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A Great People!

BY THE LATE JAMES CONNOLLY.

(NOTES FROM AMERICA, 1908.)

WE are a great people!

Possibly you may have noticed that before; but it will do no harm to remind you of it. But even if I did not remind you, a cursory glance at the newspapers would establish the fact on your mind without doubt or question.

We are a great people—we Irish. What other people could or can produce such a large and varied assortment of characters looming large in the public eye? Never a day passes but someone with an Irish name "does a stunt"—to use an expressive Americanism—that draws public attention upon the Irish race and adds another few pounds weight to the load of responsibility that race is staggering under.

We are a great people—we Irish. Mr. Yeats comes all the way from Ireland to tell us in New York that we, Irish, are a spiritual-minded people, and every Irish saloon-keeper in America swells with pride as he reads the modest eulogium, and then passes

on the graft to the District Leader, to allow him to break the law and keep open on Sunday.

We are a great people! So spiritual-minded are we that we allow one of the sweetest poetesses of the "'48" movement to want for the common necessities of life in an Australian city; we look placidly on whilst the mother of J. K. Casey, the high-minded poet of the Fenian movement, suffered the degradation of the workhouse in Athlone; but we will turn out in Dublin in our tens of thousands to cheer a Croker whose money is derived from blackmail upon crime, and from the graft levied upon poor Irish workers as the price of being allowed to earn a living in the service of this city.

We are a great spiritual-minded people! When W. B. Yeats, son of the gentleman whose remarks elicited the above comment, produced in Ireland a play, the "Countess Cathleen," which purported to treat of a mythical Irish lady who in a time of famine

sold her soul to the Devil in return for food for the starving people—all the spiritual-minded journalists in Ireland were horrified at the suggestion that an Irishwoman could do such an act. Yet not one of them could go to or from the newspaper office of an evening without passing scores—and sometimes hundreds—of Irish girls whom the pressure of want had driven to sell themselves body and soul for a crust of bread and a slum to hide their misery in.

And every one of the spiritual-minded gentry are supporters and upholders of a system of society which continually compels this traffic by the Devil in the sweet young bodies and clean souls of our Irish maidenhood.

Spiritual-minded, eh? If Mr. Yeats were one of the Irish working-class, and had been so unfortunate as to work for his living in the service of a "strong farmer" in Ireland, or to toil under the eye of an Irish boss or contractor in this country, he would be inclined to believe that the spiritual side of their characters at least needed a little more nourishment to keep it alive.

We are a great people, and so spiritual, too! When we remember how the Irish turned their backs upon their own language and literature because they believed that it paid them best to speak the language and read the literature of their oppressors, all this talk of spirituality is calculated to bring on a feeling of nausea.

Let us be frank with ourselves. I am as great a stickler for the honour of the Irish race as ever stepped in shoe leather, but when I hear any man throwing blarney into the race by the shovelful, so to speak, I have the same instinctive suspicion of their motives as I have when a man praises me too profusely to my face.

And my suspicion is always increased by the fact that it is always some member of the propertied classes who tells us that our hills are higher, and our valleys deeper, and our grass greener, and our people holier than the same things elsewhere, for I observe that not one of the blarneying capitalist crew will ever consent to forego a cent of their profit from our labour as a tribute to our common spirituality.

Starvation by Law.

A NOTE ON THE AWARD OF THE AGRICULTURAL WAGES BOARD (IRELAND).

BY J. J. MALLON

(Secretary of the Workers' Representatives on Four Irish Trade Boards).

THE first reflection inspired by the remarkable award of the Agricultural Wages Board is as to the expedition with which it has been issued. Why this expedition? The Department of Agriculture is not customarily a centre of "push and go." Why has it so suddenly bestirred itself?

THE BRITISH BOARD SHOULD FIX FIRST.

The question is not idle. Under the Trade Boards Act, when Boards have to be established in the same trade in Great Britain and Ireland, the British Board is the first to be constituted and the first to issue an award.

There is reason in this, for Great Britain is economically much the stronger country, and it is well that she, rather than her weaker neighbour, should set a standard. In the case of the Agricultural Labourer the precedent of the Trade Boards Act has been departed from. Before the British Board is constituted, the Board in Ireland has issued its award. Thus the standard is set by the poorer country and the representatives of the labourer are deprived of a stimulus and example which has greatly assisted their colleagues on the Boards for Tailoring, Shirt-making, Paper Boxes, and Sugar Confectionery.

But someone may say, the different treatment accorded to Great Britain and Ireland by Parliament compelled the latter country to take prompt action. The point is of little importance. That the Corn Production Act established a minimum rate of 25/- a week for able-bodied labourers in Great Britain (leaving the Board there to fix a *higher* figure if it chose) and established no corresponding minimum rate for labourers in Ireland and, that, consequently, the latter were not entitled to any minimum rate until the Wages Board should fix it for them is quite true. But does this greatly matter? Could not the Irish farm workers who have suffered so much in their history endure for a little longer if it had been to their advantage to do so? Would it have been to their advantage? There can be little question that it would. There can be little question that the dismal document now under discussion would have been impossible if it had been preceded by the fixing of altogether higher rates for Great Britain. Remember that the Board in Great Britain cannot fix *less* than 25/- and, as this figure was adopted when cost of living was relatively low, it seems inevitable that it should fix appreciably *more*. Would Irish labourers be content with 20/- if the lowest British rate were 30/-? And now let us spread out the "dismal document":—

MINIMUM RATES OF WAGES FIXED BY AGRICULTURAL WAGES BOARD.

SUMMER RATES.

MALE WORKERS OVER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE.

AREAS.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.	Overtime Per Hour.
GROUP I.	25/-	4/2	5d.	7½d.
GROUP II.	22/6	3/9	4½d.	6½d.
GROUP III.	20/-	3/4	4d.	6d.

FEMALE WORKERS OVER EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE.

AREAS.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.	Overtime Per Hour.
GROUP I.	15/-	2/6	3d.	4½d.
GROUP II.	12/6	2/1	2½d.	3½d.
GROUP III.	10/-	1/8	2d.	3d.

WINTER RATES.

MALE WORKERS OVER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE.

AREAS.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.
GROUP 1.			
For an 8 hours' day	22/6	3/9	5½d.
" 9 hours' day	24/-	4/-	5½d.
" 10 hours' day	25/-	4/2	5d.

AREAS.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.
GROUP II.			
For an 8 hours' day	20/6	3/5	5d.
" 9 hours' day	21/6	3/7	4½d.
" 10 hours' day	22/6	3/9	4½d.
GROUP III.			
For an 8 hours' day	18/-	3/-	4½d.
" 9 hours' day	19/-	3/2	4½d.
" 10 hours' day	20/-	3/4	4d.

FEMALE WORKERS OVER EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE.

AREAS.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.
GROUP I.			
For an 8 hours' day	13/8	2/3	3½d.
" 9 hours' day	14/3	2/4½	3½d.
" 10 hours' day	15/-	2/6	3d.
GROUP II.			
For an 8 hours' day	11/3	1/10½	2½d.
" 9 hours' day	11/10	1/11½	2½d.
" 10 hours' day	12/6	2/1	2½d.
GROUP III.			
For an 8 hours' day	9/-	1/6	2½d.
" 9 hours' day	9/6	1/7	2½d.
" 10 hours' day	10/-	1/8	2d.

WHAT WILL THESE WAGES BUY?

These figures are very serious and very depressing. The highest hourly rate (overtime excepted) fixed for able-bodied men is 5d., and the highest hourly rate for able-bodied women is 3d. What is one to say about such rates? Cost of living, according to the latest figures of the *Labour Gazette* is (extra food taxation apart) 80 per cent. higher than it was before the war. In the currency of 1914, therefore, the rate fixed by the Wages Board for men (the *highest* rate for men) is less than 3d. an hour; in the same currency the highest rate for women is something less than 1½d.!— These are the *highest* rates. The values of the *lowest* rates (4d. for men and 2d. for women) are about 2½d. and 1½d. respectively. Fancy a Wages Board before the war fixing 2½d. an hour for men and 1½d. an hour for women!

What, one asks in bewilderment, is the excuse for such figures? Compare them and the rates fixed by the Trade Boards, to which I have alluded:—

MINIMUM RATES FIXED BY CERTAIN IRISH BOARDS ESTABLISHED UNDER THE TRADE BOARDS ACT, 1909.

	Women.	Men.
Paper Boxes	4d. per hour	7d. per hour
Tailoring	4½d. "	7d. "
Shirtmaking	4½d. "	No rate fixed

THE GREEDY FARMER.

The *lowest* rate in these trades is thus 75 per cent. higher for men and 100 per cent.

higher for women than the corresponding rates (4d. and 2d.) fixed by the Agricultural Wages Board. Yet while the war has brought to these trades serious difficulties in respect of supplies of raw material and shipping, the war has brought to Irish farmers their Golden Age. Wealth forces itself upon them. — Without exerting any proportionate skill or capacity, or bearing any proportionately enhanced trading risks, their industry brings them immensely increased rewards. What is the justification offered by them or by the Board for denying the labourer any share in this unmerited abundance?

“Any share” is, perhaps, putting it too strongly. But not much. Earnings of agricultural labourers in Ireland in 1907 averaged 11/3; as between that date and the beginning of the war wages were on the upward move; average earnings in 1914 could be, say, 12/6 or 13/- The highest

minimum rate now fixed (25/-) is worth in purchasing power something about 14/-.

LABOURERS, ARISE!

The moral of the award of the Board is only too plain. The farm worker during the war has seen everybody connected with farming making money but himself. He has worked harder but he has reaped no gain. Though his trade has become more important to the nation than any other his wages, with an Act of Parliament to help them, are very much where they were. He and his children are still offered a half life—a life of want and pain and hopelessness. A life in which there is neither a basis of happiness for himself nor of gain for his nation.

He must refuse this life. He must reach out to the new and full life to be had at the price which others are willing to pay for it, at the price of the resolution, courage, intelligence, and class loyalty which feed and are fed by Trade Unionism.

Notes and Comments.

Arbitration and Conciliation in Dublin.

The forward move recently made by the various grades of Labour in Dublin has so far as can be judged by the arbitration awards been attended by a comparatively high degree of success. The decisions of the arbitrators have invariably given satisfaction, and, on the whole, it may be said that the arbitration system has proven successful. The efforts of the Lord Mayor of Dublin to bring about an amicable settlement in the various cases in which he has interested himself have been attended with great success, upon which we heartily congratulate him. We hope the same success will attend his present negotiations for the formation of a permanent Conciliation Board for Dublin. If Labour can advance its claims without resort to the strike, so much the better for everybody. Under no circumstances, however, can the “right to strike,” if and when a strike should be found necessary, be given up. Systems of so-called compulsory arbitration, conceived and framed by capitalist Parliaments, infringe upon that liberty of the subject of which we once heard so much; in addition, they strike at the very roots of Trade Union power. A man without the right to withhold his labour, if he is convinced that only by such means can he advance himself and his fellows, is not a

complete man; a Trade Union under similar circumstances is a shorn Samson without the power to produce more hair. The formation of a Conciliation Board for Dublin is something that can be welcomed by all. It will be a purely voluntary body, and will be advantageous to Labour, inasmuch as should conciliation fail, the public will be in a position to understand the cause of failure. To the Secretary of the Dublin Trades Council, Mr. William O'Brien, belongs the credit of suggesting in a letter to the Press the formation of such a Board. That in itself is sufficient guarantee that the interests of Labour will be safeguarded.

Strings to Our Bow.

The favour of Labour is being assiduously courted just now. Mr. Joseph Devlin coquettes with it in his usual winning way, and Mr. Eamon de Valera has lost no time in following his example. The resolution of the Sinn Fein Convention conceding to Irish Labour the right to fair and reasonable wages was not by any means encouraging. It was a resolution to which the assent of even Mr. W. M. Murphy might have been secured. It did not go far enough, and it bore upon the face of it timidity and trepidation. The Labour demand to-day goes rather beyond fair and reasonable wages; the British Government is prepared to

offer, in fact has actually offered, some share in direction to British Labour. This being so, there is not much to be gained from Mr. de Valera's statement in his Mansion House speech “that in a free Ireland, with the social conditions that obtained in Ireland, Labour had a far better chance than it would have in capitalist England.” “Our labour policy,” continued Mr. de Valera, “is a policy of a free country, and we ask Labour to join with us to free the country. We recognise that we can never free it without Labour. And we say, when Labour frees this country—helps to free it—Labour can look for its own share of its patrimony.” We agree that “to free the country” is an object worthy of all the devotion that men can give to it, but at the same time we would urge that, pending this devoutly-to-be-wished-for consummation, men and women must live and rear the families upon which the future Ireland depends. What Mr. de Valera asks in effect is that Labour should wait till freedom is achieved before it claims “its share of its patrimony.” There are free countries, even Republics, where Labour claims “its share in its patrimony” in vain. We can work for freedom, and we will, but at the same time we'll claim our share of our patrimony when and where opportunity offers.

(Continued on Page 9).

International Notes.

The isolation of Ireland from all modern democratic movements is so easily explained by the peculiar circumstances of our national struggle that we are only too ready to acquiesce in the belief that such movements do not concern us. Our thoughts and energies have been so long concentrated upon the single problem of political freedom, that we have remained oblivious of the fact that the rise and development of capitalism have seriously modified the concept of freedom, as preached by the essentially political revolutionaries of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. We are still using terms whose primitive significance has largely vanished, and because our retarded industrial evolution does not at once expose the illusory nature of the ideas current in most of our discussions, it is possible to argue with impunity in a language whose meaning is no longer that popularly ascribed to it. We discuss national questions in blissful ignorance of the discovery that economic power precedes and conditions political power—a discovery which has profoundly affected the democratic thought of our time and has given a new direction to Labour.

Since the death of James Connolly it is impossible to divorce national and labour problems in Ireland, although the desire to return to our earlier insularity has been evident in the disposition in certain quarters to shelve Connolly and to maintain silence on precisely those questions which lay nearest to his heart. We have had to wait until to-day for a journal devoted to the interests of Irish Labour, in spite of the abundance of periodical and fugitive literature which has marked the ascendancy of the republican movement. Now, Connolly was our link with the general world movement towards political and industrial freedom. The breaking of that link was, indeed, a triumph for the friends of reaction in this country, and there is no doubt his arch-antagonist considers as well spent the insurance charges which have reimbursed him for material losses in O'Connell St. Anyhow, he could make up, through the Sinn Fein readers of "The Independent," something of the financial loss involved by exile to Abbey Street. Meanwhile it is our intention in this place to keep alive, not merely the memory, but, above all, the ideals of James Connolly.

To that end it will be necessary for us to keep in contact with those engaged in other countries in the fight which we must wage in Ireland, if we would see our country free in the only sense—the economic sense—which has any significance in the world of modern capitalism. The two great international forces in contemporary history are capital and labour,

for, however different local conditions may be, whatever the minor divergencies between the aims and interests of these forces, as between country and country, at bottom each is working for the same ends in every country. Capitalism is intent upon retaining the bond of wavery to the greater glory of production for profit; Labour is, consciously or unconsciously, struggling against the paralyzing grasp of the wage system. The varying degrees of industrial development necessarily affect the particular form of this struggle, but this fact does not obscure, though it certainly weakens, the international solidarity of the wage-earners. The power of the capitalist international has been revealed on a grand scale by the present war, so that not even the most insular patriot can continue to profess a Platonic affection for Labour, while affirming indifference to the activities of every nation but his own. The weakness of the former will be measured by the strength of the latter.

The difficulty of obtaining a hearing on this issue is peculiarly great in a country where international questions are discussed in purely abstract terms. We constantly hear of "England" and "Germany," "America and France," as if these words stood for a homogeneous entity, endowed with a single intellectual faculty, and inspired by a single racial and political policy. When we talk of "England," do we mean the followers of Northcliffe, Curzon and Bottomley? Or have we in mind the important and varied enemies of that trio? It does make a difference whether "The New Age," "The Nation," or "The Times" speaks on behalf of the English people. Similarly, when we are assured of the virtues of "America," whose harshness is alleged to be the dastardly work of "England," do we include in this whitewashing that "America," which sentenced a man to ninety days' imprisonment for distributing extracts from the Declaration of Independence? Was it Dublin Castle or Mr. Redmond who deported Larkin, suppressed all the American Socialist papers, and sent Emma Goldman to penal servitude? Obviously, there must be an "America" which can think of such things without the assistance of her Allies, most of whom are infinitely more democratic and tolerant.

Our national journalists and speakers are very fond of quoting the exceptional manifestations of political or other activity in foreign countries, but only with a view to scoring debating points, not for the purpose of relating the particular instances to any general policy. The scandalous treatment of conscientious objectors, or the monstrous profits of the

shipping companies are mentioned as proof of the wickedness of "England," yet every socialist knows that such phenomena are general, and cannot be used as specific arguments against any one country. These abuses, which are mere oratorical ammunition to the rigid nationalist, are a great deal more to the people in whose country they occur, and they are denounced with a vigour increased by the fact that the critics have an alternative system which will eliminate the evils they attack. It is rather absurd for a journal whose social policy is to advocate unbridled capitalism, provided the veneer be patriotic, to presume to criticise profiteering. The procedure is remarkably like that familiar dodge of the capitalist Press everywhere, which consists of encouraging socialism abroad, while denouncing it at home. Doctrines regarded as seditious and unpatriotic in France are lauded as lofty idealism, if professed by a Liebknecht in Germany. The Germans return the compliment by extending their approval to that type of Englishman or Frenchman whom they would promptly imprison or shoot, if he were not a foreigner in a foreign country.

English and American Labour have shown themselves all along most sympathetic to the claims of Irish nationalism, but the same cannot be said for us in our comments upon the affairs of others. It must be the duty of those who speak on behalf of Labour in Ireland to show that this country appreciates the efforts which are being made elsewhere to destroy our common enemies. In fact, only such have the right to criticise reaction abroad who are themselves fighting reaction at home, and mere antagonism to the Castle or the Party is not in itself a guarantee of good faith. Reaction can, and does, fight reaction by reactionary means. We cannot support the worst enemies of democracy in Europe and then argue that the case for an Irish democracy will receive a favourable hearing at the Peace Conference. Even at the risk of finding ourselves on the same side occasionally with our immediate opponents, we must act consistently from first principles. It is not a principle of statesmanship, but merely the opportunism of politicians, to support, morally or materially, just whatever side happens to suit the exigencies of the moment. Irish Labour, at all events, will owe no allegiance to any party whose fundamental thought is a denial of industrial democracy.

By a curious irony it is precisely those who count most upon international support in the political struggle whose indifference to, and ignorance of, international conditions is most marked. At best their followers are regaled with lurid

and partial glimpses of European politics, which are described as a contest between Freemasonry and Freedom, in which the former, with the connivance of England, is winning. This simplification may be very advantageous in belabouring Redmond with Viviani, but it is exceedingly foolish and dangerous. It is foolish, because it deliberately suppresses any reference to other combinations and parties, some of which, like the French Royalists, would like nothing better than to destroy the Grand Orient for the purpose of weakening republicanism. Hence, indeed, the danger of this unquestioning campaign against the Grand Orient, for the latter, whatever its evils, undoubtedly forms the rallying point for all progressive and democratic parties. Why should Ireland, which is not affected by the political machinations of either Royalists or Masons, deliberately insult French republican feeling by constant abuse of the Grand Orient? If the French nation decides that Mr. Léon Daudet and his intriguers are more desirable than the "Jews, Protestants and Freemasons" whom they eternally revile, then the Grand Orient will be eliminated. Meanwhile, we need not risk the alienation of a vast and powerful section of republican opinion on the Continent, even for the pleasure of "scoring off" T. P. O'Connor.

Irish references to Continental politics, and foreign affairs generally, must be of a different order, if we are to establish any relations with the world whose judgment upon our case we are inviting. The natural intermediary between Ireland and Europe is Irish Labour, whose aim it must be to remove from nationalism the stigma of reaction which only too frequently is justified. The only international tribunal which could conceivably take a sympathetic view of our claim to independence is a tribunal representing the democracies of the world. Certainly a degree of innocence and ingenuousness, which cannot be reconciled with any understanding of the difficulties of democratic government, is demanded of those who put their faith in a conference of professional diplomats, delegated to serve the interests of capitalism and imperialism. An appeal to the Peace Conference would entail many risks which cannot now be adequately discussed, although they will be dealt with from time to time in the course of these Notes. For the moment it is enough to say that, granted such an appeal be made, our best hope lies with international democracy.

It will be the function of these Notes to co-relate the interests of Irish Labour with those larger aspects of democratic freedom which are almost completely ignored by the Press of this country. We must alter our perspective, and learn to consider ourselves in relation to the wider movement towards industrial emancipation, if Ireland is to take her place amongst the democracies of the world.

SAOIRSE LUËT SAOTAIR.

Is mall méin saé muintire, adubairt an ríle, agus ní tairse do d'neam na héireann is dóca. So oí le soirio pé r'geal é: ní maóctnam so mbeimír ar a malairt aigeanta inoiu.

An anlaib a déantar imaoinead as sae deala um an r'asár r'áire a beap asainn—nó bu cóir so mbead—d'éir ar saoirse poiliticé d'páil dúinn? I n-oidéam agus i imaoinead 'reab cornuigeann saé gníom, saé gléar, saé óró ióir mair a' r' grian. Ní cuirtear nua-íem feilínac i bpeidm i héirinn muna ndéanfar neart imaointe uirte noim ré.

Is dóis le n-a lán so ndéanfar co-oiriú an gnó dúinn. Ac fearann co-oiriú ar éairitealac, agus éairitealac agus fíor-traoirre luéc oibre ní réitigeann ríad le céile ar don cuma. Daineann na feilmeoirí morán tairde ar co-oiriú; ní hamlaib rín do na saoirsíte, eile. Da réir mar mímigeann "A. E." an r'geal beab iol-cúimacé as dúl do na r'sológa agus co-oiriú i bpeidm ar saé taoib óinn. Máigirteir na tuairte, maicóirí na tíre, beab ionta. Ac na r'igeadóirí, na saibne, na r'iearuité, na saoir cíoicé, na múinteoirí, ar eile, na b'pó-daoine beoir.

Da móir as Séamur Ó Congaile cumannaéc luéc saotair, nó l'union-irne inourcriel, a, na daoine de saé céiró, de saé gnó, de saé ealadain beabó a beic ceangailte i móir-cumann pá leic, agus saé iud dá mbaineann leir an r'céiró, gl., a beic saoi n-a r'cúram agus saoi n-a r'eacóirreacé aca; 'ré rín, cúirai agus maiglu r'igeadóirreacé ar r'ad a beic saoi na r'igeadóirí amáin; agus mar rín de. 'Seab, agus san a beic i b'píom-dáil (nó páirliméir) na tíre ac r'ir ionair agus mná ionair ó na cumainn, agus maiglu an d'úcair dá réir rín. 'Sé rín, i n-ionad feirirí ó na ceanntairí éasrúla beab co-dáil de éleiricí, d'feilmeoirí, de múinteoirí, de r'igeadóirí, de r'spídbneoirí, d'iarrairí, agus eile, ann—toga r'muaintoirí agus saoirsíte na tíre (iad togta as na cumainn). Tríóca agus rúca r'ud a beab r'eacóirreacé r'inearálta an d'úcair. Cuirroir an gnó so beacé; cuirroir an sa a bíor le saé r'asár r'noéca agus oibre, agus beab cóiróm na féinne le páil as cáca uata. (Is follur s b'píol d'irpíóéc

íoir cumannaéc luéc saotair agus r'inoicealacé).

Má tá an r'píomac ceairt ionainn ní r'ó-deacair r'áit oirínac do déanam d'éirinn. Ní r'uláir dúinn cuirrinte sur bráirte r'inn so léir—na saoirsíte de saé uile éineal. Rairíon, ní cuirtear san ar r'ud na héireann so r'óill. Tá dúil i r'airdbneap as a lán agus ní luza oirca mion-élocá na r'ráiré 'na na daoine boéca. Meapann r'ad so mba ceairt r'glábuioéc a beic ann i r'cómnuí, agus na "r'glábuicé" (agus saoirsíte nac iad) a beic r'árta le tuararóal r'uairac agus le saogal san r'ogluim, san áilleacé, 'reab san don iud inleacéca ar a n-airte Ir uabárac an imaoinead é. Na daoine a gníor deas-obair de éineal ar bíe bu ceairt so mbeab meap oirca agus saogal rona le páil aca. An saé, an r'pealadóir, an r'iearui, an fear a bíor as tóca na talman, 'na r'li féin táiró co úr'áiréac leir an doécúir, leir an múinteoir, leir an r'ceoltóir; tuilleann r'ad r'onar agus onóir— agus páirreacéar e marad agus i maiglu na tíre.

Dá mbeab cumannaéc luéc saotair i b'peidm asainn (san ceab as an dúine r'láirteac beic d'iomáoin) beab deirre le b'ieas-poiliticé, le r'annacé (a d'ócain le féil as saé éinneac), le r'glábaéc, le boécaineap. Beab r'ior-náirín ann, náirín saoirsac imaoineacé r'áirmar.

Liam p. Ó Riain.

"There is no Wealth but Life!"

If this dictum of Ruskin is true, which are the most prosperous of the nine counties of Ulster? An answer to this question may be found at the Belfast Public Museum, where a child welfare exhibition is being held. A diagram is shown illustrating the "Deaths of infants under one year per 1,000 births in the nine Ulster counties for the years 1915 and 1916."

The figures are as follows:—

	1915.	1916.
Antrim ...	93	72
Armagh ...	87	78
Down ...	86	83
Fermanagh ...	83	62
Derry ...	82	61
Tyrone ...	81	80
Donegal ...	67	72
Monaghan ...	64	56
Cavan ...	56	59

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Matter intended for publication in the following issue must reach the Office not later than Monday afternoon.

Our Outlook.

FOR nearly two years now Labour has been without a voice in the Irish Press. The circumstances which left Irish Labour voiceless are within the knowledge of everybody, so that it is not incumbent upon us to enter into any explanation here and now. Yet these two years have been critical years for the workers in every land. The burdens of war have become increasingly heavier as the long drawn-out slaughter called "war of attrition" continues. The workers of all nations, neutral and belligerent, have felt the burden and groan under it to-day. Day by day hundreds of our fellow-beings are being killed and maimed; day by day the produce of human brain and muscle, which ought to minister to the wants of human beings, to their comfort, welfare and happiness, is being diverted to the wasteful, costly iniquity of mutual slaughter; and day by day the cost mounts higher and higher, throwing upon us to-day and upon our descendants for generations to come a mountain of debt, the interest upon which will strain the workers' patience to breaking point. The war debt of every land is a further shackle upon the freedom of the workers. It is the worker who must liquidate the enormous debt, just as it is the worker who must pay the interest upon it. In pre-war days England was startled at the magnitude of a Georgian Budget when the amount exceeded £200,000,000, but that is merely a small indication of Budgets to come. In 1910 the autocrats, the plutocrats and the capitalists fought, and fought successfully, against any further taxation falling upon them. They will do the same again, and it is only the strength, organised and determined, of the

working democracy that can prevent a repetition of their previous success. We in Ireland must prepare for these things, no less from a national than from a democratic viewpoint. It will be our endeavour to build up in Ireland a strong, closely organised, well educated and self-reliant democracy. To bring about this we shall assist every aspect of the democratic movement. In the industrial sphere our Trade Union organisation must be perfected. Every worker must be induced to join a union and take his proper place in the foundation of that future happy, prosperous, contented, democratic Ireland of which we like to dream. Our Unions must be made as nearly blackleg-proof as possible, and every effort must be made to bring about joint action wherever and whenever such action is required. The recent joint action of the bakers, van drivers and clerks in the Dublin bakery case is an object lesson in tactics which must not be lost sight of. Another section of the democratic army which will receive all the assistance we can give to it is the co-operative movement. Too little attention has been given by Irish workers to this great democratic economic movement, which can be of such enormous value to the community. English workers, French workers, Belgian workers, and German workers have found the co-operative movement of immense advantage to them in their struggle for economic emancipation; and we can use it in the same way for the same purpose. It is the complement of the Trade Union movement, and every Trade Unionist should be a co-operator also. These two movements together will build up a strong, independent working-class political party in Ireland as they have done in other European countries. The need for such political action in Ireland will be obvious to most people. It becomes insistent when we remember the problem of reconstruction that will face us for solution when peace comes, for Ireland will have her problems no less than the other nations of the world, and we must not forget the chaos that followed the peace of 1815.

In Irish affairs we shall give every support and encouragement to the movement

towards democracy in industry and in social life generally. The interests of the community as a whole, and not the sectional interests of any class or creed, it shall be our privilege to advocate. In any industrial revival or reconstruction in Ireland we shall insist upon the rights of the people against the rights of profiteers, capitalists and adventurers, who may see in Ireland an opportunity to get rich quickly at the expense of our people. We shall resolutely oppose the conscription of Irish people, whether for military or industrial purposes. The very idea of compulsory service is abhorrent to us, and we shall assist in every way any effort of our people to resist the imposition of such an iniquitous system upon us. On the other hand, we believe that many of the social ills from which our country suffers in our day can be cured by ourselves if we but recognise our own responsibility and our own power. The sweated condition of large numbers of our workers, the low wages, long hours of work, insanitary factories and workshops; these we can rectify ourselves. But we must first recognise our responsibility and organise our powers. The housing of our town workers, the provision of all those amenities of life which makes the difference in death-rates between the working and other classes, allotments and gardens, proper train and tramway facilities, will have our hearty sympathy and support. Education is one of the subjects to which we shall endeavour to direct especial attention. In a country where one policeman costs as much as the education of 60 children every year this is a subject of very great importance indeed. We must have decent schools, well trained and well paid teachers, many changes in curriculum, meals for those who require them, reasonably small classes, and more adequate provisions for the secondary and university education of the worker's children. If we had within our own country that sense of individual responsibility for social evils we should have progressed a very long way upon the road of amelioration. This sense of personal responsibility is sadly lacking today. We are too prone to blame the political status of our country for everything that we

know to be wrong, instead of looking about us, discovering and analysing the facts and removing the causes where we can. Nearly all the social ills of our country, as those of other countries, can be at least improved by ourselves if we have the will. Of course the political status of our country has some effect, but, pending the dawn of that political freedom for which we in common with our countrymen shall work and strive, our efforts will be directed towards the stimulation of an active civic and local patriotism and a strong popular demand for clean local government. Too often our people are satisfied when they have cast a vote or passed a resolution—which is harmless and ineffective. Our workers should keep a vigilant eye upon the actions of those they elect to represent them upon local governing bodies and should insist upon good and honest administration. Much can be done by those bodies towards the solution of some of our social problems; we must be insistent upon such things being done. We shall support the struggle for the political freedom of our own country in every way in our power. Political dependence upon any country, government without the consent of the governed, cannot in any way promote that sense of responsibility which we desire; only self-government and freedom can do this, and towards that goal we shall aim.

In the realm of foreign affairs we shall endeavour to secure the recognition of the independent status of the Irish Labour Party by the International Working Class Movement. Our claims have already been recognised by the Dutch-Scandinavian Committee in the calling of the Stockholm Conference; but as vigilance is the price of freedom, we must be careful to guard that status we have so far attained. We shall endeavour to promote fraternal relations between the working classes of our own country and those of all other countries, and, by international action, to obtain the support of the democracies of the world in the struggle for the political freedom of our own and every subject nation, and the economic freedom of the workers. We shall oppose any exploitation, in the words of James Connolly,

"whether of class by class, of sex by sex, or of nation by nation." Every emanation of the imperialist spirit, every manifestation of imperialism in whatever form, we shall resolutely oppose. The present war is, according to President Wilson, a war to "make the world safe for democracy." Democracy throughout the world must make the world safe for itself. We saw that even the benevolent President Wilson, when the world's democracies were about to discuss their future safety at Stockholm, in common with his allies and dependents, refused passports to his democratic nationals. The world's Press applauded the action, even the capitalistic Press of our own country applauded the action of the British Government in refusing passports to O'Brien and Campbell. But fortunately the spirit that actuated the conveners of the Stockholm Conference is not by any means dead; all the people cannot be fooled all the time either by President Wilson or Premier Lloyd George. It will assert itself when the proper time comes, and that time its efforts must not be frustrated by any government. The world is being made safe for democracy, but it is being made safe by democrats in every nation throughout the world. And in this great movement of resurgent democracy Ireland must take its part. Education and organisation must be our weapons, and we must forge them before we can use them. The Ireland of the past

has on the whole been democratic in its outlook and in its methods. It has given much to the democracy of the sister island and much also to the world at large. We are the inheritors of a great tradition which we must do our utmost to conserve and to propagate. We must keep abreast of the best thought of democratic Europe; we must take our place in its movements, and must give all the assistance in our power towards the remoulding of the democratic world of the future. To do that we must be democratic ourselves, in our thought, in our outlook, in our methods. Our Trade Unionism must not be an apathetic, half-hearted thing; instead, it must be alert and vigorous. Our co-operative movement must be made at least as good as, let us say, that of Belgium, so that it can be of real assistance to our industrial and political action. Our politics must not be the soulless machine-made politics that have been such a feature in the life of our country in the past decade, but which now seems to be reaching its end. We are looking out over the warring chaos of the world, and, though the war affects us, we still have time to contemplate the future, and so frame a policy to realise our dreams. We must make the best use of this magnificent opportunity to bring into reality the statement of Michael Davitt, "Democracy will yet rule in this country."

NOTES AND COMMENTS—(Continued from page 4).

The Irish Butter Scandal.

We warn our readers that during the next three months there will be no butter to be bought for love or money in the larger Irish towns! And what is happening in the case of butter is what we fear will happen in the case of other foods unless drastic restrictions on exports are enforced.

High prices in the English markets have tempted Irish creameries to sell all their stocks for export. In normal years, Dublin, Belfast, Waterford and Cork have depended upon imported butter from Denmark, Siberia and Australasia for their winter supplies. Under the new Butter Control scheme it is proposed to pool all supplies—home produced or imported—and deal with the whole through (1) importers, (2) wholesale agents, and (3) retailers. Ireland is to be treated generously! She is to be allowed to supply her own needs first and to export

her surplus only. But during the winter months there will be no surplus, there will not even be any for the Irish towns. The cold stores are empty. **And no foreign or Colonial butter is to be "released" for the Irish market—it is all to be retained in Great Britain.**

So the position is that Ireland, after exporting immense quantities of butter to England and Scotland during the summer months, will have to whistle throughout the winter because the British butter merchants insist upon retaining all imports from overseas for their own customers. With butter at 2/6 per lb., this may not make much difference to the workman on 20s. or 30s. a week—margarine is the height of his ambition nowadays—but if the same process takes place in regard to beef, pork, oats, milk, and potatoes, what will be our state in May and June next?

As an example of economy in methods of distribution, we commend the methods

of the Butter Control Committee. Irish creamery butter is generally sold direct to the retailer. This precious control, consisting mainly of importers and wholesale merchants, insists that all Irish butter for the British market shall be sent through the importers, then through the wholesale agents, thence to the retailer. It is a mere detail perhaps that the importer is allowed 2 per cent. and the wholesale dealer 4 per cent. for his trouble! The Irish exporters offered to the Food Controller to do all the work for 2 per cent., and considered they would have been well paid at that rate, but no! the private exploiter must get his chance "to grease the wheels of industry!"

TO OUR READERS.

Readers would help to spread the circulation of "Irish Opinion" if they called on neighbouring newsagents and saw that the paper was kept there.

Est. 1855. Phone 4150.
J. C. KEARNEY, Tobaccoist, and
 Up-to-date Newsagent,
 Labour and Irish Ireland Literature "a Speciality."
 59 UPPER STEPHEN ST.
 A Large Variety of Xmas Novelties and
 Xmas Cards
 At KEARNEY, 52 STH. ST. GEORGE'S ST.

Wear the "I.V." Shirt,
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 And Support Home Industry.
 Wholesale only from
**The "Connolly" Memorial
 Workrooms,**
 31 EDEN QUAY, DUBLIN.

Have you yet tried the
NATIONAL LAUNDRY CO.?
 If not, you will be well advised to do so.
 Postage Paid one way on Country Parcels.
NATIONAL LAUNDRY CO.,
 60 South William Street, DUBLIN.



For everything
 in the Type-
 writer and Dup-
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FOLEY'S
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NO WORKER

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GIBSOL

It Cures Cuts, Scalds, Burns, and Hands
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It Cures all kinds of Skin Trouble, Eczema,
 Ringworm, Piles, Wounds and Bruises.

It is made by Irish labour.

No other Ointment is as good.

Of all Chemists, 1/-; or direct from the
 manufacturers,

J. GIBSON & CO.,

1 Clara Lane, DUBLIN.

McQUILLAN for Tools
McQUILLAN for Razors
 Most up-to-date Stocks in Ireland.
 35/36 CAPEL ST., DUBLIN.

IRELAND FOR THE IRISH

There is no surer means by which you can
 keep the Irish people in Ireland than by
 supporting Ireland's industries. We stock
 everything Irish for men's wear. Buy from
 us.

The Republican Outfitters,
CLANCY, BRENNAN AND WALSH,
 94 TALBOT STREET, DUBLIN.

D. & J. BRIDGMAN,
 75 Parnell Street,
 Opposite Parnell Monument.
 Irish Ireland and Labour Literature.
 Badges, Stationery, &c.

WORKERS! EDUCATE!!

"FREEDOM'S ROAD FOR IRISH
 WORKERS."—By Ronald.

"A PLEA FOR SOCIAL EMANCIPA-
 TION IN IRELAND."—By Rose
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"SOCIALISM MADE EASY."—By
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 SHOP, 11 ARRAN
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J. T. LEMASS,
HATTER and OUTFITTER,
 2 and 3 Capel Street, Dublin.
 Irish-made Goods a Speciality.

High-Class Tailoring—Lay and Clerical.

H. BOLAND,
 64 MIDDLE ABBEY STREET
 [Late Todd, Burns, Ltd.)
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FRENCH ARMY BOOTS,
 Hand-Sewn. Sizes, 7 to 12.
 16/11 per pair; worth 30/-

SMALL PROFIT BOOT STORE,
 78 Talbot St., Dublin.

The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union

[Founded January, 1909.]

Head Office:—Liberty Hall, Dublin.

Affiliated to the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, and with all local
 Trades Councils. Reg. No. 275. Approved Society No. 52.

THIS organisation was established in order to provide for the workers of this country
 a Trade Union with headquarters in Ireland, having its affairs managed and
 controlled by Irish Workers, and its policy and programme based on Irish conditions,
 so as to secure for all workers in Ireland higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions
 of employment, improved housing, a higher standard of living, and a fuller and freer
 life for all who labour.

A Live Union for Live Workers.

Thirty Branches. Over 20,000 Members.

Join Now! He who hesitates is lost!!

If there is no Branch in your district, write to:—

THOMAS FORAN, General President, Liberty Hall, Dublin.

ΔΟΝΑC ΝΑ ΝΟΟΛΑC 1917.

Irish Industry, Art, Music and Dancing, MANSION HOUSE,

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 7th, TO MONDAY, DECEMBER 17th.

Admission	-	-	-	-	-	-	3d.
Season Tickets	-	-	-	-	-	-	1/6.

Agricultural Wages Board for Ireland.

Order Fixing Minimum Rate of Wages for Agricultural Workmen in Ireland.

WHEREAS on the 28th September, 1917, the Agricultural Wages Board, under the powers vested in them by the Corn Production Act, 1917, made a proposal to fix minimum rates of wages for different classes of agricultural workmen and for different areas in Ireland, and

WHEREAS said proposal was duly advertised and published on the 1st October, 1917; and

WHEREAS a month has elapsed since the publication of the said Notice:—
NOW THEREFORE WE, THE AGRICULTURAL WAGES BOARD FOR IRELAND, having considered the objections to the said proposal lodged with us during the said period of one month, do hereby fix Minimum Rates of Wages as hereinafter stated for the different groups of areas in the Schedule hereto annexed and subject to the Conditions hereinafter stated, which shall apply except in so far as otherwise especially provided in this Order, as follows:—

TABLE OF SUMMER RATES.

MALE WORKERS OVER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE.

AREAS.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.	Overtime Per Hour.
Group I.	25/-	4/2	5d.	7½d.
Group II.	22/6	3/9	4½d.	6½d.
Group III.	20/-	3/4	4d.	6d.

FEMALE WORKERS OVER EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE.

AREAS.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.	Overtime Per Hour.
Group I.	15/-	2/6	3d.	4½d.
Group II.	12/6	2/1	2½d.	3½d.
Group III.	19/-	1/8	2d.	3d.

TABLE OF WINTER RATES.

MALE WORKERS OVER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE.

AREAS.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.
Group I.			
For an 8 hours' day	22/6	3/9	5½d.
" 9 hours' day	24/-	4/-	5½d.
" 10 hours' day	25/-	4/2	5d.
Group II.			
For an 8 hours' day	20/6	3/5	5d.
" 9 hours' day	21/6	3/7	4½d.
" 10 hours' day	22/6	3/9	4½d.
Group III.			
For an 8 hours' day	18/-	3/-	4½d.
" 9 hours' day	19/-	3/2	4½d.
" 10 hours' day	20/-	3/4	4d.

FEMALE WORKERS OVER EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE.

AREAS.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.
Group I.			
For an 8 hours' day	13/6	2/3	3½d.
" 9 hours' day	14/3	2/4½	3½d.
" 10 hours' day	15/-	2/6	3d.
Group II.			
For an 8 hours' day	11/3	1/10½	2½d.
" 9 hours' day	11/10	1/11½	2½d.
" 10 hours' day	12/6	2/1	2½d.
Group III.			
For an 8 hours' day	9/-	1/6	2½d.
" 9 hours' day	9/6	1/7	2½d.
" 10 hours' day	10/-	1/8	2d.

Where a farm or holding is partly situated in one group and partly in another, the minimum wage payable on such a farm or holding shall be the minimum wage applicable to the group in which the main or principal part of the farm or holding is situate.

In reckoning the wage payable in cash to a workman the employer may take credit for the value of customary benefits or advantages other than cash, not being benefits or advantages prohibited by law, received from him by the workman.

The value of such benefits and advantages may be fixed by agreement between the employer and the workman, and in default of or in the absence of such agreement may be regulated, determined, or varied from time to time by the Board.

CONDITIONS.

1. The Minimum Wage as set out in the Table of Summer Rates shall apply at all periods of the year except in the period from the Monday nearest to the 15th of November in each year, and for thirteen weeks thereafter, which shall constitute the Winter Period, and to which the Winter Minimum Wage shall apply.

2. The working week shall be a week of six working days.

3. The working day for the Summer Period shall be a day of ten working hours (exclusive of meal hours).

4. The ten working hours may be agreed on between an employer and his workmen, but all hours worked over ten hours or before 6 a.m. or after 7 p.m. shall be counted as overtime, and paid for at the overtime rate.

5. The Winter working day shall be computed at not less than eight working hours, but may, by agreement, be nine working hours or the full ten working hours. (All being exclusive of meal hours.)

6. Overtime in the Winter months shall not begin until after a working day of ten hours has been worked, but all time worked over ten hours or before 6 a.m., or after 7 p.m., shall be counted as overtime and paid for at the overtime rates set out in the Table of Summer Rates.

7. Nothing, however, shall prevent an employer and his men at any period of the year outside the Winter months agreeing to a working day of a less number of hours than ten. The Minimum Wage for such an agreed working day shall, if the working hours be eight or less, be at the daily and weekly rates set out in the Table of Winter months agreeing to a working day of a less number of hours than ten. The Minimum Wage for such an agreed working day shall, if the working hours be eight or less, be at the daily and weekly rates set out in the Table of Winter Minimum Rates for a working day of eight hours, and if the agreed working day be over eight and not exceeding nine hours, the Minimum Wage for such agreed working day shall be not less than the Minimum Wage payable for nine hours according to the said Table. If the agreed working day be over nine hours, it shall be paid for at the rate provided for a ten hour day. Any time worked over the agreed number of hours or before 6 a.m. or after 7 p.m. shall be counted as overtime and paid for at the overtime rates mentioned.

8. In totalling the number of hours worked, any time less than half an hour shall be taken to be half an hour.

9. Where the contract of service provides for work by the hour, and where on any day

the number of hours worked is less than half the working day, the wage payable shall not be less than the amount payable at the minimum rate for half a day's work.

10. Ploughmen, cattlemen, yardmen, and milkers whose hours of work, owing to the nature of their employment, cannot be strictly limited, and who have to work overtime, shall not be subject to the overtime provisions contained in this Order, but shall be paid for all overtime and Sunday work an inclusive amount in excess of the minimum rate as follows:—

Group I.	3/- a week.
Group II.	2/6 a week.
Group III.	2/- a week.

11. Hired workmen boarded and lodged in their employers' house, and not being ploughmen, cattlemen, yardmen, or milkers, shall not be included in the overtime provisions of this Order, but shall be paid such a rate of wages (not being less than the minimum wage fixed by this Order) as shall be agreed upon to cover all overtime and Sunday work.

12. Herds who are under a contract of service to work constantly a full working day for their employers, and whose hours of work, owing to the nature of their employment, cannot be strictly limited, and who have to work overtime, shall not be subject to the overtime provisions contained in this Order, but shall be paid an inclusive amount to cover all overtime and Sunday work as in the case of Ploughmen, Cattlemen, Yardmen, and Milkers.

13. Herds under no obligation to give constant service to their employers shall not be deemed to be included in the classes of workmen to whom the minimum wage fixed by the Board under this Order is applicable.

14. Marketmen or Carters whose hours of work, owing to the nature of their employment cannot be strictly limited, shall not be subject to the overtime provisions contained in this Order, but shall be paid such weekly wage (not being less than the minimum wage fixed by this Order) as shall be agreed upon, to cover all overtime and Sunday work.

15. Nothing in this Order shall take away from the workman his right to receive for the full period of his contract of service a wage not less than the minimum wage as defined in this Order, and in the absence of an express agreement to the contrary the contract of service shall be deemed to be a contract by the week. Provided that nothing shall compel an employer to pay wages to a workman for time lost by his coming late to work or leaving his work before the appointed time, or absenting himself from work, or shall prevent an employer availing himself of any remedy open to him by law for such or any other breach of contract expressed or implied.

16. The provisions of this Order shall take effect as from the 10th day of November, 1917, and shall remain in force for a period of one year from that date or until cancelled or varied either wholly or in part, by the Board.

CHARLES H. O'CONNOR, Chairman;
E. M. CUNNINGHAM,
KILLANIN,
CORS BUCKLEY,
TIMOTHY RALEIGH,
M. C. RUSSELL,
E. M. ARCHDALE,
WALTER NUGENT,
T. B. PONSONBY,
R. A. BUTLER,
J. C. NOLAN FERRALL, Secretary.

14 St. Stephen's Green,
Dublin, November 10th, 1917.

SCHEDULE OF GROUPS OF AREAS. GROUP I.

ULSTER.

County Antrim, all the Urban Districts, and that portion of the County Antrim contained in the Rural Districts of Ballymoney, Ballymena, Antrim, Lisburn, Agalee, and the Rural District of Larne, except the District Electoral Divisions of Ardelinia and Glencoy.

The Co. Borough of Belfast,
The Co. Borough of Londonderry, with that portion of the County of Londonderry

included in the District Electoral Divisions of the Upper Liberties, and Lower Liberties, Loughena, Waterside, Ardmore, and Glendermot.

County Down, including all the Urban Districts.

Portadown Urban District, with that portion of the County Armagh contained in the District Electoral Divisions of Portadown Rural and Carrowbrack.

Lurgan Urban District, with that portion of the County Armagh contained in the District Electoral Division of Lurgan Rural.

LEINSTER.

County Dublin, including all the Urban Districts.

The County Borough of Dublin.

Co. Kilkenny, the Kilculliheen District Electoral Division, adjacent to the City of Waterford.

Drogheda Urban District, with that portion of the Co. Louth contained in the District Electoral Divisions of St. Mary's and St. Peter's.

Dundalk Urban District, with that portion of the Co. Louth contained in the District Electoral Division of Dundalk Rural.

Kilkenny Urban District, with that portion of the Co. Kilkenny contained in the District Electoral Division of Kilkenny Rural.

Wexford Urban District, with that portion of the Co. Wexford contained in the District Electoral Division of Wexford Rural.

Enniscorthy Urban District, with that part of the Co. Wexford contained in the District Electoral Division of Enniscorthy Rural.

MUNSTER.

The County Borough of Limerick, with that portion of the Co. Limerick contained in the District Electoral Divisions of Limerick North and South Rural.

The County Borough of Cork, with that portion of the Co. Cork contained in the District Electoral Divisions of St. Mary's, Blackrock, and Bishopstown.

The Urban District of Queenstown, with that portion of the Co. Cork contained in the District Electoral Division of Queenstown Rural.

The Co. Borough of Waterford, with that portion of the Co. Waterford contained in the District Electoral Division of Waterford Rural.

Clonmel Urban District, with that portion of the Co. Tipperary South Riding contained in the District Electoral Division of Clonmel Rural.

Tralee Urban District, with that portion of the Co. Kerry contained in the District Electoral Division of Tralee Rural.

CONNAUGHT.

Galway Urban District, with that portion of the Co. Galway contained in the District Electoral Division of Galway Rural.

Sligo Urban District.

GROUP II.

ULSTER.

County Antrim, the Ballycastle Rural District, and the District Electoral Divisions of Ardclinis and Glencoy in the Larne Rural District.

County Armagh, including all the Urban Districts, except the Urban Districts of Portadown and Lurgan, and the District Electoral Divisions adjacent to them reserved to Group I.

Co. Donegal, the Rural Districts of Stranorlar, Strabane No. 2, Derry No. 2, Letterkenny, Letterkenny Urban District, and the Urban Districts of Buncrana and Bundoran.

Co. Fermanagh, including the Enniskillen Urban District.

Co. Londonderry, including all the Urban Districts, but excluding the Rural Areas adjacent to the Co. Borough of Londonderry reserved to Group I.

Co. Monaghan, including all the Urban Districts.

Co. Tyrone, including all the Urban Districts.

Belturbet Urban District.

The Urban District of Cavan, with that portion of the County Cavan contained in

the District Electoral Division of Cavan Rural.

Cootehill Urban District, with that portion of the County Cavan contained in the District Electoral Division of Cootehill Rural.

LEINSTER.

Co. Carlow, including Carlow Urban District.

Co. Kildare, including all the Urban Districts.

Co. Kilkenny, including all the Urban Districts except the Urban District of Kilkenny, and the Rural Electoral Divisions adjacent to it reserved to Group I, and the Kilculliheen District Electoral Division adjacent to the City of Waterford, reserved to Group I.

Co. Louth, except the Urban Districts of Drogheda and Dundalk, and the Rural Areas adjacent to them reserved to Group I.

Co. Meath, including all the Urban Districts.

Queen's County.

Co. Wexford, including all the Urban Districts, except the Urban Districts of Wexford and Enniscorthy with the Rural Areas adjacent to them reserved to Group I.

Co. Wicklow, including all the Urban Districts.

Co. Westmeath, including the Urban District of Athlone, but excepting the Rural District of Coole.

Granard Urban District, with that portion of the Co. Longford contained in the District Electoral Division of Granard Rural.

Longford Urban District, including that portion of the County Longford contained in the District Electoral Division of Longford Rural.

MUNSTER.

County Cork East Riding, including all the Urban Districts in the Riding, except the Queenstown Urban District and the Rural Area immediately adjacent to it, reserved to Group I, and the St. Mary's, Blackrock, and Bishopstown District Electoral Divisions, adjacent to the Co. Borough of Cork, reserved to Group I.

Co. Clare, the Ennis and Limerick No. 2 Rural Districts, and the Ennis Urban District.

Co. Limerick, except the District Electoral Divisions adjacent to the Co. Borough of Limerick, reserved to Group I.

Co. Tipperary, North and South Riding, including all the Urban Districts, except Clonmel Urban District, and the Rural Area adjacent to it reserved to Group I.

Co. Waterford, including Dungarvan Urban District, but excepting the Rural Area immediately adjacent to the Co. Borough of Waterford reserved to Group I.

Bantry Urban District, with that portion of the West Riding of Co. Cork contained in the District Electoral Division of Bantry Rural.

Killarney Urban District, with that portion of the Co. Kerry contained in the District Electoral Division of Killarney Rural.

Kilrush Urban District, with that portion of the Co. Clare contained in the District Electoral Division of Kilrush Rural.

Listowel Urban District, with that portion of the Co. Kerry contained in the District Electoral Division of Listowel Rural.

Macroon Urban District, with that portion of the Rural Area of the West Riding of Co.

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Cork contained in the District Electoral Divisions of Macloneigh and Mashanaglass.

Skibbereen Urban District, with that portion of the West Riding of Co. Cork contained in the District Electoral Division of Skibbereen Rural.

Clonakilty Urban District, with that portion of the West Riding of Co. Cork contained in the District Electoral Division of Clonakilty Rural.

Ballina Urban District, with that portion of the County Mayo contained in the District Electoral Divisions of Ballina Rural and Ardnaree South Rural.

Ballinasloe Urban District, with that portion of the County Galway contained in the District Electoral Division of Ballinasloe Rural.

Castlebar Urban District, with that portion of the County Mayo contained in the District Electoral Division of Castlebar Rural.

Westport Urban District, with that portion of the County Mayo contained in the District Electoral Division of Westport Rural.

Co. Roscommon, the District Electoral Division of Creagh, adjacent to the town of Ballinasloe, and the District Electoral Division of Athlone West Rural, adjacent to the Urban District of Athlone.

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NOTICE REGARDING EXEMPTION.

It is provided by Section 5 (3) of the Corn Production Act, 1917, that "if the Agricultural Wages Board are satisfied that any workman employed, or desiring to be employed, on Time-work to which a minimum rate fixed by the Board is applicable is affected by any mental or other infirmity or physical injury which renders him incapable of earning that minimum rate, the Board may grant to the workman, subject to such conditions, if any, as they prescribe, a permit exempting the employment of the workman from the provisions of this Act, requiring wages to be paid at not less than the minimum rate."

By Section 17 (1) (c) of the Act, the expression "workman" is defined to include women.

Applications for exemption should be addressed to THE SECRETARY, Agricultural Wages Board, 14 St. Stephen's Green, DUBLIN.

J. C. NOLAN FERRALL, Secretary.
Agricultural Wages Board for Ireland, 14 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin.
10th November, 1917.

K.A.A.