

LORD FRENCH
MUST GO.

GRIFFITH
v. LALOR.

ENGLAND
& RUSSIA.

IRISH OPINION

The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

NEW SERIES. No. 55

DECEMBER 14, 1918.

ONE PENNY

IN THE SHARK'S BELLY.

By Capt. J. R. WHITE,
Jailed for Connolly's Sake

Some points of John Dillon's speech in Dublin on December 6th deserve comment. He stated that the doctrine of a Sovereign Irish Republic, totally independent of Great Britain, was a novel doctrine in modern Irish politics and a total change in the whole policy of the country since the years known as the New Departure in 1879. That may be; but let John Dillon treat Irish history as a series of snapshots if he will, and exalt above all others the picture in which his Party figures. To us it is a continuously unrolling film, and the greatest actors—Tone, Mitchel, Lalor, Connolly—have kept their faces turned towards, not away from, the climax of the drama, the sovereign rights under God of the Irish people over their country and themselves. Further, he claimed that the policy of Parliamentary procedure had been pursued for 40 years, and that "in no time since the British Conquest had there been a policy pursued with anything like the same success." Honour where honour is due. Ireland's soil has been won back in the land war for a limited number of her sons. But in no time since the British Conquest has such deadly violation been sought to be imposed on her soul; seldom if ever has a more sweeping interference with liberty of speech and action been actually enforced.

Then Mr. Dillon alludes to the error of those who compare the case of the new Bohemian and Polish Republics with the case of Ireland. Poland and Bohemia, he says, are free, because Germany has been crushed, and then follows this pregnant sentence:—"No doubt if England were crushed the formation of our Irish Republic might be possible." There is a nether as well as an upper millstone, Mr. Dillon. Empires are not always crushed from without, but may carry the seed of their disintegration within themselves in the liberation

of their peoples from the habit of servility at home, which is the obverse of oppressive domination abroad. Casement, in an article the writer has seen, quotes as an apt parable the case of a small fish called a diodon, which is sometimes swallowed whole by a shark, but, gnawing and gnawing at the shark's entrails, is found alive in the belly of the monster it has caused to perish. Such an effect may the untamed and untameable spirit of Ireland exercise on the body of second-rate ideas which, till they are gnawed away, give to sharks or men of prey the desire or the power to swallow the lives and liberties of others.

Again says Mr. Dillon:—"In backing Germany Sinn Fein backed the wrong horse." Say that Sinn Fein backed the wrong jockey, Mr. Dillon, and we will agree with you. The writer for one always held that Sinn Fein's action in even for a moment appearing to ally itself with the Imperialistic regime in Germany was indicative of a limitation in its own economic outlook. The attitude, "If England went to war with Hell, I'd be a pro-devil," though perhaps natural for Irishmen, like a great many natural things, had been better suppressed. But the German horse has unseated its jockey, and bids fair to issue a challenge to the world jointly with the spirited racer in the neighbouring stable.

Some months before the Dublin rising, I wrote in the "Irish Citizen," the organ of the Irish Women's Franchise League:—"It is not to Germany, but to Russia, that Ireland's eyes should turn. Russia, the land of Tolstoi and Dostolevsky, where prince and priest and peasant tremble on the brink of the spiritual brotherhood of man. Since then Russia has brought on herself the ruthless enmity of the world of prey by establishing that material brotherhood which is the only possible basis for the spiritual.

Germany seems to be following her step by step. It is no longer to this country or that, but to a spirit of freedom akin to its own embodied in the insurgent workers of the world that Ireland must look."

But what says Mr. Dillon:—"It was a shame and a scandal to find people ready to build up Irish liberty on the ruins of liberty in Europe." And who, pray, are they who now seek the ruin of liberty in Europe? Foremost among them is that British Government which wages a secret and undeclared war against the Bolshevik Government of Russia, which suppresses the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils in Germany, which makes the world safe for democracy by keeping all the truest democrats safe under lock and key; yet according to Mr. Dillon to look for national freedom except of the charity of that British Government is "national suicide." Suicide of which, Mr. Dillon, the body or the soul?

CONTROL ROBBERY.

The highest price paid for beef and mutton imported by the Government from Australia was 6½d. per lb. You had to pay 1s. 6d. to 2s. for it.

Honey sold in Melbourne, Vic., at 5d., was withdrawn from the London market because 1s. 8d. per lb. was the highest offer.

The public pay the tobacco trust 17 million pounds in extra prices because of increased taxes. The poor British Government only gets 6 millions of the loot.

The 1s. Deferred Shares of the Pekin Syndicate are now selling at £285.

Paternal Government.

Freights and insurance are already lower, so prices should be reduced on future supplies, but the consideration shown by the Government to the trade will give ample time to get rid of present stocks at the higher rate.

IRISH OPINION
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Edited by GATHAL O'SHANNON.

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LORD FRENCH MUST GO,

There is no end to the tragedies of Lord French's regime in Ireland.

The latest of the series of threatened calamities which have marked the Lord Lieutenancy of the Military Governor is his impudent, arbitrary appointment to an Advisory Committee on Reconstruction in Ireland of as choice a gang of reactionary, anti-democratic, incompetent and unrepresentative junkers as could be found within the four shores of Ireland. We have said the appointment is Lord French's. That is true so far as public and official appointment is concerned. But it is only the official truth. The essential fact of the matter is that the appointments are made privately and directly by the Tory Ascendancy of the Kildare Street Club, and the men nominated by Lord French are the direct nominees of the junkers of Kildare Street, the fine flowering of the remnants of landlordism and the old guard of the ascendancy which, like the French autocracy, learned nothing and forgot nothing.

Let us analyse the composition of this precious Advisory Committee which is to have absolute control of the industrial reconstruction of Ireland, the unchecked expenditure of the people's money, the complete administration and development of the industrial resources of the country, the direction of all schemes of demobilisation, industrial and military, and the power of life and death over hundreds of thousands of Irish workers. We shall see that it is a choice collection of the most unqualified elements in the land-owning and possessing class, and is virtually a secret committee of land and capital as represented by the Kildare Street Club.

Mark these names well, workers of Ireland, for before many months have passed you will be called upon to drive these Honourables and Right Honourables, earls, lords, baronets, and gentlemen out of office and put an end to a new experiment in Prussianism in Ireland.

The Right Hon. Frank Brocke is land agent for Earl Fitzwilliam and a member of the Kildare Street Club; the Right Hon. Sir Thomas Stafford, Bart., is an

ex-Inspector of the Local Government Board, and is a landed proprietor and a member of the Club; Lord Londonderry is a landed proprietor in Ireland, a coal magnate in Great Britain, a scion of the noble and notorious house of "Cut-throat Castlereagh," the most evil of all foreign corruptions and the greatest enemies and dispossessors of the Irish people amongst all the planters; Lord Dunraven is a landed proprietor and the inventor of the Devolution failure; Mr. MacMurrough Kavanagh is a landed proprietor whose people have fattened on the treachery of their renegade ancestors; the Earl of Granard is a landed proprietor, Chairman of the Irish Food Control Committee, a member of the Club, and in fact the Catholic decoy on the Advisory Committee: the Right Hon. Sir Stanley Harrington is a capitalist, soap and candle factor in the Leverhulme Trust, manufacturing chemist, and member of the Cork Employers' Federation. Why, may we ask, has Lord French not added the name of that eminent exploiter and enemy of the workers, Sir Alfred Dobbin?

To this Advisory Committee Lord French has added three advisers whose record is as bad as that of the junkers already mentioned. These are the Right Hon. Sir Henry Robinson, Vice-President of the Local Government Board and a member of the Kildare St. Club; a Secretary in the person of Mr. MacCartney Filgate, an official of the Department of Agriculture, presently employed by the War Office in Dublin, and a member of the Club; and Mr. Edward Saunderson, for some time an Inspector for the Local Government Board, for some time an official with undefined duties but with an excellent salary under the Food Control Committee, a member of the Club, and son of the Orange fire-eater, Colonel Saunderson, of glorious, pious, and immortal memory.

These be your rulers and masters, O Ireland, under the skilful, democratic, and liberating civil administration of the ex-Commander of the British military forces and the aristocratic patronage of our old nobility in the Kildare Street Club. Ay, these are the re-constructors who will make Ireland fit for the blessings of Home Rule with Partition.

We can assure Lord French and the Government he serves in Ireland that the workers organised in the Labour movement in this country will not have it any more than they had Conscription. Labour did not oppose Conscription only to let this gang of descendants of the men who dispossessed the Irish people come reconstructing in Ireland at their own sweet will. Labour has no use for this Advisory Committee and Labour will take care that nobody else in Ireland has any use for it either. Irish Labour is strong, powerful, and well-organised, and Lord French and Dublin Castle know it. Irish Labour does not talk big and then decline to carry its own logic into action, and Lord French and Dublin Castle know it. Irish Labour has been tested and it has not been found wanting, and Lord French and Dublin Castle know it. The sooner, then, this precious Advisory Committee is scrapped the better. If it is not scrapped by Lord French it will be

broken by others than Lord French. And in the breaking both the Viceroy and the Kildare Street Club may not escape unscathed.

Oh, we know these junkers of the Kildare Street Club. Their Club is one of the last rallying grounds of the last remnant of the plundering thieves who stole the lands of Ireland from the people of Ireland. Ay, the working classes in Ireland, the sons and daughters of the dispossessed Irish people, know these gentlemen of Kildare Street, and knowing them, will make short work of them.

In order that the process may be speedy, and at the same time as peaceable as possible, we suggest that the Trade Unions, the Trade Councils, and the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress make known their views upon this matter without further delay. We are all for peace when it is possible, and we would not have the sleep of our lords and their ladies disturbed with the thought of anything but a gentle and peaceful push. Not for the world. For we want to clear the way for Reconstruction in Ireland, the re-construction of the social life and the re-construction of the industrial system in this our country. If we mean by that the economic re-conquest of Ireland, Kildare Street will know what we mean. It will be real Re-construction.

In the meanwhile, our memory goes back to April last, and to a great day of quiet prayer and meditation. We remember that the organ of the Irish junkers reminded its class that the Irish workers had realised their strength, and we remember that in the days preceding the General Strike there was much good and effective work done quietly and peacefully by a joint committee of the Transport Workers and the Railwaymen. On those occasions the men who took part in the work realised to the full the significance of that alliance of the workers engaged in transport and transit, and how potent a factor it was in the great events of those great days.

We are thinking now that that joint committee of the workers in the different transport unions might meet again, and that their advice might well be listened to now as it was in April. We do not doubt that they would have something of importance to say on this question of Lord French's Advisory Committee. Nor do we doubt that if they have it to say they will say it, and say it well.

THE PRIZE DRAWING.

The S.P.I. prize drawing has been postponed owing to delays in the printing trade until 28th February, 1919. Meantime the tickets are in good demand, which is likely to be increased now that the handsome portrait of Sheehy-Skeffington, the first prize, is on exhibition in Dublin. During this week it will be shown in the window of Mr. Byrne, tobacconist, Aungier Street. Tickets, 3d. each, in books of 20, may be obtained from Room 3, Liberty Hall. Have you got yours?

After Travelling, freshen up at Mallon's, 39 Eden Quay.

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

Liam P. O'Riain.

Our Irish readers will learn with regret, and our English readers with pleasure, that after a lengthy and well-earned holiday at home in Ireland, Liam P. O'Riain, Assistant Editor of the London "Herald," has returned to London in preparation for the re-issue of "The Daily Herald." We hope his sojourn in exile will not be prolonged, for we need every son and daughter of Ireland at home in Ireland for the great re-building in the coming year. During his stay here the editor of "The Peasant" was amongst the most welcome of our contributors, and readers of "The Voice" will miss his Irish articles from our pages, but only for a time, we hope. Before his departure he completed the writing of a work on Trade Unionism in Ireland from the beginning of the last century and the Labour movement of to-day. We have had the pleasure of reading this book, and are in a position to say that it ranks with James Connolly's "Labour in Irish History" as an original contribution of first-rate importance to the social history of Ireland and to the printed records of the Labour movement. It will be invaluable to the workers and the officers in the Irish Labour movement in the strenuous times ahead in 1919. For this reason we hope that the publishers will issue the book early in the New Year, so that the people to whom it will be of most service will be able to reap the fruits of its author's work. If we have any complaint to make it is that the author's natural modesty constrains him to ignore the great influence which "The Peasant" and "The Irish Nation" had upon the moulding of the great Irish Labour movement of these later years. But some of us remember, and shall not forget the seeds sown between 1907 and 1910.

The Day of Self-Determination.

By the time these words are written the elections will have been over for all practical purposes. After last week indeed all was over but the recording of the votes. There is therefore no need for us to waste words either on the issue in the election or on the already certain result of what is virtually a referendum of the Irish people on national independence. As anticipated, and as no man who has watched events in Ireland since 1915 could fail to discern, the majority of the people are consciously and unmistakably in favour of the Republic, free and independent, one and indivisible. To Ireland the unopposed return of all the Republican candidates in the twenty-five uncontested seats came in nowise in the nature of a surprise. The English Press, it would seem, has been startled by this dramatic evidence of the will of the Irish people to sovereign independence, but that is because the English Press and English parties have been blind to the realities of the situation in Ireland. Neither they nor the greater world outside these two islands can any longer shut their eyes to the facts of Ireland's determination and Ireland's unbroken will and resolve. For that no one who believes in the principles of nationality

and democracy will sorrow. It is the men and women of Easter Week, the men and women of courage, vision, and the spirit of sacrifice whom we have to thank for this most desired and most desirable consummation. The people have ever been true when they were not led astray by blind leaders.

There is no shadow of doubt now, and indeed there has been none since 1916, that the Republicans will be returned in an overwhelming majority. A handful of Home Rulers, including perhaps one or two of their leaders, will indeed retain their seats, but they will only be a handful, and they will no longer be potent for evil. As democrats, as Republicans, as Irishmen, we are glad of this, glad that the old, evil compromise of Home Rule has been repudiated, glad that Young Ireland in its strength and passion has swept the old follies aside and brought Ireland face to face with Empire in the sight of all the world. For the old party few will shed a tear, to the new action many will turn in hope and expectation. In the next few months the people and their leaders will be tested as never before since the Gaelic polity went down before rising imperialism at Clontarf. This is indeed the testing time, and we shall have much to say on these matters in the course of the next few weeks. Today we need only cry: Gaudeamus.

The Situation in Germany.

The position of affairs in Germany and the relations between parties are still obscure, thanks to the censorship which the two bastard democracies of the west still maintain. But for all that the darkness is not so thick that those who have eyes to see cannot read the signs and portents. As we write, the daily Press is making much of the demonstrations and street-fighting between the various sections of the German Social Democracy in Berlin and other cities. Too much heed must not be given to English interpretations of these events. Such happenings are inevitable and inseparable from a revolution, and they are no more to be deprecated in Germany than they were in Russia. When the curtain is raised a little the story will be read aright.

Dublin Hails Russia and Germany.

Despite the police order prohibiting a Bolshevik demonstration, the workers of Dublin seized the opportunity to hail the revolution in Central Europe and celebrate the establishment of the Soviet Republic in Russia. The occasion was the mass meeting in the Dublin Trades Hall on Sunday, December 1, when the S.P.I. organised a rebel gathering to rejoice at "the downfall of Prussianism." The speakers and the audience made it clear beyond cavil that the Prussianism they meant was militarism, imperialism, and capitalism, and that if it has been banished from Russia and Germany, it is still rampant and still ruling in Ireland and in Great Britain. The spirit and tone of the meeting were most subversive and the speeches were directed against the social and political disorder which is still maintained in this country. Eminently practical and pointed advice was given by the speakers, who included Tom

Foran, Wm. O'Brien, Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, Tom Johnson, Sidney Arnold, J. J. Hughes, Hector Hughes, and Tom Kennedy. The war-cry of the meeting was: All power to the Soviets.

By the way, a correspondent criticises us for suggesting, as he says, that we attributed the closing of the Mansion House against the Bolshevik meeting to the Archbishop of Dublin. We did nothing of the kind. If our correspondent will re-read the reference he will find that "The Voice" gave no credence to a sinister suggestion to that effect then in circulation. We have the best of reasons for believing that no ecclesiastical influence whatever had anything to do with the cancelling of the letting, and we have no reason to think that the Archbishop of Dublin would interfere with real liberty of speech and meeting.

The Voice of 'Forty-Eight.

At last we have the complete and collected writings (in cloth from the Talbot Press, in paper from Maunsell and Co.) of the real revolutionary of 'Forty-Eight in Ireland, the gospel according to Saint Lalor. A new thrill will stir the ardent and enthusiastic youth of Ireland when these desirable and dangerous volumes get into circulation and each of us can possess his own Lalor without stealing from his propaganda prodigal neighbour. It is a blessed gift, this high explosive of the Leix felon, and will rejoice the heart and quicken the pulse of many a son and daughter of the greycoats, firing them with insurrectionary flame. If, on the head of it, revolutionaries will thank the publishers, counter-revolutionaries ought to sack the censor. For these books will see deeds done before they go out of print again. And is not this passionate Irish visionary and relentless logician of action one of the prophets of the Social Revolution in Europe? Young man, go gladly and add Lalor to Tone, Mitchel, Pearse, and Connolly in your library of revolution even should you borrow or steal the price of the book.

Strike-Breaker Candidate.

The workers of Kilkenny have determined that the challenge thrown out to them by the Dillonite Party's choice of an Australian strike-breaker as candidate will not be ignored. At the conference in Thomastown they passed a resolution warning the Irish Party that if they brought forward Mr. Maher they would appeal to the workers in North Kilkenny to defeat him. It was very significant that at that conference there were delegates, some Sinn Feiners, and others members of the U.I. League, and yet, that resolution was passed unanimously, and there were men there who, prior to that conference, had intended voting for Mat Keating, but who would now cast their votes on the other side simply and solely because Maher had been adopted for North Kilkenny.

These decisions have been confirmed at public meetings throughout the constituency.

Our Advertisers are worthy of Labour's support. Mention the "Voice" when you call or write.

Griffith Depreciates Fintan Lalor.

Unfair Preface to Indispensable Volume.

The simultaneous appearance of two editions of the works of James Fintan Lalor may well mark an epoch in Irish history. Delayed by the Censor, they have been released in time to serve the Irish people, as their author intended them to serve on their first appearance.

The times are closely paralleled. Then a party which had mastered Ireland by the ceaseless agitation of one idea—Repeal—was in dissolution, because, as Lalor said, “the leaders and their measures, means and proceedings were intrinsically and essentially vile and base.” Then new men and new parties were in formation, the men forsaking Conciliation Hall with little more than a common aversion from it and its masters to give them a new unity in the Confederation.

“Carthage must be destroyed,” was the war-cry of the new men in '47 and '48. It is a cry that echoes to-day, when men boast that their party, neglectful of history, stands for one thing and one alone, and that not a thing, but a negative.

Then the unknown man from Tinakill warned the Confederates that for merely political ends the Irish people will not fight. “For Repeal, he will never bite, but only bay.” Demand independence if you will, but “a mightier question is in the land—one on which Ireland may not alone try her own right, but try the right of the world.” He was aware of the fact that but few hear the call of the ideal, that all respond to the promptings of sense.

Independence, separation, or perhaps something less in the way of National self-government would have satisfied most of the Young Irelanders, as Independence alone would satisfy many to-day. “Political rights,” said Lalor, “are but paper and parchment. It is the social constitution that determines the condition and character of a people.” That truth, new then (and at that time being groped after by Marx and Engels at Cologne and Brussels, and set forth by them in the Communist Manifesto) has become familiar, but still is resisted by the obscurantist school who seek freedom at the ballot-box and build Republics by marking crosses on paper.

Miss Lily Fogarty, B.A., has done a splendid work in bringing together every scrap of Lalor's writing that survives. The inclusion of Mitchels' letters and illustrative matter in the appendices helps the reader to enter the atmosphere of the hungry 'forties. Her biographical introduction shows she has attained sympathy with and understanding of Lalor's outlook. But why should she have sought a preface from Arthur Griffith? One might as well ask Canon Murphy or Dean Ryan to write a preface to “Labour in Irish History.”

Mr. Griffith says of Lalor, “The restoration of the soil to the peasantry was a greater ideal to him than the restoration of liberty to the nation.” “As a political thinker Lalor failed . . . he failed to apprehend, as List did [the inevitable Freddy], that Nationality was the highest

value in economics and that political liberty was the true security for social stability.”

How far are these fine phrases true in themselves or just to Lalor? Taking the last first, it is obvious to those who look around them that political liberty, as achieved in America, France, Italy, or in any of the so-called free and independent nations, has not secured social stability. In each of them the process of proletarianising the small owners of property operated as it was operating in Ireland in the 'forties, when the tenant farmer of ten acres was being converted into an “independent labourer.” Political liberty, while men are chained by the necessity of bread-labour in servitude to employers, is but the mirage of freedom.

We have heard the parrot-cry, “Nationality is the highest value in economics,” before. It makes an excellent slogan, but it cannot be reduced to common-sense. “National prosperity,” in the economic sense, is compatible with the slumdom of England and the servile state of pre-revolution Germany. The criticism of Political Economy in Lalor's essay on the “Rights of Labour” applies to List as much as to McCulloch.

The appositeness of the essential features of Lalor's doctrine to present-day conditions proves Lalor far from being a failure as a political thinker. Why, the very notion of a National Council, that is of the essence of present-day Sinn Fein, was elaborated by Lalor in 1847 on a basis akin to that desiderated by the National Guildsmen of 1918. J. J. Murphy, of the Sheffield Workers' Committee, in last month's “Socialist,” clinches his argument by quoting Lalor, and the American Industrial Workers of the World threaten to “take and hold” the means of production, with the same accent of emphasis on the words as Lalor used.

The failure in political thinking is apparent rather in the person who could deduce a greater zeal for social than for national freedom from such expressions as these:—

“Between the relative merits and importance of the two rights, the people's right to the land and their right to legislation, I do not mean or wish to institute any comparison. . . . I consider each alike as the natural complement of the other.”

“Not to repeal the Union, then, but the Conquest—not to disturb or dismantle the Empire, but to abolish it utterly for ever, . . . to found a new nation and raise up a free people, and strong as well as free, and secure as well as strong, based on a peasantry rooted like rocks in the soil of the land—that is my object.”

“Not the constitution that Wolfe Tone died to abolish, but the constitution that Tone died to obtain—independence, full and absolute independence for this island and for every man within this island.”

Perhaps the grossest of all the misrepresentations that Mr. Griffith manages to crowd into five pages of preface is this:—

“While he (Lalor) contemned Repeal and declared a dual monarchy impossible, he favoured Federal Union. Ireland and England might bear the same relation to each

other as ‘New York and Pennsylvania.’ But New York and Pennsylvania have a Washington above them.”

Evidently it is desired to picture Lalor, contrary to every tradition and to all knowledge of the man and his writings, as a proto-type of Mahaffy or Stephen Gwynn. Here is the slender basis on which Mr. Griffith relies to make himself appear the Iron, and Lalor the Lath:—

“No mode of connection between the kingdom could be solid, desirable or lasting except a federal union such as that existing between New York and Pennsylvania. But a federal union must be the result of negotiation and agreement between the federating parties. I deny the competency of the Imperial British Parliament to frame the Act or make the terms of federation. But, in order to negotiate, the parties must stand on equal terms, and each be independent of the other. Independence, therefore, full and entire independence, is a necessary preliminary to any permanent or satisfactory arrangement with Britain.”

When we have pointed out the gratuitous errors and misrepresentations with which the publishers or Miss Fogarty have allowed the book to be prefaced, we have not dealt adequately with the volume as a whole. Miss Fogarty's introduction contradicts Mr. Griffith's assertions, and Lalor supplies the proofs. Let none to whom Lalor is a name merely, neglect to master his slender but precious legacy. “In his writings,” said Connolly, “we find principles of action and society, which have within them not only the best plan of campaign for a country seeking its freedom through insurrection against a dominant nation, but also the seeds of the more perfect social peace of the future.”

Miss Fogarty's edition is well bound in cloth, and published by the Talbot Press at 5s. A less complete edition, with the best, however, of Lalor's letters and essays, in convenient form, is published by Maunsel's at 1s. The introduction to the latter by N. Marlowe is almost, but not quite, as misleading as Griffith's to the former. Get the Talbot edition on your book-shelf, and use Maunsel's for lending and propaganda.

RESPECTABLE AT FOUR BOB A WEEK.

The following advertisements from the Tory “Evening Mail” illuminate the shabby grandeur of the Dublin seoinini—

Wanted respectable Girl as General, wages 4s. weekly, sleep out, vicinity Westland Row. Box C8439, this Office.
Humble, Strong Girl Wanted, outdoor, 4s. weekly; N.C.R. vicinity; or from 9 till 1 daily. Box D5428, this Office.

Cheer up! the poor in spirit shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven and the meek shall possess the land.

The Trade Union Shaving Saloon—James Mallon's, 36 Eden Quay.

SAVAGE'S MILD RETORT.

Sir,—It is for you, I suppose, to square the views expressed under the heading "Labour in Belfast" with the article that preceded them—"The Workers' Republic"—in this week's issue of your paper. Before being so severe on "wobblers," "Irish Opinion" might have frankly asked Mr. Freeland, whose address I have read, whether he would take the pledges mentioned in another column of your issue, namely—"Does the candidate agree that the future government of Ireland must be decided by the Irish people themselves with unrestricted liberty to choose independence or any degree of union with England? Will the candidate pledge himself to oppose strenuously the subjection of Ireland to military force and work for the withdrawal of the British Army from Ireland as the German Army has been withdrawn from Belgium?" Should his answer be in the affirmative, he will display more robustness than his address to the electors of Cromac Division indicates.

It may be unfortunate that Sinn Fein has chosen me as its standard-bearer, but the mistake (if it be one) is one I had nothing to do with, for I never heard of it until it was made.

On two occasions, I think, the Licensed Vintners' Board requisitioned its members with the object of putting me out of its ranks for offences of one kind or another against "the Party." This may make me its "foremost member." I do not think, however, that the Board itself would agree with that view. I opposed the sending out of any documents by the Vintners' Board on the question dealt with in "Irish Opinion." The "leaflets" I refused to repudiate were those sent out by individual publicans on their own responsibility, with which I was no more concerned than any other member of the community. Sinn Fein in Belfast, so far as I know, is satisfied with my action and inaction in connection with the question, and it knows all the circumstances. Permit me to add that long before a journal such as yours had any footing in Belfast I was looked upon not only as a "wobbler," but as a crank and a sore-head.—Faithfully yours,

A. SAVAGE.

Belfast, 8th Dec., 1918.

(The leaflet we specified bore the imprint of the Licensed Vintners' Association, and Mr. Savage did refuse to repudiate it. If "Sinn Fein in Belfast" is satisfied with candidates who refuse to recognise trade unionism, so much the worse for "Sinn Fein in Belfast.")

A Candid Correspondent.

"Your excellent little paper" is the gracious phrase occurring in a letter intended for simultaneous publication in several journals. Our joy in this quite unsolicited testimonial is chastened by the obliteration of the next phrase, "which I admire for its high moral tone." We trust we are not the sole exception among the "little papers" of Dublin.

DEEDS AND WORDS.

John Maclean is free—an election move on the part of the Government. It is time something was done to obtain the release of the Sinn Feiners and C.O.'s. We have talked and protested enough.—"Solidarity."

Scottish Scandal.

Canon Dowling's letter in the "Glasgow Herald" of 28th November exposing the shocking maltreatment of a dying girl-worker from Ireland has aroused a temporary indignation among the comfortable people. The continued existence of the evils which have accompanied the employment of migratory labour in Scotland for over a hundred years is due to the conspiracy between the Ministry of Labour and the Glasgow potato merchants, which this autumn seduced the workers to Scotland on a promise of arbitration afterwards denied.

Next year not a worker will leave until the fullest guarantees are obtained. Now that the Scottish Catholic priests are aroused it may be hoped that the clergy of the West will cease to be silent accomplices in this vile traffic in human flesh.

Wanted Books.

The Socialist Party wants gifts of books for its library. Works on sociology, history, economics and kindred subjects will be welcomed. Send them to Room 3, Liberty Hall.

Arnott's Settlement.

The Irish drapers' assistants' dispute with Arnott's was settled at a conference on 4th inst., the Lord Mayor presiding. The drapers receive substantial advances and other grades share in them. Those workers who were not involved directly obtain pay for time lost.

This dispute should cause workers to ask: Why so many unions when the boss is one? The one union for distributive workers is urgently wanted in Ireland.

The Delayed Arbitrations.

The Ministry of Labour has awakened to the urgency of the cases of the theatrical workers and Port and Docks Board employees mentioned last week, and arbitrators have been appointed.

Stupid Committee.

To avert the threatened closing down of Glasnevin Cemetery by the self-elected Committee of Management, the Lord Mayor is trying to adjust the claims of the workers.

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ANNOUNCE

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With a Preface by Arthur Griffith.

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**FINANCIAL REPORT
EXCELLENT.**

THE NEW IRELAND ASSURANCE SOCIETY

WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION.**Conference in Dublin.**

The Conference on Working-class Education, convened by the Dublin Trades Council last Sunday, was attended by 139 delegates representing 31 trade unions and co-operative societies. The resolution establishing the Dublin Working-class Education Conference was moved by Cathal O'Shannon, who urged the importance of trade unions accepting responsibility for providing their members with educational facilities, particularly on the subjects of economics and industrial history. Of these subjects there were no impartial exponents. It was their business to see that the workers' standpoint was taken. Mr. Monaghan (I.C.W.U.) seconded.

A motion for delay and enquiry was moved by Mr. W. Peavoy (I.C.W.U.), seconded by Mr. Jas. Nolan (Bookbinders), but on a vote the motion was carried. The second resolution outlining the scheme of studies was spoken to by Mr. Jos. MacDonnell (I.C.W.U.) and J. J. Hughes (I.T. & G.W.U.), and after discussion, was unanimously approved.

The scheme provides for a course of thirteen lectures on Economics, and thirteen on Industrial History, Trade Unionism, and Co-operation. The classes will be held in the Council Chamber of the Trades Hall, Capel Street, Dublin, on Sundays at 4 p.m. The first lecture will be delivered on January 5th, 1919. The fee for both courses for the Session will be 1s. The financial responsibility will be undertaken by the unions affiliated to the Conference.

The following committee was elected:— Miss Louie Bennett (I.W.W.U.), Miss R. Timmins (I.N.T.O.), Messrs. J. T. O'Farrell (R.C.A.), J. Neary (N.L. Blind), Cathal O'Shannon ("Voice of Labour"), P. Thompson (N.U.C.), T. Kennedy (I.T. & G.W.U., No. 3), J. J. Hughes (I.T. & G.W.U.), T. Irwin (Dublin Op. Plasterers), D. Cullen (Irish Bakers N.A.U.), and J. MacDonnell (I.C.W.U.). Mr. C. J. Kenny (I.C.W.U.), 79 Eccles Street, Dublin, was appointed secretary of the committee, of which the President of the Trades Council is chairman, ex-officio.

RAILMEN WIN EIGHT-HOUR DAY.**State Purchase.**

The railwaymen have registered another victory in obtaining the eight-hour day, and in consequence the public have secured themselves from the danger that arises from overworking signalmen and engine-drivers. The new conditions come into force on February 1st.

Mr. Churchill has pledged the Government to Nationalisation of the system, but how it is to be accomplished is unknown. Railway capital is largely watered, and purchase of stock at face value would plunder the Exchequer to the tune of millions.

If the Government exchanges its bonds for railway shares at face value, with a guaranteed rate of interest, it is certain that the railways will continue to be run at an apparent loss. Thus the railroad user, the bondholder, and the State will resist, under nationalisation, every demand made by the workers.

Therefore the necessary precedent to purchase must be a review and re-valuation of railway capital. Not a penny more than present actual value of the roads, equipment and rolling stock must be paid. It must be remembered, too, that there is no private property right in railroads. They are statutory law-made undertakings. The State gave, the State taketh away. Blessed be the name of the State.

Railway Clerks' Demands.

Now that other grades of rail-men have obtained concessions, the Railway Clerks' Association comes forward with a programme covering all clerical and supervisory officials. Over 100,000 officials, including all the "pivot" men, are covered by the following programme of minimum wage rates of salary for all general clerks. They range from £70 for a youth of 16 to £230 for a man aged 28. Station-masters and others have also a scale, the lowest being £250 and the highest £1,000 a year. Overtime is to be at rate-and-a-half, seven hours to constitute a standard day, allowing for one half-holiday each week, preferably on Saturday. Double pay to be given for all bank holidays, Good Friday, Christmas Day, and Sundays.

Coates' Parting Gift.

Following a conference with I.T. & G. W.U. representatives, Kilkenny Grocers' Association representatives agreed to recommend their members to put the Dudley-White Award into operation, viz.:— Salary for first and second years after apprenticeship, £32 10s. indoor; for third and fourth years, £41 12s.; for fifth and succeeding years, £52; charge hands, £65 indoor; £1 weekly to be added in all cases for men living outdoor; licensed houses to be closed at 7 p.m. on week-days, and at 9 p.m. on Saturdays. Apprentices to be in the proportion of one to each four paid hands. The terms represent increases of from 80 per cent. to 100 per cent. for the majority of the grocers' assistants.

The NEW RUSSIA

A Souvenir of the First Anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic, 1917-18

Contains the Constitution of the Soviet Republic and Decrees with Articles by Zelda Kahan Coates, H. Sheehy Skeffington, "Libertia" of the "Worker" (R. McKenna), Eden and Cedar Paul.

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CONNOLLY MEMORIAL TREAT.

Walter Carpenter has received two sub-
scriptions this week from jails. One is
from Eamonn Dwyer in Durham. His letter
proves that he keeps a lively interest in the
practical rebuilding of Ireland, and that he
does not forget the Irish National Assurance
Society, which he did so much to build.
We publish the Countess's letter below.

"Business Letter,

"Holloway Jail.

"Dear Comrade,—Enclosed you will find
small subscription for the Socialists' Annual
Xmas Breakfast to the children. You could
not pay the memory of James Connolly an
honour that he would have appreciated more
than a treat to the children of the workers
he loved. I shall think of how I was with
you, washing dishes and making speeches
last year, and shall be with you in spirit
on Xmas Day. Wishing you, your comrades
and the children a happy Xmas and God-
speed for the new year,—I gCuis na
hEireann,

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It is good news that Jimmie Johnstone,
the most popular of Scottish socialist pro-
pagandists, has begun collecting for this
tribute to the friend he honoured by loyal
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Room 3, Liberty Hall, Dublin.

A NEW PLAY.

"The Vegetarian," a one-act play, by
Semyon Aronson, will be produced in
Liberty Hall on Monday next, at 8 p.m.
A concert, with many interesting items,
will also be presented.

Liberty Hall Entertainments.

The Liberty Hall players have resumed
their concerts on Sunday evenings, and
play to capacity every time. A new farce
was enjoyed by the crowded audience last
Sunday.

TWO good Ploughmen and General
Farm Labourers wanted, with one or two
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these breeders of ill-health! It is no use
waiting to see if the pain will go away by
itself, as it were. Delay in this case, as in
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HOW ENGLAND HELPS THE WORLD TO UNDERSTAND RUSSIA.

A correspondent writes:—

The New York "Nation" of November 2nd makes the following significant comment on the subject of Bolshevik Russia: "There is to-day not a single Associated Press correspondent in Russia, and such news as leaks out comes entirely through British sources. If we are correctly informed, the Associated Press correspondents got out of the country because of their inability to send any news through to America by cable or wireless. This is a deplorable state of affairs, for never was there a time when it was so important that we should be getting unbiased news out of that country. Everything that now comes is obviously coloured, and usually with the determination to paint the Bolsheviks as black as possible. Now the last thing that the "Nation" wishes to do is to defend the excesses of the Bolsheviks, or to excuse them in any way. Each and every one of their outrages injures the revolution and the whole cause of liberty. But evidence does filter through that a great deal of constructive work is going on; that there is not that extreme state of terrorism and disorder which we are led to believe. But whether we are right or wrong in this, it is a great misfortune that just at this juncture we cannot find out the Bolshevik side of the case; cannot see for ourselves the decrees that they are issuing, and read the newspapers that they are allowing to be printed. Nothing is more striking than the contrast between the narratives of newly-returned travellers and the despatches that we get by way of Stockholm." When you have read this little tribute to Old England, cut it out and paste it in your hat for reference. The passages in heavy type are hereby referred to Mr. Bechofer, Mr. Wm. Martin Murphy, the Editor of the "Freeman's Journal," and the reverend clergy for observation and report.

Another Insult!

We direct the attention of Mr. Gaynor to another Galway outrage. A small boy threw a stone at the sign of the "American" Hairdressing Saloon.

Held Over.

Notices on "Russia and the Struggle for Peace," by Michael Farberman, and on "German Social Democracy During the War," by Edwyn Bevan, and a reply from C. E. Bechofer to "Æ's" recent letter on Russia.

"Better a Millstone," etc.

The thriving milling business of the P.P. of Kiltinagh has prospered on the higher charges; but the wages of the workers remain the same. There is a Scriptural prophecy, "The grinders shall cease."

Tom Mooney.

The sentence of Tom Mooney has been commuted to one of penal servitude for life. There are now two prisoners to be set free—Warren K. Billings and Tom Mooney. The agitation must persist until San Quentin lets its captives go.

Life in Holland.

We quoted recently from the "Manchester Guardian" a statement that the

cost of living in Holland had risen from 400 to 500 per cent. We find on reference to the "B.O.T. Labour Journal" that this is incorrect. While food prices in these countries had risen by 108 per cent. in June, 1918, the increase in Holland was only 87 per cent.

"The Gilded Fake."

The Talbot Booklet with this sardonic play comes in time to provide an after-election stimulant for the jaded minds of exhausted electioneers, or a bromide for those whose pulses are quickened by victory. The good faith of the author is beyond all question, for the local superman, "E.A.B.," guarantees he is not a member of the Grand Orient.

Real Profit-sharing.

J. and P. Coats, Ltd., made a profit of £1,171,000 last year and pay the old dividend of 30 per cent. Every three years and four months the do-nothing shareholders of this firm have their capital handed back to them. Their Russian factories were confiscated, and the Irish, British and American Henry Dubbs paid more for their cotton thread to keep the Coats dividend at 30 per cent. Up the Bolshevik!

Now We Know!

"So long as the Royal Air Force remembers that it is a Royal Force... it would have but little mercy on a Bolshevik mob, if once let loose on them with bomb and machine gun... the R.A.F. pilots and observers have had much excellent practice during the German retreat in operating against mobs on roads and in streets."—"The Aeroplane."

N.B.—The Bolsheviks referred to are the British brand. That sort of stuff of course comes to us anyway, so we can tender our sympathy to the English workers who are going "to get it in the neck."

Scotland.

John MacLean had a tremendous welcome from tens of thousands of workers on his release from prison last week. The Red Flag was very much in evidence. For MacLean, Newbold, and other Bolshevik candidates who stand for the Workers' Republic everywhere and are sound on real and absolute self-determination for Ireland, speakers from Ireland are lending a welcome hand. It is reckoned that the bulk of the Irish vote will go to the Bolsheviks.

By Shannonside.

Settling a small building trade strike and a big stoppage of dockers, who resumed on getting a 1s. increase per man for unloading a cargo of coal—a concession over which the Employers' Federation held a weighty pow-wow before granting—and organising the Bacon Factory girls are amongst J. Dowling's recent activities in Limerick I.T.G.W.U. There are many calls for his services from the county, where the Big Branch idea is being enforced. The Co. Council employees have a big wages push on just now.

Some Live on Less.

"10s. will feed a child for 10 days," says Wm. Baker, hon. director, Dr. Barnardo's Homes. At that rate the Castle-comer labourer with two children and a wife and himself to feed on fifteen shillings a week must be running into debt.

BELFAST INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.—(North Branch)—Langley St. (off Tennent Street).—Sunday, 15th, at 7.30. Mr. R. McClung, and Mr. J. McKeig (Workers' Union) will speak on "Current Topics."

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