed to work out its own salvation."

So I read the other day, September 23rd, in the *Daily Herald* at an international dinner at the *Cercle Artistique et Littéraire*. According to a "Daily News" correspondent, our Ambassador made the brilliant suggestion that the great monuments destroyed by enemy shells (not, of course, those destroyed by French, British or Russian shells) should be left as they are to show to all who come after, etc., etc.

## Irishwomen's International League.

### A LECTURE

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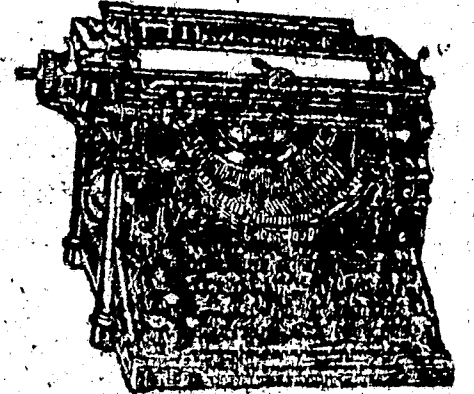
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Belfast I.L.P.—The following meetings will be held on Sunday, 20th inst:—Central Hall, 77A Victoria St., at 7 o'clock p.m.; speaker, Comrade A. Lynn, B.A. North Belfast Hall, Langley St., at 7.30 o'clock p.m.; speaker, Comrade R. McWilliams.

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