

Get Ready!

Ireland's regeneration is begun at home. Keep in touch with the movements that matter, by reading the "Voice." Order in advance from your agent to prevent disappointment.

IRISH OPINION

The VOICE OF LABOUR

EDITED BY CATHAL O'SHANNON.

NEW SERIES. No. 58.

JANUARY 4, 1919

ONE PENNY

Ford's Preferential Wages

More Pay in Manchester than in Cork.

The Ford Motor Car Company of England has reduced the hours of labour at Trafford Park, Manchester, to forty per week, and has increased the minimum wage to 1s. 10d. per hour, or £3 13s. 4d. per week. "Meritorious" work will be rewarded by wages rising to a maximum of 2s. 11d. per hour, or £5 16s. 8d. per week. Glory to Ford!

In Cork, however, where the self-styled "Catholic" Social Guild exists to make the workers docile, unthinking cogs in the Ford machine, the minimum wage is 11d. per hour; the hours, 48 per week, with a weekly wage, therefore, of £2 4s.

(Mem. for Corkmen. Bolshevism, even of the mild English type, increases the workman's wage by 29s. 4d. a week.)

But it must not be imagined that when his labour has been meritorious enough to justify a bonus, that the Manchester Ford slave can always get it. He may in the workshop do the extra work that entitles him to bonus, but if he does not pay his legal debts outside, avoid conviction in police courts, outside, or prove himself a "good" citizen outside, then the bonus is retained by Ford's.

Do they pay back the proceeds of the extra meritorious work? As Jack Carney says, "Hell, no!" Ford freezes on to that.

Ford insists on strict morality in the worker's personal conduct outside the workshop. By what right? No right but by the might that ownership of the means of wealth production gives. Freedom of will is denied to the worker. He does not work to live. Every moment of his life is consecrated to preserving and increasing his efficiency as a worker.

That is an un-Catholic attitude towards life; yet it is the ideal of the neo-Augustinian Calvinists of the Social Guild in Cork. Work for work's sake, industrial

revival for industry's sake, and not the realisation of personal and social liberty by making industry subserve the higher purposes of life. And when the "Voice" dares to criticise the inhuman subordination of man to machinery, these Guildsmen whine in the English Catholic Press.

The only parallel in history for this invasion of personal freedom is to be found in Buckle's account of the persecutions conducted by the Scots Calvinists and the French Protestants during the day of their power in the seventeenth century. Such are the forerunners of the soi-disant Catholics of the Cork Social Guild, the voluntary advocates of wage-slavery.

The Ford system is capitalism in its perfection, and the basis of capitalism is robbery. The worker sells his energy at a price, regulated by the circumstances of the time, but usually just sufficient to provide food, clothing, and shelter. These things are necessary for the development of his energy from day to day, and his wages are, therefore, merely the cost of producing that energy.

Now, before the war, the workers of these islands produced every year £2,200,000,000 worth of labour products, which (is it necessary to say it?) could not have been made without them. Their wages amounted to £703,000,000. This 703 million pounds was produced also by the workers' own labours. They need thank nobody for it.

The meaning of these figures is plain. Workers' wages are one-third of the total wealth produced by labour. The men who work a forty-eight hour week for Ford's pay their own wages at the end of sixteen hours, and if they quit then there would be a square deal between them and Ford.

But they have to work thirty-two more

hours. The wealth they produce in that time (and none could be produced without the workers—we say it again for emphasis only) is taken by Ford.

Says Leo XIII.:—"Is it just that the fruits of a man's own sweat and labour should be possessed and enjoyed by anyone else? As effects follow their cause, so it is just and right that the results of labour should belong to those who have bestowed the labour."

Just reflect on that, fellow-worker!

The special perfection of the Ford system is that a slight extra wage is given to ensure greater production through the increased personal efficiency of the worker. To safeguard that efficiency, the autocrat of the factory extends his control over the purely private and personal life of the worker.

High wages of the Ford quality mean less freedom, and a more intense exploitation of labour, more wealth withdrawn from the ownership of those who have bestowed the labour in its creation. For the nation, Ford settlements mean the incorporation of Ireland in the scheme of countryless international capitalism.

No Shame.

When President Wilson landed at Dover an address of welcome was read by a fitting representative of English Imperialism, Sir A. Bodkin, Government Prosecutor in State Trials.

Witty? Pas demi!

A blot on Ireland's escutcheon has been obliterated by Staines. We reject the stale 'un "Devil-in' for Falls."

Ex-Soldiers Wanted to Scab.

T. Maurice Viane, of 30 Knightsbridge, writes to the "Hairdressers' Journal" to announce that he will no longer employ union labour. "We will be doing a patriotic deed in making room for the soldiers now coming home."

IRISH OPINION
The VOICE OF LABOUR

Edited by CATHAL O'SHANNON.

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Members of the Dublin Typographical Association, the Irish Journalists' Association and other trade unions employed on the "Irish Independent," produced and circulated last Monday and Tuesday gross insults to two distinguished Irishwomen.

What are they going to do about it?

THE DAWNING OF THE DAY.

"O brave young men, my faith, my pride, my promise,

'Tis on you my hopes are set."

The Republican triumph has been as sweeping and as complete as any could be in any country, and the people are worthy of the hearty congratulations and gratitude pouring in upon them from every side. They set themselves to declare in the most emphatic manner their determination to achieve their independence under a Republican form of government, and with as much unanimity as has ever been given in history in any country they have made that declaration before the whole world. Seven-tenths of the representatives of Ireland are Republicans: almost four-fifths of the electorate have demanded that the people of Ireland shall determine their own political destiny, and that the British Government shall not influence or interfere with the free exercise of that self-determination. Nothing could be more clear, nothing more unequivocal. Here indeed, with a vengeance, is that "substantial agreement" for which the Prime Minister of Great Britain called, and even his own victory in England does not eclipse this separatist victory in Ireland.

Of this we are heartily and unreservedly glad, and we rejoice that in the achievement of the victory the working men and women of Ireland played no ignoble or mean part. Labour itself rejoices at this magnificent manifestation of a people's unbroken and unconquerable will. Labour rejoices at the general victory, and it rejoices in particular at the passing of a middle party which, even at its best, blocked the way of progress because it stood between the people and their oppressors. And here we need only add a word of congratulation to the Republican candidates who

defeated, by such great majorities, John D. Nugent, the most unscrupulous, the most malignant, and the most evil of Labour's enemies among the politicians, and Alderman Byrne, the man who struck at Labour, and had the support of Labour's worst enemy, when the workers of Dublin were fighting for their very existence five years ago. We should have preferred that Labour candidates had done these good deeds in St. Michan's and the Harbour, but above all it is well that they should have been done by somebody, and after Labour we would have them done by no better man than Michael Staines.

We have said already that the testing time has come, and that greatness can give us freedom and bitterness slavery. At the same time, we do not hope for the performance of miracles within a month or two. We recollect very well that the Home Rulers had forty years in which to keep their promises and deliver the goods, and that they were unable to do the one or the other. The Republicans will not get forty years, and they may not get even four. But we hope they will get a fair trial and a fair test, and that, having been given the chance, they will seize it and use it.

For the most part the Republicans are young and eager and enthusiastic, and many of them are capable of big things, although, to be frank, a few are not. But in these affairs it is not the qualities of youth or of enthusiasm that count so much, although these are eminently desirable. Much more important are vision and courage and ability, and these, we believe, are not lacking. The problem before the Republicans is really the application of these things in the present situation in Ireland. If they had all their members free at home we have little doubt as to what the result would be. But they have not all their members either free or at home, and it is this that makes it of the first importance that in everything that is done, in every act performed, in every step taken, in every office assumed, vision, courage, and ability for the business shall be the only qualifications considered. We hope there will be no swelled heads among the new representatives, and we hope that when they meet in National Assembly, as we presume they intend to do, they will choose from amongst themselves those, and only those, who by their possession of the qualities we have emphasised above, are capable of discharging the trust and the responsibility the people have cast upon them.

This is the most solemn obligation imposed upon any body of Irish representatives in modern times. It is the mandate of the people for their self-government. It bears within it responsibility for the very lives of tens of thousands of men and women. We are under no illusion as to what these things signify. It is not play-acting, it is not political tout-ing, it is not mere speeching and resoluting. It is the assumption of the functions of government, and the maintenance of that government in authority. We need translate it into no plainer language.

We have faith and we have hope; and may both be justified.

ENGLAND'S PURGE.

In Great Britain the Coalition's clean sweep of the constituencies is almost as complete as that of the Republicans in Ireland. All effective opposition has been provided against for the duration of the new Parliament. The historic Liberal Party has been annihilated for all practical purposes. The Radicals and Pacifists have disappeared from Parliament. Even the British Labour Party, although it has increased its Parliamentary representation by a small margin, has been routed at the polls. The majority for the Coalition is overwhelming, and within the Coalition itself the Tory majority is more than sufficient to carry on Parliamentary government against any combination, inside or outside the Coalition.

If a country gets the kind of representation it deserves, Great Britain must be in a pretty rotten state. For nothing could conceivably be worse than the rag-tag and bobtail which makes up Lloyd George's Coalition.

Everything considered, however, we are strongly of opinion that in the real interests of the peoples of Great Britain nothing more satisfactory than this could have happened. It is certainly to their advantage that the Liberal Party is no more, for now no party of camouflage and sham Liberalism stands between the forces of progress, on the one side, and the capitalist reaction upon the other. Henceforward the issue will be plain and straight, and if the people have the will and the manhood, they can fight it out straight to the end. For the Radical and non-Labour Pacifist group there will be some regrets, for a progressive group is always of service, even in the worst of times. The same will apply to the abler men in the Labour Party, and to those newer candidates who represented the Left, and would have been effective gadflies in the House of Pre-
 tence.

But when all is said and done, this virtual defeat at the polls is the best thing that could have happened Labour in Great Britain. At last the panacea of Parliamentarianism will be shown up as everything except the sovereign remedy. The hoary old ghost of an all-powerful party in Parliament will be stripped of all the rags which have covered it these few years. The workers will be given furiously to think, and out of their thought may come their salvation.

If, as we hope, although we are in some doubt about it, Labour is thrown back upon the Unions and direct industrial action as a result of its failure at the polls, the British workers may yet do something for themselves. The Labour Party in Parliament, with its Sextons, Seddons, Hodges, and all the recreant tribe of them, is worse even than the old Labour Party. If anything, this ought to strip the blinkers from the eyes of the workers. If it does, the battle will open in the workshops.

We await a lead for British Labour from South Wales and the Clyde.

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

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

The Irish Delegation to the International.

On the historic day of self-determination, Saturday, December 28, 1918, the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress held a special meeting to complete arrangements for the representation of Ireland at the forthcoming momentous International Labour and Socialist Conference and appoint its delegates. It could have done this work on no more auspicious occasion and under no more fitting circumstances than those of this date. The delegates appointed to represent Irish Labour are: William O'Brien (Dublin Trades Council), Thomas MacPartlin (Carpenters), Thomas Johnston (Warehousemen and Shop Assistants), and Cathal O'Shannon (Transport and General Workers). The coming Conference is called for the beginning of the New Year, and is expected to begin its sittings in the second or third week of January. It will be held in Switzerland, possibly in Geneva, but more probably in Lausanne. In the strict sense of the word, and indeed according to the existing constitution, this will not be the International Socialist Congress directly in succession to those of Paris, Amsterdam, Stuttgart, etc. It is rather a special or extraordinary Conference of the Labour in every country for the purpose of dealing with the peace settlement after the war. In this connection it is infamous that the non-Socialist Labour organisations in Great Britain and the United States have excluded the Socialist bodies in those countries from direct representation at the Conference. The Socialist bodies will, we are assured, fight this issue out, and we trust their battle will be successful. We would bespeak for the first Irish delegates to the International Conference all the active co-operation of the whole working-class movement in Ireland, and indeed of the body of the Irish people, for through this delegation Irish Labour will speak to Labour throughout the world.

The Great Terror in Ireland.

The present lively controversy on Socialism and Catholicism has sent us back with renewed interest to an article on "Irish Catholics and Labour Unrest," by the Rev. Patrick Joy, S.J., in the October number of the "Irish Monthly." As our space is limited, and indeed we have but recently given what space we could to extracts from the writings of that most able Catholic propagandist among the clergy, Prior McNabb, we need only draw attention to certain of Father Joy's statements, contenting ourselves with a brief running commentary.

It is hardly to the credit of those to whom Father Joy would appeal that he must make the just complaint Labour leaders have made again and again: "The great Dublin strike of 1913 opened our eyes for the first time to our neglect in this matter." He goes on to say: "We saw that great forces had been growing up unnoticed among us that our workers had been almost completely neglected in their struggle for better conditions, and that, as a result, they had fallen an easy

prey to men who, however righteously angry with present inhuman conditions, had little to offer in the way of a sane constructive policy."

There is a reproach here which, if made by a Labour speaker or writer, would bring upon him the threat of hell's most brimstoned fire from Dean Ryan or Father Humphreys and many a more reasonable preacher. But it is a well-deserved reproach and we are glad to have Father Joy's help in driving it home in this isle of saints and scholars—and social sinners. But what shall we say of the charge that the Irish workers have "fallen an easy prey" to the Labour leaders? Connolly and Larkin, O'Brien and MacPartlin, Foran and Farren, and their comrades of 1913-14 had little, it seems, "to offer in the way of a sane constructive policy." They were, of course, "righteously angry with present inhuman conditions," but they were neither sane nor constructive. Well, even Rome was not built in a day, and we have a notion that upon the insane foundations which Connolly and Larkin laid there will be erected one day a not ignoble structure, and indeed the scaffolding is a-building already. Father Joy, naturally, does not say that anybody else in Ireland, outside Labour, had either a sane or an insane constructive policy to offer, and his evidence of righteous indignation, outside Labour and its handful of friends among the intellectuals, is sadly wanting.

From the Pat of Virtue.

If 1913 opened his eyes 1918, with its tale of rapid and startling development in Trade Union organisation, has driven him into italics, after which follows this confession: "Now, Catholics would be the last to bemoan this great increase in the organised forces of Labour. The Church stands on her principles—principles, alas, which many of her children only dimly comprehend, and which many others, with eyes purposely closed, even trample on—against unjust exploitation by the rich, with the oppressed against their oppressors." It is now our turn to put Father Joy in italics as he did A. E. Malone: "principles which many of her children only dimly comprehend, and which many others, with eyes purposely closed, even trample on." In the first group fall the workers, in the second the employers. None of this, we may say, is news to the Labour movement, and indeed, as many a Transport Union branch and many a Catholic capitalist well know, Labour leaders—chief and master among them James Connolly—have more than a nodding acquaintance with the Catholic literature on these grave affairs. We can assure Father Joy that, thanks to Labour's leaders, the comprehension of these principles by the Church's working children is not so dim now as it was a few years ago, and that, again thanks to the same none too gentle teachers, some of the Church's employing children have had their eyes forcibly opened, and have been compelled to trample a little less heavily. But we shall welcome the help of Father Joy and anybody else who comes to take on the

job of enforcing the practice of these principles. We respectfully suggest that a beginning be made with, say, the Rev. D. O'Hara, P.P., Kiltimagh.

The Prisoners' Republic.

The Republican prisoners in Belfast gaol have eclipsed the most extraordinary achievements in prison history outside countries in which revolution has been successful. In literal fact, they have established a Republic within the prison itself. Our hand to them. For some time past they have held complete control of the wing they occupy. Last week they took the bold course of rescuing a comrade from among the ordinary prisoners and barring out the governor and the warders. Barricades were erected and sentries posted by day and night, and the tri-colour hoisted over all, for all the world a repetition within a prison of the Republican procedure of Easter Week, except that in prison the revolting Republicans are unarmed. We understand that the Governor himself could move about only by the written permit of the Republican commandant, Austin Stack. Doran, the rescued prisoner, would only be surrendered on condition that he would be given the status of a political prisoner; in other words, that he would be handed back again to his rescuers! During the week an armistice was concluded between the Republic and the Prison, hostilities to be resumed only after twelve hours' notice had been given. Due notice of the resumption of hostilities was given by the Prison after midday on Friday, and it was this that was followed by the extraordinary public demonstration on the roof of the Republican headquarters on Friday afternoon. Sharp to time on Saturday, the British military were brought in, and they are in occupation of the Prison since then, but not of the Republican quarters up to the time of writing. In defiance of the military threat of fire from the machine guns trained upon them, the Republicans are still holding out and refuse to surrender. We give this bare narrative of moral insurrection in face of an overwhelming military force without any comment, for comment would spoil it, even if the Censor did not spoil the comment. It is a very pretty picture.

No Partition of Ireland.

Amid all the national rejoicing we hope the fight put up by the progressive forces in the so-called Unionist counties of Ulster will not be forgotten by the rest of Ireland. We have already said that that fight was not all it might have been in certain places. While that is true, it is true also that within these limitations the anti-Carsonite forces made themselves felt in the North, and they have come to the beginning of the end of the old domination. In Belfast, for instance, the non-Unionist elements polled about one-third of the total vote. Carson's kingdom, Carsonia is reduced to Antrim, part of Down and Antrim, and even in these the minority is strong enough to make nonsense of Orange claims to over-riding domination. The North begins! Will the North lead on?

LABOUR IN IRELAND

THE WEST AWAKE.

Claremorris.

A strong thriving branch of the I.T. & G.W. Union has been formed in Claremorris during the last month. Upwards of fifty members have already joined, and the membership list is increasing daily. It is the intention of its officials to make it one of the strongest and largest branches in the West.

Drapers' and Grocers' Assistants' Association.

The Claremorris branch of the D. and G. A. Associations has been successful in getting for the majority of its members an increase in wages of 30 per cent. The Association had to overcome many difficulties before the increase was granted, in fact a general strike of assistants was threatened. At the last minute the employers gave in. Another serious difficulty the Association had to contend with was the presence of blacklegs within its ranks. However, they are there no longer.

The S.P.I.

An effort is being made to form a branch of the Socialist Party of Ireland here in Claremorris. As is inevitable Socialism is spreading into every corner of Ireland.

Sligo.

The Shop Assistants' Union has just concluded negotiations with the grocery firms of the town which in their issue give thirty-eight members a total annual increase of £604 8s. The negotiations were friendly throughout and Mr. Owens has been invited to submit for consideration by the Employers' Federation a minimum wage scale for all assistants. Such a spirit is unfortunately too rare.

Dublin.

We learn that a conference will take place between the Grocers' Assistants' Union and the Shop Assistants' Union to smooth over some difficulties that have arisen in organising. We should like a conference on a wider basis. There is no good reason for the existence of several Unions catering for distributive workers.

The Grocers' Assistants' Union, the Shop Assistants, Irish Drapers' Assistants, Journeymen Butchers, Irish Clerical Workers' Union, and several sections of the Transport Union, not to mention local associations in various centres, are all trying to organise the commercial employees. The competition between these Unions actually prevents success, and the total organising staff is, by reason of the financial weakness due to separation, less in number (and worse paid) than the situation demands.

Home Rule for London.

Is the first plank in London Labour Party's programme for the London Co. Council. The L.C.C. governs 4,521,000 people and spends £16,000,000 every year.

A CALL TO ARMS.

The Hotel, Restaurant and Club employers have, since the strike compelled them to recognise the right of their assistants to organise, been playing a subtle game. Theirs has been a policy of continued pin-pricks intended to force a revolt at a time when many of them could well afford to close their premises and wait for the coming of the summer tourist trade.

They have stooped also to a furtive campaign of criticism, now of union officials, now of individual members or of particular staffs. Dissension in the workers' ranks is their aim. The Hotel and Restaurant Workers will rise above these petty tricks. For every insult, for every repudiation of honourable agreements, for all attempts to destroy the solidarity of the workers, they will exact payment.

Keep together! All grades and sections stand fast to the Union. The battle is to the strong and in unity is your only strength. Your elected committee will not be stampeded into premature action—neither will it hold you back when the time is ripe.

The time is coming and the beginning of the campaign to hold what we have won will date from the general meeting on Jan. 8th possibly in the Mansion House. Shop stewards will receive due notice and the arrangements will be advertised in the daily press. Watch out!

The business of the meeting will be the election of committee and officers for the ensuing year. The choice of the right men and women is in your hands. Don't fail to exercise it. The employers are organised and watchful. They are ready to take advantage of any weakness.

To go on improving your conditions of work, increasing your wages, shortening your working hours, strengthening your position as a working body and helping you in every way possible is the work of the Union; but remember the Union must have in return your loyalty always, your attention when required, your small weekly subscription regularly, which is little in return for what you will gain.

T. GORDON.

HOTEL AND RESTAURANT WORKERS.

INAUGURAL GRAND DANCE

To be held in the MANSION HOUSE—by kind permission of the Right Hon the Lord Mayor,

SATURDAY, 4th JANUARY, 1919.

Dancing—10.30 p.m.

H. GRATTAN-KELLY'S BAND.

Double Tickets 12s. 6d.

Single Tickets 7s.

Tickets at 29 Eden Quay.

HOTEL AND RESTAURANT WORKERS.—Result of Wristlet Watch Competition—No. 1036.

HOTEL AND RESTAURANT WORKERS.

MEETINGS ON SUNDAY, 5th inst.:

Porters and Housekeepers, No. 3 ... 2 p.m.

Kitchen Section, No. 2 4 p.m.

Queenstown.

Mr. E. Lynch, President of Queenstown Trades Council, chaired at an organising meeting of the Transport Union on 16th ult., and in his remarks emphasised the broad vision and comprehensive efforts of the Union. Mr. P. Coates, the organiser, took his text from the chairman's address and expounded the policy of the One Big Union, concluding a rattling speech with an effective quotation from Jas. Connolly.

Longford's Loss.

Death is laying a heavy hand upon the provincial workers in the Labour movement. Amongst those whose deaths will make a big gap we regret to have to record the passing of John Mahony, secretary to the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, in Longford. The late secretary, who had not passed out of his twenties, was one of the most successful of local secretaries, and gave promise of excellent work in the movement. Like many another member of the N.U.R. in Ireland, he threw himself whole-heartedly into the organisation of the general workers in Longford in the Transport Union, and was largely responsible for the strong, successful, and independent branch of the Union established in Longford after the visit of Messrs. O'Brien and Farren, in June last. Go ndeanaidh Dia trocaire ar a anam.

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AGRICULTURAL WAGES BOARD FOR IRELAND.

ORDER FIXING MINIMUM RATES OF WAGES FOR AGRICULTURAL WORKMEN IN IRELAND AND DEFINING THE BENEFITS OR ADVANTAGES, NOT BEING BENEFITS OR ADVANTAGES PROHIBITED BY LAW, WHICH MAY BE RECKONED AS PAYMENT OF WAGES IN LIEU OF PAYMENT IN CASH FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE MINIMUM RATES OF WAGES FIXED UNDER THIS ORDER, AND THE VALUES AT WHICH THEY ARE TO BE SO RECKONED.

WHEREAS on the 8th day of November, 1918, the Agricultural Wages Board under the powers vested in them by the Corn Production Act, 1917 and Regulations issued thereunder made a Proposal to fix minimum rates of wages and to define benefits or advantages, not being benefits or advantages prohibited by law, which may be reckoned as payment of wages in lieu of payment in cash for the purpose of the 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 9th day of November, 1918; and WHEREAS a month has elapsed since the publication of such 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 and define the benefits or advantages, not being benefits or advantages prohibited by law, which may be reckoned as payment of wages in lieu of payment in cash, as hereinafter stated for the different groups of areas in the Schedule hereto annexed, and subject to the conditions hereinafter stated, which condition shall apply, except in so far as otherwise expressly provided in this Order, as follows:—

“Towards the Republic.”

A Book that brings Connolly's Re-Conquest up-to-date.

If in Ireland the Socialist Party has not yet achieved a nation-wide organisation, the conception of the nation as a community of fellow-labourers for common purposes rather than an aggregation of individuals, each fighting for his own hand, has gained very general acceptance. People who but three years ago shuddered at the red spectre of socialism, and called it an English invention, now find its modes of thought congenial, and agreeable to the tradition and doctrine of the Christian Church; its proposals just and reasonable; its methods practicable; and they trace its origin in the background of Irish history.

Doubtless this rapid change of attitude is due to the supreme sacrifice offered by Connolly, Pearse, and companions—but it would be disastrous if national policy were founded merely on sentiment—even if the sentiment itself is worthy and noble. That we are escaping the danger is shewn by Aodh de Blacam's essay, “Towards the Republic,” in which the author, unconsciously we should judge, adopts the socialist historical method of expounding his policy.

Beginning with the Gaelic state, in which “the land was both de facto and de jure owned by the nation as a communal possession,” the author traces the robbery of the Gael by invaders, undertakers, and planters, until but one class of undisputed economic importance and preponderantly numerous, remains bound to the power of Capitalism, which has replaced the chains and scourge of feudalism by the fetters of gold and the whip of hunger.

The working-class awakened to shame of its slavery and to knowledge of its power, “is organising with a thoroughness and a determination that before the war the most sanguine democrat hardly hoped to live to see. . . . It is not merely because he wants better food, cheaper fuel, and housing something better than a beast's, that the Irish workman is seeking to link up the country's labour in ‘one big union’; it is because he wants to live a completely Irish life.” His inspiration is the “Re-Conquest of Ireland.”

That the Workers' Republic, envisaged by Connolly, is no narrow domination of society by political sectarians is amply proved. The stock criticisms of Connolly's teaching, that it is irreligious, criminally destructive of social order, impracticable, etc., are lucidly examined, and thoroughly exposed. Against the current exhibitions of bigotry, reinforced personal interests of the bigots, Mr. Blackham masses a weight of testimony from the Catholic Doctors which does something more than prove that the Workers' Republic is consistent with Catholic teaching. Had Mr. Blackham stressed more heavily, as he could have done with justice, the teaching of the Canonists about usury, he would have proved that the present social order, based on interest and profit, is un-Catholic, despite the tolerance of usury,

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Group II.	26/-	4/4	5½d.
Group III.	23/6	3/11	4½d.

MALE WORKERS OVER 20 YEARS OF AGE.

54 hours week of six days of 9 hours each.

Areas.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.
Group I.	27/-	4/6	6d.
Group II.	24/6	4/1	5½d.
Group III.	22/-	3/8	5d.

MALE WORKERS AGED EIGHTEEN TO TWENTY YEARS.

60 hour week of six days of 10 hours each.

Areas.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.
Group I.	23/6	4/3	5d.
Group II.	23/6	3/11	4½d.
Group III.	22/-	3/8	4½d.

MALE WORKERS AGED EIGHTEEN TO TWENTY YEARS.

54 hour week of six days of 9 hours each.

Areas.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.
Group I.	24/-	4/-	5½d.
Group II.	22/-	3/8	5d.
Group III.	21/-	3/6	4½d.

MALE WORKERS AGED SIXTEEN TO EIGHTEEN YEARS.

60 hour week of six days of 10 hours each.

Areas.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.
Group I.	17/6	2/11	3½d.
Group II.	15/6	2/7	3d.
Group III.	14/-	2/4	2½d.

MALE WORKERS AGED SIXTEEN TO EIGHTEEN YEARS.

54 hour week of six days of 9 hours each.

Areas.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.
Group I.	16/-	2/8	3½d.
Group II.	14/6	2/5	3½d.
Group III.	13/-	2/2	3d.

FEMALE WORKERS OVER EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE.

60 hour week of six days of 10 hours each.

Areas.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.
Group I.	16/6	2/9	3½d.
Group II.	15/-	2/6	3d.
Group III.	13/-	2/2	2½d.

FEMALE WORKERS OVER EIGHTEEN YEARS OF AGE.

54 hour week of six days of 9 hours each.

Areas.	Per Week.	Per Day.	Per Hour.
Group I.	16/-	2/8	3½d.
Group II.	13/6	2/3	3d.
Group III.	12/-	2/-	2½d.

BENEFITS OR ADVANTAGES, NOT BEING BENEFITS OR ADVANTAGES PROHIBITED BY LAW, WHICH MAY BE RECKONED AS PAYMENT OF WAGES IN LIEU OF PAYMENT IN CASH FOR THE PURPOSE OF THE MINIMUM RATES OF WAGES PROVIDED BY THIS ORDER, AND THE VALUES AT WHICH THEY ARE TO BE SO RECKONED.

WEEKLY VALUES.

House or house and small garden. The amount that may be deducted weekly from wages on account of the occupation of a house, or a house and small garden not exceeding one statute rood in area, of which the rates and taxes are paid by the employer and where the house is kept in repair by the employer may vary by agreement from 1/- to 1/6 in £ on the weekly wages payable to the workman. Provided, however, that where such deduction is considered inadequate by the employer, he may appeal to the Board, who may authorise a deduction at a higher rate. The value of the allowance may be increased if the land attached to the house is in excess of one rood at the rate of 10/- per annum per statute rood.

(No deduction from wages shall be made on account of the occupation of any house which has been condemned by the Sanitary Authority as unfit for human habitation.)

	Group I.	Group II.	Group III.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Land per statute acre	0 7	0 5½	0 4½
(a) Land cultivated and tilled per statute acre	5 4	4 4	3 4
(b) Land cultivated, tilled and manured, per statute acre	6 4	5 4	4 4
(c) Land cultivated, tilled, manured and seeded, per statute acre	8 4	7 4	6 4

Drills of potatoes to be measured and paid for at the same rate as (a), (b) or (c) above, according as the condition of (a), (b) or (c) apply.

(From page 549.)

Potatoes (weekly rate of uteruction per ton per annum)	1 9	1 9	1 9
Fresh milk per gallon	1 5	1 3	1 3
Grass of cow, grass only	2 8 1/2	2 3 1/2	1 11
Grass of calf till one year old	0 7	0 7	0 7
Keep of cow with grass and hay	5 0	4 6	4 2
Use of cow (a freshly calved cow for one year)	6 0	5 6	3 3
Grass of donkey	0 6	0 6	0 6
Grass of goat	0 3	0 3	0 3
Grass of sheep	0 6	0 6	0 6
Coal at cost price, including actual cost of delivery	0 6	0 6	0 6
Turf Bank	0 6	0 6	0 6
Turf, cut, saved, and carted, sufficient for workman for one year	2 0	2 0	2 0
Timber firing, cut and carted, sufficient for workman for one year	2 0	2 0	2 0
Board and lodging (seven days)	14 0	13 0	12 0
Board (seven days)	12 6	11 3	10 3
Board per day	1 9	1 7 1/2	1 5 1/2
Breakfast (seven days)	2 8	2 5	2 2
Dinner (seven days)	7 0	6 6	6 0
Supper (seven days)	2 7	2 4	2 1
Board and lodging, Males, 18 to 20 (seven days)	14 0	13 0	12 0
Board (seven days), Males 18 to 20	12 3	11 3	10 3
Board, per day, Malse, 18 to 20	1 9	1 7 1/2	1 6 1/2
Breakfast (seven days), Males, 18 to 20	2 8	2 5	2 2
Dinner (seven days), Males, 18 to 20	7 0	6 6	6 0
Supper (seven days), Males, 18 to 20	2 7	2 4	2 1
Board and lodging, Males, 16 to 18 (seven days)	10 0	9 6	8 6
Board (seven days), Males, 16 to 18	9 0	8 6	7 7
Board, per day, Males, 16 to 18	1 3 1/2	1 2 1/2	1 1
Breakfast (seven days), Males, 16 to 18	1 10	1 8	1 5
Dinner (seven days), Males, 16 to 18	5 4	5 2	4 9
Supper (seven days), Males, 16 to 18	1 10	1 8	1 5
Board and lodging (seven days), Females	9 6	8 6	7 6
Board (seven days), Females	8 6	7 6	6 6
Board, per day, Females	1 2 1/2	1 1	0 11
Breakfast (seven days), Females	1 8	1 5	1 2
Dinner (seven days), Females	5 2	4 9	4 2
Supper (seven days), Females	1 8	1 5	1 2

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 is situate.

In reckoning the wage payable in cash to a workman, the employer may take credit only for the value of such benefits or advantages, other than cash, as are specified in this Order as allowable, but the values to be placed on such benefits or advantages shall not be more than the values specified in this Order.

CONDITIONS.

1. For the purposes of this Order, the minimum wage payable for a working day of less than nine hours shall be the minimum wage payable for a nine-hour working day.

2. The working hours shall be between the hours of 6 a.m. and 7 p.m. as may be agreed on between the employer and his worker.

3. Where the contract of service provides for work on any week day by the hour, and where on any day the number of hours worked is less than half a working day, the wage payable shall not be less than the minimum wage for half a day's work.

4. Sunday work shall be paid for at an hourly rate equal to one-and-a-half times the hourly rate payable for work on week days, provided that the least payment for any Sunday work shall be one shilling; but in the case of ploughmen, cattlemen, yardmen, and male milkers, it shall be lawful for an employer and his workman to agree to an inclusive weekly minimum rate which shall be deemed to cover payment of wages for all Sunday and other work of these classes, as follows:—

MALE WORKERS OVER 20 YEARS OF AGE.

Group I.	31/6
Group II.	28/6
Group III.	25/6

MALE WORKERS 18 TO 20 YEARS OF AGE.

Group I.	28/-
Group II.	25/6
Group III.	23/6

MALE WORKERS 16 TO 18 YEARS OF AGE.

Group I.	19/6
Group II.	18/-
Group III.	15/-

5. Herds skilled in the care of cattle and sheep who are under contract to give constant service to their employers shall be paid an inclusive weekly rate throughout the year, which shall cover all Sunday and other work, as follows:—

Group I.	31/6
Group II.	28/6
Group III.	25/6

6. 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.

7. Nothing in this Order shall take away from the worker 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 any express agreement to the contrary the contract of service shall be deemed to be a contract by the week. Provided that nothing in this Order shall be held to compel an employer to pay wages to a worker for time lost by 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, but this Order shall not give to the employer any rights in this matter which he was not possessed of before the issue of the Order.

8. The provisions of this Order shall take effect as from the 4th day of January, 1919, and shall remain in force until varied or cancelled either wholly or in part by the Board.

CHARLES H. O'CONNOR,
Chairman.

W. M. Bowers,
Secretary.
Agricultural Wages Board for Ireland,
14 St. Stephen's Green,
Dublin, 19th December, 1918.

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

The 60 hour week of six days of 10 hours each and the 54 hour week of six days of 9 hours each are both exclusive of meal hours.

No rate is fixed by this Order in respect of work on week days in excess of 10 hours, payment for such work must be arranged between the employer and workmen. But under Clause 4 of the Conditions it is lawful for employers and workmen to agree to an inclusive weekly minimum rate as set out in the Order in the case of ploughmen, cattlemen, yardmen, and male milkers, to cover all hours worked on week days and Sundays.

(Continued on page 551.)

"TOWARDS THE REPUBLIC." (From Page 549.)

which has grown up in the Church during the past three centuries. It is, we venture to suggest, established Catholic doctrine that five per cent. is usury equally with 150 per cent.

Space does not permit an adequate summary of the masterly accumulation of argument with which Aodh de Blacam reinforces Connolly's conclusions, and pleads on his own account for the restoration of the Gaelic State—the Co-operative Commonwealth—the Workers' Republic. Nor have we the will when presented with this strikingly individual working-out of national destiny, to cavil at the few minor points on which we differ from the author. We recommend unhesitatingly the widespread circulation of "Towards the Republic," not only among the rank and file of the workers of Ireland, but also among the Dispersion in Britain. Catholic Young Ireland has found an able exponent. Let us carry his message far and wide.

Towards the Republic. By Aodh de Blacam. Kiersey, 12 Palmerston Gardens, Dublin. Price 2s. 6d.; by post, 2s.

I.T.G.W.U. NOTES.

Transport's Second Century.

The I.T.G.W.U. profited to the full by the 1918 boom and has gained enormously in membership, prestige and driving-power. The number of branches is now 208, or more than quadruple that of 12 months ago, viz., 51. Figures talk.

Kilkenny.

All the city firm's strikes have now been settled, the men winning their demands in full. Good results are anticipated from the woollen mills arbitration, the award in which is daily expected.

Julianstown.

Meath County Council roller men have demanded an advance of 10s. on present rates, 24s. 6d.

Tuam.

The two months' old branch has secured a 30s. minimum for town labourers, some of whom have 35s. Mineral water factory employees won an advance to 28s., exclusive of bonus. The Town Commissioners' men, who ask for 35s. weekly, rejected an offer of 6s. advance.

Carrick-on-Shannon.

The flaitheamhail plutocrats of Carrick, who had been paying their labourers between 15s. and 20s., were forced to concede a flat rate of 25s. during the Xmas rush.

Wexford.

Increases of up to 10s. weekly have been secured for employees in Pierce's factory.

SYMPATHY.

At meeting of Drumree Branch, held the 20th inst., a vote of sympathy was passed with their esteemed member, John Butterly, of Bogganstown, in his recent sad bereavement caused by the death of his father.—D. Hall, Secretary.

DROPPED.

Owing to pressure on our space several advertisements are held over till next week.

To a Belfast Critic.

W. Lorimer.—Your gentle complaint has been duly received and considered, but we must ask you to possess your soul in patience until we can give space to what you have to say.

(From page 530.)

The Board direct the special attention of workmen and employers to these points, as it is desirable that they should have a clear understanding as to the terms of contract of service existing between them.

NOTICE REGARDING EXEMPTION.

The attention of both workmen and employers is also drawn to Section 5 (3) of the Act, which is as follows: "Provided 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, and while the permit is in force an employer shall not be liable to any penalty for paying wages to the workman at a rate less than the minimum rate so long as any conditions prescribed by the Board on the grant of the permit are complied with."

Under this Section the Board are empowered to grant exemption from the provisions of their minimum wage Order to workmen who are suffering from mental or physical infirmity (which includes infirmity due to age) of physical injury and who are thereby prevented from earning the minimum wage.

Applications for Exemption should be addressed to

THE SECRETARY,
Agricultural Wages Board for Ireland,
14 St. Stephen's Green,
DUBLIN.

**SCHEDULES 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 Belfast, Ballymoney, Ballymena, Antrim, Lisburn, Aghalee, and the Rural District of Larne (except the District Electoral Divisions of Ardolins and Glencloy).

THE COUNTY BOROUGH OF BELFAST.

THE COUNTY BOROUGH OF LONDONDERRY, with that portion of the County Londonderry included in the District Electoral Divisions of the Upper Liberties, the Lower Liberties, Loughens, 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.

COUNTY KILKENNY, the Kilkulleen District Electoral Division, adjacent to the City of Waterford Kilkenny Urban District, with that portion of the County of Kilkenny, contained in the District Electoral Division of Kilkenny Rural.

Drogheda Urban District, with that portion of the County Louth contained in the District Electoral Division of Saint Peter's, and that portion of the County Meath contained in the District Electoral Division of Saint Mary's.

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

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

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

MUNSTER.

COUNTY CLARE, that portion of the Limerick No. 2 Rural District contained in the District Electoral Divisions of Ballyconnor, Ballyglass, Cappavilla and Killeely.

COUNTY LIMERICK, that portion of the County Limerick (including the City of Limerick), known as the City and County Borough of Limerick.

THE COUNTY BOROUGH OF CORK with that portion of the County Cork contained in the District Electoral Divisions of St. Mary's, Blackrock, Bishopstown, Inishkenny, Owens, Lehenagh, Douglas, Monkstown, Carrigaline (Cork), Ballincollie, Rathcooney, Whitechurch, Blarney, Carrigrohane, Beg, and that portion of the Bandon Rural District contained in the District Electoral Division of Ballygroman.

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

THE COUNTY BOROUGH OF WATERFORD, with that portion of the County Waterford contained in the District Electoral Division of Waterford Rural.

Clonmel Urban District, with that portion of the County Tipperary (South Riding) contained in the District Electoral Divisions of Clonmel Rural, Inishlounaght, and Killaloan.

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

CONNAUGHT.

Galway Urban District, with that portion of the County 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 Ardolins and Glencloy, 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.

COUNTY DONEGAL, the Rural Districts of Stranorlar, Strabane No. 2 Londonderry No 2, Letterkenny, Letterkenny Urban District, and the Urban District of Bunrana and Buporan.

COUNTY FERMANAGH, including the Enniskillen Urban District.

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

COUNTY MONAGHAN including all the Urban Districts.

COUNTY TYRONE, including all the Urban Districts.

COUNTY CAVAN, including all the Urban Districts.

LEINSTER.

COUNTY CARLOW, including Carlow Urban District.

COUNTY KILDARE, including all the Urban Districts.

COUNTY KILKENNY, except the Urban District of Kilkenny, and the District Electoral Division of Kilkenny and Kilkulleen District Electoral Division, reserved to Group I

KING'S COUNTY, including all the Urban Districts

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

COUNTY MEATH, including all the Urban Districts, but excluding that portion of the County contained in the District Electoral Division of Saint Mary's, adjacent to the Urban District of Drogheda, and reserved to Group I.

(Continued on page 552.)

DUBLIN WORKING-CLASS EDUCATION CONFERENCE.

Under the auspices of Dublin United Trades and Labour Council.

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Lecturer: **JOS. MacDONNELL.**

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Lecturer: **CATHAL O'SHANNON,**
Editor, "The Voice of Labour."

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CO-OPERATIVE NOTES.

Co-operators as Stationers.

Stirling Co-operative Society has developed a healthy stationery and book-selling department, and the "Scottish Co-operator" recommends the departure to other societies. St. Rollox Society stocks a line of books for presents at Christmas. Why should not our co-operatives in conjunction with the stationery department of the I.A.W.S. become centres for the distribution of popular and educative books?

Dublin Trade Union Officials.

How many of them are co-operators? The Industrial Society might publish a "white" list of those who support the practical "Re-conquest of Ireland."

Bakery Progress.

The United Co-operative Baking Society has promised the local distributive society and the agricultural societies a bakery in Enniskillen. The society is investing £100 in the Enniskillen Milling Society. Meantime hours of labour in the several bakeries are being reduced.

Jail Economics.

A paper on co-operation which was read to the Sinn Fein prisoners in Belfast Jail by Eamonn O Duibhir is being published in the "Irish Homestead." We commend it to the attention of our readers.

(From page 537.)

QUEENS COUNTY.

COUNTY WEXFORD, including the Urban District of New Ross, but excepting the Urban Districts of Wexford and Enniscorthy, with the Rural Areas adjacent to them reserved to Group I.

COUNTY WICKLOW, including all the Urban Districts.

COUNTY WESTMEATH, including the Urban District of Athlone.

COUNTY LONGFORD, including all the Urban Districts.

MUNSTER.

COUNTY CORK, the Rural District of Cork (except the portion reserved to Group I.) and the Rural Districts of Kanturk, Charleville, Mallow, Mitchelstown No. 1, Fermoy, Macroom, Middleton, Youghal No. 1, Kinsale Clonakilty, and Bandon (except the District Electoral Division of Ballygroman).

MACROOM URBAN DISTRICT.

SKIBBEREEN URBAN DISTRICT, with that portion of the County Cork contained in the District Electoral Division of Skibbereen Rural.

CLONAKILTY URBAN DISTRICT.

COUNTY CORK, the Urban Districts of Fermoy, Kinsale, Malow, Middleton, and Youghal.

COUNTY CLARE, the Ennis Rural District, the Ennis Urban District, and the Limerick No. 2 Rural District, except the District Electoral Divisions of Ballycannon, Ballyglass, Cappavilla and Killeely, reserved to Group I.

KILRUSH URBAN DISTRICT, with that portion of the County Clare contained in the District Electoral Divisions of Kilrush Rural.

COUNTY LIMERICK, except that portion of the County Limerick included in the City and County Borough of Limerick reserved to Group I.

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

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

KILLARNEY URBAN DISTRICT, with that portion of the County Kerry contained in the District Electoral Division of Killarney Rural.

LISTOWEL URBAN DISTRICT, with that portion of the County Kerry contained in the District Electoral Division of Listowel Rural.

CONNAUGHT.

COUNTY GALWAY, the Rural Districts of Ballinasloe No. 1, Loughrea, Glenamaddy, Portumna, Mountbellew and Tuam.

BALLINASLOE URBAN DISTRICT.

BALLINA URBAN DISTRICT.

COUNTY MAYO, the Rural Districts of Claremorris, Swinford, Castlebar, Killala, Ballina, and Ballinrobe.

CASTLEBAR URBAN DISTRICT.

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

COUNTY ROSCOMMON.

COUNTY SLIGO, except Sligo Urban District reserved to Group I.

COUNTY LEITRIM.

GROUP III.

ULSTER.

COUNTY DONEGAL, the Rural Districts of Ballyshannon, Donegal, Glenties, Dunfanaghy, Inishowen, and Mitford.

MUNSTER.

COUNTY KERRY, except the Urban Districts of Tralee, Killarney, and Listowel, and the Rural Areas adjacent to them reserved respectively, to Groups I and II.

COUNTY CORK, the Rural Districts of Castletownberehaven, Bantry Skull, Dunmanway, Millstreet, and Skibbereen except that portion of the County contained in the District Electoral Division of Skibbereen Rural reserved to Group I.

COUNTY CLARE, the Rural Districts of Ennistymon, Ballyvaughan, Corofin, Kiladysart, Scariff, Tulla, and Kilrush (except the District Electoral Division of Kilrush Rural reserved to Group II).

CONNAUGHT.

COUNTY GALWAY, the Rural Districts of Clifden Oughterard, Gort, and Galway, except that portion of the County contained in the District Electoral Division of Galway Rural reserved to Group I.

COUNTY MAYO, the Rural Districts of Belmullet and Westport (except that portion of the County contained in the District Electoral Division of Westport Rural reserved to Group II).

CHARLES H. O'CONNOR, Chairman.

W. M. BOWERS, Secretary, Agricultural Wages Board for Ireland.

14 St. Stephens Green, Dublin, 19th December, 1918.

K.A.A.

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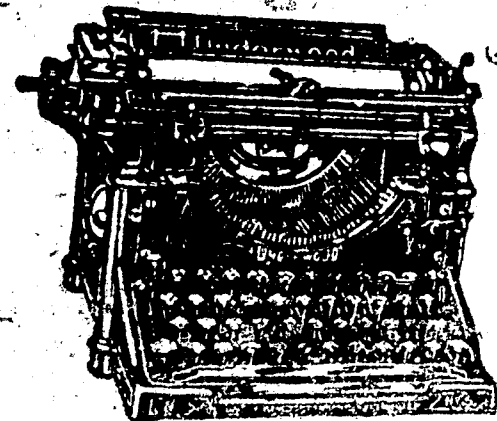
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This was James Connolly's estimate of the I. T. & G. W. U.

"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 hispittle 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.

PRESUMPTION.

The whirligig of time brings strange reverses. The Sinn Fein Party is the largest group in opposition to the Government. We

presume that if Mr. Lloyd George resigns, the King will ask Mr. De Valera to form a Cabinet!

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