

Albert Hall and
Mansion House.

19 BERKELEY ST.
Pope and Cardinal
Endorse Karl Marx.

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IRISH OPINION

The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

NEW SERIES. No. 53.

NOVEMBER 30, 1918.

ONE PENNY

Some War Losses.

Cheap Lives and Valuable Property.

British killed number 658,704, on about 1.5 per cent. of the population.

Total British casualties: 3,049,971, or about 6.5 per cent.

German casualties total 6,330,000, or 9.5 per cent. of population. 1,580,000 soldiers and sailors were killed, about 1.6 of the population.

Canadian casualties, including 50,334 deaths, number 211,358.

French prisoners to the number of 420,000 are now being repatriated.

The Allies' war debts exceed the entire capital wealth of Germany. They can't make Germany pay.

An American estimates the cost of the war to all the belligerents at 40,000,000,000 (forty thousand million pounds).

The belligerents' war debts exceed £30,000,000,000 (thirty thousand million pounds).

There are 302 "National" munition factories, which cost over £64,000,000.

On every ship of 8,000 tons built, the Government pays a subsidy for steel of £16,000. Some steal.

The average weekly wage or salary (including those of all men, women and children) paid at Rosyth is £4 16s. per person. Of course the division is slightly unequal.

The British shipping losses, according to Walter Runciman, total 9,000,000 tons gross. In spite of increased production there is a net shortage of three and a half million tons.

There are outstanding war contracts under the Woollen Textile Production Department of the value of £40,000,000. All to be paid for.

Cheaper Cattle Feeding?

Sir T. W. Russell promised cheaper feeding. After he stopped talking the official prices of oil seeds went up by from £3 to £5.

HOW IRISH WORKERS PAY

WHAT THE PARTY HAS DONE FOR WORKERS.

A RECORD THAT WRECKS THEM. DILLONITE PRICES.

"This is Ireland's war."

So the Party told us, and the vanished recruiting placards reminded us.

The war is over, but the price is still being paid. The measure of the price is interesting. At Tullamore lately the Transport Union branch made an investigation, and found the price of war—Ireland's war—the Party's war—to be more than their wages could bear.

Here are comparative figures:—

	1914.	1918.
	s. d.	s. d.
Flour	1 6	2 6 per st.
Oil	0 2½	0 6½ pint
Bacon	0 10	2 6 per lb.
Beef	0 8	1 8 per lb.
Potatoes	0 6	1 0 per st.
Butter	1 0	2 6 per lb.
Oatmeal	1 4	4 6 per st.
Soap	0 2	0 9 per lb.
Matches	0 0½	0 1 box
Margarine	0 4	1 2 lb.
Porter	0 2	0 8 pint
Coal	1 3	3 6 cwt.
Turf	1 0	4 0 box
Bread	0 2½	0 4½ loaf
Eggs	0 6	5 0 doz.
Onions	1 0	5 0 st.

CLOTHING PRICES.

Boots	10 6	27 6 pair
Socks	1 0	3 0 "
Shirt	2 6	6 0 each
Hat	2 6	6 0 "
Cap	2 0	3 6 "
Collar	0 6	0 8 "

Tie	1 0	1 9 "
Readymade Suit	30 0	60 0 "
Drawers	1 0	3 0 "
Singlet	1 0	3 0 "
Overcoat	35 0	100 0 "
Suspenders	1 6	3 0 pair
Boot Laces	0 1	0 4 "

Items of a weekly dietary for a family which cost 14s. to buy in 1914, now cost 54s.

What of the Fruits of Victory. Certainly, the Party offers us the finest apples, worth 1d. or 2d. in pre-war days, at 6d. to 8d. each, now. Oranges, once sold at 6d. a dozen, now cost 6d. each. Lemons, currants, raisins—absent. Have a banana? Not on sale now. This is Ireland's war!

No wonder the Tullamore man said: "I'm ashamed of my life to meet a hen in the street, it's so long since I patronised its products."

Another measurement of the cost of the Party's war, a quite trifling matter by the way, is afforded by contrasting the Budget of 1913-14 with that of 1918-19. Then, the revenue was estimated at £194,825,000. Now the estimate is £842,050,000. Then, the expenditure reached £197,493,000. Now, it is expected to amount to £2,972,197,000, leaving the little balance on the wrong side of £2,130,147,000.

Ireland's share on the basis of population would be about one-tenth.

The cost of living in Holland in all "necessary commodities" has risen by 400 to 500 per cent., says the "Manchester Guardian" (16/11/18).

To meet the situation thus caused, we see that Queen Wilhelmina is driving about in an open carriage to let the hungry peasantry feast their eyes upon her.—"Forward."

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Edited by CATHAL O'SHANNON.

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THE LAST STRONG-HOLD OF RE-ACTION.

In these days of change England stands out almost alone in Europe as the mother of Tyranny, fit mate of all that is reactionary. All over Europe thrones have fallen, monarchs have fled, and privilege and piratical power have been shattered with the might of empire by the hosts of the great Army of the Night. Alone in Europe England is the one dark spot. Not the least of England's marks of the beast is her continued imprisonment of the political opponents of the imperialist and militarist policy of her Government. In Russia political prisoners have long since been liberated; in Austria, Hungary, the new republican states of Germany, even in Prussia itself, the peoples' governments have opened the gaol gates; in Belgium and France the first fruit of the armistice was the freeing of Socialist and other political prisoners. But the England of Lloyd George, Bonar Law and Northcliffe still holds in her prisoners in Great Britain and Ireland, Germans, Austrians, Americans, neutrals, Irish, and even Scottish and English. Where England sets her feet her jailers bang her prison doors and rattle her prison chains. Adler, Dittmann, Liebnecht, Luxembourg, Abramovitch, all are free. De Valera, Griffith, Markievicz, Clarke, MacLean, Robinson, Norman, hundreds of Irish Republicans, thousands of English and Scottish pacifists, and hundreds, if not thousands, of Continentals, men and women, still lie in English prisons in Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales. Is the people which tolerates this worthy of that republican freedom the workers have brought to a Continent sick unto death of the reign of kings and kaisers, of land and capital? Nay, and it shall never be worthy of it until it has ceased to tolerate conditions and castes which make this terrible thing possible. British Labour has indeed demanded the release of all political prisoners, the Irish included, but what is a demand by word of mouth against the prison system of England? Revolutions are not made at the ballot boxes, nor are prisoners released by block votes.

Is there no shame left anywhere in England? Or is shame's only manifestation the faint blush and bowed head of the coy maiden? Is it not sometimes rather the deep crimson of indignation and the clenched fist of the strong man?

GOD. SAVE IRELAND.

For reasons which our readers can easily guess we were unable to make an appropriate reference to the anniversary of the Manchester Martyrs on November 23. We are all the more sorry for this because few events in the modern history of Ireland have left a deeper impression upon the International Labour movement, or called forth deeper sympathy, than the hanging of Allen, Larkin and O'Brien. The customary celebrations themselves fared no better than the poor little tribute "The Voice of Labour" proposed to lay on the grave of The Three. In Limerick, Tipperary, Cork, and other centres the processions and commemoration addresses were ruthlessly and forcibly proclaimed and prohibited by the armed forces of the Royal Irish Constabulary, almost the last of the praetorian guards of Europe. In all these processions for a number of years back there has been no such thing as partyism in any sense, and in fact we should say that in any cities, Cork for instance, one of the most impressive features of the processions has been the massed strength of organised Labour. But democracy in Ireland must not dare to commemorate its martyrs even in this year of the liberation of so many democracies in Europe. The Occupation has spoken, and its decree is enforced by armed might. One flicker to light the darkness there was indeed: it was the procession of the women of Dublin, marshalled by Cumann na mBan, to the cenotaph of the martyrs in Glasnevin.

Albert Hall and Mansion House.

Their Irish comrades will heartily congratulate the "Herald" and the London electricians on their successful fight against the counter-revolutionaries of the Albert Hall. As ever, deeds, and not words, opened the doors to George Lansbury, and the organ of what we hope will again become the rebel movement in British Labour. Neither the "Herald" nor the men who cut off the electric light from the Albert Hall (it is no longer Royal, since British workmen soiled the cushioned seats of George von Wettin's own box) need blush for the temporary postponement of their meeting. But Dublin must burn with shame, for the first time for some years, that no popular demonstration of welcome on a big scale has been given in the first of rebel cities to the successful Workers' Republics of Russia and Central Europe. Yet all the blame does not lie at the door of the Lord Mayor. When the Lord Mayor had can-

celled the letting of the Mansion House and the Bolshevik meeting had been called off, the D.M.P. and Dublin Castle made assurance doubly sure. On Monday the seizure by Inspector Herbert of the Red Flag which was flying over the office of "The Voice" was followed by the formal prohibition, through an envoy of the G Division of the D.M.P., delivered to the Secretary of the Irish Labour Party, of a Bolshevik meeting, "in any place, at any time, now or in the future," in saecula saeculorum, for ever and ever, Amen, so to speak. Well, the Castle had horse, foot, artillery and air forces, and Labour had but bare fists, and the demonstration as arranged was not held. The D.M.P. turned out in force, fully armed and equipped, but not until companies of the I.C.A., Ireland's Red Guards, had lustily sung "The Red Flag" at the Mansion House, at the Trades Hall, and in Capel street, after a baton charge.

Labour is not so unhappy over it after all. The D.M.P. and Dublin Castle will not rule in Ireland for all time. The people's banner will be raised again, and the Workers' Republic is, maybe, nearer than the Continent. That, at least, seemed to be the will of the crowds who, in the Gaiety Theatre on Saturday night, chorussed "The Red Flag" as heartily and as hopefully as they did "God Save Ireland" and "A Soldier's Song."

BELFAST'S LABOUR CANDIDATES.

Although we differ from them in many respects, and regret that in tactics and to some extent in policy, they differ from us, we are delighted to see that the workers of Belfast are storming the citadel of re-action and capitalism in the North. In no part of Ireland will the elections be more interesting, and certainly in none more uncertain, than in Belfast. For the first time in history, the workers are making a general assault upon the employers in the political field. At this welcome sign of awakening every Labour man and woman in every part of Ireland will rejoice. Some of the Belfast candidates are indeed Unionist in politics, and their Unionism is stronger than their Trade Unionism. But that phase will pass, and pass all the sooner, now that the first heavy sleep of the Belfast workers has been broken. It is rather a pity that in this first effort there could not be a straight fight between Capital and Labour in Belfast, or between an indivisible Ireland and a partitioned Ireland. But that phase, too, will pass, and we have hope that its passing will be marked in this election. Whether the opponents of official Unionism in Belfast win or lose in this election they will have sounded the death-knell for the old gang. And the old gang knows it.

We have only one regret to add, and that is that in any part of Ireland the selection of a lieutenant of Havelock Wilson should be even considered by any Labour body.

For up-to-date Hairdressing—Mallon, 30 Edin Quay.

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

Apologia.

Through a copying error in our note to B's letter last week we were made to describe the Editor of "The Irish Homestead" as an economist of the conservative order! No description could be less fitting. The word should, of course, have been constructive, as indeed we had written.

Place Aux Dames.

Belfast Republicans honour themselves and their cause when they choose Winifred Carney as the Republican candidate for Victoria Division. Despite its misnomer, relic of times passing rapidly, Victoria is a division historic in democratic and republican annals in the city in which Wolfe Tone fathered the movement. In one of its wards James Connolly stood in 1912 for his full programme, the first man in Ireland to make the Workers' Republic an issue in elections in Ireland. On that occasion Connolly fought a splendid fight against re-action, ascendancy and empire, and in the most unfavourable circumstances went near to winning. One of his ablest helpers was the present candidate for the division. It will, we are sure, be remembered unto her by the working men and women who followed Connolly to the polls as she followed him into insurrection. The men and women in Victoria have great memories of Connolly's great work for them in factory, mill, dock and home. We are not so optimistic as to hope that Winifred Carney will win easily, but if she has a straight fight she will, we have no doubt, wage it with that grit and spirit which always characterised her in the great Captain's command, whether under fire in the G.P.O. or at the mill gate. What memories of gallant fights this candidature conjures up!

The Workers in the Elections.

In the whirl of a General Election, particularly in an election like this in which the stakes are so high and the issue is so grave, many of the ordinary activities of the Trade Unions will be as good as suspended. Meetings and the like cannot be held with success, and in the absence of Labour candidates the political propaganda of Labour cannot be carried out with effect. To the workers, and they are the bulk of the voters, the supreme duty of the moment will appear, and rightly so, to be the securing of the return of those candidates whose principles and practice approach nearest to those of Labour. We have no doubt whatever that on the whole the workers of Ireland will exercise their right to vote with good judgment and good sense. They have learned much in these latter years, they are learning much more in these present days from the mighty events which are shaking the Old World to its very foundations. Those lessons they will apply, so far as they can apply them, on polling day. They would be foolish, of course, if they thought that the republican freedom of their class and nation is to be conquered in its entirety by making crosses on ballot papers. For all that they will not neglect to use the weapon of the ballot to the full, however

imperfect it may be. They have now an opportunity, unclouded by any other consideration, thanks to the self-abnegation of the Irish Labour Party, of declaring to the world whether this Irish people stands for the democratic principle of historical and conscious nationality, or whether it stands for the opposing and anti-democratic principle of imperial domination. It is for the people to choose, and they will choose well. In determining the choice, and in proclaiming their allegiance to the national principle in opposition to the imperialist system, the workers weigh the scales for national victory. They will vote for Nation against Empire, for Democracy against Plutocracy, for Republic against Monarchy, for Freedom in the political order against Slavery. When they have done that they will have done well. And they then can return to the building up of that Army of Labour which will place Ireland alongside her sister Republics of the Workers in Russia, Germany, and Austria.

THE REPUBLIC WORLD-WIDE.

Russia's Eternal Question.

In the course of a strongly-worded communication to President Wilson on the relations between Russia and the United States and its co-belligerents, Tchitcherine, the Soviet Republic's Commissary for Foreign Affairs, says:— "As regards your further peace terms, that the governments which conclude peace are to voice the will of the masses of the people, our Government completely answers to this requirements. It expresses the will of the Council of Workers, Peasants, and Red Guards, constituting at least eighty per cent. of the Russian people, which cannot be affirmed of your Government. . . . Thus, while we concur in the participation in negotiations of such Governments as do not yet voice the will of the people, we, on our side, should be glad to learn from you. . . . how you envisage the League of Nations which, according to your conception, is to crown the work of peace. You demand the independence of Poland, Serbia, and Belgium, and freedom for the nationalities of Austria-Hungary. **Curiously enough, however, we observe in your demands nothing about the liberation of Ireland nor Egypt and India, not even that of the Philippines, and we should very greatly regret it if these peoples were not given the possibility of participating, in common with ourselves, in the organisation of the League of Nations, through . . . their freely elected representatives.** We also propose . . . that the League of Nations should be based on the dispossession of the capitalists of all countries . . . Should we receive no answer from you, the Russian people will understand that the claims (aims?) of your Government and those of your Allies are so far-reaching that you are not desirous of acquainting the Russian Government with them."

The German Republic and Ireland.

The first Ambassador from a German Republic has arrived in Switzerland. To the Berne correspondent of the London "Daily Express" the Ambassador has made what the "Express" calls the "astounding suggestion" that the Peace Conference will settle the Irish question.

French Socialists and the Soviet.

On the first anniversary of the Russian Soviet Republic the Executive of the French Socialist Party protested emphatically against the Allied expedition in Russia, as well as future expeditions of a like nature, and sent formal greetings to the Soviet Republic. Longuet's own organ, "Le Populaire," published a special number devoted to the Bolshevik Revolution and the work of the Soviets. "L'Humanite," and other Socialist organs are denouncing the intervention of the Allies and their proposed "maintenance of order" by arms in Central Europe.

French Workers Welcome German Revolution.

The Executive of the C.G.T. (roughly corresponding to our Trade Union Congress) has issued the following greeting to the German Revolution:—

"The E.C. of the General Confederation of Labour welcomes the advent of the German Republic. This historic event must mark the end of the reign of force and must begin the era of the reconciliation of peoples. . . . It is now the duty of the proletariats of the countries of the Entente to oppose all jingo tendencies and to refuse to allow the Allied military forces, under the pretext of 'maintaining order' to be used against the new systems which the peoples of Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany, at the cost of heavy sacrifices, have established by their own free will. We are certain that the power of the international working class, once again established, will be able to ensure this. . . . The end of imperialist and military oppression in the world, with the advent of republics replacing autocratic governments, must bring us back complete victory of thought, of writing, and of speech—and without this liberty social democracy cannot really exist."

French S.P. Salutes Germany.

The Executive of the French Socialist Party has also issued its salutation to its German comrades. "It welcomes the German Republic and the seizure of power in Prussia and the Federal States by the working class. As in Soviet Russia, Socialism has appeared in Central Europe and elsewhere as the only qualified liquidator of the political and social situation left by the war. The Socialist Party sees in this the justification throughout the war of its confidence in action by the peoples. In consideration of the fact that some of the armistice conditions justify the distinct fear that the Allied Governments intend to extend their criminal military intervention against Revolutionary Russia on a wider scale, the Party declares that it will ap-

peal to all the forces of the French proletariat to prevent the crushing, by coalitions of foreign capitalism of the Socialism which is being born in Russia, and as well in Germany and Austria."

The International Conference.

Huysmans has suggested that, as we anticipated last week, Switzerland would be the best place of meeting for the International, and that it would be most appropriate that it should begin its sittings at Christmas. In order to get arrangements for the Conference in train, and for the purpose of taking part in the first meeting of the Belgian Parliament, to which he is a deputy. Huysmans proposed to travel to Brussels last week, but was again prevented by the seamen and firemen. For all that the Conference will meet. The Bureau is expected to meet at an early date.

It is a pleasure to record that the British Seafarers' Union has conveyed M. Camille Huysmans to the Continent from the port of Southampton. Well done, Lewis.

HE WON THE WAR.

Bill Adams now has been outdone,
Who won at Waterloo;
For George the Sixth has beat the Hun,
Without the aid of bomb or gun,
And also me and you.

And all alone he did this thing,
With flaming face of brass;
Unlike his namesake, Israel's King,
He used, instead of stone and sling,
The jawbone of an ass.

Tom Auld in "Forward."

A Candidate.

Belfast readers will be interested to learn that Capt. Russell Jones, the pioneer lecturer of the W.E.A. in Belfast, has been adopted as Labour candidate for Barry Division of Glamorgan.

Harvest Bonus Strike.

Farm labourers at Rathfarnham were refused the Harvest Bonus until potatoes and turnips were brought in. After two days' strike payment in full was made.

30s. Minimum for Porters.

P. Coates has served a demand on Killenny shopkeepers for a minimum wage of 30s. for porters and a new scale based on age for messengers.

Transport's New Branches.

Ballaghaderreen, the last resting place of Willie Partridge, now has a branch of the Transport Union. Others have been formed at Elphin, Listowel, Newtownsandes, Castlepollard, and Enfield, Co. Meath.

Grist Mills.

Branch secretaries who have not responded to the request for particulars about members employed in grist mills must do so at once to ensure that their local members obtain the advantages of the movement for a national minimum wage.

Dilatory Bolands.

The Transport Headquarters are applying ginger to Black Tom's slothful bunch in respect to a Ballina member's twelve months' old claim for increment.

THE PAYMENT OF WAGES.

The new Labour Research Department publication entitled "The Payment of Wages," which has been written by G. D. H. Cole, is a study in payment by results under the wage-system. We have had many books on wages and scientific management written by efficiency managers and captains of industry, and aimed at securing increased output; this book treats the same subject from the point of view of the worker. It may be described as the first attempt to produce a hand-book which will be found useful by all those who find themselves concerned with the problem of "Payment by Results," whether in theory or in practice. It should be particularly useful to trade union officials and shop stewards. A copy of the book may be obtained by any trade unionist for 3/6 (3/8 post free) on application to the Labour Research Department, 25 Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.1. The Cloth Edition is supplied at 6/- (6/4, post free).

Miners' Wages.

At a conference on 15th inst. between the Coal Controller, the I.T. and G.W.U. and Mr. Layden and the Arigna Co., a new scale of wages for Leitrim mine-workers was adopted as follows:—Mr. Leyden's mines, Knockateen, Spencer Harbour, Co. Leitrim—miners, 6/6 a ton; drawers, 2/- a ton; engineer, 7/6 a day; carters, 1/- per ton increase all round; labourers, 6/- a day; salesmen, 6/9 a day; and brushers, 8/6 a day.

The following is the agreement with regard to the miners, etc., employed by the Arigna Mining Co.—miners, 7/6 a ton; drawers, 2/3 a ton; carters, 1/- per ton increase all round; engineers, 7/- a day; labourers, 6/- a day; salesmen, 6/9 a day, carpenters, 7/6, and brushers, 8/6 a day.

These figures show a substantial advance on those prevailing before the Transport Union took up the case, when the wages paid were—miners, 5/9 per shift; drawers, 4/- per shift; engineers, 4/10 to 5/- per day; carters, 4/6 per ton; labourers, 4/- per day; salesmen, 5/- per day; carpenters, 4/6 to 4/7; brushers, 6/-.

Bonarza Wages at Kilgobbin.

Canon Hackett boasts in the "Church of Ireland Gazette" that his labouring boy is getting £2 4s. per week. We want to know how this sum is made up and how much is paid in cash. Perhaps someone in the vicinity will oblige.

Grafton Street Strike.

The employees of Sibley and Co., and Cambridge and Co., the eminent stationers and "licensed" (sic) importers of Italian marbles, are on strike. Their wages run from 11s. to 18s. per week. "Nuff sed!"

Helv's, Ltd.

Modern business experts are alive to the "economy" of cheap labour. Fifty per cent. of the organised workers in this up-to-date house receive from 7s. 6d. to £1 per week. They'd be much better earning Lloyd George's bribe by doing nothing.

I.C.W.U.

The Irish Clerical Workers' Union presents the above samples of Dublin stationery and printing houses. Many other claims are in process of reasonable negotiation. May the other firms learn better soon.

Dublin Education Conference.

Unions are urged to appoint delegates and notify the Secretary Dublin Trades Council as early as possible to facilitate arrangements.

Fili pé Sliar.

Có gnótaí agur do bíor le déannaí níos táinig liom ac corri leabair nua do léigead. Bí pé oim tráctar do déannaí ar imeadta luét oibire na héireann le céad bliain anuar; agur roir an léan agur an laocár—ac rin rseal eile. Ar na leabha nua dár léigear bí "maoin i mbéanna" ón ainmínead, "An Cairé Sairé," ó peadar ó hannraicáin (Cló na scoinneal), agur "The Canoe of Yirion" ó "A.E." Ir léir go bpuil chuide an file ran ainmínead: ainmínead an méir rin ac an céad ainmín ar "Sairé" agur "An Siol Ainmín" do léigead. Moctuiread rmaoinead agur peairantaat ionta. Bí an ceapadóir dáiríub agur sac ceann aca dá cumad aise. Corriuiread a anam sac uair, agur do bí pé i n-ann a rin do éraobriagailéad ar móó fileata.

PARÓISTE NA CRUINNE.

I bpiorai eile nil ac aicir ar fili do bí 'na mbeadair bheir ar céad bliain ó roin, agur i scoir-ainmín nil ac reopóir amuis r amac. Ir iongna liom gur péirir le rior-file beir rárta le na leicéirí. Ruó eile: bu ceare do'n ainmínead tuillead dá rior-meannain do cur i scéill úinn: read, agur úir- ceir nó móir-imeadta do beir mar dóbar a curó rílicéa aise. Ir mó-rupar filí Saelaca agur léigseoirí Saelaca do ráráin. Bu dóis leat oira nac bpuil ra Saelacaat nó ra cruinne réin ac paróirte iarscáloé.

"FEAR DANA RE DAN."

Maóir le peadar ó hannraicáin ir breas bpiorair gpiore-Sairéad an fear é. Tá pé ar na timéirí Saelaca le blianta, agur timéiread atá in a lán dá curó ainmín; timéiread ainmínac mar adairrá. Déad pé ar curó peadair mion-tuairis an coirre gnóta do cur i bpuim ainmín, agur an ainmín ran do Saóil go haerac. Tá pé 'na bpiorúnac anoir as na Saellab, ac ir léir ó "ráinne an lae" go mbionn pé as ceapad dán go dána i bpiorún réin. So ceapad pé arir éngainn rlan agur so n-éirgíó leir go veó!

BRISTEAR NA DÓIRSE!

Ar rli bíonn na filí Saelaca go léir i bpiorún. ve gnát—i bpiorún an gnát- raoḡail, i scapcain na gnát-tuairme. Ir micio doób na doóirre do bpioread, agur raoḡail raoir álunn áro-meannnac a beir aca. réac ar "A.E." agur a coinneal ríre! Noctuireann pé uóman oiairra naomta leir an scoinnil iongpiillrígte atá aise. Miníseann pé úinn oll-Saelacar có maic céadna. Tá pé níor Saolaise 'na na Saóil.

L. P. O R.

Dublin Carters' Rise.

The Carriers' Association has agreed to give the carters an increase of 4/- per week, making a total increase of 27/- on pre-war wages. The minimum now stands at 47/- a week. Overtime will be paid at the rate of 9d. per hour and on Saturdays will begin after 4 p.m. Between 10 p.m. and 6 a.m. time and a half will be paid, the same rate applying to Sunday work. Work during dinner hour earns 1/- extra.

POPE & PRELATE ENDORSE KARL MARX

VICTORY OF THE PROFITEERS.

By Very Rev. Vincent McNabb, O.P.
(From the "Catholic Times.")

Let us take our economic and moral bearings, as seamen take an observation of the sun, by setting down the words of Pope Leo XIII. in the "Rerum Novarum":

A small number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the labouring poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself.

This is clearly not an abstract ethical principle, but a concrete economic fact which could be detected by few observers so clearly and certainly as by the Watchman of the Vatican. It need not be added that if this fact is true, then it should be the duty of everyone, not to perpetuate but to destroy its truth.

That this fact of injustice, that is, of theft, has not lost its truth in the twenty-seven years since Pope Leo XIII. diagnosed and denounced it may be seen from the following summary by the Editor of the "New Age," 31st October.

1. According to the income-tax returns published last week, the number of persons whose income has been raised above £5,000 a year during the last twelve months is 573.

2. Ninety persons are now registered as enjoying an annual income of over £100,000!

3. As a final result, 30,000 persons (or one fifteen-hundredth of the whole population) receive annually between them £250,000,000 (or one-tenth of the whole national income).

The Effect of the War.

No wonder that the writer of this summary adds: "The effect of the war has been to accelerate the pre-existing movement towards the concentration of wealth in fewer and fewer hands."

We are, then, faced with the fact that this country has been fighting two wars. One it has ever hopes of winning; one it has already lost. In warring against the Central Powers we have been at war, as we believe, against flagrant international injustice. But there has been another war against the powers settled and nationalised in our own country. This war, which may be said to have begun its modern phase with the Tudors of the sixteenth century, is the relentless war of a few very powerful and rich men who have succeeded in reducing the poor of these islands, and especially the poor of England, to a state of destitution and servility. It has been a long war against an injustice which cleverly and unctuously had the sanction of law; because, as Pope Leo XIII. says: "The party which holds power because it holds wealth, which has in its grasp the whole of labour and trade . . . is even represented in the

councils of the State itself" ("Rerum Novarum").

Capitalism and the Proletariat.

We should not forget what his Eminence Cardinal Bourne has written in support of Pope Leo XIII.: "Capitalism began really with the robbery of the Church property in the sixteenth century, which threw the economic and social advantages into the hands of land-owning and trading classes. . . . Since then the effect of competition uncontrolled by morals has been to segregate more and more the capitalist from the wage-earning classes, and to form the latter into a proletariat, a people owning nothing but their labour power."

"The English oligarchic spirit took its rise from the same sources as English capitalism. . . . The territorial oligarchy had (by the beginning of the twentieth century) been thoroughly fused with the commercial magnates, and the fusion had produced plutocracy. While the Constitution had increasingly taken on democratic forms, the reality underlying these forms had been increasingly plutocratic. Legislation under the guise of social reform tended to mark off all wage-earners as a definitely servile class."

These wise words of a Pope and a Cardinal-Archbishop are good to remember, because they are easy and dangerous to forget. The historic fact which they proclaim is seen once more in the ease with which this plutocracy, now grown self-confident, has used their country's war-sufferings for the purpose of gain. The profiteers who have thus exploited the nation in its years of agony have not been ignorant that each day added to the nation's poverty. Yet they have been indifferent to the patriotic principle that "The war should leave no man richer if it leaves the nation poorer." The "very rich men" whom Pope Leo XIII. pillories as the slave-masters of the people, are so indifferent to their country's woes that, whilst their country is waging war with its enemies, they are waging war with their country. And victory over their country has come as the result of their highly intelligent method of warfare.

The Only Hope for the Future.

It may be urged by some of my readers that the victory is not yet finally with the profiteers, because the men who come home from the Front in their thousands will see that these financial ghouls disgorge their gains. In answer to this it may be said that there is no certainty of this happy event. We may well wonder if these astute thieves have not entrenched themselves in a defensive position which not even the genius of Foch could carry. But even if such a genius might dislodge the profiteers, where amongst the men will be

found such a genius? Something like the present circumstances obtained in England after the Napoleonic wars. Yet the tens of thousands of returned soldiers were powerless against the industrial Napoleons. Waterloo was followed by Peterloo!

Only one human hope remains: the new suffrage. If that fails, all fails. And if the profiteers are as successful after the war as during the war, the new suffrage will fail. "Domine, salva nos, perimus."

A NEW BOOK ABOUT TRADE UNIONISM.

The Labour Research Department has published this week "An Introduction to Trade Unionism," by G. D. H. Cole. This is an indispensable handbook to the trade unionist who wishes to gain some knowledge of trade unionism in other industries than his own, and of the leading problems confronting trade unionism at the present time. The recent growth, and the present extent and distribution of trade union membership, and the problems of trade union government and trade union finance are described at length; a section on "The Problems of Trade Unionism" deals with amalgamation and federation, demarcation, industrial unionism and the shop stewards' movement, conciliation and the legal position of trade unions, the position of women, and various other important questions; while the final section treats of education, the ideals of trade unionism, and the possible developments of trade unionism in the future. The price of the Trade Union Edition is only 2/6 (2/8 post free). The Cloth Edition is 5/- (5/4 post free).

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SOME COMPLAINTS—JUST AND OTHERWISE.

November 16th, 1918.

To the Editor "Voice of Labour."

Dear Sir,—As one of the rank and file of the Irish Labour Party, may I use your paper to air some trifling complaints against that Party?

At the Trades Union Congress in August last resolutions moved by the Irish Women Workers' Union were carried, which called for special committees to deal with the problems of Housing and Education. These committees have not been established, and now the war is at an end, and there is a rush for Reconstruction. But the Irish Labour Party have no defined policy on the two most vital problems for Irish workers. Sir Edward Carson and his ilk formulate practical schemes whilst Irish Labour discusses a constitution!

As a woman, I may, perhaps, overestimate the importance of the Housing question. But to my thinking, bad housing conditions will vitiate every other reform, for they re-act not only upon the physical health of the people, but upon the mind and the character, and I am convinced that the workers will never get the sort of housing they ought to have until they themselves make an irresistible clamour for it. We have an opportunity now to make that clamour, and surely it is the duty of the Irish Labour Party to organise it in such a way as to make it really effective.

Rumblings of social revolution are in the air. We are bound to be affected by the prevailing spirit to an as yet incalculable degree. But a social revolution will only benefit the workers in so far as they are sufficiently educated to take effective control of social and industrial affairs. The reform of school education must, I know, be a slow business, but Irish Labour has hardly moved even in the matter of securing shorter working hours and increased facilities for the education of factory workers under 16 years of age, and these are reforms which must be the preliminary to better education, and which could be secured by determined and united action on the part of the Trade Unions. Apart, however, from the question of school education, much might have been done by the Labour Party in the way of general education. A scheme for courses of lectures arranged through the local Trades Councils or such active Unions as the Irish Transport Union, might surely have been devised and set going.

The Irish Transport Union proposed a resolution at the Waterford Congress on the subject of the Control of Industry. This resolution was worthy to have had allotted to it special time for discussion, but it was rushed through, and adopted without any more serious consideration than the most trifling resolution on the Agenda.

We all know that the workers cannot control their industries without some knowledge of the highly complicated systems of commerce and finance as well as of the technical and management details of the particular industry. If the Labour Party seriously contemplate securing the control of industry for Irish workers, they ought to be

doing something towards preparing the workers for this duty. Why not, for instance, a series of articles on this big subject in the "Voice of Labour?" Dublin employers are now studying the proposals for Industrial Councils, and even preparing to organise them, as in the Laundry industry. But Irish Labour has not yet begun to think of these Councils, although they may be made either a stepping-stone towards ever increasing control by the workers, or utilised by the employers to keep the

workers bribed to wage-slavery by a mess of pottage somewhat richer and more varied in quality than what they now enjoy.

Now that the business of politics is for the moment shelved, I venture to suggest that the Trades Congress Executive take these practical matters in hand.—Yours truly,
LOUIE BENNETT.

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IRISH LABOUR PRESS.

The first response to the recent circular of the Irish Labour Party in support of the Irish Labour Press Co-operative Society has come from the National Union of Life Assurance Agents (Dublin Branch).

In the midst of a stern struggle against a company with an income of seven million pounds, when every penny of Union funds is urgently needed for fighting purposes, our comrades are investing their money to the best purpose.

They know the value of the workers' press. Its policy is not influenced by ephemeral circumstance or the weight of money-power. It is pledged absolutely to the Irish working class—its owners—who determine its policy and appoint its conductors.

Money is the measure in a capitalist society of even the workers' power, enthusiasm, sincerity. If you, like the Assurance agents, want to add a fighting newspaper to the armoury of your industrial weapons, join the Irish Labour Press. Take the counsel of the Waterford Congress expressed thus in the official circular:—

The primary need of the Irish Labour Press Co-operative Society is capital, to be subscribed by Unions, Branches and Trade Councils which become members of the Society.

Secondly, members should be encouraged to read the "Voice." Its function as an educational instrument cannot be over-estimated, and its articles and news notes will help to develop and confirm the spirit of solidarity which has made our movement what it is.

Capital Subscribed.

National Union of Life Assurance Agents, Dublin Branch, £5.

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F. Taylor, Forge Side	0	1	0
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Ramsey, Mr. and Mrs., Gloster	0	2	6
G. J. Huckle, Cambridge	0	2	6
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Edmonton Co-Op. Society, Edmonton	8	16	2
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BRITISH SOCIALISTS' RESPONSE TO IRISH LABOUR'S OPEN LETTER.

Of one section of the British workers it can never be said that they do not understand the Irish problem or appreciate its reactions on the position of the English working class. The following extract from the "Call," the organ of the British Socialist Party, shows that like their Master, Karl Marx, the revolutionary Socialists of to-day see in the national subjection of Ireland a hindrance to social emancipation in England.

The Irish Labour Party's Open Letter to the workers of Great Britain is alike remarkable for eloquence and cogency. It essays the difficult task of awakening the British workers to understand the implications of their democratic professions. It is too true that the mass of British Labour thinks of Ireland much as some benevolent slave-owners thought of their slaves. Many a workman who prides himself on holding to the progressive in politics would support Home Rule within the Empire, or Home Rule for all Ireland but Ulster with a large measure of Imperial control. Every local Labour Party would support a proposal for extensive grants in aid to Irish industry and agriculture, and most of them would believe that in so doing they contributed to the solution of the Irish question. Such illusions are an index to the folly of the English in their dealing with the Irish nation. The Irish Labour Party, grasping the full meaning of self-determination, does not ask for favours or charity. It declines to be spoon-fed by Englishmen, even though they be common Britishers. In this Open Letter, Irish Labour asks our own working class to put into effect our high-sounding professions; to compel our governing class to abandon the centuries old attempt to rule by the sword. If British workers could be awakened to their own true interests on Irish matters they would find that they would be more free if they demanded and compelled freedom for the Irish.

The "Bradford Pioneer," the Yorkshire Labour weekly, writes of the Open Letter to the same effect. These journals, with the "Herald," have realised that self-determination means Independence, not Home Rule.

"THE PEOPLE'S CALENDAR."

A collection of short pithy extracts from a very great number of writers, pointing the way to the full revolutionary enfranchisement of the people, and interpreting how that complete enfranchisement shall come about, has been made by Mrs. Dora B. Montefiore, and is now published by the British Socialist Party, 21a Maiden Lane, Strand, London, W.C.2, under the title of "The People's Calendar."

"The People's Calendar" is published at one shilling net, and the booklet makes an ideal Christmas present for one Socialist or trade unionist to give another.

WHEN RUN DOWN and Out of Sorts, try a Shampoo, Shave, Hot Service, and Massage of high therapeutic value administered by Mallon's Trade Union Experts—88 Eden Quay.

LABOUR IN IRELAND

TRANSPORT UNION AND ELECTIONS.

The political parties in the present conflict are making desperate efforts to secure the official support of organised labour. To counteract these attempts to undermine the solidarity of Labour—for the electioneering politician looks beyond the present contest and aims at post-election dissension in the industrial struggle—the Transport Union has circularised its branches reminding them that the Union is pledged to the Labour programme of self-determination and the workers' republic, and that the machinery and name of the Union can only be employed in support of candidates sent forward by the Labour Party. In the absence of Labour candidates,

No candidature should be discussed at branch meetings.

No delegates should be sent to any political convention.

No official should appear on any political platform in his Union capacity.

With these reservations of the Union's corporate freedom, individual members are free to act and vote as they choose.

Arnett's Strike and Lock-out.

The Irish Drapers' Assistants are to be congratulated on the successful sudden cessation of work at Arnett's. The absence of shop assistants and clerks has necessitated the lock-out of other workers, but they may be trusted to make compensation, the essential preliminary of their return to work.

Trades Councils and union branches in the country can help the Dublin workers by calling on local drapers and merchants and advising them to suspend trading with Arnett's during the dispute. The Drapers' Assistants have won the first round, for the firm that ignored the Union is now willing to arbitrate.

Buttevant and the Board.

This resolution from Buttevant branch I.T. and G.W.U. speaks for the agricultural wage-earners all over Ireland.

"We protest earnestly against the Agricultural Wages Board's dealings with the workingman and his interests during the coming year, because (1) the scale of wages laid down is absurdly inadequate under present conditions of life. The highest minimum of 28/6 is insufficient to say nothing of the lower figures of 26/- and 23/6. (2) There is no good reason for dividing the country into groups. The cost of living in Buttevant district is higher than in Cork. (3) We consider 35/- should be the minimum wage. Less than that is not a living wage for a man with a wife and three or four children. (4) Employers should not be allowed to charge perquisites and meals higher than actual cost. (5) A 10 hour working day is too long. It gives little time for meals and none for recreation or tilling garden. More than eight hours' work for a master makes the man a slave.

TOBACCONISTS' ASSISTANTS' WAGES IN LONDON—NOT DUBLIN.

Under agreement with the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, the well-known firm of Albert Baker and Co., whose fag shops cover London, will pay the following wages to their staff:

Branch managers, £3 8s. 6d.; window dressers, charge hands, £3 1s.; pre-war first hands, £2 18s. 6d.; assistants over 18 years, £2 9s. 6d.; assistants under 18 years of age, £1 18s. 9d.

So Say We.

Inchicore Society (Dublin) has had a fairly good quarter. Sales came to £2,257, and a net surplus of £21 was the result. The fact that a surplus has been realised on the trading period referred to is encouraging, as compared with the last few quarters. We cannot help expressing the opinion again that Dublin co-operation will never be satisfactory so long as there are three or four co-operative organisations at work in the city. One good strong society is better than three or four smaller ones. Amalgamation is the order of the day in co-operative circles. Perhaps the new Dublin Co-operative Propaganda Committee will make this one of their aims in the near future.—"Co-Op. News."

Dungarvan Award.

Frankett Barton's award, just issued in the dispute between the I.T.G.W.U. and the Dungarvan Employers' Federation, fixed a nine-hour day for all workmen, overtime at time and a half, Sunday work at double time, and gives the following increases:—General labourers, 7s. (bring the minimum to 34s.; boys between 16 and 18, 4s.; boys under 16, 2s.; casual workers, 2s. per day, bringing them to 8s. per day. Hired carters' wages are fixed at 14s. per day; carters bring coal from steamers receive 1d., and hired carters 2d. per ton; van-salesmen and carters receive 2s. per day for expenses and men tending horses on Sundays receive 3s.

Tullamore Wants a "Tuilleadh Mor."

Tullamore Transport Union men's demand for a 10s. increase drove the employers into a Federation and resulted in a 3s. offer, which was turned down. A conference has been suggested to the bosses. Local maltsters will discuss their men's demands at a meeting with Union representatives in Liberty Hall this week-end.

At Ballyfarnon.

W. T. Reilly, the Transport organiser, successfully defended himself against a charge of illegally using petrol. The R.M. decided the motor was being properly used for business purposes.

Co-operation at Killmullet.

After fourteen days' existence the big branch planted by D. Houston is promoting a monster meeting on Sunday, 1st December. It is planned to raise from £600 to £1,000 as capital for co-operative general stores, and to have 10s. on each share paid up at the beginning of April, and begin business on a cash basis on May 1st.

Dillon's Friend.

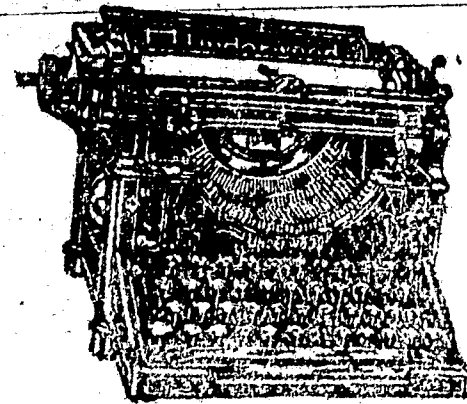
The Rev. Denis O'Hara, P.P., Kiltimagh, who starred on Dillon's platform last Sunday, is now paying the minimum wage but has not yet settled the arrears of his employee. After twelve months and a visit from the Inspector we would have fancied the reverend gentleman would try to have clean hands before going into the election.

BELFAST INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY (North Branch), Langley St. (off Tennent St.) Sunday, 1st December, at 7.30 o'clock. Speaker—MR. H. MEDGLEY. Subject—"Lest We Forget."

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