

BRAVO  
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BUYING OUT  
BOLSHEVISM.

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CENSOR.

IRISH OPINION

# THE VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

NEW SERIES. No. 54

DECEMBER 7, 1918.

ONE PENNY

## DEFAMING THE DEAD.

Dean's Defective Sociology and Worse Manners.

Our attention has been directed to a speech delivered at an U.I.L. Convention in Tipperary by the Right Rev. Monsignor Ryan. To much of it, we have nothing to say. Without giving scandal to religion, we cannot deal adequately with the utterances of the Chairman of a Party gathering who says he is there "not as a politician but as a priest," and proceeds to give to the public his version of a dead man's confession. Such an outrage calls for the notice of ecclesiastical authority. We say nothing of it except that the statement is false. Coming from a dignitary of the Church which holds in world-wide veneration the sacred memory of St. John Nepomucen, the utterance is so repulsive that we cannot repeat it.

When, however, the Right Rev. Monsignor goes on to denounce as wicked, disgraceful, anti-Catholic, cowardly, the social teaching of James Connolly, we must challenge him. Of course, he quotes His Holiness Leo XIII., using the exegetical

methods of Protestantism,

and wresting from their context the words of the Encyclical, which James Connolly, under God, did more than any man in Ireland to have converted into social law and practice. The practical work of the Transport Union, founded by James Larkin and built by James Connolly, has earned the blessing of priests in Ireland and in Scotland, and will stand the test of the Encyclical. Dare we ask Monsignor Ryan to prove that he, as an employer of labour in his secular occupation of farmer, is following the Papal teaching on the Living Wage and dare he respond?

Socialism is a word of many meanings, as even the "innocent labouring man" of Tipperary knows. "We are all Socialists now," said Sir William Harcourt. So when His Holiness Leo

XIII. uses the word he is careful to define the meaning he attaches to it. He calls "Socialists, Communists, Nihilists" those who assert "that all men are by nature equal, and hence they contend that neither honour nor respect is owed to public authority, nor any obedience to laws." Nothing that James Connolly ever taught comes within that condemnation.

When Mgr. Ryan deliberately applies the word thus defined by Leo XIII. to the teaching of Connolly he is guilty of conscious perversion. If we adopted his method and criticised his political party which has, since 1906, been a tail of the Liberal Party, we would find ample material in the Encyclical *Libertas Præstantissimus*. The Liberals, according to Leo XIII., follow

in the footsteps of Lucifer

—and John Dillon and Mgr. Ryan follow the Liberals. That would be gross misrepresentation, but it is what Mgr. Ryan has done, in his reference to Connolly.

There is a leading Catholic authority on social questions whom we quote frequently in these pages. He is not of the same rank as the Right Rev. Monsignor, for he chose the Regular path of poverty in preference to the Secular way of aggrandisement. His word goes, however, and he has, in a pamphlet published by the Catholic Socialist Society, dealt with the question of Private Property thus:—

Property is of Three Kinds:

1. Productive property, land machinery, factories, generally all capital used in production of things necessary to society.
2. Distributive property, railroads, shipping, warehouses, and the organisation of services used in circulating wealth.
3. Consumptive property, houses and

messuages, clothing, furnishings, and those forms of wealth, including food, necessary to the enjoyment and maintenance of life.

Consumptive property is the inalienable right of all. In all states of society this has been almost invariably recognised, but in modern times the growth of private corporations within society has stripped the great majority of the people—the proletariat, as Cardinal Bourne and Karl Marx term them—of all private property but the clothes they stand in. For we cannot call their "Labour power" property since it is inseparable from their human personality.

Capitalism is, indeed, distinguished by the absence of personal private property. The Productive and Distributive forms of property, in our age, absolutely essential to the existence of society as a whole, are monopolised by coteries of private capitalists, that "small number of very rich men," who, as His Holiness says, "have been able to lay upon the teeming masses of the labouring poor a yoke little better than that of slavery itself."

And our Catholic authority, in accord with the universal teaching of the Catholic Church from the apostolic founders through St. Ambrose and St. Thomas Aquinas, down to His Holiness Leo XIII., declares that when private property becomes the enemy of commonweal, then it is right and just that it should be transformed from a social nuisance to social usefulness. The private ownership of Productive and Distributive Property is conditional upon its right use by those who are its stewards. The private ownership of consumptive property is essential to the welfare of humanity.

Tally Ho!

We fear that in the heat of election  
(Continued on page 519.)



Edited by CATHAL O'SHANNON.

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## BUYING OUT BOLSHEVISM.

All through their history the English governing classes have had a peculiar genius for meeting their internal enemies on their own ground, so to speak, for stealing their thunder and by paying lip-service to their reformist or democratic principles, for depriving the genuine professors of such principles of all the driving force and power those principles might have invested them with.

This has given history the saying that the governing classes of England have always met revolution half-way and always beaten it. In other words, it is characteristic of England that in times of national crisis or when revolutionary elements and doctrines threatened the Government of England at home her governing classes always saw the storm afar off and by preparing for it in time, by throwing sops to Cerberus, always averted the danger, satisfying a majority for the time being and leaving only a minority discontented and rebellious, but weak and ineffective. The carrot was always dangled before the ass, and the ass always followed at a jog trot. Only a few, a very few, were ever found to follow the gleam or hitch their wagon to a star.

It was the same policy that was carried out so long in Ireland.

Luckily for Ireland, and thanks to the keener vision and the greater spirituality of our Tones and Emmets, our Mitchels and Lalors, our Pearses and Connollys, vision, insight and spirituality more akin to the Continent of Europe than to England, the English genius for compromise failed utterly to conquer Ireland in the end. Where there was vision the people did not perish.

In England, on the other hand, compromise succeeded compromise, and sops, sops. That is why there has never been a revolution in England, even when the French Revolution was changing the whole face of Europe, even when all Europe was in the throes of revolt in 'forty-eight, even when Chartism (and it owed as much to Ireland as it did to England) brought England nearer revolution than ever before or since.

It is not the insularity of England,

it is not the alleged democratic order of government in England, it is not the parliamentary system of England, it is not the boasted liberalism of English thought that has saved the governing classes of England from revolution and plunged the English people into the most reactionary darkness in all Europe. It is the English genius for compromise, the cunning of the English governing class, the spiritual blindness and folly of the English people.

Shall it ever be so? Only a prophet can answer that question, and if we were to judge from England's past history to answer affirmatively were easy. True it is that the governing classes of England are proving true once again to the traditions and the history of their class. Just as they always found allies to fight in other peoples' territories their great wars for them, just as they always found it easy to exploit the principles and the war-cries of their foreign and domestic enemies to their own interest, so are they now endeavouring again to make their own history repeat itself when they are threatened with internal disruption.

For the thunder of Revolution coming across Continental Europe from Russia is echoing even in England itself. It is but a feeble echo, yet is it indeed an echo.

The governing classes of England know it. They knew it when they extended the franchise to the young men and the women of these countries. That was their first sop, others have followed, others are still following, and others are yet to follow.

This is the explanation of the huge schemes which the Coalition in Great Britain has launched to deal with demobilisation, unemployment, and reconstruction. The Coalition is proposing to buy off British Bolshevism at twenty-four shillings a week. Just as parliamentary struggles and industrial strikes are settled by compromise, so it is hoped that the political and social ferment engendered by the war and aggravated by the wave of European Revolution, may be damped down and utterly extinguished by compromise and half-measures, peace, contentment, and plenty, if not indeed by full bellies then at all events by stomachs that are not quite empty. Shall not the abiding place of England's soul always be England's stomach?

Yet there is a hunger of the soul as well as a hunger of the body, and if it is physical hunger that is so potent an angel of Revolution in France, in Russia, in Germany and Austria, it has a sister angel in spiritual hunger. Revolutions are not made by the one without the other.

Whether there is enough hunger of soul and hunger of body in England to enable the people to reverse the course of their history and thwart the plans of conquest of their masters we do not know, nor does anyone know. The Coalition does not believe there is. Hence its hurry to satisfy the body where it believes there is no soul.

But even in England there are just men and just women, and England may yet be moved. For we must remember that after long weary years of waiting

we have seen the hand of England lose its cunning in Ireland and ghastly failure crown a hundred years of effort. It has been the same story with Tsarism in Russia, with Kaiserism in Germany, as it was with Empire in Rome and Spain. It may not be so in England now, but it will be so some glorious day.

Whether it is to be so now or whether it is not to be so until some other cataclysm lights the blaze depends upon the number of men and women whose hunger of soul and hunger of body are gnawing to-day.

Men of England, women of England, youth of England, a world and one who would be a neighbour and a friend are wondering whether among ye are enough to do for ye what a handful did for us.

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## SAVE THE SOVIETS.

### THE ELECTIONS IN BRITAIN.

As ever the British politicians are making a frantic scramble for the Irish vote, and Mr. A. Henderson (member of the Cabinet which shot Connolly) has entered into a treaty of secret diplomacy with Mr. T. P. O'Connor's pocket-handkerchief, the U.I.L. of Great Britain. The votes of the Irish pawnbrokers and publicans are to go to Labour!

The Martin Murphy of the Irish Catholic Press of Great Britain, Charles Diamond, the plutocrat of English Sewing Cotton Co. fame, and his faithful and hitherto bitter anti-Labour hired man, D. J. Mitchel-Quin (Editor of the "Glasgow Observer,"), are both "Labour" candidates. John Hodge, J. R. Clynes and other Conscriptors are also Labour candidates. Better far Coalitionists than traitors, should be the motto of the Irish electors in Great Britain.

The description, "Labour Candidate," as may be judged from these instances, affords no index of the candidate's reliability, merit, or policy. Irish electors must face every candidate with the definite test questions:—

**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 by military force and work for the withdrawal of the British army from Ireland as the German army has been withdrawn from Belgium?**

Quibbling or evasion must be met by a decision to vote down the wobbler for his attitude towards Irish self-determination is the acid-test of his sincerity.

The candidates of the Socialist Labour Party, such as Arthur MacManus, who is contesting Gorton against John Hodge, and those of the British Socialist Party who are running under Labour Party auspices, stand for full social emancipation of the workers and unqualified national self-determination. Among the latter are Val MacEntee, a Dublin man (Walthamstow), Tow Lewis (Southampton), Walton Newbould (Motherwell and Wishaw) Jas. D. MacDougall (Trades-ton), and the man in Peterhead Prison, John MacLean, who is opposing George Barnes in Gorbals. For these no Irishman or woman need hesitate to vote.

### Vive L'Internationale!

In reply to the French S.P.'s request that the International should be summoned at once Huysmans has telegraphed to Cachin, of "L'Humanité," "that the invitations for the meeting of the I.S. Bureau are to be sent out immediately. The meeting of the Bureau will probably be held in Brussels, its headquarters, where Huysmans has already arrived. It will be an historic meeting after the tragic separation of its members since August, 1914.

## NOTES AND NEWS OF THE INTERNATIONAL.

### Socialist Unity in Russia.

After the bitter estrangement and opposition between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks (the minority of the old Social Democratic Party in Russia), particularly since the Revolution of the Soviet last year, they have at last re-united. The Zurich correspondent of "Avanti" says that on October 21 the Central Committee of the Mensheviks decided that the support of the Mensheviks should be given to the Soviet Government in defence of Russia against foreign occupation. The Central Committee at the same time disavowed all connection with and responsibility for the anti-Bolshevik propaganda of the repudiated Menshevik writer, Axelrod, and his colleagues of "Les Echos de Russia," etc., in the Entente and neutral States. All Menshevik prisoners in Russia have been released.

### Russia.

Jean Longuet, in "L'Humanité" of November 19, quotes M. Marchant, Russian correspondent of the jingo "Figaro," as writing to Albert Thomas that "Bolshevism had kept control up to the present in spite of difficulties which perhaps no other Government would have been able to survive even for a short time, because Bolshevism had behind it the masses of the people." In a letter to the French President, M. Poincaré, M. Marchant wrote that "the whole course of the activity of the Allies in Russia, for months past, is in no way concerned with the struggle against Germany, but is aimed at plunging Russia into a bloody and endless political struggle, and will plunge Russia into overwhelming suffering as the result of famine. . . . Bolshevism is not the government of any single town, artificially established by an insurrection, but is a Revolutionary Government, revolutionary and not anarchist, revolutionary in the governmental and higher meaning of that word." It was the same conviction that made Mr. M. Philips Price, the Russian correspondent of the Liberal "Manchester Guardian," throw in his lot recently with the Bolsheviks.

### India.

At the Moderate Congress at Bombay on November 1 the Moderate President, Surendranath Banerjee, warned the British Government against its present "unsatisfactory and even ominous" attitude towards the reform proposals of its own Montague-Chelmsford Report. "If the enactment of the reform proposals is unduly postponed," he added, "or if they are whittled down in any way, there will be grave public discontent, followed by agitation the magnitude of which it would be difficult to exaggerate." The "Times" correspondent's comment on this is illuminating: "If Parliament dallies or assumes an illiberal or hostile attitude to reform it will create a situation beyond its powers to control." This sounds very much like Mr. Dillon and the "Freeman." All of which looks as healthy for imperial rule in India as in Ireland.

### Germany.

Tchitcherine has asked the Spartacus group in Berlin to secure the evacuation by the German forces of the Baltic provinces, Lithuania and Poland, so that Bolshevik propaganda may be facilitated.

A Berlin Convention of the delegates of all the Councils of Workers and Soldiers in Germany has been summoned to meet **Spain**.

In the new Spanish Budget powers are to be given for the taxation of foreign capital invested in Spanish ventures as well as the income derived by foreign investors from such sources. This might be expected from Russia and Germany, but hardly from monarchical Spain.

### Victor and Fritz Adler.

While the congratulations of their still unfreed comrades in other countries are still pouring in upon the workers of Austria the sympathies of Socialists the world over will go to them for the loss of two of the most valiant fighters for freedom Austria of any country has given to the working class movement. Which of these truly great men shall we praise the higher, the father, Dr. Victor, the genial, kindly, old man, whose head and heart and hand went to help every poor workman in Vienna as they went with his pen and voice to make the International the most effective instrument of the working class in the struggle towards the Workers' Republic? Or the son, Fritz Adler, worthy offspring of a worthy sire, the very embodiment of militant, direct working class action, whose bullet ended the miserable life of the tyrant and war-monger, Stürgkh, and whose uncompromising strength of character helped so much to save the Austrian Social Democrat Party from the morass of war into which sections of the Social Democracy in other countries floundered for four terrible years? To make distinctions in such a case were invidious, and in truth between them there was none, both were glorious exemplars of all that leaders of the Social Democracy ought to be, and the International is much the poorer for their loss. It is a tragedy that death should take both of them just at the very moment when their cause and their principles had triumphed, largely through their work. Dr. Adler died a few days after he had become Foreign Minister for the Austrian Republic, a post for which his knowledge of, and sympathy with, the subject nationalities peculiarly fitted him, and in which he would have proved invaluable alike in the Peace Conference of the States and the forthcoming International Socialist Congress. Fritz Adler died a little later, in the full bloom of life, when the Revolution had opened the gaol gates for him and his great gifts were most needed for the consummation of his work. Of him it has been truly said, "We admire in Fritz Adler the logician who knew when to act well." When shall the "Arbeiterzeitung" and "Der Kampf" have such editors as this father and this son? What giants the workers have lost in the war, Jaurés, Hardie, Connolly, and these incomparable Adlers.

# The Workers' Republic.

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

## Bully for Belfast.

We think the L.R.C. candidates in Belfast, and still more the Democratic Unionist candidates who are fighting in the North, would be agreeably surprised if they could note the interest and the admiration with which their fight is being followed not only by Labour, but by every other thinking element in the rest of Ireland. The courage of the Belfast Republicans in contesting the Belfast seats is indeed winning the enthusiastic admiration of Ireland, but it is recognised that on the whole they do not expect to win the Unionist constituencies, and that they are bravely fighting a forlorn electoral hope on principle. But next to the general issue of the elections (and of the results in an overwhelming Republican victory now beyond yea or nay. The almost complete collapse of the machinery of the Home Rule Party is in itself sufficient warrant) the issue in Belfast and the campaign of the Labour candidates arouse the liveliest interest and excite the keenest hopes. On all sides there is much speculation as to the chances of the Labour candidates, and in some quarters regret is expressed that in those constituencies in which the Labour candidates have a sporting chance of winning, a straight fight between Unionism and Labour has not been arranged. It is too late now to make such an arrangement, but it is regrettable that the anti-Imperialist forces in Belfast could not go forward to the polls united against Imperialism and capitalism. We have already said that the Labour candidates in Belfast do not see eye to eye with Labour in other parts of Ireland. But at the same time it is an undoubted fact that the differences which divide Labour in Belfast and Republicanism and Home Rule. For the life of us we cannot see how Unionism is "the common enemy" of Sinn Fein and the Irish Party, for the Home Rule policy of the latter is but a form of Unionism. For ourselves we prefer the pure brand.

## The Old Story of the Falls.

What shall we say of the blackguardism of the combined forces of Home Rulers and police which united to baton and bludgeon the Republicans on the Falls Road on Sunday? Only this, that it is quite in keeping with the nauseous political record of Mr. Joseph Devlin's following since his first entry into politics, and that it is quite in keeping with the performances of the Royal Irish Constabulary for a number of years past. It is many years ago since a rising hope of the Home Rule Party described Mr. Devlin as "a gentleman in private life, but a blackguard in politics," and the cap fits him as well to day as it did then. Personally Mr. Devlin is one of the most amiable of men, politically he is, without any reservations whatever, the most evil influence in Ireland since the Grand Jury system was abolished. The baton, the lie, the foul and filthy weapons of brute force and moral assassination, have been the mark and measure of his

power since that day, now a quarter of a century ago, when he hurled all the abuse his dirty tongue and dirtier mind could manufacture in St. Mary's Hall at the head of Parnell, the Chief on whose name he now trades. For every opponent within and without his party, for every section rising out of the slough, for every man and woman of independent views, for every forward movement in Labour and national politics, Devlin and his friends have always had the bludgeon and the baton. The women of the Suffrage movement, the men and women of the militant Labour movement, the young men of the Volunteer movement, aye, the independent men and women within the U.I.L. and A.O.H. itself, these have been the common victims of the tools whom Devlin has used in Belfast. The very names of St. Mary's Hall and the Clonard Picture House and many a spot on the Falls Road stink in the nostrils of decent men for their association with Devlinism.

## "Let Devlin Call Off His Dogs."

We do not know whether Devlin will be defeated in the Falls or not. For all his personal blowing of his own trumpet in the interest of the workers we hope he will, although we doubt it. That he deserves to be driven out of public life we have not the least hesitation in saying. But should those who do not know him say Mr. Devlin is not responsible for the misconduct of his followers, to that we reply that Mr. Devlin could have prevented it had he wished or desired to prevent it; but never, on no single occasion, did he, like a man of honour, raise as much as a little finger to prevent it when a word from him would have prevented the breaking of many heads. On the contrary his every word and sign have encouraged and provoked all the blackguardism of which his followers have been guilty. When the Devlinite Press and the Devlinite people were attempting to hound James Connolly off the Falls Road and adopting against the Labour leader the methods they are now adopting against the Republican leader, James Connolly challenged Devlin to "call off his dogs." But he didn't do it, and he hasn't done it since. The hounds are as vicious as ever, and it is his work; for his smiles and for his favours they are degrading themselves.

## "One Bright Spot."

The Italians have now released all their political prisoners. In Scotland John MacLean, the Bolshevick Consul, is to be released on Monday of this week. But that is because he is the opponent of George Barnes, Cabinet Minister. The Irish Republicans, in English, Scottish and Welsh prisons, the conscientious objectors and hundreds of suspects and other politicals still lie in British Bastilles although the war for small nations (except Ireland) is over, and the war to make Europe safe from democracy has begun. There must be no peace in these countries until all political prisoners are again free. Whether there will then be peace is another question about

which we are not much concerned just now. By this time John MacLean is free. Why is his companion in Peterhead Jail, Joe Robinson, still imprisoned? Is it because Robinson is not the Parliamentary opponent of a renegade Labour Minister, but the Parliamentary opponent of a British Imperialist in Ireland? We hope the men and women of Robinson's constituency in "the ransomed fields of Down" will show at the polls (ay, and in the fields) that they think as much of their standard bearer at the polls as the Irish and Scottish workers in Gorbals do of theirs.

Now let us all pray that one day England may see the light. There is more joy in heaven, it is said, over one sinner who repented, even at the eleventh hour —!

## LABOUR IN BELFAST. From Another Angle.

Belfast Labour has developed backbone and a capacity to stand on its own hind legs. The Ulster Hall meeting last Saturday, with its "Red Flaggery," its crowds, and their enthusiasm, is due above all other things to the persistence of the Independent Labour Party.

For years a discredited faction, chased from its stances at Custom House steps and Shaftesbury Square, it preserved its courage during the height of war fever, and last year carried through on the streets in every district a campaign in favour of Peace by Negotiation. This year its influence with the people had so grown that City Commissioner Smith forbade them on pain of batoning to resume their meetings in Donegal Square. They simply changed the venue of their Sunday assemblies, and the crowd followed. Sam Kyle, the candidate for Shankill, is one of the hardest workers of the Party, and despite the former unpopularity of Socialism among Belfast Trade Unionists, has always enjoyed the confidence of his fellows.

Mr. Freeland, the A.S.E. Organiser, is candidate for Cromac, where Sinn Fein has unfortunately chosen for its banner-bearer Mr. Archibald Savage, a member, and a foremost member of the Executive Committee of the Ulster Licensed Vintners' Association, which during the barmen's dispute issued appeals to Orange sentiment and leaflets telling the strikers they place was in the trenches.

When the U.L.V.A. was asked to withdraw and repudiate these leaflets, Archibald Savage refused point-blank. How he comes to be an official Sinn Fein candidate passes understanding.

In Cromac Division the character of the Sinn Fein candidate subordinates the issue of principle to the personal issue. Electors must choose between a trusted and tried official of their own Labour movement and a wobbler on national questions who is definitely anti-Labour.

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

The Trade Union Shaving Saloon—James Mallon's, 30 Eden Quay.

**WAGES BOARD ON TOUR.**

With commendable restraint the rural workers have refrained from presenting the Agricultural Wages Board now on tour with tar and feathers. The workers' deputations have put up strong cases, but they have ceased to expect fair play from the present Board. Kilmacthomas workers have sent us a schedule of alterations by which they propose to amend the recent A.W.B. scheme. First, they ask an increase of 10s. per week for male, and 5s. for female workers on all scales. They suggest that weekly wages be fixed for eight, nine, and ten-hour days, and that a fixed payment be made for Sunday work, to avoid disputes, over the amount payable at time and a half for so many hours and fractions of hours. They further suggest that all Co. Waterford be included in Group I.

In the Munster districts organised from Cork centre by the Transport Union, the sitting of the Board was anticipated by a convention of branch delegates, who appointed three of their

number to accompany T. O'Donovan before the Board. Objections were lodged to the group system, and an all-Ireland scale demanded at 40s. a week for men, and a half-holiday on Saturday.

With great daring they sought information about the composition of the Board, and demanded that half the members should be chosen by Labour. The costly French cookery which the farmers provide for their men and women workers was objected to. The rotation of diet was proposed to prevent workers being "fed up" with the daily sameness of their meals.

An office in Cork and a permanent district staff of inspectors was also urged. Throughout the South there are grave complaints about inefficient inspection. "Some of my cases," says a branch secretary, "have been in the hands of the Board for four months past. I am constantly writing for its decision, and finally I am informed the case is reserved pending inspection."

In a townland, where five cases had been reported, the inspector called on one farmer only, neglecting the rest. There is grave suspicion that inspectors

are "squared," but we believe the apparently idiotic or criminal wanderings of the inspectors are the result of mismanagement at Dublin.

The Wages Board is no substitute for trade unionism, and it will not last. Writing of the English situation in last week's "New Statesman," Maurice Hewlett says:—"It is well-known to the peasantry that the Wages Boards have been accepted by the farmers as a war-measure only. They have no notion of carrying on at the present rate. They rely on the returning soldiers and the competition which may ensue for the forcing down of wages . . . to some ten shillings lower than they now are. To your tents! Oh, Israel! or, rather, to your Unions if you'd keep out of the Poor Law Union."

**The Hold-up on the Railroads.**

The railways of Britain and Ireland are owned by 220,000 persons. They are necessary to forty-six million persons.

**Patrick Thompson.**—Jokes are wasted on you. Criticism appreciated. Will use next week.

**N.A.U.S.A.W. & C. IN ARBITRATION WITH DUBLIN RETAIL CHEMIST EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATION.**

**TERMS OF REFERENCE.**

A claim dated October 5th, 1918, having been made by the Chemists' Section of the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, etc., on behalf of the employees of the members of the Dublin Retail Chemists' (Employers') Association, which claim has not been acceded to by the employers, the Arbitrators are invited by both parties to decide the issue.

The undersigned, on behalf of the respective Associations of employers and employees, hereby agree to the decisions of the Arbitrators.

Signed,

**THOMAS W. ROBINSON,**  
President;

**W. HOPKINS ASHMORE,**  
Hon. Sec.;

On behalf of the Dublin Retail Chemists' Employers' Association.

**EDWARD OWENS,**  
Irish Organiser;

On behalf of the National Union of Shop Assistants.

Dated this 28th day of November, 1918.

**ARBITRATION AWARD.**

Whereas an application was made on the 5th day of October, 1918, by the Chemists' Section of the Dublin Branch of the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks (on behalf of the employees) to the Dublin Retail Chemists' (Employers') Association (on behalf of the members thereof) for

- (1) An increase of wages;
- (2) The adoption of a minimum scale of wages; and

(3) The establishment of certain other conditions of employment which application was not acceded to; and

Whereas both Associations on behalf of their respective members agreed to refer the claim to the arbitration of the undersigned, David Frame and Thomas Johnson, and agreed to be bound by the decisions of the arbitrators, we, having heard the said parties and their evidence on the 28th day of November, 1918, do hereby award as follows:—

**1. Minimum Scale of Wages.**

The minimum rate of wages shall be as follows:—

(a) For "Unqualified" Assistants—

|  | Per Week. |       |
|--|-----------|-------|
|  | Men       | Women |
|  | s. d.     | s. d. |
| In the first year after apprenticeship . . . . .                       | 37 6      | 30 0  |
| In the second year after apprenticeship . . . . .                      | 42 6      | 35 0  |
| After completion of the second year following apprenticeship . . . . . | 52 6      | 42 6  |

(b) For "Qualified Assistants"—  
5s. per week in excess of the above rates for both men and women.

(c) **Qualified Chemists—**

|  | Per week. |       |
|--|-----------|-------|
|  | Men       | Women |
| After three years' experience following apprenticeship . . . . . | 75s.      | 60s.  |

(d) The scale of wages awarded as above shall take effect as from the 5th day of October, 1918.

- 2. Increase of Wages.**  
Any employee who on October 5th, 1918, was in receipt of within 5s. per week of the above minimum scale or whose wage exceeded this scale shall be paid an additional sum of 5s. per week as from that date.
- 3. Night Bell.**  
5s. per week additional shall be paid for

attending to night bell. Duty to begin at 11 p.m. and continue until opening the following morning.

**4. Hours of Employment.**

When the number of hours of employment for men in any week exceeds fifty-two overtime shall be paid at the rate of time and a quarter.

When the number of hours of employment for women in any week exceeds forty-six overtime shall be paid at the rate of time and a quarter.

**5. Bank Holidays.**

Employees engaged at work on a Bank Holiday to be paid two days' wages or to be granted a full day's leave within a week, at the option of the employer.

**6. Annual Holiday.**

Two weeks' holiday each year at full pay to be granted after one year's service with an employer.

**7. Weekly Payment.**

After the first week in January, 1919, wages shall be paid weekly.

**8. Apprenticeship.**

Four years to be served with one firm. Not more than two apprentices to one qualified chemist; or, as an alternative, at the option of the employer, two apprentices to every three assistants.

**9. Future Engagements.**

All future engagements shall be subject to the terms and conditions of employment set out in this award.

**10. Notice of Withdrawal.**

This award shall be binding upon both employers and employees until three months after a notice of withdrawal shall have been given by either the Employers' Association or the Employees' Trade Union to the other.

The above Award is given on the second day of December, 1918.

(Signed) DAVID FRAME.

THOMAS JOHNSON.

**God Save the People.**

When wilt Thou save Thy People?  
O God of mercy! when?  
Not kings and lords, but nations!  
Not thrones and crowns, but men!  
Flowers of Thy heart, O God are they:  
Let them not pass, like weeds, away—  
Their heritage a sunless day!  
God save the People!

Shall crime bring crime for ever,  
Strength aiding still the strong!  
Is it Thy will, O Father,  
That man shall toil for wrong?  
"No," say Thy mountains; "No," Thy  
skies:  
"Man's clouded sun shall brightly  
rise,"  
And songs ascend instead of sighs!"  
God save the People!

When wilt Thou save the People?  
O God of mercy! when?  
The People, Lord, the People!  
Not thrones and crowns but men!  
God save the People! Thine they are,  
Thy children, as Thy angels fair;  
Save them from bondage and despair!  
God save the People!

EBENEZER ELLIOTT.

**CO-OPERATIVE NOTES.****"The Bulletin."**

The new "I.A.W.S. Bulletin" has a fully illustrated history of the Industrial Society, Dublin. Get a copy at the nearest store. It will repay reading.

**The New Manager.**

Mr. Wylie's successor in the management of the Industrial's growing business is Mr. George W. Martin, who comes from Warrenpoint Society with a record of success.

In two years he wiped out a heavy deficit, and placed the Society on a sound and paying footing. He will find warm support in Dublin.

**Organising Wanted.**

The urgent calls for Co-operation to defeat the profiteer are not being met by the Co-operative Union as they should be. To say that makes no reflection on the officials or the Irish Sectional Board. Their programme is full. We do call, however, for the appointment of a propaganda agent to give his whole time to organisation of new societies and the advocacy of consumers' co-operation. It is up to the existing societies to cash up and let Mr. Knox and the Board do the rest.

**Sham Co-operation.**

From Gazebo to Comer co-operation is in the air. We suggest that copies of "Our Story" (3d.) be obtained from Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester, and circulated in the district. Knowledge of the genuine thing will keep the bankrupt politician out.

**A Miners' Co-op.**

The baby I.T.G.W.U. branch in Gazebo, Co. Kilkenny, is starting a Co-op. store, £50 having been subscribed last week. Gazebo, which covers a mining district, has trebled its membership—to 150—in two months. Wolfhill, in Leix, another mining centre, is also forging ahead.

**ECONOMIC CONTROL****EVERY WORKER**

is a consumer. Because he has control of his own spending power he has potential control of all industry. All Production is undertaken because of the desire and ability to consume—called **DEMAND**. It is the duty of every worker to be a member of a Co-operative Society so that the consuming power of the workers should be organised and centralised.

**EVERY CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY**

being an organised centre of demand, should itself be a member of the Co-operative Wholesale Federation. The Wholesale Federation organises and centralises the demand of the entire country and can in time undertake the manufacture of the nation's requirements.

**IRISH INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT**

Should be Co-operatively Organised and Controlled. Co-operative Banking—Co-operative Distribution—Co-operative Manufacture.

**FINANCE—DISTRIBUTION—PRODUCTION**  
Can be Democratically Controlled. Will you help?

**JOIN A CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY TO-DAY!**

**Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society Ltd.**

Head Office and Bank.—151 THOMAS STREET, DUBLIN.

**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.

EDITED BY SEMYON ARONSON (SIDNEY ARNOLD).

**NOW READY.** TRADE ORDERS THROUGH **PRICE 3d.**  
USUAL WHOLESALERS. BY POST 3½d.

Cumannact na hÉireann, Room 3, LIBERTY HALL, DUBLIN.

**This was James Connolly's estimate of the I. T. & G. W. U.**

"It found the Workers of Ireland on their knees, and has striven to raise them to the erect position of manhood; it found them with all the vices of slavery in their souls, and it strove to eradicate these vices, and replace them with some of the virtues of free men; it found them with no other weapons of defence than the arts of the liar, the lickspittle and the toady, and it combined them and taught them to abhor these arts and rely proudly on the defensive power of combination."

**IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.**  
THOMAS FORAN, GENERAL PRESIDENT, LIBERTY HALL, DUBLIN.

Telegrams: "Watt, Dublin."

Telephone 4268 Dublin.

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| <b>Court Laundry</b>  |                   |
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# TRADE UNIONISTS!

Notice to the Public.

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Company whose Agents  
are still ON STRIKE.

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WINTER SUIT OR COSTUME**

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The Tailoring Specialist.

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1s. 6d. P.O. to Hotspur, c/o the  
"Voice."

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PICTURE HOUSE**  
(The "Mary-O.")  
Star Pictures Always.

**THE ELECTRIC THEATRE,  
TALBOT STREET,**  
First in Dublin  
and  
Still the Best.

oratory, Mgr. Ryan forgot his proclama-  
tion that he spoke as a priest. He for-  
got the priest and remembered the far-  
mer—and the public-house in the Glen  
of Aherlow. He forgot the politician  
too, for T. P. O'Connor is stumping on  
Socialist platforms in support of Social-  
**DEFAMING THE DEAD.**

(From front page).

ist candidates. Mr. Arthur Henderson,  
to whom Mgr. Ryan's Party has pledged  
support, is a member of the Fabian  
Society. The British Labour Party as  
a whole is pledged to the abolition of  
private property in the means of wealth  
production and distribution.

Perhaps before the next meet of the  
Tipperary Hunt, the Dean of Cashel will  
explain why Irishmen may vote for So-  
cialism and save their souls in England,  
if it would risk damnation to do so in  
Ireland. And he might explain also  
why, if it is necessary to fight England,  
he should have been engaged recruiting  
for the English army, which, if we may  
credit the Ulster Temperance Council's  
advertisements is more perilous morally  
to Irishmen than the secluded retreat of  
the ballot screen.

### CONNOLLY MEMORIAL TREAT.

The Liberty Hall concert in aid of  
Treat funds was a great success and has,  
through the unselfish assistance of com-  
mittee and artistes, yielded a handsome  
contribution. Other concerts will follow.  
Meantime, there are still some collecting  
cards available and subscriptions will be  
welcomed by

|  |     |      |
|--|-----|------|
| WALTER CARPENTER,                          |     |      |
| Room 3, Liberty Hall, Dublin.              |     |      |
| Already acknowledged                       | £44 | 3 2  |
| Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of<br>Dublin     | 5   | 0 0  |
| Mrs. Williams                              | 0   | 2 6  |
| Sale of Tickets for Concert                | 7   | 5 3  |
| Collected by Joe Metcalfe,<br>Liberty Hall | 0   | 16 0 |

### THE MOONEY FUND.

|   |    |    |    |
|---|----|----|----|
|   | £  | s. | d. |
| Already acknowledged  | 13 | 6  | 3  |
| Liam Mac Floinn, Bealfeirsde                                      | 0  | 2  | 0  |
| Wm. O'Brien, Trades Hall,<br>Dublin                               | 1  | 0  | 0  |
| M. Nolan, Baldoyle  | 0  | 1  | 0  |
| Irish Bakers National Amalga-<br>mated Union, Dungarvan<br>Branch | 1  | 3  | 0  |
| George E. Sulley, 20 Blake Rd.,<br>New Southgate, London, N.      | 0  | 1  | 0  |

### Cheap Cattle Feeding!

What the Irish farmers did not get of  
the Argentine maize harvest was used  
as fuel on the Central Argentine Rail-  
way. That helped to swell the price of  
what was exported.

"Innocent" Ryan, of course, would  
defend the private property right of  
Argentine farmers to burn the food that  
Europe needs.

### REFUGE MAKES OFFERS OF GILDED SLAVERY.

The proud seven millionaire Refuge As-  
surance, we learn, has been compelled by  
the continued loss of income from Ire-  
land to make secret attempts by its  
underlings to seduce individual agents to  
leave the Union and return to their  
slavery.

The offer takes the form of what is  
technically known as a "£17 debit" on  
the block system. The salary offered  
ranges from £2 6s. to £3 a week. Of  
course to accept this apparently gener-  
ous offer the agent must desert trade  
unionism, abandon its protection, and  
deliver himself body and soul to the Re-  
fuge Company. At the last the state of  
that man shall be worse than the first.

What is a "£17 debit?" That means  
that the agent must collect every week  
£17 premiums from the insured persons  
in his area. The policies are built on 1d.  
weekly subscriptions, and there is an  
average of 120 policies to the £1.

The agent, therefore, has to accept per-  
sonal responsibility and pledge his char-  
acter for every penny of over two thou-  
sand policies. To secure payment he  
has to make calls upon from 500 to 700  
households and make repeat calls where  
the house is closed each week.

He has to enter the payment of each  
premium on each policy, in the insured  
person's book, make similar entries in  
the agents' book, and after the calls are  
finished to post these entries separately  
in the duplicate slips for the head office.  
State insurance work, the settlement and  
adjustment of claims, correspondence in  
respect of claims with superintendents  
and the head office are attended to in ad-  
dition.

Perfect accuracy is essential to suc-  
cess. A failure to account for fractions  
means dismissal with a blasted character.  
We leave it to any experienced ledger  
clerk to say if the mere recording of  
6,000 entries per week does not mean  
more than two men's work. The canvass-  
ing makes work for other two.

The amount of remuneration is miser-  
ably insufficient. Under the normal and  
not too generous conditions given by  
other companies a £10 debit gives the  
agent nearly £3 as his commission. The  
offer means sweating, driving and under-  
payment. From such conditions the  
trade unionists of Ireland must protect  
the agent, and trades councils should see  
that the agents on strike in their areas  
are properly supported.

To policy holders we repeat, "Don't  
be bullied or persuaded into paying pre-  
miums. Your interests are fully pro-  
tected by war emergency legislation."

### Tubbercurry.

Joe and Pat, the elegant counter-  
jumpers, have sentenced the Transport  
branch to death within one month. Per-  
haps it will serve notice to quit on them  
before then.

### IRISH WOMEN WORKERS' UNION, Its Helpful Efforts.

The I.W.W.U. Committee are putting the following questions to the Dublin Parliamentary candidates:—

1. Will you, if elected, press forward the provision of adequate and up-to-date housing accommodation for the workers of Dublin?

2. Will you give attention to the Dublin milk supply and further its reorganisation on a businesslike basis?

The I.W.W.U. are co-operating with the Dublin Watch Committee to organise an exhibition of models of cottages and workers' houses, with a view to stimulating public opinion on the subject of houses adapted to meet the ordinary needs of a family.

G. D. H. Cole's book, "An Introduction to Trade Unionism" (reviewed in last week's "Voice of Labour"), can be borrowed from the library at Denmark House. This writer's other books, "The World of Labour" and "Self-Government in Industry," and Hobson's "Democracy After the War," are also in the library. All Trade Unionists can borrow books for a trifling weekly sum.

The I.W.W.U. and the Transport Union co-operated to secure for the workers in the Blackrock Hosiery Factory an increased bonus. The negotiations were satisfactory.

Representatives of the same unions are conferring on the subject of a Whitley Council in the Irish laundry trade.

Miss Hoyne, our organiser in the Waterford and Kilkenny district, is having a busy time. A very sharp dispute has arisen in connection with Robertson's firm, where girls are employed in the making of all kinds of linen wear at starvation wages. The girls can earn on piece rates an average of 6/- or 7/- a week.

### TOBACCONISTS' ASSISTANTS' ESTABLISH LIVING WAGE.

As a result of negotiations with the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, the following firms have agreed to the scale of minimum wages and conditions of labour set out below:—Alderman J. J. Kelly, Kapp and Peterson, Ltd.; John Purcell, Ltd.; Sir James Gallagher, Frank Gallagher, Francis O'Farrell, Ltd., and Mr. Lalor, Nassau Street and Westland Row.

#### Weekly Wages.

Managers of shops with one assistant and one apprentice, 50s.; with two assistants and one apprentice, 55s.; with two or more assistants, 60s.

Apprentices (male and female), age 16, 10s.; age 17, 15s.

Assistants (male and female), age 18, 20s.; 19, 22s. 6d.; 20, 25s.; 21, 27s. 6d.; 22, 30s.; 23, 32s. 6d.; 24, 35s.; 25, 37s. 6d.; 26, 40s.; 27, 42s. 6d.; 28, 45s.

#### General Conditions.

Hours.—Monday to Friday, 9 a.m. to 6.55 p.m. Saturdays, 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. On St. Patrick's Eve, the six days before Christmas and five days commencing on the Monday of Horse Show week, 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. No Sunday or Bank Holiday opening.

Holidays.—Eleven clear working-days, commencing on a Monday, at full pay,

after one year's service with firm.

**Apprenticeship.**—Two years. One apprentice to three assistants, or one to each shop.

**Overtime.**—No time will be worked beyond the hours stated above.

**Commission,** where paid, will continue as at present.

**Living-in** is to be abolished, but where assistants are at present living-in they may agree with employer to continue to do so.

This scale is to apply to the Tobacconist business and not to mixed shops. No person will in future be employed at less than these minima. The rates of pay will operate as from November 11th and will be payable on the first pay day following December 2nd, 1918. The altered hours come into force from January 1, 1919.

In addition to the settlement thus arranged it was agreed that Mr. Owens negotiate with individual firms for an increase in the wages of the employees whose present rates are in excess of the new scale.

The public can now be certain that the employees of the above-mentioned firms are working under trade union conditions.

### THEY SPELL "WAIT AND SEE" WITH A "K."

The old policy of Henry Herbert Asquith is favoured by Sir George Asquith, for several strikes are likely to occur in Dublin for no other reason than the delays at the Ministry of Labour.

The theatrical workers of Dublin held an indignation meeting last Sunday to protest against the failure of the Chief Industrial Commissioner to appoint an arbitrator. Many weeks have elapsed since the managers and Mr. Foran sent a joint application to the Ministry for the appointment of an arbitrator. Nothing has been done.

Feeling is acute also among the employees of the Port and Docks Board, who are, in respect of wages, the bottom-dogs of the quayside. A telegram has been sent in their name demanding immediate arbitration. In both of these cases there is reason to fear a stoppage of work.

#### The Arnott Dispute.

The management have at last been persuaded to put its professed willingness to settle into deed. A conference has been arranged with representatives of all the Unions involved, and will be held this week. During the currency of the strike, the "Irish Times" gives full publicity to Lady Arnott's charitable endeavours. Sounding brass is apparently compatible with that kind of charity.

#### Castlecomer.

A local capitalist has sized up the Transport Union: "It will smash capitalism, then all is lost!"

All is the chance of having three bond slaves for forty-five bob a week.

All is giving a man, his wife, and two children fifteen bob to live on.

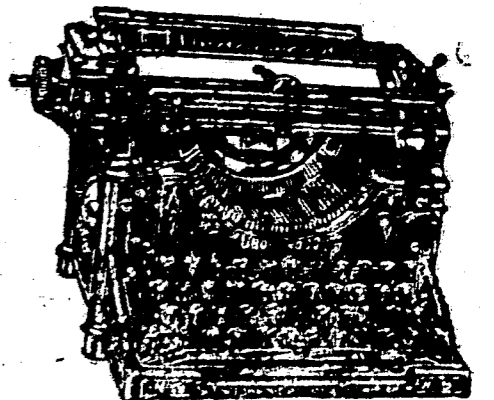
All is feeding the worker, and housing and clothing the brute, his squaw and their spawn at a cost of four and three-seventh pence per head per day.

After Travelling, freshen up at Mallon's, 30 Eden Quay.

BELFAST.—North Branch I.L.P. Langley Street, off Tennent Street.) Sunday, 8th December, at 7.30. Bro. S. HASLETT (Election Agent) will speak on "THE COMING ELECTION." Canvassers and workers wanted at once. Committee Rooms at the above address.

## FOLEY'S 25 BACHELOR'S WALK.

FOR  
EVERY  
THING  
in the



### Typewriter & Duplicating Line.

500 SECOND-HAND BICYCLES, Ladies' and Gent's; Price £4 10s. 0d., £5 10s. 0d., £6 10s. 0d., £7 10s. 0d. to £8 10s. 0d.; carriage paid. Also 500 stove-enamelled frames, all sizes, ladies' and gent's; Trade supplied. New Covers from 4/-, 6/6, 9/-, 12/-, 15/-. Tubes from 2/6, 3/6, 4/6, 5/-, carriage paid. New Machines from 11 to 15 gns.; Dunlop Tyres and Brooks' Saddles. No shortage of anything.

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