



# THE IRISH WORKER

(AN T-OIBRÍDE ZAOLAC).

Edited by JIM LARKIN.

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Dublin, June 16th, 1923.

ONE PENNY.

## RESURGAM.

### Our Platform and Principles.

To the Workingclass of Ireland:—

Greeting! We have returned to the scene of our former labours after eight and a half years, to the work to which we put our hand sixteen years ago, and which initial labour brought into being two organisations which we fervently hoped would be the means of educating the workers, and helping forward the emancipation of the Irish working-class.

The first of these organisations, The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, was born out of the needs of the hour. From its inception, we have never paused or hesitated to do righteous battle on behalf of the dispossessed, except during the immediate past, since 1917, certain individuals assumed control, and have used the organisation to their own aggrandisement and the enslavement of the members of the organisation.

What has been accomplished since the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union came into being? In the future issues of this paper we will give an historical retrospect and an analysis of the happenings of the past and a message for the future.

When we left this country to carry forward the work of this Union, we left behind an organisation which, according to the sworn statement of William Fairclough, Joseph Kelly, Patrick Murray, trustees of the Union; Joseph Casey and J. Smyth, auditors, and Patrick Smyth, treasurer, and your humble scribe, the secretary and founder of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, submitted to the Assistant Registrar of Ireland, the Union had in 1914 fourteen thousand members, with a cash balance of £2,881-6s. 9d. and a man—James Connolly—in full control of the Union. We return, the man is dead, in body, but lives forever in the spirit, and his sacrifice will express itself in the future policy and the power to will of the workingclass of this country, and be an inspiration to the workers of the world. We had the honour of initiating the Irish labour movement. We return to find a Labour Party lost to all sense of dignity, manipulated by ambitious self-seekers, a feeble imitation

## THE POSITION.

*The position which we have been forced into, in connection with the government of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, is one to be regretted, but responsibility must be accepted, and what we have done has been done out of a sense of duty to the Members of the Union and no personal or vulgar libels will cause us to diverge from the line which we intend to pursue.*

*As the matters in dispute are now before the Court, and will come to a preliminary hearing on Monday, June 18th, we refrain from any reference to the case further than this. The members of the Union and public will know in good time all the facts at issue. We await, calmly and confidently, the justification of our action. Right and Justice must prevail.*

*In our next issue we hope to be able to give full details concerning the safety of the Union and the security of the Members' interests.*

JIM LARKIN,

General Secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

of the English Labour Party, and which, parrot-like, repeats the phrases of its prototype, but in a less vigorous manner. And if imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, then truly is the well-beloved, respectable and inefficient English Labour Party flattered by the imitative tactics of would-be statesmen, sycophantic politicians who suffer so grievously from mental diarrhoea, or as it has been well expressed, "Fain would they climb but that they fear to fall," and thus the education, the work and sacrifice of the past years has resulted in the creation of a lath and plaster robotian creature that exists purely for the absorption of food values (money contributions from ill-paid workers), its only sense of expression results in feeble moanings, which convey the soul-stirring and inspiring message to the Irish workingclasses thus: The honourable gentleman, the Tamed Dingo, asks the Minister for Quick Despatch was the execution of four Irishmen a military necessity. Putting both the question and the answer in a phrase, and the Honourable Minister replies "That the honourable gentleman, Tamed Dingo, seems to have an affinity of thought with an appreciation of the necessity for the Government's action." Two minds with but a single thought. Two hearts that throb as one. Or, again, we have the member for the Grazers' Division submitting the following: "Will the Minister of the

Interior inform the House why the public-houses do not open at sunrise?" And the Minister for the Interior sympathises with his fellow-sufferer and replies "That the law will be enforced." And so we gained the respect of those in power, the votes of those who own property and those who sell strong drink. And this statesmanship is the result of the agitation on industrial lines, the One Big Union propaganda. Oh, the shame and disgrace of it—the heroic sacrifices of our comrades who have gone before have resulted in the political and social ambitions of a few being fulfilled. Their economic security accomplished (£400 a year and all found, or as we should put it correctly, other valuable perquisites), and outside of these few master minds, supermen, one-eyed leaders in the kingdom of the blind, the great mass of the workers in the country districts and the congested towns, over-worked, underpaid, when employed. Thousands upon thousands living on a meagre dole, and other thousands denied the right of submitting to exploitation. Sixty-two thousand unemployed in the twenty-six county section of the British Empire (or, as the apologists say, this Commonwealth of Nations), and within the area of this country, but without this country, the Six Counties area, owned and controlled by Sir James Craig, Dawson Bates, Tommy Moles, and others, few in

number, but audacious in their oppression of those existing in that area, where not less than 50,000 men and women are unemployed, and those employed working at wages forty per cent. below other industrial areas, the prisons both in the Twenty-six County area and also the Six County area filled with untried political prisoners, of which condition of things we deal with elsewhere in this issue. And so we have again to face the task of giving soul to the helpless body, hope to the depressed, comfort to the suffering and courage to those lacking faith, and a new old definition of the word liberty. Liberty, a word that has inspired the Great Dead. Liberty, a word so comprehensive in its values. A word that its application has neither length, depth nor breadth, that means the unlimited expression of man's power over matter, and his enjoyment of all the physical, mental and spiritual values in life.

And then the blessed word—freedom! Men speak so foolishly the word freedom, meaning oftentimes licence to express their power, to enjoy their privileges in the limitation of other men's freedom. For there can be no freedom where some enjoy privilege or have the licence to oppress others. By freedom we mean that we in Ireland, the common people of this country, shall be free to administer within this land of ours for the benefit of all the Irish people all those things that mean life in the best interest of all her people, that no other people, nor peoples, kings, statesmen, politicians, capitalists, no matter what they call themselves, or from whence they come, now or in the future, have any claim to interfere with the common right of the common people of this land of Ireland to work out their own destiny. We owe no allegiance to any nation, commonwealth of nations, king, governors, or representatives of any other nation, or commonwealth of nations. That all such persons are interlopers and trespassers in this our land, and we are determined to achieve not only national freedom, but a greater thing, economic freedom, individual freedom, social freedom, freedom from military, political and mental slavery such as we suffer under at present, freedom from the most degraded form of slavery, economic or wage-slavery. How, then, are we to achieve this freedom? Not by phrases. Not by slogans. Not

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RESURGAM.

(Continued from page 1.)

by trusting in personalities. But understanding what the word connotes. Freedom is based on principles. Principles are greater than personalities, or parties. Call your slavery what you will, it is still slavery, and though words may be used to excuse one's cowardice and unwillingness to face facts, it alters not your position, for a slave who knows he is a slave is already a free man. But a slave who is unwilling to recognise his position and struggle to break his chains is a slave who can never be free. Freedom, the word in its application has no meaning for him; he understands it not, and in the very nature of things was born to be a slave. But to you, oh, comrades, who know the truth, in truth you must live and work to accomplish the purpose of those who lived, loved truth, loved freedom and died that you might live and work to accomplish their great purpose. As a means to that end we must have a party of the workingclass. That party means the organisation of all those who give service, those who produce wealth. All men and women who are willing to work and co-ordinate their work to the re-building of an Irish nation, Irish in thought, Irish in word, language, Irish in their willingness to give service, Irish in their forgetfulness of self, but their willingness to give sacrifice. To live for Ireland and work for her is a task for men and women, therefore a Labour Party must be based on principles, live by principles, and we must never forget that principles are greater, more enduring than persons. It was persons who sold this nation in the past; put your trust in no man; you will therefore never be confounded, and in the hour of crisis principle will be your stand-by, your guide and security. Principles—let them be as fixed as the sun. True freedom is to be earnest in making others free. How, then, shall we organise to achieve freedom? For we must have organisation. We must have discipline. We must have honesty, loyalty and unselfish devotion to accomplish our ideals. Not organisations built up at great sacrifice to be manipulated by cunning time-serving, ambitious charlatans, who use phrases for the purpose of misleading; who use members of the organisation for their own advancement, who use you, the workers, in a word, as stepping-stones to their own uplift and cast you down when they reach a safe and secure position for themselves. An organisation of workers must be responsive to the needs and the heart throbs of the least amongst its members, an industrial organisation welding together in one united front all essential units in a nation's advancement—the workers, men and women, rural and urban, those engaged in cultivating the earth, those engaged in manufacture, and those who hold the life arteries of the nation within their power, transit workers, who co-ordinate and connect the worker in the country with those in town and both workers with the workers of the world. One Big Union—yes, that is the need of the hour, a union of body, mind and heart, but not an imarticulate heterogeneous mass of men and women, controlled by an oligarchy using the term Labour Leaders, more unscrupulous, more cunning and more oppressive than any capitalist or feudal class the world has ever been cursed with. That One Big Union must have a political expression—a Labour Party, responsive to the

SIAMSA MÓR!

THE EVENT OF THE SEASON.

JIM LARKIN

WILL ADDRESS

Monster Rally,

St. Enda's, Rathfarnham

needs, the desires and the instructions of the members. Such is the method and the means to be used. The objective—A WORKERS' REPUBLIC. Within this nation, a nation, one and indivisible, wherein the message spoken and written can be freely expressed, where the right to assemble shall be exercised, where advocacy of great principles shall be enjoyed by all men and women, irrespective of how they offend any external kings, kingdoms without these shores; that the principles expressed in words by James Pintan Lalor, re-echoed on a broader plane and in a more enduring way by our comrade "Jim" Connolly and his co-heirs, in the glorious days of Easter Week, 1923, "That the entire ownership of Ireland, moral and material, up to the sun and down to the centre, is vested of right in the people of Ireland." To make that right good, in word and deed, and to assert that principle, the IRISH WORKER, the voice of the common people, comes within your midst to speak out, fearlessly and without favour, and so to the task. Who will join in the battle? Who will enlist in the Cause that knows no failure? Who will be of us and with us? Knowing no party but the Party of the Working-class, no section, no creed, Irishmen all, citizens of a nation, whose limits are but the sea and the sky, and your only duty expressed in a phrase, "We came to serve!" To all who will enlist we promise great opportunities, great satisfaction, great joy in comradeship. We cannot guarantee you uniforms and the trappings of war; we cannot guarantee or offer you any pay or place; we cannot guarantee you high position, power over men and their lives, but we can assure you that ceaseless toil and sacrifice will be demanded of you, and in return the glorious satisfaction of having given some return to those who have given you service, an opportunity to emulate in life the work and sacrifice of the Great Dead.

THOUGHTS FOR TO-DAY.

A REMINDER FOR TO-MORROW.

There are only two unions for workers to-day—trade unions or workhouse unions.—Mrs. Bamber.

Less unions and more unionists.—Robert Williams.

In the labour movement no reform had ever been gained out of the employing class except by the power of combination.—Robert Smillie.

FIT TO GOVERN?

The vast majority of the British unemployed are industrial workers. Australia wants land workers. So the British Government sends its industrial workers to, supply the need for land workers in Australia.

Is labour fit to govern? Why ask?

Sunday, June 24

Band Parade. Dancing. Singing.

TEA Served at Moderate Prices.

Admission - ONE SHILLING.

CAIR SO UCI AN SIAMPA.

Ó'n scláid.

Seallaimaí 7 fionn.

Ós nóránad fad tuinne, a tadhár ar rón na Saebúige le fice bliadam, iarract eicint—óá laigeas—ar an ceangam féin a foilseam, ba mór a lán Saebúige beas le cloisreál tairt i ngeal ceannceir ar fuo na tairt. Ac ní bearna. Fao ip fuair curó acá veir eirge ar árdán 7 ceas físaicte faoi an pluas, a bí as eirceact asur, bair nórós, as fáirceit, i nceasóib "ceangán ar rian 7 ar rinnip," 7 i mbéarta, níor ceartus uaca acá rín. Ba maí an ceir i, ceangá na héireann a sídebeoicant, le fúcamnaib a foidear amipir coíca, ac an coíca tairt, asur an órátoide ipre 7 fceann ve na Comairtib Púibtoib 7 fceapóib an Saebúige vut eun cinn, nó amteact léite, 7 n-umar na hamleirpe, pé acá áiró a mba maí léite; ní dampeadó rín coitad aon oróce de-rian.

Ba mílteac an tír le órátoeacab 7 le seallaimaí an tír seo 50 ucí le Saipir anuar. "Ós nóránad fún a cur i bfermóir Eipe a fceapóib" árdáir Mac Uí Dubháic bóba, "b'Impreacéar fad ói, 7 beas Taos 50 nbeirge— an fear eirde vó ar Deannceirge— as caiteam an Císearna Saipirí amac ar a fadácar."

Níor dam aon nóró bair ve lionmárac na Rún a curcead i bfermóir, múnar dam vóirpae na ngeallaimaí amipir eogca. Ac tá árdáir beas ar an fceolcáin tairt anoir tar mar bíod. Níl rédeón pupurca rín anoir dailad mullós a cur óra. Táro as eirge i bfermóir níor fíorpaige 7 níor ampeirpae ná mar bíoir. Bero a fíor rín rár i bfermóir as 50 teor.

Táirle Coíca 45 teannad tim anoir fad uile tá fcearta, ip vóirge 50 mbéro na seallaimaí céasna óá fceolcead eugáin ó árdánad ar fuo na tairt; róp, ríar, ó beas, ó tuaró—má cpericearíad.

Déirpéar fá ceapad, asur, vó péir coramleaca, ceapcar céana féin 50 mbéro pé com péro 7 bíod, bíteit ar an fceolcáin tairt asur a vóirpaeadó pé áiréar mian le vóasóib móra; ac má bí mór ar fíoil, ceapad na fíoláirí ar an fíoil céasna vó beas ar a mbealac abailt, 7 vó foilseam rírean a ceact fíreirín. "Fad ríream 'ra' tír le céite" a vóirpéar an t-órátoide. Sead, ac nuair a beas mór as caiteam a cora laeacanná raóirpe 'ra' órname nó-ra Róim ar a fártact, beas beas as cur áitir ó vob 50 vob; nuair a beas "nuad fad vó 7 rian fad óit" as mór beas an fíeal 50 fíeal-máit as beas má bíonn páta tairt áiré; beas seir folláin asur cead bheas páirpín as mór asur beas fáite i ríeamipín i mbairpéar póirpás tubca, náir vóirge ar bit é ac 50 mba le mór péin é; 7 má bíonn aon póirp-óirpe, a mbéro cairpe ar bit ann, óá fúgarpéir bó Seol eicint faoi péir as mór vó.

Fan ampear "fad ríream 'ra' tír le céite" ac mór na fceann, fáorta mór ar fad ceasóib ve asur beas ar vóirpéar!

Ac máí vóirpamár céana—tá acá fúgar beas fá raogal ó na laeacannad vóirpe vó na fceolcáin na seallaimaí. Leamad mór mór; ceapad beas beas. Fíolma acá uaim faoi lácar 7 ní seallaimaí-fíolma i scúppaib ceangán, com maí le fad ind eite. ean eille.

CANADIAN UNIONISM.

During the war and up to 1919 the Canadian unions were busily employed taking in new members. High wages had the effect of driving men to the unions. Since 1919, when the highest number of organised workers was 878,047, the unions have suffered a severe set-back. They have lost 101,426 members. It is reported that over four hundred local unions have gone out of business.

The failure of the labour movement to retain its newly-organised members is due to similar failure on the part of the British labour movement. No attempt was made to educate and solidify the forces of organised labour in Canada. The result being that when the first onslaught of the employers was made the unions were unable to retain their members. Those who were without jobs fought those with jobs, and as a result we have a demoralised labour movement. Militant leaders are essential, so is an educated rank and file.

\* \* \*

So "Big Jim" Larkin has been deported to Ireland as an "undesirable," only a few months after Governor Smith's courageous pardon. Deportation is always a petty process; it somehow seems doubly petty in the case of such an epic figure as gaunt, grey-haired, long-limbed James Larkin. It was Larkin who built out of the Dublin dock workers Ireland's first great Labour union, which was later the heart of the Easter Revolution; his energy built Liberty Hall, which became a symbol of more than labour's struggle for freedom. We seldom agree with Larkin. But there is a genuine bigness of soul behind his bigness of body. He is one of those rare beings—a born leader of men with a sense of the pain of life. Lola Ridge understood the man:

One hundred million men and women go inevitably about their affairs, In the somnolent way Of men before a great drunkenness. . . They do not see you go by their windows, Jim Larkin, With your eyes bloody as the sunset And your shadow gaunt upon the sky. . . You, and the like of you, that life Is crushing for their frantic wines. —(The Nation, New York City, U.S.A.).

DEMOCRACY! At a recent meeting of the Irish Co-operative Tailors the selection of the committee of management came up for consideration. The assembled members were informed by the Chairman, Mr. L. P. Byrne, that he and four of the nominees, Messrs. W. O'Brien, Luke J. Duffy, Cormac Breathnach and O'Neill Watson, had decided to offer themselves for election as a panel. If the members refused to accept them in a body then they would individually refuse to accept office. Apart from the attempt to fool the meeting with the idea that they (the panel) had the backing of the Irish Labour Movement, what becomes of all this boasted democracy that one hears so much of?

1923. No. 446.

Saorstát Éireann,  
High Court of Justice,  
Chancery Division,  
Mr. Justice Powell.

Between

Thomas Foran, William O'Brien,  
Daniel Clancy, Michael Duffy,  
Michael Hill, Thomas Kennedy,  
Michael McCarthy, and Thomas  
Ryan,

Plaintiffs;

and

James Larkin, Defendant.

We, Thomas Foran, of 8 Queen's Square, Dublin; William O'Brien of 77, Botanic Rd., Glasnevin, in the City of Dublin Alderman; Thomas Kennedy of 20, Charlemont Mall, in the City of Dublin, jointly and each of us make oath and say as follows:—

1. This Deponent Thomas Foran for him self says that he is the General President of The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. This Deponent William O'Brien is the General Treasurer of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, and an Alderman for the City of Dublin. This Deponent Thomas Kennedy is a member of the Executive Committee of the said Trade Union.

2. This action is brought by the Plaintiffs including these deponents for:—

(a) A declaration that the Plaintiffs are the lawful trustees, officers and Executive of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union and that as such trustees, officers and Executive they are entitled to possession of the premises 35 Parnell Sq., Dublin, and Liberty Hall, Dublin and all reasonable access thereto and to carry on the management and business of the said Trade Union.

(b) An Injunction restraining the Defendant his Agents and servants from unlawfully entering upon and taking forcible possession of the said premises to the exclusion of the Plaintiffs; and restraining the Defendant his agents and servants from by force and violence evicting the Plaintiffs from said premises, and preventing the Plaintiffs from lawfully entering said premises and carrying on the management and business of said Trade Union.

(c) A Mandatory Order in the nature of an Injunction that Plaintiffs be restored to possession and occupation of said premises.

(d) Damages.

(e) Further and other relief.

The Writ of Summons in this Action was issued on the 11th day of June 1923 and we beg to refer to same.

3. The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union is a Trade Union registered pursuant to the Trade Union Acts, having its registered address at 35 Parnell Sq. in the City of Dublin. The Plaintiffs are the Trustees and General Officers and Executive Committee of the said Trade Union and in said capacity bring this action for and on behalf of the said Trade Union. The Defendant James Larkin is the General Secretary of the said Trade Union.

4. The lawfully elected officers and Executive of the above-named Trade Union are as follows:—

Thomas Foran, General President; William O'Brien, General Treasurer; James Larkin, General Secretary; Thomas Kennedy, Michael McCarthy, Patrick Stafford, Michael Duffy, Patrick Gaffney, Thomas Ryan, Michael Hill and Daniel Clancy.

The above-named Patrick Stafford is too ill to attend business, and is confined to bed. The above-named Patrick Gaffney has been absent from business for some time and his present

5. The above-named General Officers were duly elected in January 1922. We beg to refer to the minutes of the Meeting held on the 8th day of February 1922, at which the said election was duly noted. Since then they have continued in Office until this date, the 11th June 1923, as hereinafter, and are still the lawful General Officers of said Trades Union. The above-named members of the Executive were duly elected in the month of January 1923. We beg to refer to the minutes of the meeting held on the 24th day of March 1923, which election was duly noted and recorded. On the minute Book containing the said minutes marked "A" and "B" we have endorsed our names before swearing hereof.

6. We beg to refer to a copy of the Rules of the above-named Trade Union, which were registered on the 26th December 1918, and on which marked "C" we have endorsed our names before swearing hereof. We beg to refer to a copy of the new Rules of the said Trade Union which were duly registered on the 2nd June 1923, and on which marked "D" we have endorsed our names before swearing hereof. The business and affairs of the said Trade Union were conducted by the aforesaid Officers and Executive with the exception of James Larkin, in pursuance of the Rules in an efficient and regular way until the return to Ireland recently of the said Defendant. On the return of the said Defendant to Ireland in or about the 30th of April 1923, the Defendant began to cause trouble and create dissension amongst the members of the said Union, and proceeded to wantonly and maliciously attack the said Officers and said Executive Committee by making false and malicious statements against them, and by endeavouring to oust them from their positions, and by that means to gain sole control of the said Trade Union and its management and funds. The said Trade Union consists of approximately 100,000 members distributed all over Ireland. It has an annual income of £130,000, and funds and property valued for, approximately, £140,000.

7. At a Meeting of the Dublin No. 3 Branch of the said Trade Union, on Sunday the 10th June, 1923, the Defendant attended and delivered an excited and violent speech in which he made wild and utterly false statements against these deponents which have no foundation whatever in fact. The Defendant proceeded to repeat said grave charges against these deponents and caused to be formally proposed a Resolution making said charges. It was not clear what was the effect of the said Resolution, as no copy of same could be obtained by the Plaintiffs and these Deponents and said Resolution was taken away by the Defendant. The Defendant refused to allow any discussion on the said Resolution and ordered the Chairman to put the said resolution to the Meeting. The Chairman declined to do so and the Defendant ordered the Chairman out of the Chair, and thereupon the Defendant asked those in favour of the Resolution to put up their hands. Without calling upon those who were not in favour to show their hands the Defendant in a loud voice announced that the said resolution was carried and the said meeting adjourned. The meeting thereupon broke up in disorder and it was impossible for these deponents or any of the Plaintiffs to address the said meeting to defend themselves.

8. The Defendant illegally summoned a meeting of the Dublin No. 1 Branch of the said Union for Sunday, the 10th June, 1923, at the Mansion House, Dublin. The said Meeting was not called, and was not held in pur-

suance of the rules, and was entirely in contravention of the said Rules. The said Meeting purported to pass certain resolutions which were utterly illegal null and void and of no legal effect. The said resolution has not been communicated to us these deponents.

9. On Monday the 11th June, 1923, when the Plaintiffs including these Deponents attended as usual at the Head Offices of the Union 35, Parnell Square at 12 noon for the purpose of transacting business, they found the said Offices occupied by a number of persons who had no business to be there and who adopted at once a hostile attitude towards Plaintiffs. Plaintiffs were unable to obtain admission to the said Office. The front door was partially left open, but the said persons who were acting as agents and servants of the Defendant formed a cordon across the door and refused admission to the Plaintiffs. On the Plaintiffs endeavouring to obtain admission the said agents and servants of the Defendant forcibly prevented them coming in. The Defendant then came down the stairs of the said premises in a most excited and aggressive manner, rushed at the said door and slammed it in the face of the Plaintiffs and these deponents and shouted that the Plaintiffs could not be admitted. The Defendant's servants and agents laid hands upon these deponents and forcibly prevented them from entering the premises. Since then Plaintiffs have been unable to obtain access to the said premises or to the books and documents therein. The said premises are now occupied in force by the Defendant and his friends.

10. In a similar manner, on Monday 11th June the Defendant and his agents took possession of the premises of the said Trade Union at Liberty Hall, Dublin. By reason thereof the Plaintiffs and the duly qualified Branch Officers of the said Union are forcibly excluded from the said premises, Liberty Hall, Dublin.

11. The number of members of the Union is very large and thousands of persons are drawing benefit and paying contributions day by day. The carrying on of the work of the said Trade Union is one of the greatest importance to thousands of workmen and tradesmen and their wives and families and great hardship and suffering would be entailed if the benefits of the said Trade Union are interrupted and the persons entitled to benefit are deprived of their benefits by reason of the matters aforesaid. The whole Headquarters staff of the said Union walked out and refused to act under or with the said Defendant.

12. It is impossible to transact the business of the said Union and we verily say and believe that the Defendant is wrongfully endeavouring by these violent and irregular means to capture the property, monies and control of the said Trade Union and set aside the legally appointed officers, and Executive Committee which have been duly appointed by the members. By said means of intimidation, violence and wild slanders of these deponents and the Plaintiffs, the Defendant hopes to impose his will upon the said Trade Union.

13. We these Deponents in conjunction with the Plaintiffs have brought this action to maintain the property and the rights of the members of the said Trade Union and for the purpose of resisting the attempts by force and violence to eject the lawful officers of the said Trade Union and prevent its work from being properly carried out.

14. We therefore humbly ask this Honourable Court for an Order that, pending the Trial of this action, the Defendant his agents and servants

be restrained from unlawfully entering upon and taking forcible possession of the said premises to the exclusion of the Plaintiffs and restraining the Defendant his agents and servants from using force and violence, evicting the plaintiffs from said premises and wrongfully preventing the Plaintiffs from lawfully entering said premises, carrying on the management and business of the said Trade Union. We also humbly ask this Honourable Court for an Order in the nature of a Mandatory injunction that pending the trial of this Action Plaintiffs be restored to possession and occupation of the said premises.

Save where otherwise appears the facts deposed to are within our own personal knowledge.

Sworn before me this 12th day of June, 1923, at 71 Dame Street in the City of Dublin, A Commissioner to administer Oaths in the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland and I know the Deponent.

FRANK J. ALLEN,  
Commr. for Oaths.

Thomas Foran.  
Wm. O'Brien.  
Thomas Kennedy.  
This Affidavit is filed on behalf of the Plaintiffs by James O'Connor and Co., Solicitors, 74 Dame St., Dublin.

Filed this 12th June, 1923.

\* \* \*

The Shipping representatives and delegates from different ports, accompanied by Mr. Thomas Foran, went into conference to-day, Friday, June 16th, in the Shelbourne Hotel, under the guidance of Mr. Isaac Ferguson, of the Ministry of Labour.

It was decided, after a protracted discussion, to postpone the intended lock out of the dock workers in Dublin and other ports for a month, on the following basis of agreement.

Draft copy submitted as a basis of agreement:—

At the request of the Union, the employers agree to postpone the reduction in wages fixed to apply on 18th of June pending a conference on the general question of wages, conditions and costs of working, as affecting the traffic of ports and the trade of the country.

After some further discussion it was agreed to strike out the words, "at the request of the Union;" and the word "conditions."

The employers agree to postpone the reduction in wages fixed to apply on 18th of June pending a conference on the general question of wages, and costs of working, as affecting the traffic of the ports and the trade of the country.

They take the first dose. Courage, brave lads, there is more to follow.

Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, Dublin No. 1 Branch. Owing to recent developments the meeting announced for Sunday next, 17th inst., in the Mansion House, has been postponed to a future date.—Thomas Foran, President; John O'Neill, Secretary.

NOTICE!

All members of the Union who were denied mortality benefits, during my absence, are requested to send in a statement of their case, together with cards of members and death certificate. They must be sent in a registered envelope, addressed to Jim Larkin, 17 Gardiner's Place, Dublin.

"An injury to One is the concern of All."

—THE—  
**Irish Worker,**  
EDITED BY JIM LARKIN.

The Irish Worker will be published weekly—price one penny—and may be had of any newsagent or newsboy. Ask for it, and see that you get it.

All communications, whether relating to literary or business matters, to be addressed to the Editor, 17 Gardiner's Place, Dublin.

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Dublin, June 16th, 1923.

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY  
PEACE?

Our meaning of the word and its application may not be accepted by many people, but we submit it for consideration, and we would earnestly hope acceptance by all intelligent men and women. Not the peace that passeth all understanding, for that is something that can only be expressed in metaphysical terms. Not the peace, sullen and enforced, by bayonet, by rifle-shot, by brutal terrorism, by starvation and the denial of all human rights. Not the peace of exhaustion. Not the peace of words, ambiguous and hypercritical, but a peace of understanding.

The word peace can be qualified in its many relations. Men talk of military peace when they mean military domination. They talk of political peace when they mean agreement to compromise and surrender principle. They talk of peace of the mind when they mean to convey mental stagnation or atrophy of the emotional and reasoning powers of the age. The peace of God when they mean the denial of the right to analyse the idea of God. Economic peace when they mean that insidious propaganda backed by force to compel weaker nations to purchase commodities they do not require or luxuries they fail to take an understanding joy in. We speak of peace and we apply it knowing there can be no peace in its fullest measure under this system of society, which is based on struggle and hatred and carried on by force. We are not too lost to the realities of life that we could willingly close our mind to all the happenings and restraints that affect the conditions that govern one's physical and mental activities. We are not going to attempt in this issue to analyse the environment we live in, or the causes which impinge upon the minds of men and women and cause such hatreds, woe and desolation among the people of this earth.

What, for the moment, we are deeply concerned in is the condition that confronts every self-respecting man and woman who is not, as yet, lost to all sense of responsibility in this unhappy country. People talk of a condition of peace as prevailing in this country. They know they speak not the truth. They do not want peace. They know that the brute force of militarism is rampant in this country; that force, audacious and unrepentant, expresses itself violently in all forms of interference. Thousands of men are living non-productive and useless lives, because there is no peace, nor a willingness to discuss peace amongst the people. Militarism is destructive of the reasoning faculties in man or woman. Militarism engenders hate, the spirit of vengeance. Militarism in its very

This paper was not founded or financed  
by Malcolm Lyon, British Agent—  
Provocateur.

nature breeds idleness, the desire, nay, the determination to live at the expense of the community. It must find causes for its perpetuation. It must of necessity be over-bearing, and so creates resentment; that resentment may express itself in action which creates the application of force to control such resentment, and thus the vicious circle is complete.

There can be no peace in this country while one uniformed and armed man is seen abroad in our country. Therefore full and complete peace can never be under the present system of society. But we may have a reasoned peace, a peace of understanding, a peace which must be based on compromise—and what are the facts facing us? A country of four million people divided into two sections, and the people therein controlled in every life activity by two different governmental forces, absolutely exercising power without the authority or mandate of the people. This statement of fact cannot be challenged by any apologist for either of the two governments. The Six Counties' Government, so-called, exists and functions against the declared wish and will of the people, an external and foreign force interferes and dominates the lives and fortunes of those who exist within that area. Thousands of men have been torn from their families and cast into prison without due law or warrant. No man's liberty or life is safe. No man's property is under his control. No man within that area has economic security, political liberty or right to spiritual expression. This is beyond contradiction. Liberty of speech, liberty to write and publish one's opinions, liberty to meet and discuss or to publicly hold convictions is denied by a group oligarchy that have seized power and have usurped all human and moral laws.

In the Twenty-six Counties we have three million people or thereabouts inarticulate, denied all expression of liberty, except that measure which they are permitted by a non-representative group. We have a nominated and privileged chamber, the very negation of democracy. We have a lower or legislative chamber, with some fifty or sixty members speaking in the name of the people, while half the people admittedly are unrepresented. If the voice of the people is the voice of God, why are they denied their God-given right to express themselves? We are told that there are fifteen thousand men imprisoned, without trial under the law. Hundreds of women confined, and no attempt made to give them the opportunity to answer their accusers in open court. We have fifty thousand men under arms, one-eighth of the entire male population, wasting the economic resources of the country, and these men kept apart from the nation, apart from their families and their homes, without justification, for if there is peace in this land why are we insulted in our intelligence by a martial array of force, law suspended, fear living ever with the majority of the people, and death stalking on leaden feet over every inch of our country? Sullen and enforced peace does exist; that

is not sufficient. It is not wholesome. Such a condition breeds hatred and vengeance. It breeds disorganisation within the body, for if the mind is diseased the body is sick.

Is there any remedy? Yes! We say there is. There must be a re-cognition that the body politic is in an unhealthy state. That fact must be faced. What, then, must be done? Every artery of human thought seems to be suffering from the poison of ill-digested ideas. Propaganda is being injected into the veins of the nation, and in consequence, the blood is not circulating in a healthy way, and the mind of the nation suffers from political neurosis. We submit that these are accepted facts. The people as a whole are physically, mentally and emotionally tired. War and its concomitants has ravaged and destroyed this country. We are bankrupt in money power, in men and ideas. The best of our race are rotting in prison, some on the hillsides, expressing courage and determination, but lost to all sense of proportion? The wives and families of these heroic men and their imprisoned brothers suffering from starvation and privation that language is all too inadequate to convey. Facts must be faced.

As we have said in speech we repeat now, in measured word, no force or group of men in the world, no body of men of any nation could have endured and carried on against the tremendous odds these fought against. Dissension and betrayal surrounded them and walked into their very midst. Support they depended upon failed them. Why then lend themselves to their own dissemination? And what is even more dangerous, the break-down of the morale and the utter effacement of their principles and the ideals they fought for. The seed must be gathered in and they are the hope and the seed-bed of the new generation. They must concern themselves with facts; they must weigh their responsibility, and must not lose themselves in the fog of misunderstanding. No question of dishonour can rest on them. They fought well and bravely, and anyone who speaks of the word shame or dishonour as applying to the giving up of a few stands of arms do not understand the use of words. So easy to say: "No surrender!" to those who carry the arms and guard them with their lives. So easy to say: "No surrender!" to men whose record can not be equalled. So easy to say: "No surrender!" to men who are hounded down and harassed every living hour of the day and through the dark passages of the night, more especially when you say it from the comfortable security of a well-furnished home and strengthened by a good, substantial meal. But let one who knows hunger and harassment of body and mind—aye, and danger to liberty and life, say the word that must be spoken, and spoken now.

The only hope for the future is in these men imprisoned on the hills—aye, and imprisoned in the gaols and in the camps, coming back into the life of the nation, and in the same measure of courage and determina-

tion which they have expressed on the field of physical action and against such overwhelming odds, carry the message and express that message in every part of this nation, bring in your arms as an organised force, under the authority and by the direction of your leaders. Let an arrangement be made by those who respect you. That terms of peace be entered into officially by your responsible leaders and the Government representatives. That an official declaration of an armistice be declared for one month. That certain persons be named to receive the submission of these arms at a given spot. We suggest the Post Office, Dublin, held by the men of 1916, until force overwhelmed them, their leaders, certain of death, did not hesitate to order those under their command to hand in their rifles. If the men of '16 were worthy of their task and fulfilled it, why should the men, who have fought for the same principles, fear comparison or fear to emulate them. Let the agreement provide that all units of the Republican Army be ordered to mobilise and make rendezvous, say, on the first day of July, Kingsbridge, Broadstone and Amiens Street stations and march down in column to the appointed place made sacred by the sacrifice of those who died within its walls and those who gave their lives to the principle of Republicanism. There is not a heart in Dublin and throughout Ireland but would be attached to the heart-beat of the men of the Republican Army. The people of this nation would march in step with them, and they would do more in that hour for the success of the Republican cause than twenty years of guerilla fighting.

\* \* \*  
**OPEN THE JAIL GATES.**  
Amnesty.

Our position on the question of political prisoners has been stated in clear and definite language at meetings in the following towns: Wexford, New Ross, Waterford, Dungarvan, Clonmel, Mallow, Cork, Droichead Nua and Dublin, with an aggregate attendance of the public of over one hundred thousand people. At each of the meetings attended by the ordinary public and men in uniform the following motion has been carried unanimously:—

That all men and women, imprisoned and interned, should be released forthwith as a gesture of reconciliation, and we call upon the Government to unconditionally release all women prisoners and that the men prisoners be either brought to trial at once or unconditionally released, and that no interference should be made by the Government or their servants with the collection of funds to feed the women and children, who are deprived of their breadwinners.

In the interest of justice, and out of deep conviction, we say, that in our opinion the Government will not open the gaol gates until there is a condition of agreed and settled peace. It has been proved, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the Government are not amenable to the voice of the people, because they are taking advantage of the unofficial peace conditions. They have refused, up to now, to accept and ratify the gesture of those acting for the Republican Government. Both the political leader of the Republican Government and the officer in charge of the military forces of the Republican Party have pub-

lished their considered opinion and determination. And we say the Government should not stand on the order of the procedure utilised by the Republican forces, but should be big enough and human enough, aye, and Irish enough, to arrange for an official understanding. There should be some offer of approachment and a willingness expressed to meet and find a common basis of agreement.

The difference between both sides is not fundamental, and, at least, there should be some recognition of the rights of the people at this stage. The application of the phrase, that lives upon the lips of millions of people and is spoken without a sense of its responsibility and its application, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." If the spirit of that supplication and act of contrition were accepted by both sides, a condition of mind would be created that would compel both belligerents to arrive at a mutual understanding and a recognition of the sincerity and purpose of those still engaged in fratricidal strife. We must have peace, and it is our hope that ere long the people will demand to be heard upon the issue.

\* \* \*

### To the Members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

I am debarred from entering into the controversy and legal suit initiated by William O'Brien, the alleged general treasurer of the union; Thomas Foran, self-nominated and self-elected general president of the union; Michael McCarthy, Thomas Kennedy, alleged to be members of the Executive Committee of the Transport Union.

I have done all that was possible to do to keep this trouble, which is fundamental and concerns the safety and security of the union and the interests of its members, within the union. I fought single-handed against this oligarchy, who have taken control of the union, its funds, properties and economic power, for their own advancement, so that the matter might be dealt with by the members of the union. Those who have assumed power, abused your confidence, and betrayed their trust, during my absence from amongst you, and since the death of James Connolly, have outraged every rule governing the principles of unionism. They went out into the Press and published matters concerning the union, and then, in defiance of their own fraudulent rules and against the legal rules of the union, they refused to submit themselves to the members and the court of the union, and have gone into the law courts of this country. Of course, using your money to sustain them.

I have done all possible during the past week, since this quarrel was entered into, to facilitate the payment of strike pay to the members of the union on strike, and offered them all facilities to carry on the work of the union. I have accepted their own battle-ground and am now, as always in the past, prepared to meet and challenge all those who take advantage of the want of knowledge and the lack of initiative of a defenceless and oppressed working-class. This is a fight against corruption, office-holders and grafting politicians, who have used you to their own advancement and their own aggrandisement. There shall be no compromise. I never betrayed you in the past. I never withheld any benefits from you. I never withheld money subscribed to strike funds. I never

deserted a man, woman or child connected with this union or any other section of the working-class. I am to-day the same man, holding the same ideas, the same clarity of vision, the same principles and determination as the day I gave up my position and opportunities in life to stand along with you and yours when you had not a friend in the world—when you were just a group of betrayed and exploited workers.

I founded this union. I worked for it every hour of my living life. Suffered imprisonment, unjustly, and withstood all attacks and won out on every field of industrial struggle. I led you. These are historical facts, and all the vulgar abuse and libellous statements and the sheltering behind dead men's names cannot alter facts. I require no justification by any man, living or dead. I have done my work, fearlessly, and my record is known throughout the known world. Upon that record I stand, knowing that my work in the past will justify me and the work that I have put my hand to now will be justified in a short time. I have these gentlemen in a position where they cannot squirm or wriggle out of, and from whence there is no escape.

In the meantime, I appeal to you to remember the history of this union, the struggle and sacrifices made by you, each and all, and have patience. Justice is not dead! Truth and Right must prevail! Stand loyally by each other and live by the principle that was inculcated and which you absorbed and have lived steadfastly by. EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH, has been our motto. AN INJURY TO ONE IS THE CONCERN OF ALL, has been our guide from the formation of the union until these exploiters and trust-violators assumed power by fraudulent means. Patience, loyalty and determination will result in the unmasking of these gentlemen. A United Front. Stand fast. The enemy is ours.

Monday will see the opening of the fight and then a continued struggle, which may be protracted, but of the results I have no doubt. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies. And the surgeon's knife is going to be applied until this cancerous growth is cut out of the body of this union, a cancerous growth which has been eating at the very vitals of the Irish Labour Movement.

I am yours, as always,

Your obedient servant and comrade,

JIM LARKIN.

\* \* \*

### FIRED!

ET, TU BRUTE!

Pooh-Bah issues his order for decapitation:—

18th June, 1923.

To James Larkin, at 35 Parnell Square.

TAKE NOTICE that the Executive Committee of the above Union, by resolution passed unanimously at a Meeting held on the 11th inst., suspended you from your position as General Secretary of this Union, and accordingly as from that date you have no authority to act as an Officer of this Union.

(Signed on behalf of the Executive Committee, I.T.G.W. Union.)

Thomas Kennedy (Signed), Acting Secretary, No. 3 Branch, Nobby O'Connor a pal, Acting General Treasurer of the Union, and an actor who will play a most ignoble part in the near future.

All members and those interested in clean government assemble at Boreford Place, Sunday, 12.30 p.m. "Old spot by the river." Jim Larkin will speak.

### ROBERT SMILLIE.

(From New Leader.)

When the electors of Morpeth return Robert Smillie to Parliament they will render the British Labour movement the same kind of service which the electors of Merthyr rendered when they elected Keir Hardie. They will have sent to Parliament the most representative working man which this country possesses, the man who more than any other personifies at once the industrial struggles and the political aims of organised Labour. It is very fitting that Robert Smillie should take his place in the House of Commons now, for though the Parliamentary environment is very different from that which his friend Hardie had to face, Smillie has had much to do in bringing about the change. Though his life work has seemed to lie mainly in the industrial field, he has been all the time a great formative political force, creating amongst his people that mental outlook which has made the Parliamentary Labour Party possible, and has given it the right kind of vitality.

Time and again at the call of the movement he has stepped aside temporarily from his industrial organising work to contest Parliamentary seats. Every time he did so he knew beforehand that he could not win. But he also knew that he could not be defeated. The cumulative results prove that he was right. Look round his political battlefield to-day. Camlachie, Airdrie, Bothwell, North-Lanark, Motherwell: all of them component parts of the constituencies which Robert Smillie fought in the days when victory did not attend upon the Labour banners. In every one of them the vested-interest political parties are routed, and when our pioneer goes to Parliament he will find that the seemingly "forlorn hopes" which he fought were, as he himself held, not forlorn hopes at all, but essential steps towards ultimate victory in the never-ceasing conflict between Labour and Capitalism.

For that kind of fighting a courageous, stout-hearted, clear-visioned man was needed. Such a man was, and is, Robert Smillie. A man with absolute faith in himself, and his class, and his cause; with the kind of faith which removes mountains. Some of the mountains have been removed—mountains of prejudice and ignorance and misrepresentation. Much remains to be done, and while he lives Smillie will keep on doing his full share of the work. He cannot help it. It is his nature. It is in his bones. He must work for his class.

Those qualities of leadership which distinguish him have been acquired and developed through a life of hard experience. From his youth up, he has had to fight, and he has never refused a battle. That is why he is in Morpeth now. But he fought, and fights, always with clean hands and weapons. Even the Duke of Northumberland must admit that much. He is a leader very much on the principle of the "survival of the fittest." He has proved himself the fittest man.

When fate threw him as a lad into the mining industry, organisation of

the men in the West of Scotland had well-nigh disappeared, and chaos had taken its place. Early manhood found him naturally joining hands with those other rebels who were trying to re-build and re-organise. This is not the place to rehearse—even if the present writer were the right man to do it—Smillie's achievement in the long and arduous struggle which led on to the Lanarkshire County Union the Scottish Miners' Federation, and eventually the British Miners' Federation. As the outcome of that work, Smillie's personality has made him not only the miners' leader, but the workers' leader: the representative man of his class. It is in that capacity we hope to see him returned to Parliament.

W. STEWART.

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### THE C.P.

The newly created Commissioners of the Peace are a source of amusement and discomfort. A certain man well known for his ability to "do the necessary" in times of elections, was made a C.P. His wife felt that the conferring of such a high and worthy honour upon her noble spouse called for a certain display of dignity, so they both journeyed to the Assizes in order that the worthy C.P. may learn how to conduct himself in his new position.

They journeyed to the courts, and arrived just in time to witness a poor unfortunate being sentenced to death. The judge, with all the solemnity of the law, delivered the verdict, using the typical legal phraseology. He warned the poor unfortunate that he was about to meet his Maker and to make peace with Him. The C.P. and his wife were very much impressed with the scene.

Following their visit to the Assizes, the worthy C.P. was called upon to carry out his duties as required of him by the law. His first case was that of a woman charged with using insulting language in a wordy combat with one of her neighbours. The witnesses for both sides gave their evidence, and our worthy friend, the C.P., was called upon to deliver the verdict in the case.

"Mrs. Mary Moriarty," said the worthy C.P., "you have been found guilty of a most terrible offence, one that I, as a guardian of the law, cannot pass over lightly. If I can assist you in any way to make your peace with your Maker I trust I may be of some help to you. In these days when so many seem to think that they can take the law into their hands such cases as yours serve as a warning and example to all those who feel that they can with impunity disregard the law. I trust you will think over what I am saying to you, and it now becomes my bounden duty, no matter how painful it may be, to deliver the dread sentence of the law. You are fined sixpence and costs, and may God have mercy on your soul."

So the majesty of the law was upheld.

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### THE BOOMERANG.

The Treaty of Versailles was responsible for German ships being taken over by British shipping companies. Scottish shipyard workers were no longer required, so they emigrated to America.

Sir John Latta, speaking at a recent meeting of his company, pointed out that the shipping position had never been worse. The young men who built the ships had left, and were now being employed by the American ship-builders to build ships that were to compete with British ship-owners.

Mrs. Connolly and Mr. Larkin.

To the Editor "Irish Independent."

Sir,—Like my friend, Mrs. Tom Clarke, I have been awaiting with interest to see what reply Mr. James Larkin would make to Mrs. Clarke's challenge of his extraordinary statements, and it does not surprise me, with the knowledge in my possession, that Mr. Larkin is unable to reply and offer any justification for his conduct in endeavouring to trade on the memory of Ireland's martyred dead, to justify his going to America in 1914.

He apparently believed that all those who could contradict his mendacious statements were sleeping in Arbour Hill prison yard, but there are many still alive who will not allow to go unchallenged his attempts to cover his going and staying away at the most critical period of Ireland's history by stating that he was sent to America by Tom Clarke, P. H. Pearse, and my husband (James Connolly).

When I visited my husband for the last time in Dublin Castle Hospital a few hours before his execution he told me that he had given instructions to his trusted friend, and comrade, Wm. O'Brien, who had been in touch with all his activities up to Easter Week, and that if necessary, he (Wm. O'Brien) would be in a position to state the facts.

In view of Mr. Larkin's attempt to use my husband's name to cover his own absence from Ireland while the fight was on, I now call upon Ald. Wm. O'Brien to come forward and state what he knows of the relations which existed at that time between Mr. Larkin and James Connolly, and whether or not Mr. Larkin's statement is true.

LILLIE CONNOLLY (Widow of James Connolly).

36 Belgrave Sq., Rathmines, 11-6-23.

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Letter from Ald. O'Brien, T.D.

To the Editor "Irish Independent."

Sir,—In response to the request addressed to me by Mrs. James Connolly regarding the statements made by Mr. James Larkin, as to the reasons given by him for his departure to America in 1914, I desire to state briefly the facts:—

Shortly after the outbreak of the European War in August, 1914, Connolly and I discussed the situation, and at his request I arranged a meeting, through Eamonn Cannan, in 25 Parnell Square. There were present, amongst others, at this meeting Tom Clarke, Sean McDermott, Jack Plunkett, P. H. Pearse, Thomas McDonagh, John McBride, Arthur Griffith, Sean McGarry, Sean T. O'Kelly, Liam Cullen, Sean Tobin, together with Eamonn Cannan, James Connolly and myself.

At that meeting the situation created by the war, as it affected Ireland, was fully discussed, and a certain line of action was decided upon, to which all those present gave their adherence. One result of that meeting was a decision regarding the Asquith meeting at the Mansion House, and Mr. Larkin only betrays his ignorance of and want of touch with the events of those days when he states that it was proposed to "seize the bodies" of Asquith and Redmond.

What was decided on was that possession should be taken of the Mansion House on the night before the meeting, so as to prevent the meeting being held. This project was abandoned when it was found that the Mansion House was held strongly by British military forces. I was warned by Tom Clarke, following the meeting above referred to, to be careful about letting Mr. Larkin know what was going on.

TRIED TO HUMILIATE CONNOLLY.

Mr. Larkin has stated that he only consented to go to America at the urgent request of James Connolly, Tom Clarke, and P. H. Pearse, and against his own desires. The truth is that Mr. Larkin had arranged several months before October, 1914, to tour America by arrangement with William D. Haywood, of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Larkin's relations with Connolly at this time can be realised when I state that he proposed to humiliate Connolly by placing him in a subordinate position during Larkin's absence under a man who was in Connolly's opinion, "as little trusted by the Labour men as he is by the Nationalists." Connolly refused to agree to this arrangement, and would have resigned his position in the Union rather than submit to such a humiliation.

Thomas Eoran, General President of the Union, and the Committee at Liberty Hall also strongly objected to Larkin's proposal, which he was then forced to abandon, and Connolly was appointed Acting General Secretary, with what results to Ireland are now well known.

MINERWORKERS' REFORM UNION OF FIFE, KINROSS AND CLACKMANNAN.

Mr Jim Larkin, Irish Transport Workers' Union, Liberty Hall, Dublin.

Dear Comrade Larkin,

GREETINGS.

You haven't yet been sufficiently long on this side of the Atlantic to be able to make up your mind just exactly what you are going to do, and I daresay that your long absence from this country, coupled with the treatment you have received, will have to a certain extent kept you out of touch with the development on this side.

For a number of years a fight has been going on in the British Coalfields between the Rank-and-File and the Leaders of the Trade Union. In no part of the country has the fight been more keen than in the Fife district, and within recent months it has culminated in the above Union being formed. In no sense can it be described as the result of the actions of people with mere theoretical conceptions of trade union organisation, but is on the contrary a spontaneous revolt on the part of the best fighting elements in the movement against the tyranny and graft of the official Trade Union Leaders.

Our one desire is to secure a mass fighting organisation, and we have no intention to continue a separate existence beyond the point when the Rank-and-File are assured of control of the Organisation.

Knowing your record in the movement, as a fighter against the autocracy of official trades unionism, and realising how valuable your advice will be, my Executive have instructed me to ask you to speak at the Gala-Day demonstration which will be held on Monday 4th June, either in Dunfermline or Kirkcaldy.

You may be aware that the Fife Miners have celebrated the introduction of the eight-hours' day for the last fifty years, and although we have been on the point of a struggle for the six-hours' day, we feel a certain amount of reverence for the pioneers who succeeded fifty years ago in establishing in Fife what has, unfortunately, yet to be established in many other industries. The Gala-Day platform in past days has been used by political opportunists in search of a career, but it is our intention this year to make a decided breach with past traditions, and use it to proclaim our belief in the necessity for a complete overthrow of capitalist society.

Again assuring you of heartiest good wishes, and trusting to hear from you at your earliest possible convenience.

I beg to remain

Yours fraternally,

W. J. C. KIRKER.

EDITORIAL NOTE—Our readers will see there are other countries beside Ireland cursed with place-hunting, grafting officials.

A fortnight ago I told Larkin myself that I knew his statements regarding his mission to America, to be false, and he thereupon undertook to produce proofs of their accuracy, but I am still awaiting their production.

At present I am unable to go into this matter in more detail, but at a later period I hope to be able to do so.

WM. O'BRIEN.

77 Botanic Rd., Dublin, 12-6-23.

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Larkin and Fascism.

By R. CONNOLLY.

June 7th, 1923.

One hesitates to write of Larkin. His most intimate friends know little of such an elemental force. No amount of intimacy spells understanding. Yet every worker, every honest man and woman of the Irish working class knows Larkin as intimately as he knows himself. For Larkin is the militant Irish worker—he is more, he is the incarnation of the great revolutionary upwelling of the Irish masses. His mind is a mirror to every thought, feeling, impulse, demand of the heterogeneous throng. This concentration of the revolutionary aspirations of a people in one person makes that person of tremendous value to the people and to the Revolution. That, in a word, tells the secret of the power of Larkin in the Labour movement; it gives the true indication of what the recreation of this power on such a movement as we possess will be. Without understanding the history of the Irish Labour movement and estimating its probable developments we know nothing of Larkin or the part he will play in our future struggles. Without burning into us the experiences of Larkin through the whole Hell's Fire that makes a worker's life, we cannot appreciate the Irish Labour movement as it is and as it is destined to be.

How many workers know what it is to deliver milk in the morning and evening as a child of seven years of age?—to work forty hours a week at this and at chopping fat on Saturdays for half-a-crown and a penny bun on pay day? This at seven! Then to be jobbing painter and paper-hanger, French polisher and tramp before he is eleven! To tramp the South, West, and East of England, and starve and crawl and huddle in fields, in barns, in ditches, is the early school of our Irish revolutionary. From this school Larkin progressed through a long course in the University of Adversity.

As a member of the N.U.D.L., twenty-two years ago his classes and studies were everything and anything, aboard, ashore, stevedoring, portering, carting, coalheaving, carrying bags and bushelling. With the finish of this training the true leader emerges in his escapades as stowaway to South America—here he leads the crew of other stows, organises them to fight against awful conditions that tantalize the soul, and begins his prison career in the interests of the workers by finishing up in chains on the ship ironed to a stanchion in hold No. 3. And that was "some" prison on that Hell's Own ship—as companions, a tin of water and hundreds of rats eating his toenails! Ugh!

Though every worker has a terrible life under Capitalism, and though the early days in the slums and workshops are the cruelest, there are few who have had such a damnable life as Larkin had; and that's why so few have such fire, hot indignation, and compelling emotion in the fight of the working-class as Larkin had and still has to-day. As Larkin mirrors the life of the Irish workers in every phase, so Larkin's own life is the life of the Irish worker in concentrated and terrible essence—and Larkin's triumph is the personification of the victory of his class.

What, then, is the effect of this new force on conditions as they are to-day in Ireland? For the May Day number of a foreign periodical I summed up the "Present Conditions" as follows:—"From the point of view of the Communist, the result (of the Treaty and Civil War) is best summed up in a saying that the Irish bourgeoisie is enormously weakened. Demobilization may spell mutiny, overtaxation means a disaffected and disheartened bourgeoisie and people, unemployment swelled by demobilization spells failure, the failure to settle the Land Question means an agrarian war, and the non-appearance of a much-boasted prosperity is the final cause of the impending ruin of the Free State Party, out-cast as the 'National Party'."

But it seems certain that we may skip the stage of a Republic in the evolution of the Irish people and go from a Free State controlled by the Labour Party to a Labour Government and straight to a Proletarian Dictatorship. And to resist that we have all the elements of a developing Fascism, urban and agrarian, which may well-nigh break the Labour movement here before it secures power.

The last trump card of Irish capitalism is the organisation of White Guards from the demobilized officers and men who will find it impossible to return to normal working life. They have plenty of arms. They are runners-up with the Black-and-Tans or Horthy's Hungarian Butchers for the Gold Medal of Terrorism. It is easy to direct

their power and ferocity against the Irish Labour movement.

The Irish Labour movement has not thrown up a Left-Wing movement. There are a few leftists, but we have no organised left wing movement—'n'existe pas.' Were such a movement developed, our Irish Unions and Party would not be in such a deplorable state as they are in to-day. Had we even a small "left wing," Larkin would not confront such a superhuman battle as awaited him—and into which he has already plunged to rescue the Irish Labour movement. Had we a Left Wing movement, or had Larkin sufficient time to develop one, we could confidently await the onslaught of Fascist or White Guards Bands. Before the gigantic last battle between the armed terrorists of Irish capitalism and the organised might of Labour we shall have a "hell for leather" race.

Can Larkin re-organise the Irish unions, solidify their fighting machinery, perfect their solidarity, revive their sinking enthusiasm—can this be done before the storm breaks upon us? Here is the race—Larkin on the one hand making giant strides towards the goal of an united and disciplined Labour movement, co-ordinating its political and industrial battalions; and on the other, the dark and sinister forces of reaction organizing and recruiting Black Battalions of Terror to crush and destroy any Labour movement at all. I write "Larkin" advisedly. For the tragedy of the Labour movement and of Larkin is here. Larkin towers so high above his fellows in the Labour movement that the latter has not been able to throw up sufficient or capable enough lieutenants to help him in his herculean tasks. And our own Party has likewise failed as lamentably.

Thus, there being no leftist movement, we support the true Leftist, the leading militant, and we shall impose upon ourselves the task of helping to create alongside of Larkin, as his staunchest support, a real Left Labour movement out of the coming industrial hurricane. As the one most capable of fitting the forces of Irish Labour to defeat and destroy Irish Fascism, the Communist Party unquestionably supports Larkin in his fight.

[The above article will appear in this week's issue of the "Workers' Republic."—Ed.]

\* \* \*

To Our Readers.

We welcome contributions. Writers must give their proper name and address, in addition to pen name. Next issue and all other issues will contain articles from the pens of many of our old contributors. Watch out for our special features. We will carry the news of the struggle of the working-class for power and emancipation from all parts of the world. Suggestions welcomed and your assistance in distributing the paper we ask for. This is your paper—the paper of the working-class. We have taken no money to finance this paper from Malcolm Lyon, or any other agent-provocateur, in or out of the labour movement. We have taken no funds from any organisation, illegally, to publish this paper. No member of the staff gets paid on this paper. This is a labour of love and service. None of our staff have married into the job, nor have they submitted their minds and their activities to the control of the Editor. This is not Old Bill's Union. This is a paper, produced by comrades, who have given service to the working-class throughout the greater portions of the known earth and the best years of our life to the education and the upliftment of the Irish working-class. We intend to speak the truth and shame the devil. And so we enter into the task.

We can assure our readers that we accept no advertisements except from persons or firms who we know are acting and serving in all honesty the public, and you need not fear or have any hesitation. We go further—you must support our advertisers, if you desire the paper to continue.

Yours fraternally,  
JIM LARKIN.

A Few Memories.

By CONSTANCE DE-MARKIEVICZ.

I do not at this moment remember the date, but it was while I was living at Belcamp Park, about eight miles outside Dublin, that one morning the papers contained a piece of news that filled me with hope, admiration, sympathy and delight. A man had arisen in Ireland with an illuminating new idea. The man was Jim Larkin, and the idea was that Irish Labour must not be controlled from England.

Hitherto there had been a great deal of muddled thinking around International Socialism in its relation to Irish Independence, fostered no doubt by the common enemy. Here was a man who had the brain and the courage to demonstrate by his actions that International Socialism does not stand for the merging of our identity with that of England, does not demand the subjection of races, but stands for free nations or national units who, on a basis of absolute equality, associate together for the purpose of obtaining and holding for the people nationally, and for the nations internationally a noble civilisation that should be based on National Governments by the people and for the people, and the International union of these Governments on the basis of humanity, to preserve peace, and to further ensure the just distribution of the fruits of man's labour, and to put an end to the control of world politics by International financiers who foment war between nations for their own profits, and who in their pursuit of wealth trick nations into policies which subject the majority of the human race, to lives of misery and slavery culminating too often in the horrors of famine and war.

Up to Jim Larkin's advent in Ireland the Unions were mainly organised and controlled from England. This was defended on "International" lines. In consequence, Irish interests were neglected and Irish Nationality obscured. "Common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain" was being slowly accomplished through the Trade Unions. The minds of the workers were trained to turn to England submissively, and thus the realm of labour was ruled and took its orders from England just as the political machine, so called the Irish Government in Dublin Castle, did from the British Cabinet. Jim Larkin knew this instinctively because of the rebel blood in his veins.

He hailed from Liverpool. He had come over to Cork as organiser for an English Union, but his family were exiles from somewhere in the neighbourhood of Newry, and his stock had contributed a martyr in '98. Fighting for the rights of his class in his own country, he soon got up against the English Executive of the Union. He saw the right thing to do, and did it regardless of consequences. He broke away with his branch from the English T.W.U., and affiliated it to the I.T.W.U. in Dublin. An Englishman belonging to the English Union was able to bring him to court on a technical charge of misappropriating funds, because he had paid over funds in hand to the headquarters in Dublin instead of to the English headquarters. Of course, every Irishman in the Cork Union had voted for this, but "law and order" had to have its victim, and Larkin went to jail; he was the hero of the hour, and even the Judge commented on the injustice of the sentence.

The tremendous political consequence this fight must bring in the future were obvious, so obvious that one wondered that such a thing had never happened before. But it is easy to think of a thing when some-

one has done it, and here it was done, and a new army was brought into line for Ireland's National fight with a new leader at its head.

When I saw his release announced in the papers, and that he was advertised to hold a meeting on the next Sunday, I made up my mind to bicycle in and join in the welcome that was due to him. It was a scorching day when I arrived, and Beresford Place was already packed, but, luckily, a friend of mine, Mr. McGowan, saw me hot and weary in the dense crowd, and brought me up on to Larkin's platform, a lorry, where I could rest in peace.

Sitting there, listening to Larkin, I realised that I was in the presence of something that I had never come across before, some great primeval force rather than a man. A tornado a storm-driven wave, the rush into life of spring, and the blasting breath of autumn, all seemed to emanate from the power that spoke. It seemed as if his personality caught up, assimilated, and threw back to the vast crowd that surrounded him every emotion that swayed them, every pain and joy that they had ever felt made articulate and sanctified. Only the great elemental force that is in all crowds had passed into his nature for ever.

Taller than most men, every line of him was in harmony with his personality. Not so much working man as primeval man. *Man without the trickeries and finickiness of modern civilisation*, a Titan who might have been moulded by Michael Angelo or Rodin, such is Jim Larkin, and this force of his has magically changed the whole life of the workers in Dublin and the whole outlook of Trade Unionism in Ireland. He forced his own self-reliance and self-respect on them; forced them to be sober and made them class conscious and conscious of their nationality, and, little as he guessed it at the time, the fighting leader of the I.T.W.U. was one of the great forerunners of Easter Week, 1916.

From that day I looked upon Larkin as a friend, and was out to do any little thing that I could do to help him in his work, but it was only much later that I got a chance to do so. He was very friendly to the Fianna. He had rooms for the Union's headquarters in a house near the arch in Beresford Place at that time, and many a time he lent his big room to the Fianna, who had a small room in the same house. It was in that little room that Colbert had proposed me as president. When I took the little hall, 5, Lower Camden Street, to start the organisation I had asked Mr. Bulmer Hobson to come along and help. He had the reputation of having run some boys' football clubs on Gaelic lines in Belfast, and of understanding boys. He was also an "I.R.B." man, and very well thought of by Tom Clarke and all the men and women belonging to the separatist movement in Ireland. He always talked about the "principles of Tope and Emmet," and even went so far as to publish a pamphlet entitled "Defensive Warfare." So I thought that I could not do better than ask him to be president of the boys' organisation. When we called the public meeting, to which were invited all "boys wishing to work for the independence of Ireland," we put him in the chair, and proposed him for president, while I took the post of co-secretary with one of the boys. By the time we held our first annual convention the more clear-sighted among the lads had begun to doubt his disinterestedness and courage, and had realised that he was not out for hard work or for trouble, and so they put me into the place that he had occupied, and which I have held ever since.

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EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH.  
OOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOOO

But those rooms did not remain the headquarters of the I.T.W.U. for long. Larkin had great ideas and very soon we heard that his Union were buying the huge building which he christened "Liberty Hall." A branch of the Fianna had a room there, and some of the finest of our young soldiers of the Republic passed through that branch.

\* \* \*  
"Man's Inhumanity to Man Makes Countless Thousands Mourn."

The following is one of many letters which flow in upon us. This man, Barney Conway, was one of the founders of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. He passed through the fires, suffered hunger, privation and imprisonment for this movement. He has lain ten months in prison, and the pure-minded, high-souled gentlemen who usurped office in the Union, and have grossly abused the confidence of the members, and violated their trust and who live in comfort, if not luxury, on the sacrifices of these pioneers, have never spoken one word on behalf of this man and hundreds of others who lie in prison, knowing not what charge has been laid against them or why they are incarcerated, and not one word of comfort has ever been extended to their wives and children. Not even a loaf of bread offered to soothe the hunger pain of these men's wives and children.

Such is the new unionism of Foran, O'Brien, Kennedy and McCarthy and their coterie of place-hunters and job-seekers. Let Barney Conway's fellow-workers along the quays ask themselves is this the unionism, the solidarity and comradeship that they were taught? We await their answer. In the meantime, Conway's wife and child will not be forgotten by his old-time comrades.—THE EDITOR.

52 TOWNSEND STREET.  
TO MR. J. LARKIN.

Sir—Barry Conway is in prison this ten months, and his wife is in a bad way as her dependents is stopped and she is deserted by Barney's old friends, and Barney never deserted a friend in need. He wrote her, telling her to see your sister, Mrs. Colgan. She called twice, but she was out, and her two brothers were also in jail for eight months. She has no one to depend upon, only her father, and I earnestly appeal that if you can do anything for her I would be very thankful. If you have any answer you can give it to Mr. P. Colgan; he knows where she lives.—Her father,  
—MR. JAMES MURPHY,  
133 Townsend Street, City.

GO THOU AND DO LIKEWISE!  
The Wall Street journal, analysing Henry Ford's business, puts his net profit on each car at \$55. On his

present output, 6,000 cars per day, that would be ninety-nine millions profit in a year of 300 working days. Add nineteen millions annual profits on parts, plus fifteen millions profit from other sources, and you see that Mr. Ford is unusually well fixed.

TIM-ELY JOKE.  
Stephen Gwynn, writing in the London Observer, declares that Timothy Healy is very popular, because he received a vote of congratulation from the Committee of the Dublin Zoo. Mr. Gwynn says it is significant. You tell 'em, Steve, we haven't got the cage!

ADDED STRENGTH.  
We understand that hundreds of C.P.'s have been created. We feel that this news will be a source of comfort to Moscow.

RESOLUTION.  
"(1.) We, the Citizens of Dublin assembled in public meeting in the Mansion House on Wednesday, June 13th, 1923, demand in the name of Peace, Justice and Common Sense, that, there being no longer a state of war, the 15,000 prisoners, men and women, be immediately released. And we direct the secretary of this meeting to send a copy of this resolution to the Presidents of the Senate, of the Parliament, and to General Mulcahy.  
"(2.) Seeing that it is a vital necessity that the will of the people shall be ascertained and expressed, and that this cannot be done when thousands of persons are deprived of citizen rights, we demand that the arrangements should be made to keep the Register open so that all persons who have been deprived by the state of war from registering their names should have an opportunity of claiming their votes."

\* \* \*  
"REAL PROGRESS."

Last year several workers employed in the South African gold mines were arrested and hung for daring to revolt against an attempt to lower their standard of living to that of the black workers.

The Rand Mines Co. recently held its annual meeting. The Chairman announced that real progress had now been made since the removal of endless interferences by trade unions. It costs them 5/8 less per ton to mine gold.

As the poet said, "If blood be the price of your cursed wealth: good God, we have paid it in full!"

Since the above was written a cablegram has been received by a well-known British financial weekly declaring that such laws as those dealing with Miners' Phthisis have been withdrawn. Such is the "real progress" that is being made.

\* \* \*  
DEFINITION OF WORKER.

The worker is one, man or woman, who gives service, productive or educational, that supplies the needs of the physical body, strengthens and develops the mind and helps in full measure to enrich the country he or she lives in. In a word, a useful person.

\* \* \*  
In the South African Union, which includes the Orange Free State, there are 100,000 unemployed. The number of whites employed in the mines is decreasing, while the number of natives is increasing. They do say that General Smuts is the greatest statesman in the world. Where does Stanley Baldwin come in? In England there are 1,207,300 unemployed.

## Jim Larkin's Home-Coming

### AN IMPRESSION

I met Jim Larkin, a big, bronzed figure, hoarse but happy, in the sitting-room of his sister Delia's house in Dublin. With him were Peter Larkin, a shorter, stockier edition of himself; Jack Carney, one-time editor of *The Voice of Labour* in America, and several of Jim's old Dublin friends.

Jim's home-coming was a family reunion as well as a national event, for Peter has been imprisoned in Australia. Delia's eyes lit up as she welcomed her big brother back from the American prisons. A poster at the newspapers' near-by read: "Larkin's Triumphant Tour"—for Jim had just returned from a fortnight's campaigning round the country.

Everywhere he got a tremendous ovation. He demanded Peace, but even in doing so he struck a militant note. Almost alone among the prominent Irish leaders, Larkin can urge Peace without seeming to counsel surrender. He has had no responsibility for recent happenings, and he proclaims his Republican principles broadcast.

At Droichead Nua, it is said, the soldiers of the Free State Army were confined to barracks the night Jim spoke, and canvas was fixed up around the barbed-wire compound of the prisoners lest they should see the procession and the crowd. But nothing could prevent them hearing the cheers! Jim Larkin was moving among his own people.

Speaking in Clonmel, and dwelling on the tragic incidents of the last few years, Larkin recalled memories of the past.

"I remember when I was here in the old days," he said, "and a young blacksmith, one of the finest lads in the country, helped to carry me round the town. I can feel his grip on my thigh yet. I wonder where he is now. . . . Dead—or on the hillside, perhaps!"

"Here I am, Jim!" came a deep voice which rivalled Larkin's own, and the blacksmith, in uniform, shouldered his way through the crowd and shook hands with his old leader.

It was the same story everywhere. There were soldiers in the Free State Army, men and officers, in one case a Mayor, who avowed themselves "Larkin's lads." Larkin has visited prison camps for the purpose of seeing his friends, but a special written order from the Minister of Defence was said to be required before this was possible.

All through Ireland he has appealed to his countrymen to give up the gun. "The best of our rate are on the hills and in the gaols," he wired to the London-Irish, and this has been his text in Ireland.

He has urged the Irish Labour Party to table a motion in the Dail for a general amnesty of prisoners.

"What's the good?" they say. "We can't get them out."

"No matter," replied Jim. "Make the Government face the issue and defend their actions. Pillory them and place it on record!"

He spoke scathingly of those Labour men who have done nothing on this question.

"Self! Self! Self!" he cried. "They think of nothing else. Men must give up self before they can do anything."

In giving up, petty ideas of self,

Larkin has found a greater self identified with all the striving, the idealism and the hopes of Labour: His scorn of time-servers, of men who mouth words instead of facing realities, is fine and terrible.

"We have a lot to do in Ireland," he remarked, reflectively; "but"—he paused and his eyes flashed—"we did it before, and we'll do it again!" The courage and resolution of the man leapt to the conflict.

In re-issuing *The Irish Worker*, the paper he edited before he left Ireland, he begins characteristically with the demand: "Open the Gaol Gates!" He disdains to deal with innocuous nothings, and goes straight for the most vital issue of the present time.

One of the most delightful things was Jim's solicitude for the English people.

"England is in a mess!" he said. "Poor, unfortunate people. There are hard times coming to them."

Yet—they won the war! It was evident that the trouble in Ireland seemed to him as appalling as the sordid misery of the English industrial towns. What a shock this point of view would be to the average smug English complacency!

As I talked with Jim, a Dublin carter came to the door and said that he wanted to see Jim Larkin.

Jim walked across to the big open window overlooking the street and hailed him.

"Hallo, Pat!" he cried. "Is it yourself, Jim?" shouted the carter.

"How are you going on?" asked Jim.

"Not too bad. I have my own cart now."

"Aha! Cockroach capitalist!" laughed Jim.

"But if you want me I'm ready," was the reply.

And in the towns and hamlets of Ireland Jim hears this said wherever he goes.

His influence may be measured by the comment of the Irish Correspondent of *The Nation and Athenaeum* on the eve of his arrival:

"The power of this remarkable man is best measured by the fact that his memory and his prestige are as fresh to-day as on the day when he disappeared (finally, as many hoped) into the by-ways of America and her prisons. Considering that hardly a day since then has been without its stirring incident and that men then unknown have risen to and fallen from the highest pinnacles of fame, this ever-green reputation is an almost miraculous thing and gives point to 'Æ's' description of Larkin as a 'life force' rather than a man."

"What exactly he will do, no one seems to know, and certainly it would be foolish to attempt prophecy; but unless he is much changed he will have started to do something before these words appear in print. That something will be of a drastic nature, and it is most unlikely to be agreeable either to the Government or to the leaders of the present Labour Party. It would seem that in order to meet him the Free State must have a measure of peace."

This remarkable tribute is fully borne out by the facts. Irish leaders, in the past few years, have been like falling stars in their swift, short meteoric flight.

"He was greatly loved by the people. They hunted him in the hills all day and shot him in a barn at night"—might be, with a few variations, the epitaph of many. But Larkin's star has continued to shine with undimmed glory, and his Peace advocacy has brought fresh lustre.

## Nora Connolly,

### Daughter of James Connolly, Must Be Released.

General Mulhally, Minister of Defence, and the Military Governor of North Dublin Union, a military internment camp, will be required on Tuesday next to show cause as to why they should any longer retain Nora Connolly, daughter of James Connolly, in their custody.

Alex. Lynn, B.L., instructed by Seán O hUadhaigh, appeared before the Master of Rolls, on Monday last, and made an *ex parte* application for a writ of Habeas Corpus ad subjiciendum for NORA NI CHONGHAILE, BÉAN S. UÍ BHRIAIN. In making his application, Mr. Lynn submitted the following affidavit:—

High Court of Justice, Saorstát Éireann.

King's Bench Division, Crown Side.

I, Moira Connolly, of 86 Belgrave Square, Rathmines, in the County of Dublin, spinster, aged 21 years and upwards, make oath and say as follows:—

1. My sister, NORA NI CHONGHAILE, BÉAN SHÉAMUIS UÍ BHRIAIN, of Ely Place, in the County of Dublin, was taken into military custody at her husband's residence at the above address, on the day of December, 1922, and is at present detained in the North Dublin Union, which is used as a military internment camp by the Free State Army.

2. I am informed by my said sister, and believe, that no charge has been preferred against her.

3. I refrained from applying for a Writ of Habeas Corpus ad subjiciendum at an earlier date, being advised that owing to the existence of a state of war within the area of jurisdiction of this Court, such application would have been held unsustainable. I beg to refer to a copy of the *Irish Times* newspaper of the 29th day of May, 1923, containing a proclamation by Mr. Eamonn De Valera, President, and Mr. Frank Aiken, Chief of Staff of the I.R.A., from which it appears that the said I.R.A., against whom the said Free State Army have been waging war, have been ordered to cease all acts of warfare.

4. The said North Dublin Union military internment camp is under the command of a Military Governor, or Commandant, and I respectfully beg this Honourable Court to issue Writs of Habeas Corpus ad subjiciendum directed to the Aire Chosanta and to the Military Governor, or Commandant, of the said internment camp, respectively, commanding them to have the body of my sister, the said NORA NI CHONGHAILE, BÉAN SHÉAMUIS UÍ BHRIAIN, before this Honourable Court with the reasons for her detention, on a date to be named in the said Writs.

Sworn this 2nd day of June, 1923, at 18 Eustace Street, in the County of the City of Dublin, before me, a Commissioner for Oaths, and I know . . . . ., who certifies his knowledge of the deponent.

Filed by Seán O hUadhaigh, of 22 Eustace Street, Dublin, Solicitor for the Deponent.

State Army are waging war against the I.R.A.?

Mr. Lynn—Yes, my lord. Master of Rolls—You would not say that the I.R.A. were waging war against the Free State?

Mr. Lynn—No, my lord, because the said I.R.A. have been ordered to cease.

Master of Rolls—Do I understand that your case is this, that when the arrest was made this Court would have no jurisdiction because at that time there was a state of war in existence, but that since then the state of war has come to an end, and therefore the ordinary law ought to prevail? Is that your case?

Mr. Lynn—That is part of my case, my lord; sufficient for this purpose.

Master of Rolls—What I will allow you to do is to serve notice of this motion upon the Military Governor and Minister of Defence.

The notice was directed for Tuesday, June 12th.

The case of Nora Connolly came up for further consideration on June 12th. The counsel for the Free State informed the court that they were not in a position to go on with the case, and asked for a further adjournment.

After a little discussion, the court gave the Government until Friday, June 15th, to file an affidavit. The case will come up for further consideration to-day.

### THE RESULT.

The Master of the Rolls, having heard the statement of the Attorney-General and the affidavit of the Adjutant-General, which was read, refused the application, saying that he had no jurisdiction, as a state of war still existed in the country.

This is a direct evasion of responsibility, and goes to prove our contention, that the only way out of the dilemma and the blood sacrifice of the men holding out on a false sense of honour is a peace by understanding. It is paradoxical, but true, that the Republican Party, civil and military, is saving this Government and keeping it in power. Reason has fled the country!

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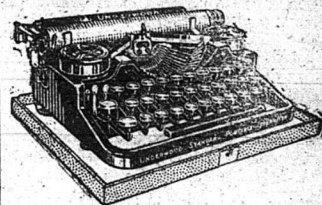
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Master of Rolls—You say the Free





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(AN T-OIBRÍOĒ SAOOLAC).

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Dublin, June 23rd, 1923.

ONE PENNY.

## TRUTH WILL OUT

On Monday last, the action instituted in the Chancery Division by William O'Brien, Alderman, "Tamed Dingo," Thomas Foran, and Thomas Kennedy came up for hearing before Justice Powell. The entrance to Castle Yard was lined on either side, and along Dame Street, with members of the Union who had grown lonesome for a sight of the members of the Executive Committee and the officers of the Union. They were grievously disappointed; only Mr. O'Brien appeared on the scene.

Sergeant Hanna, assisted by Mr. S. L. Browne, K.C., Mr. Timothy Sullivan, K.C., and Mr. Martin Maguire (instructed by Messrs. James O'Connor and Co.), appeared for O'Brien and Co. We were represented by Mr. H. D. Connor, K.C., Mr. Albert Wood, K.C., and Mr. James Geoghegan (instructed by Messrs. Wm. Smyth and Son).

Serjeant Hanna led for the alleged officials of the Union. He asked for an injunction against us and the handing over Liberty Hall and 35, Parnell Square, to O'Brien and Co. He continued along the lines laid down in their affidavit, which we published in full in our last issue. So we will not burden our readers with a full report of what Serjeant Hanna stated in his opening argument. Serjeant Hanna went on to deal with the affidavit filed by ourselves. At the outset he protested against the delay in filing the affidavit.

Judge Powell—If your affidavit which you filed grounding Motion brings several charges against Mr. Larkin, which so far as I can see would not be relevant or necessary on a motion for an injunction, of course you cannot prevent Mr. Larkin from replying to them.

Mr. Hanna—I quite agree, still the business of the Union must be carried on, and we are entitled to get from your lordship, being the persons in possession, an order in our favour that we are entitled to possession.

Judge Powell—If there is a real dispute between the defendant and the plaintiffs, I have no reason to believe that the defendant has any desire to upset this trade union, and the plaintiffs have no desire to bring unnecessary trouble for themselves, it may not be out of place for me to suggest that



MEET MR. WOODS, DOCKERS' K.C.



SKETCHED IN COURT.

some arrangement should be come to to enable the work to be carried on as heretofore by the officers, this trial could be speeded and all these questions could be settled.

Mr. Hanna—The defendant is a man not unacquainted with legal proceedings, and if he thought there was anything illegal, I am sure, with the help of his capable solicitors, the matter could have been properly tested. No courts favour a person who takes the law into his own hand.

Judge Powell—If everyone did everything they ought to do, I would not be here.

Mr. Hanna—Neither would I, my lord.

Judge Powell—In the interests of the city and of peace, I cannot see why some arrangement cannot be arrived at which would enable this business to go on until these legal questions are arrived at. I throw that suggestion out.

Mr. Hanna reads James Larkin's affidavit, makes a remark about "armed guards."

Mr. Wood, K.C.—That is the case you wish to make.

Mr. Hanna—Restrain yourself, Mr. Wood, please.

Judge Powell—Do you wish me to

make an order restraining Mr. Wood, too?

Mr. Wood—He may be asking for an order before I am done.

Mr. Hanna stated two points of law had been raised—(1) That the election of the officers was not legal, that the legal requirements of the rules of the Union had not been complied with; (2) That the rules of 1923 have not been properly registered. Now, these are the two questions of law which have been raised, and instead of having them decided he takes the law into his own hands. We submit we are entitled to get the order we ask for—it does not prejudice the defendant. We are trustees, whether legally appointed or not; we are the people who have been in possession, and are bound to account for the income; and the defendant now asks that he, who has been absent from this country for a considerable time, should be allowed to handle this money, £130,000. We ask that this mandatory injunction should be granted to us giving up possession pending the trial of this action. We submit that we are the people entitled to it.

Connor, K.C.—I appear with Mr. Wood and Mr. Geoghegan for the defendant, James Larkin. My lord, the plaintiffs in the present action take

their ground solely upon the rules which they allege were registered under the rules of the Union to come into force in the present year. The action in one sense was to allow the plaintiffs to come in, and in another sense to put Mr. Larkin out. Under the ordinary rules of the society the general secretary and the plaintiffs were the persons to conduct the business of the Union.

Judge Powell—I do not quite follow you.

Connor, K.C.—What they really want is to prevent Mr. Larkin acting as general secretary.

Judge Powell—He challenges the validity of the resolution suspending him.

Connor, K.C.—Yes, my lord.

Judge Powell—The actual founder of the Union (O'Brien's counsel inquired of O'Brien if this was so. He was compelled to nod his head in approval), and is the last person in the world who wants to do anything to prejudice the rights of the working class who depend for their benefits and support upon the support of this Union.

These two sets of rules purport to give them powers which the legal rules of the Union did not give them.

Judge Powell—How can Mr. Larkin maintain the position that he can decide this very difficult question of law and give judgment to himself and execute judgment.

Mr. Connor—Mr. Larkin would never desire to do that. Your lordship is the proper person to do this. Mr. Larkin says that four of the plaintiffs were suspended. He excluded these four, but he never excluded any of the others from carrying on the business of the Union in Parnell Square and Liberty Hall. He excluded the four members who had been suspended by their branch. Mr. Larkin did not turn out the staff; it was O'Brien who called them out. Mr. Larkin was perfectly willing that the staff should continue their duties, and as regards all the persons who had not been suspended he had offered to let them in. He was general secretary in charge of the office there; they could all go back and carry on the work of the Union until these points of law were decided.

(Continued from page 1.)

Mr. Wood, K.C.—Serjeant Hanna has stated that Mr. Larkin had no right to take the law into his own hands; he should have gone to a court of justice with his complaints. Mr. Larkin did not take the law into his own hands; he acted in accordance with the rules of the Union. He brought charges against Foran, O'Brien, McCarthy and Kennedy at their branch meeting after giving them notice. They were all suspended on Sunday, the 10th of June. They say he spoke in an unrestrained manner. He did not do anything of the kind. He read a written statement. The members of the No. 3 Branch suspended Kennedy. The members of the No. 1 Branch unanimously passed the following resolution:—

Resolved—"That whereas serious charges have been preferred against Thomas Foran, William O'Brien, John O'Neill, Michael McCarthy, that in view of the serious character of such charges and in the interest of and for the better administration of the affairs of the Union, they be suspended from membership of No. 1 Branch until a committee of investigation presents their report and action taken thereon, and that such committee of investigation be and are hereby appointed, with instructions to go into all matters affecting the Union, and the charges laid against said Thomas Foran, William O'Brien, John O'Neill, Michael McCarthy. That the said investigation committee to have power to call for all documents, summon witnesses, such witnesses to appear if members of the Union on penalty of one pound fine for refusal. The committee to sit at such times convenient for witnesses to attend, and to present a report not later than July 1st, 1923; and that a specially summoned meeting of No. 1 Branch be called to hear and act upon the report."

He took his right course within the Union. The plaintiffs had no right to go outside their own branch, their own organisation, to a court of justice. It was a domestic matter to be settled by the members, and not by outsiders. They went to court to try and create an atmosphere of prejudice against Mr. Larkin. They had been suspended in their own branches on Sunday afternoon, and I can imagine when they rushed to their lawyers possibly that evening their lawyers saying: "This is serious. You have no case unless you suspend Larkin; do this, bring him to court, and then you will get an atmosphere and propaganda against him." These four suspended persons then on Monday pretend to suspend Mr. Larkin and issue writs. This move they think will create an atmosphere of prejudice against him. This is clear from the almost daily bulletins they supply to the Press. What is the object of all this? To try and ride off on prejudice, not on right; to secure if possible from your lordship an order to exclude Mr. Larkin from access to the books, accounts and documents, knowing they are not entitled to it. Under the rules Mr. Larkin is a trustee equally with the plaintiffs; they admit he is General Secretary. These suspended persons cannot suspend Mr. Larkin or exclude him. They are the persons assailed by him. Your lordship will not give them possession to the exclusion of Mr. Larkin. You will not hand over to them exclusive possession of all the proofs against themselves; that would be a denial of justice; it would render Mr. Larkin powerless to prove their wrong doings.

# SIAMSA MÓR!

THE EVENT OF THE SEASON.

## JIM LARKIN

WILL ADDRESS

### Monster Rally,

### St. Enda's, Rathfarnham

Mr. Justice Powell—They do not seek to exclude Mr. Larkin.

Mr. Wood—Oh, they do, my lord. Serjeant Hanna asked that "the plaintiffs, who were the de facto trustees and officers carrying on the Union before Mr. Larkin's return" should be given the premises and everything.

Mr. Justice Powell—I will not exclude Mr. Larkin.

Mr. Wood—Your lordship must see that the object of the plaintiffs is to keep Mr. Larkin away from the books and accounts, and I ask your lordship not to permit them to take advantage of a so-called suspension and these proceedings, but to give him equal rights with the plaintiffs, so that the charges may be fully investigated. Mr. Larkin's object is to conserve, stabilise, and consolidate the Union, and to serve the best interests of the members.

Mr. Brown—We shall try and get out of the tempestuous atmosphere created by Mr. Wood. We are entitled to an interim injunction and to be put into possession of the property of this Union pending the trial of the action. When this matter came before your lordship on the 12th June you would not give us a mandatory order until you heard the other side. Now that your lordship has heard the other side we would ask for an order putting us into possession pending the trial of this action. There will be very little delay; the statement of claim can be delivered within the next few days, and there can be no delay about the defence, as it is already given in Mr. Larkin's affidavit.

Judge Powell—A great many topics have been introduced into this action with which I have nothing whatever to do at the present occasion. It is quite plain that there is a very serious dispute between the plaintiffs in this action and Mr. Larkin, the defendant; and I do not intend to say one solitary word in deciding this matter that could in any way indicate any view as to whether the plaintiffs or the defendant are right or wrong in the matter of that dispute. It is an unfortunate dispute, no doubt, and I have no reason to think that either the plaintiffs or the defendant are desirous of prolonging or protracting that dispute; and, therefore, I am glad to hear that they are sending two Chancery suits to settle the disputes between them—one in my own court, and, I understand, another action instituted in the Court of the Master of the Rolls, and as I am not of a greedy or avaricious nature I would be glad to transfer this case into the Master of the Rolls, but that has nothing whatever to do with the question I have to determine. This is the trouble litigants often bring upon themselves making irrelevant affidavits, because in my humble opinion it was only necessary for the plaintiffs for the purpose of this motion to allege that they were in possession and acting as trustees and the Executive Council of this Trade Union, and to further allege that without any proceedings—

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legal proceedings—Mr. Larkin had excluded them from the possession of the premises in which they carried on their business, which entitled the plaintiffs as a matter of right to an interim injunction of some kind or other. Well, I am not blaming anybody; people who make affidavits think it necessary to introduce irrelevant paragraphs. Well, the only question I have to determine in this action is whether or not, pending the trial of the very serious issues which have been raised, the plaintiffs are entitled to go on managing the business of this Trade Union in the premises in which it had been carried on, or whether it was open to Mr. Larkin to decide all the legal issues in his favour, and to execute judgment in his own favour without appealing to any court of law. All the court has to do is to preserve the status quo of the parties until the questions in the action have been determined. That was not the status quo created by Mr. Larkin. The plaintiffs were in possession and were acting presumably under the rules; they were in possession and were dealing with the funds for the benefit of the Trade Union, and, as a matter of legal right, they are entitled to have their status restored until the questions of law have been determined. I do not agree with Mr. Wood that in making that order I shall be dispossessing Mr. Larkin to have any rights he may have. I will grant a mandatory order to the plaintiffs in respect of both premises, 35, Parnell Square, and Liberty Hall, Beresford Place, the order not to exclude Mr. Larkin, the defendant. I would suggest that the exact terms of the order should be drawn up by the junior counsel on each side, and if there is any difficulty about the matter come to me and I will settle it. This is without prejudice to either party.

Despite the clear and unmistakable language contained in the decision handed down by Justice Powell, O'Brien & Co. refused to "understand" it, and accordingly on Wednesday last the matter was again brought to the attention of the court, and again O'Brien & Co. were defeated, and by order of the court compelled to come back into the union offices and face us.

Mr. S. Brown—I think that part of the difference that has arisen between us is that a doubt seems to have entered the minds of my friends on the other side that your lordship did not give a Mandatory Injunction. There was no doubt in my mind at all that your lordship decided that we were not only entitled to the Order in the form "That the Defendant, his servants and agents be restrained pending the trial of the action from taking forcible possession of the premises to the exclusion of the Plaintiffs or otherwise; or by force or violence evicting the Plaintiffs and preventing the Plaintiffs from entering the said premises and carrying on the business of the Irish

Transport and General Workers' Union," but I suggest this is what your lordship means: "And this court doth further order that the Defendant, his servants and agents do forthwith restore possession of the said premises to the Plaintiffs." The former part of the Order would be no use to us without the mandatory part, and I distinctly understood your lordship to say that he was prepared to give the order in mandatory form, and Mr. Larkin as a trustee and as the general secretary of the party is entitled to enter the premises. All we ask is an order restoring us to possession, and if Mr. Larkin is interfered with in any of his rights he has his remedy.

Mr. Conner—I only want to follow out the terms your lordship stated. The chief point between us is this: the other side insisted, my lordship, on the following: "And do forthwith withdraw from occupation of the said premises." I would like to read what your lordship said (reads judgment). The case the plaintiffs have made is that they suspended Mr. Larkin, and they will try to exclude him.

Judge Powell—You are absolutely secure. I will not now decide the question of Mr. Larkin's status. Mr. Larkin's case is that he has been suspended by a body under suspension, and I am not going one way or the other to say anything about Mr. Larkin's rights. If Mr. Larkin goes there as general secretary and if he is interfered with and comes into this court I will not say what I will do, but I know what I will do.

Mr. Conner—My main objection has been removed by what they have done this morning, because they excluded the objectionable paragraph.

Mr. Brown—It was not our paragraph.

Mr. Conner—What was presented to me by your junior counsel as an ultimatum.

Mr. Brown—You are very warlike.

Mr. Conner—It was presented to me as an ultimatum; and now the ultimatum has been withdrawn.

Mr. Brown—And now I suppose there is an armistice.

Mr. Conner—I do not know.

Mr. Brown—Because I have got to go and fight another battle.

Mr. Justice Powell—I think, Mr. Brown, you may go (laughter).

Mr. Justice Powell—Whoever introduced these obnoxious words did it in a state of mental aberration.

Mr. Conner—I am glad to hear your lordship say that.

The order of the court was as follows:—"This Court doth order that the defendant, his servants and agents be, and they are hereby restrained, pending the trial of this action or until further order, from taking forcible possession of the premises respectively known as No. 35 Parnell Square and Liberty Hall, in the City of Dublin, to the exclusion of the plaintiffs or otherwise, and from, by force and violence, evicting the plaintiffs from said premises and preventing the plaintiffs from entering upon the said premises and carrying on the management and business of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union; and this Court doth further order that the defendant, his servants and agents, do forthwith restore possession of said premises to the plaintiffs."



"An injury to One is the concern of All."

—THE—

# Irish Worker,

EDITED BY JIM LARKIN.

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Dublin, June 23rd, 1923.

## WHY NOT THE PITCH CAP?

It is interesting that within the octave of the week, in which we commemorate the birth of Wolfe Tone, the Free State Government should introduce a Bill, entitled "Public Safety (Emergency Powers) Bill, 1923." The provisions set down in that Bill are of such a character that it is only necessary to state in brief words the powers given therein, that the Minister for Home Affairs, on the recommendation of a proper authority, an officer of certain rank in the Army or Civic Guard, can intern any person without trial, who, in the opinion of the said officer, and with the approval of the Minister of the Interior, they may take exception to or look upon with suspicion; and any person charged with robbery by violence or arson can be taken out and flogged. This in the Twentieth Century! Not a word of condemnation or even a criticism appears in any section of the public Press.

We are told that we are a Free State within a commonwealth of nations, comprised within the term "The British Empire." What then becomes of the rights of the individual, embodied in the Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights? The Minister for the Interior, in introducing the Bill, said the Bill was not in any way a supersession, that is to say that it did not supersede the existing powers of the military; it was auxiliary—in other words, subordinate to the powers left to the military authorities, and yet we have had no case within the area of the Twenty-Six Counties' Government where the military authorities have been charged with having flogged any prisoner, that is to say, to the knowledge of the people or officially admitted. Everybody deplors a condition of things which permits the crimes of robbery by violence and arson (setting fire to premises or other properties). But there is no country in the world which permits or countenances flogging as a punishment for either of these two crimes, not even under the Czars in Russia was this punishment applied for these two crimes. And in no country where a Parliamentary form of government exists is flogging of the human body permitted, except that during the years '20, '21, and '22, the non-elected Government of the Six Northern Counties did flog men who were politically opposed to them. Mr Deputy Johnson said, "This Bill out-Heroded all the Herods. It is out-Higginsing O'Higgins." Mr Deputy Hogan was quick to tell him "That one naturally expected futile

altruism from Mr. Johnson, but he had now out-Johnsoned Johnson." Mr Hogan might have gone further; he might have quoted Mr. Johnson himself: "It is the opinion of us on these benches (the Labour Party), and I am sure of the whole House, that the attempt to break up the social fabric once it is seized upon by the people will cause the country, at any cost or any sacrifice, to rally to the defence of the State." Mr Kevin O'Higgins says this as a reason for the introduction of the Emergency Powers Bill. At any sacrifice, even the sacrifice of our national honour, and every Christian and humane principle. When Charles Stewart Parnell, almost alone and unaided, in the British House of Commons, compelled the Government of that country to stop flogging in the British Army and Navy he was universally acclaimed. The heart of the universe expressed its approval of his action, and he won more friends for Ireland and the cause of Irish liberty by that action than any other of the many noble acts during his political career. Let us see what Mr Cathal O'Shannon, who made such loud-mouthed protest about the fearful persecution of the common people in Hungary, during the Horthy reign of terror. This "Bolshevist" had this to say in the debate, "Had not the Executive sufficient power as it stood to punish these particular crimes, if they were proven, if the Ministry were prepared to withdraw the Military Regulations, for which they got the sanction of a majority of the Dail some months ago, THERE MIGHT BE SOME CASE FOR ALLOWING THIS BILL TO BE INTRODUCED." Our readers should make a note of the last sentence—a Labour leader, representing a Labour constituency, said in public debate there might be some case for allowing this Flogging Bill to be introduced. Even the British Government in '98 could not do better than this, except they had the courage of their opinions. They went the whole hog, bristles and all. They interned men, on the recommendation of an officer, military and civil magistrates. They flogged men on the charge of robbery with violence and arson. But they had the courage to go a step further, and they pitch-capped. Why should these forty-three representatives in the Dail hesitate? They can do all these things with impunity. They will get a majority vote in a House of fifty-seven members out of a hundred and twenty-eight elected representatives. This is majority government, the will of the people government. Fifty-seven representatives, less than one-half, which, according to the Treaty, should sit in the legislative section of Government. Out of the fifty-seven, forty-three, or little more than a third, introduce a Bill, and, of course, will carry it into law, taking away every Constitutional right of the citizens, and all the opposition is the futile altruism of Deputy Johnson, according to Deputy Herod, and the half-apologetic approval of Deputy Cathal O'Shannon. And then these men talk of peace, normalcy, reconciliation; the will of the people, the safety and security of the State, and this is the way they go to bring it about. Instead of a generous gesture and an expression of willingness to let the dead past bury its dead and an agreement that the

matters in dispute should be argued out on Constitutional lines; that the prisons be opened and that all untried prisoners be released; that the right of public meeting, free of expression by word, freedom of the Press and a full measure of freedom to criticise be the right of every man and woman within the Free State acknowledged; that the will of the people be tested by the ordinary procedure of the ballot-box, such a method as outlined would bring peace and goodwill amongst our people; such an understanding would bring a response that would ensure peace and goodwill, but the internment without trial, on the recommendation of a military or civil officer of any objectionable person, and the introduction of flogging of the human body into this country, and within a people whose very life's blood carries recollections of the horrors endured by their fathers in the days when flogging and the pitchcap were used so mercilessly, and the effect of which kept alive the determination within the race that some day, somehow, they would get rid of such a government of oppression; that the whipping post, the flogging triangle and the pitchcap were the best educational methods that England could have devised to ensure the determination of our people to overthrow such a government and institution. It is not too late, even yet, for the Government to consider and withdraw this Bill. And it is not too late, may be, for these representatives of Labour to rid themselves of the responsibility which they assume by even sitting in a legislative assembly that would discuss a flogging bill in this the twentieth century, in a country supposed to be governed by law. If men commit crime, they can be tried by the courts. The King's Writ does run this country at the present time. The courts are open. The punishment for crime is set down within the code. Let us live within those laws until the people decide to change them. There is no need for such extraordinary power. Within a few months, may be within the next few weeks, we will have an election forced upon them. Let the Ministers go to the people and ask for these powers, and we have no fear as to what the answer will be. Yes, stop crime by due process of law. But, first, you want to consider the conditions that create crime, and the criminal is always the outcome of conditions. Withdraw the Flogging Bill and the Star Chamber methods, worthy of a Charles the First, or a Louis the Sixteenth. For the sake of those living in the prisons and in the interest of the future of this country, peace we want; an understanding we want; the gaol gates open, not to receive more prisoners, but that those interned therein may emerge and join with their fellow-citizens in helping to solve the many economic and political problems confronting us and to assist in the re-building of this nation. This is a far, far better way than by the application of the whip and the internment of men who may be objectionable to those who abuse power. And one last word—may we not ask those who speak officially for the Republican movement to reconsider their position? Advantage is taken of the present inchoate condition of affairs. Let us have a settled peace. Let us not stand upon the order and

the methods, but upon principles. Republican principles cannot be obliterated by forms of agreement, by conditions of peace, nor by secret internment, nor by flogging. Repression can never kill the principle. It is only by surrendering the principle that Republicanism in this country can die out. And the refusal to surrender a few stacks of arms is giving an excuse, though not a reason, to those opposed to Republicanism to continue military and civil repression. Consider the claim of these thirteen or fourteen thousand prisoners; consider the condition of their women and children, existing on the edge of starvation; consider the future of your Cause, that those who are down to-day may be up to-morrow, and those who are up will be down if you use and exercise some measure of political sagacity. Try to understand the mindology of those you are opposed to, and in this late hour express a measure of moral courage, equal to that you have expressed on other occasions.

\* \* \*

## A BEACHCOMBER.

We notice another one of Mr. William O'Brien's union sparrows, a Mr. Dick Beech, of Hull, England, has come over to Ireland to tell us how to organise the One Big Union. This gentleman's record is fairly well known to us. He has exploited the Labour movement in the two hemispheres, and like a good many more of William O'Brien's paid tools in the Union, he is here to feather his own nest. It will be interesting to know how long he has been connected with the Union movement? What is he doing in Ireland? Why this close friendship between the machine-builder, O'Brien, the creature who married into a job, Heron, and this beachcomber? Of course, all these so-called organisers, like all Bill's tools, can live at the expense of the members of this Union as long as they do Bill's dirty work. We are going to give a record of them in our next issue. How they built up the Union, at least, how they fed themselves at the expense of Union members, and this particular beachcomber, we will give a detailed record of his service to the Union movement. This is a sailor who swallowed the anchor. We take it that he thinks he can get the members of the Transport Union to permit him to exploit their good nature. We are told that he is going round among the innocent workingclass in this country selling chiniaware. Of course, for an English manufacturing concern. We wonder has he any connection with the old China and tea scheme of Dickson? Anybody who has got any information on this point send it on.

\* \* \*

## FROM OUR READERS.

Dr. W. H. McGreevey, M.D., New York City, writes:—"The authorities feared you here because you were an uncorruptible champion of human rights, whom they could neither bluff, bully, nor buy. We are proud of you and the things you stand for. . . . It must have been a great and glad reunion for you after all your tribulations and vicissitudes in the land of Mammon. May your shadow never grow less and human emancipation occur wherever you put your matchless footstep."

J.P.—As you say, "The mills of God grind slowly but surely."

**TONE'S—RESURGAM.**

(Reprinted from the "Irish Worker," June 21st, 1913, by special request.—Ed.)

On this day, June 20th, one hundred and fifty years ago, was born in this City of Dublin a man, Tone, one who for talent, courage, and loyalty has not been surpassed in the annals of our land. There may have been greater men on our country's roll, more lovable, more original, greater in their conceptions, men whose ideals were beyond Tone's imagination. But there never existed before his time nor since, nor can the future promise us any man of practical knowledge, real enthusiasm, or more devoted love for the cause of Irish freedom, not the freedom the pettifogging politicians prate about—no, we speak of real freedom such as men dream of and desire. Well and truly said Tone, speaking of the conduct of the prominent politicians of his time, "Sad, sad it is; merchants, I see, make bad revolutionists." That emphatic and apt statement is just as true to-day as when uttered by the foremost man of his time. Think of this man, Tone, crossing to France to a country of turmoil, a country torn by dissension, a country where men of genius, of capacity, world-makers, had arisen in an hour; this man Tone, without recommendations, influence, wealth, or position, but endowed with divine gospel of discontent, fortified by belief in his fellows, enthused by love of the nation, he was part of, forced his views and the needs of his country on a genius like Napoleon, compels the first statesman of his age, Talleyrand, to listen to his appeal; compels the first soldier of his age, Napoleon, to believe in his plans. Everywhere he went this man compelled attention. Even as a child he was exceptional; as a youth he proved he was unlike his school-mates. He had will and determination and a belief in himself. There are many crimes to be laid at the doors of Trinity College; but we forgive all Trinity's crimes, wipe out the stain that disgraces that institution, because of two reasons—first that Tone was taught there, and Emmet was taught there and expelled from its walls. When all the Fellows and Provosts of Trinity are dead, damned, and forgotten, every man and woman who loves Liberty will uncover their heads when they pass the College buildings, or the site whereon the buildings stood. Two great souls have arisen in Trinity. It is possible Trinity will produce the third. The man may be there now. What a Trinity—Tone, Emmet, and another. Sometimes one wonders do the Irish people deserve what has been poured out on them. It is said greater love hath no man than that he lay down his life for his friend. What then must have been the quality of the love that Tone had for Ireland and all that the word Ireland meant to him. Everything that man can value in this life he gave Kathleen in Houlihan. She expected much and she has never been disappointed. What genius, what talent, what capacity, what heroism has been lavished on her, and not undeserved! And for those who died that she might live there are thousands still to live who will gladly and willingly die, that she, our heart's desire, may flourish in the days to be. It was that love, that intense desire to serve Ireland, that was the reason for the man, Tone's, success in life, and his triumph in death. Let us hope that men and women who assemble at Bodenstown on Sunday, June 22nd, 1913, will try

and understand Tone's life and work. Let them not misunderstand what were the principles he stood for, what was the cause he gave his life for. Remember his historic words that having found it was useless to appeal to the landed and capitalistic section of the community he was forced to realise there was but one section, and one section only, who answered his call—one section who never faltered, who were ever true to loyal and ready to live, work, and, if needs be, die for Ireland. That section was, and is, the working class. Tone was a Republican, a nationalist, an internationalist, a man who sought liberty not for himself but for his fellows—liberty of thought, liberty of action, liberty to live. For that love of liberty to live he died. Dying, he truly lives. Liberty has reason to be proud of her son, Tone. Resurgam, 1913.

\* \* \*

**MORPETH ELECTION.**

Figures for the previous election in Morpeth were as follows:—

|  |        |
|--|--------|
| J. Cairns .....  | 15,026 |
| F. Thornborough .....  | 10,007 |
| C. S. Shortt (who trailed the "Bloody Shirt" in Ireland) ..... | 6,045  |

Mr. Shortt is another gentleman who thought that tyranny and high-handed action would carry him through. The end of Mr. Shortt might possibly serve as a warning to those who seek to emulate him. He has been cast down to that obscurity from whence he should never have emerged. His fate might be a suggestion to Mr. Kevin O'Higgins. And Shortt came far short, even in his worst spasms of hate, to even suggest flogging prisoners.

Now Cairns has died. Into the fight comes a man from County Antrim, who for thirty-six years has been giving service to the workers of the British Isles, and more particularly to his own section, the miners. He walked through all the bitter days of the early 'eighties, organising and building up the Miners' Union, along with the late James Keir Hardie. He fought in seven parliamentary elections, and was defeated on each occasion, and now he carries the banner to victory at Morpeth, Northumberland County, where he receives 20,053 Socialist and Labour votes, while the United Anti-Socialist (Liberal and Tory) vote was but 13,087. A fearless rebel goes to the House of Commons, not a Jimmy Thomas or William O'Brien type, just a man, responsive to the needs of his class, and we hope this is an augury of a type of men who will be elected as the spokesmen of the working class in all countries.

\* \* \*

**Affecting Biography.**

We are delighted to read in Malcolm Lyon's paper, "The Voice of Labour," which has been subsidised without the knowledge of the members of the Transport Union, and run to provide a job for Archibald Heron, and to boost Mr. O'Brien and his machine, that they publish a most affecting biography of the founders and builders, according to themselves, of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. Next week we will take occasion to deal with the records of these great organisers of victory. Men who are so careful of the welfare and the interest of the members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, leaders who are so confident

that they possess the confidence of the rank and file that they deny the rights of the members to express their will within the Union. Leaders?, who build up a machine and fraudulently put rules in force, rules specially devised to prevent the members from knowing what goes on within the Union; rules that permit the self-elected individuals to pay themselves £8 per week, while they refuse to pay a widow the mortality benefit to which she is entitled under the same rules. £8 per week for the leaders and motor-cars to ride in. Oh, yes, they trust the members. Yes, they were willing to go and submit the rules to the members for their approval or rejection. They were willing to submit all matters in dispute to an All-Ireland delegate meeting. Yes, after they had been discovered, putting forged rules over on the members, without the knowledge of the members, and without the authority of the members, and then when the matter was forced upon the attention of the members, they shelter themselves behind the King's Writ and go into the King's Court, of course, not at their own expense, using the money, of course, of the members of the Union to try and protect their monopoly and their £8 per week. Patience, good sirs, have no fear; the members of the Transport Union will get the truth, courts or no courts. You may continue for a little while longer to waste the money of the members, who earned this money by the sweat of their brow, on lawyers and all the machinery of the law to try and prevent the truth being told of you. You can waste the money of the Union on the paper founded by Malcolm Lyon, which you humourously call "The Voice of Labour," when you know, and the world will know, it is the voice of O'Brien, Johnson and Co., controlled by O'Brien, written for O'Brien, published for O'Brien, and incidentally, too, to provide a job for one of O'Brien's tools—who married into the job. It actually has a circulation of some 4,000 per week, and, even then, the 4,000 do not pay for it, and, of course, like a good many other items, the cost of printing and distributing this paper, and idiot-orial-staffs' dolos, does not appear in the balance sheet, of which fact Mr. William O'Brien, general treasurer, (Tamed) D(dingo), alderman, poor law pensioner, some time tailor, will be asked to explain. A united front, forsooth! Yes, William O'Brien and his machine are united; but wait and see. By the time this investigation is over that united front will be like a house built on sand, a cleansing wave will wash the foundations from underneath it. They will go the way of McIntyre, Dickson and others of that brood. Oblivion will cover them like a mantle.

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**Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.**

Below we publish a list of subscriptions received, up to the time of going to press, in response to our appeal made last Sunday from the window of Liberty Hall:—  
A. Adams, 2/6; Anon, 2/6; Anon, 1/-; J. Behan, 1/-; J. Barrett, 2/5; J. Barrett, 1/-; W. Brennan, 1/-; A. Baker, 2/-; C. Brennan, 2/6; P. Brady, 2/6; W. Bohan, 2/-; J. Brennan, 2/-; J. Brady, 1/-; J. Brady, 1/-; J. Byrne, 2/-; P. Brady, 2/-; L. Brady, 2/-; T. Buggie, 1/-.  
Cork Steam Packet Co. (boat collection)—M. Ryan, 5/-; P. Flaherty, 1/-; P. Murtagh, 1/-; L. Brady, 1/-; P. Byrne, 1/-; P. Byrne, 1/-; P. Bulger, 1/-; P. Brady, 1/-; W. Kelly, 1/-; J. Hickey, 1/-; J. Darcey, 1/-; P. McInernery, 1/-; M. Fleming, 1/-; W. Graham, 1/-; E. Byrne, 1/-; M. Coyle, 1/-; T. Kays, 1/-; M. Donnelly, 1/-; M.

O'Hara, 1/-; J. Brasil, 1/-; — Carroll, 1/-; P. Duff, 1/-; J. Heaney, 1/-; M. Sinnott, 1/-; J. Dempsey, 1/-; J. Fitzgibbons, 1/-; J. Byrne, 1/-; P. Kenny, 1/-; J. Lawless, 1/-; T. Norton, 1/-.  
Curran, 2/-; D. Cashel, 3/-; M. Connolly (collection), £2 13/-; — Connolly, 2/6; G. Clarke, 2/-; P. Cooney, 2/-; J. Curtis, 2/-; A. Cunningham, 5/-; E. Clancy, 2/-; J. Conroy, 2/-; J. Crabtree, 1/-; P. Cread, 1/-; J. Cahill, 2/-; Christie Carroll (collection), £1 13/-; P. Cooney, 2/6; May Cavanagh, 5/-; J. Courtney, 6/-; G. Caulfield, 1/-; J. Collins, 2/-; G. Cooke, 3/-; A. Convey, 3/-; G. Galip, 1/-; O. Gallagher, 2/-.  
J. Dunne, 2/6; J. Donnell, 1/-; P. Delaney, 1/-; H. Dale, 2/6; T. Doyle, 3/-; P. Dunne, 2/-; J. Dougherty, 2/6; J. Doyle, 1/-; P. Donohy, 2/-; M. Dignan, 2/-; J. Dalton, 1/-; J. Dwyer, 1/-; J. Dwyer, 10/-; P. Dunne, 3/-; W. Dunne, 1/-; Mrs. Duffy and family, 8/-; J. Dora, 4/-; J. Dowling, 1/-; T. Doyle, 1/-; T. Doyle, 2/6; M. Darcy, 2/-; J. Devine, 2/6; S. Dempsey, 1/-; Mr. and Mrs. Doyle, 2/6.  
Miss Fox, 1/-; W. Field, 2/-; N. Fay, 1/-; I. Farrelly, 4/6; M. Fennell, 1/-; P. Fox, 2/-; P. Farrell, 2/-; A. Friend, 2/6; J. Ford, 2/-; P. Farrell, 2/6; B. Farrelly, 2/6; P. Flood, 2/6.  
T. Greer, 2/-; D. Gleason, 2/6; O. Gallagher, 2/-; J. Gannon, 1/-; R. Graham, 2/-; W. Gaynor, 2/-.  
P. Hammond, 1/-; J. Hale, 1/-; W. D. Hogan, 10/-; S. Hayes, 2/-; J. Herbert, 2/-; M. Hynes, 1/-; J. Hopkins, 1/-; J. Holloway, 2/-; T. Hart, 2/-; M. Harrington, 1/-; L. Hayden, 1/-; G. Harper, 1/-; W. Jackson, 1/-; T. Jackson, 1/-.  
W. Kelly (collection), 18/-; M. Kearney, 3/-; J. Kennedy, 2/6; P. Kearns, 2/-; J. Kearney, 2/-; M. Kelly, 1/-; P. Keenan, 2/-; T. Kelly, 1/-; J. Kitson, 1/-; T. Kelly, 2/6; E. Kelly, 2/-; G. Keegan, 2/-; J. Kirk, 2/-; O. Kennedy, 2/-; M. Kelly, 2/-; M. Kelly, 2/6; J. Kelly, 1/-; T. Kearney, 1/-; T. Kelly, 2/6.  
A. Lewindon, 2/-; J. Lynch, 2/6; E. Long, 5/-; Councillor Lawlor, 10/-; T. Larkin, 2/6; J. Lyons, 1/-; M. Le Gras, 1/-; J. Little, 1/-; P. Lennon, 1/-; T. Lawlor, 6/-; J. Looney, 5/-; J. Lawless, 5/2; J. Lawless, 2/-; R. Laird, 1/-.  
G. McMullen, 2/-; W. Markey, 2/-; T. McCann, 2/6; J. McCann, 2/-; P. Murphy, 2/6; M. Murphy, 1/-; J. Murphy, 1/-; H. Murphy, 2/-; J. McLoughlin, 2/6; J. McKeown, 1/-; J. Murphy, 1/-; W. Moore, 2/-; W. Manser, 1/-; L. McLoughlin, 2/-; P. K. McCauley, 2/-; J. K. McGuire, 2/6; J. W. Murtagh, 2/-; J. Mahon, 1/-; T. McLoughlin, 1/-; E. McCann, 3/-; W. Murphy, 2/6; T. Malone, 1/-; E. Malone, 1/-; T. Mellon, 2/6; S. Moïni, 5/-; J. Murray, 2/6; M. Maher, 3/6; R. Malone, 1/-; J. Maher, 1/-; J. Murtagh, 2/-; T. Murray, 2/6; W. Murray, 2/6; J. Melady, 3/-; J. McDonnell, 1/-; C. O'Brien, 1/-; H. J. Mitchell, 2/6; E. MacLaine, 1/-; W. Nolan, 5/-; A. Norgrove, 2/-; C. Neary, 1/-; — Nolan, 1/-; E. Neilson, 1/-.  
T. O'Leary (collection on cement boat), £1 7/-; P. O'Brien, 2/-; J. O'Reilly, 1/-; O. O'Neill, 2/6; W. O'Byrne, 2/6; H. O'Reilly, 10/-; C. O'Brien, 1/-; C. O'Brien, 2/-; S. O'Brien, 1/-; T. O'Leary, 2/-; T. O'Reilly, 1/-; C. O'Doherty, 2/-; J. O'Reilly, 4/-; J. O'Grady, 2/6; D. O'Loughlin, 2/6; D. O'Keefe, 1/-; W. O'Leary, 2/6; Ed. O'Neill, 1/-.  
Councillor Paul, 10/-; J. Pettigrew, 2/6; — Powell, 5/-.  
T. Ryan, 1/-; J. Russell, 1/-; W. Reid, 2/-; C. Reid, 1/6; F. Reddy, 2/6; T. Riley, 2/-.  
J. Secrey, 2/6; J. Sweetman, 2/-; J. Shields, 2/6; J. Sweetman, 3/-; J. Short, 1/-; W. Summers, 1/-; M. Smythe, 1/-; W. Sheridan, 1/-; A. Smith, 1/-; H. Smith, 5/-; J. Shelly, 5/-; J. Smith, 2/6; M. Turner, 2/-; P. J. Touhy, 2/6; J. Traynor, 1/-; G. Tully, 2/6; J. Tracey, 2/6; T. Wright, 2/-; I. Wallace, 10/-; P. Walsh, 2/6; C. Williamson, 2/-; C. Wright, 2/-; W. Walsh, 1/-; E. Walsh, 1/-; J. Whelan, 2/6; J. Walsh, 2/6; P. Young, 1/-.  
Total amount received, £30 2/9.

The following urgent cases have been received—Mrs. K. M.—and nine children, £2; Mrs. E.—and four children, £2; Mrs. K.—and ten children, £2; Mrs. K.—invalid widow, £2; Mrs. M.—and five children, £2.

**ON TO ST. ENDA'S!**

All roads lead to St. Enda's on Sunday next, June 24th, 1923. JIM LARKIN will speak on the "Life and Work of Wolfe Tone."

1923. No. 446.

SAORSTAT EIREANN.

High Court of Justice,  
Chancery Division.  
Mr. Justice Powell.

Between

Thomas Foran, William O'Brien, Daniel Clancy, Michael Duffy, Michael Hill, Thomas Kennedy, Michael McCarthy and Thomas Ryan,  
Plaintiffs,

and

James Larkin, Defendant.

I, James Larkin of 35, Parnell Square, in the County of the City of Dublin, aged 21, years and upwards, make Oath and say as follows:

1. I have read a copy of the Affidavit of Thomas Foran, William O'Brien and Thomas Kennedy filed the 14th day of June 1923.  
2. I say that the Plaintiff Thomas Foran is not the lawfully elected General President of the Irish Transport & General Workers' Union, nor is the Plaintiff William O'Brien the Lawful General Treasurer thereof, nor are the other Plaintiffs the lawful members of the Executive Council. I refer to the copy of the alleged Rules of the said Trades Union registered on the 20th December 1918. I dispute entirely the validity of these alleged Rules, and I say that they were never validly made or brought into effect. By Rule 33 of the Rules of the Union registered on the 8th June 1915, it was provided that the Rules should only be altered by the General Executive Committee after amendments had been asked for and sent in by the Branches, and such amended Rules had been finally voted on by the members.

3. I say that the alleged Rules of 20th December 1918 were never made in accordance with Rule 33. No amendments were asked for or sent in by the Branches, and no such Rules were ever finally or otherwise voted upon by the members, and the Registration of same with the Registrar was procured by mis-statements made for the purpose of convincing him that the said Rules had been validly made.

4. I further say that even if the said Rules were in any respect valid, Thomas Foran and William O'Brien were not duly elected as General Officers thereunder. Under Rule 27 of these alleged Rules, General Officers of the Union were to be elected every second year in January by the Ballot vote of the Financial members of the Union. They purported to have been elected in January 1919 immediately on the passing of the new Rules, but they were not in fact elected in accordance therewith. No Ballot vote of the financial members took place, and these officers in substance nominated themselves. Assuming that they were elected in January 1919 they went out of Office in January 1921, and no election took place in 1921 at all. An election was purported to be held on the 8th February 1922, but any general Officers appointed at that election would only hold Office until January 1923 and should have been again elected in January 1923. In fact the said Thomas Foran and William O'Brien were not elected in January 1923, but claim to hold Office for two years from January 1922, and in 1923 the said Thomas Foran acting as President ruled that no candidate could be proposed in opposition to him as the Office was full until 1924 and made the same ruling with reference to the Plaintiff William O'Brien.

I therefore say that the said Thomas Foran, and William O'Brien are not now legal General Officers of the Trades Union, and have no rights in respect of the property and funds thereof by reason of such position. With respect to the other Plaintiffs who claim to be members of the Executive Committee, I say that in addition to my objection to the Rules of 20th December 1918, which created the Executive Committee in its present form, the Plaintiffs are not legally the elected members of the Executive Committee, even assuming that the Rules of 20th December 1918 had any validity. These rules made a complete change in the status and powers of the Executive Committee, the composition and election of which purports to be regulated by Rule No. 25. The Plaintiffs, other than the General Officers were never duly elected under Rule 25. It is alleged that they were so elected in the month of January 1923, but this is not so. The Plaintiffs so managed the alleged election that it amounted only to a nomination by the Plaintiffs of themselves, and not to an election under Rule 25. Under said Rule the Branches are divided into Electoral Districts, of which there were eight, and each Branch can nominate members for election to the Executive Committee in numbers regulated by the number of members in the Branch. The persons so nominated are then elected

by Ballot by the Members of the Branches. On the occasion of the alleged election in 1923, although branches of the Union nominated members in accordance with that Rule, the Plaintiffs excluded the members so nominated from any right to election and returned themselves. To give an instance, the most important branch of the Union is Branch No. 1, Dublin, containing nearly 11,000 members, and having a right to nominate four members for the Executive Council. The said Branch did duly nominate four members, but the Plaintiffs wholly excluded these persons from the Ballot, substituting Nominees of their own. The same thing occurred with reference to other important branches of the Union, when the Election alleged by the Plaintiffs was a farce.

5. I wish to refer to the Bill summoning the Meeting of 14th January 1923 for the election of Officers, and to the nominations handed in on behalf of Thomas Doyle, James Mitchell Patrick O'Shea and John Murphy, and to the Ballot paper, and the Bill announcing the Ballot, from which it will be seen that these names did not appear as having been proposed for the Executive Committee, on which marked respectively "A" "B" "C" and "D" I have endorsed my name before swearing hereto.

6. At the said Meeting of 14th January 1923 nominations duly seconded were tendered to Mr. Foran for the positions of General Officers of the Union and were ignored by him, and for the position of General Secretary, this deponent's was the name duly proposed and seconded.

7. In paragraph 6 it is stated that a copy of the new Rules registered on 2nd June 1923 is exhibited, and it is stated that the business and affairs of the Trades Union were conducted by the Executive and Officers with the exception of this deponent in pursuance of the Rules. I say that on the contrary the said Rules were never operative, and that one of the matters of which I complain is that the passing and registration of the said Rules was obtained illegally, and such illegality was admitted by the Plaintiffs.

8. The said Rules were submitted to the Delegate Conference on the 24th and 25th April 1923 which conference consisted of a number of persons specially selected by the Plaintiffs, and was not a Meeting or Conference authorised by the Rules; that at the time of the said Delegate Meeting I was in America, and there was read thereat telegrams which had passed between myself and the Executive in one of which I had requested that a sum of £5,000 should be forwarded to me in order that I might complete the purchase of a steamer to bring home food, clothing, etc. for the victims of the fratricidal strife, which had taken place here, and I suggested that the money might be advanced out of the money withheld by Mr. Foran and Mr. O'Neill in 1913 knowledge of the existence of which had been withheld from me in 1913-14 when I purchased Liberty Hall and had only a sum of £3,500 to pay for a building which cost £5,500 and although this money was in existence at the time, within their control, they had permitted a sum of £2,000 to be raised on Mortgage with the Northern Banking Co., to pay the full purchase money.

9. A discussion arose, and it was decided that both the Rules and this matter should be adjourned for consideration to a Meeting to be held on the 14th May 1923 at which I was expected to be present. The Meeting of the 14th May was held, and a Resolution was passed by the Delegate Conference that the Rules as amended be passed by the Conference and recommended to the Branches for approval. I was present at the Meeting and made some objection to the Rules, but at the time I was not fully aware of their conditions or of the nature of the constitution of the meeting. I subsequently ascertained from visits to the various Branches that the members had no knowledge of these Rules nor had they even been submitted for their consideration, and that the Executive had no power to call a delegate meeting. I brought the matter before the Executive Committee formally, and I was assured that the Rules would be considered by the members of the Organization before registration. Notwithstanding this promise, the Rules were never submitted for consideration to the members of the Branches, and on the 3rd June I ascertained that they had been registered as of 2nd day of June 1923 accompanied by a Statutory Declaration in the name of Thomas Kennedy, and the Application was signed by seven persons namely: John O'Neill, P. Nolan, T. Butler, J. Davis, J. Bohan, P. Hanratty, Thomas Foran, Thomas Kennedy. I have also ascertained that 2 signatories (Bohan and Davis) acted without knowledge of the illegality of their act, and that they attended on 2 occasions on the Registrar, and asked leave to withdraw their signatures from the Application Form, which the Registrar would not permit.

10. I summoned a Meeting of the Executive Committee for the 4th June 1923, at which all of the Plaintiffs attended. The specific purpose of the Meeting was to deal with the submission of Rules to the Registrar without authority from the members or by instruction of the Executive Committee and without a knowledge by myself. Mr. Foran occupied the chair, and it was admitted by Foran and Kennedy that they had acted illegally, and that the Rules had been passed without authority, and illegally according to the Rules, and Kennedy stated that this was a case of perjury, and they had better get the thing settled by withdrawing the registration. This Meeting was called by me as General Secretary at a time of Crisis. I objected to Mr. William O'Brien attending the Meeting as General Treasurer, as he had not been acting in that capacity, that his duties were being carried out by Thomas Kennedy, and that Thomas Kennedy was receiving his wages, and Thomas Kennedy having become a paid Officer of the Union under Rule 25, he was disqualified from sitting on the Executive Committee. I also objected that Michael McCarthy being the paid Secretary of No. 5 Branch was in the same position, and could not sit legally. I said "You three" me, O'Brien, Kennedy and McCarthy, "with the General President, have assumed to yourselves the right of dealing with the funds; there is no clause in the Rules giving you such power, therefore, you are disposing of the Funds of this Union without authority." The Chairman (Mr. Foran) ruled that Mr. O'Brien was legally qualified; that Kennedy was entitled to sit, having been elected as an Executive Committee Officer, that McCarthy was entitled to sit. I then said that the General President and six other members of the Union had violated the Rules of the Union, that two of the members of the Executive, with others had submitted a solemn declaration that was untrue; and that without the knowledge of the General Secretary, they submitted and obtained the registration of amended Rules, which had not been before the members of the Union for discussion or approval, and without the authorization of the Executive Committee; and that they were not the Rules of the Irish Transport Union. I asked the Meeting to suspend these 4 men, Foran, O'Brien, Kennedy and McCarthy. We discussed the entire matter for 3 hours, without any practical result. I then formally submitted the Motion that the Rules be withdrawn from the Registrar; that draft copies of the proposed changes be sent out to all the branches for discussion and approval of otherwise. The Chairman was about to put the Motion to the rest of the meeting, when Mr. O'Brien advised him not to accept it on the ground that the Motion was not seconded. I took issue on this and pointed out that a Motion required no seconding in an Executive Meeting, that it must be approved or rejected. The Meeting adjourned, and upon resuming, Mr. O'Brien submitted a Resolution calling upon the Executive Committee to carry out Rule 65 of the illegal Rules registered on the 2nd June; the effect of which was to call an all Ireland Delegate Meeting for the purpose of dealing with the Rules and approving of them and signing a statement to the Registrar for certification. I objected to this Resolution as it was not in compliance with the Rules governing the Union. I then submitted in writing my objection to the conduct of the Executive Committee. I have not a copy of the said Resolution, but the grounds of my objection were, as a body, determined to act in a deliberately illegal manner, and in contravention of the Rules of the Union. I then withdrew from the Meeting.

11. Prior to above, namely on Sunday the 3rd day of June 1923, a Branch meeting of No. 1 Branch had been held at the La Scala Theatre. Mr. Foran was in the Chair; Mr. O'Neill was also present, and the Meeting was adjourned to Sunday June 10th 1923. At a Meeting of 3rd June 1923 I had called very specific attention to the illegality of the Rules, and also to the conduct of the Executive Officers in detail, and which matters I again dealt with at the adjourned meeting of 10th June 1923. The Meeting of the 10th June 1923 was held at the Olympia Theatre; Mr. Thomas Brady was in the Chair, and at that Meeting a Resolution was proposed and seconded by 2 members "That Mr. Thomas Kennedy (one of the Plaintiffs) should be suspended until the charges against him had been investigated, and a report presented at a date not later than the 1st July 1923." The substance of the charges was stated by me, namely that he as a paid Official of the Union was acting, and had acted, upon the Executive Committee. I beg to refer to a copy of said Resolution upon which marked with the letter "E" I have at the time of swearing hereof signed

my name. Mr. Kennedy spoke to the Resolution. About 1200 men and 200 women were present in the Theatre, as were also Messrs. O'Brien, Foran and other Plaintiffs. The Chairman did not wish to put the Resolution to the Meeting. I then asked him to carry out his duty, and he then left the chair and said "Take the Chair yourself." I then appealed to the Meeting and asked them did they wish the resolution which had been proposed and seconded to be put to them, and they approved. When the Resolution had been put to the Meeting, I asked them to vote by show of hands, and the entire audience, except some of those on the platform, put up their hands. Messrs. O'Brien and Foran were on the Platform, and made a rush, and shouted and tried to create an uproar and a scene. I called upon the audience to preserve Order, and they did so. I then spoke to Messrs. O'Brien and Foran and told them that I was going to the Mansion House Meeting and asked them to come there as I intended to make specific charges against them. I immediately proceeded to the Round Room, Mansion House, to the meeting which was summoned for 1.30 p.m. At that Meeting Mr. Patrick Murray was elected Chairman. This meeting had been summoned for June the 3rd 1923 at La Scala Theatre, and was there adjourned to Sunday 10th June 1923, but no place had been arranged for the Meeting. On Thursday 7th June 1923, I had an interview with Mr. O'Neill the Secretary of No. 1 Branch, and asked him to remind his Committee to call the adjourned Meeting for Sunday 10th June 1923 at the Mansion House, as I had obtained the permission of the Lord Mayor for the use of the Round Room. On Friday morning the 8th June 1923 he informed me over the telephone that the Committee had decided that the notice was too short to communicate with the members, and I received a letter from the Lord Mayor confirming his permission for the use of the Round Room dated 8th June 1923, and I duly communicated with the members of No. 1 Branch by post and by advertisement. I beg to refer to the said letter from the Lord Mayor on which marked with the letter "F" I have at the time of swearing hereof signed my name. I also beg to refer to a copy of the Minutes of the said meeting of Sunday 10th June 1923 held in the Round Room Mansion House, at which I read the statement attached to the said Minutes, on a copy of the said Minutes with statement marked with the letter "G" I have at the time of swearing herein signed my name.

12. At the Meeting of No. 1 Branch held in Olympia Theatre on Sunday 10th June, it is untrue to say that I did not call for a show of hands. I did so, and the Meeting was, save for some of those on the Platform, unanimous. I called for a Vote "against," and not one hand was raised. The Meeting did not break up in disorder, nor was it impossible for the Plaintiffs to address the said Meeting. The said Messrs. O'Brien and Foran did all in their power to create a scene, but the audience disappointed them by remaining orderly.

13. On Monday the 11th day of June 1923 I attended at 45 Parnell Square with 3 members of No. 1 Branch, namely Michael Lyons, Thomas Healy, and Patrick Colgan. Instructed them to attend in the Hallway, and that if Messrs. O'Brien, Foran, McCarthy and Kennedy came to the door they were to call me. I was called by Michael Lyons, and found that Joseph O'Kelly and Patrick O'Kelly private Secretary to Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Kennedy respectively were in the Hall. Michael Lyons did not know either of these persons. I spoke to them, and they told me that Lyons had objected to their entering. I explained how the mistake was made, and told them that they could come in to their duty; that any matters in dispute did not concern them, that it was confined to the Officers of the Union. They stated that they would not work in the Offices if there were armed guards within. I showed them that this was not so. Joseph O'Kelly then said to me "You are not my Boss, I take orders only from O'Brien." I then said that I was surprised at his taking up such an attitude, as it was the Union that employed him, and that I hoped he would continue his work until the Executive Committee arrived. By this time the Clerks, men and women had arrived who were employed at 35 Parnell Square. I said to them that they were no way concerned with any matters between myself and the Executive, that we were all paid by the members, and should carry out the duties until the matter in dispute was finally disposed of. I had sent for John O'Neill and 2 Delegates of the No. 1 Branch, and when they had arrived I said to O'Neill in the presence of the Clerks and Delegates that by Resolution of the Branch passed on Sunday the 10th

(Continued on page 7.)

(Continued from page 6.)

June 1923, he had been suspended until the investigation by the Committee has been found, and I told him he was not expelled, and if the charges against him were not substantiated that he could resume work, and be paid for the period of his suspension. I asked him why he had not attended the Meeting of his Branch of which he was the Secretary on Sunday the 10th June 1923 in the Mansion House, and he told me that O'Brien and Foran had ordered him not to attend, and that Foran instructed him to arrange that the adjourned Meeting should be held on the 17th June 1923, and not on the 10th June 1923. All the Employees, with the exception of Lawrence Redmond, were in attendance. After he had arrived, I asked the Employees if they would resume their duties. O'Neill suggested they should do so whilst the matters were being investigated. I was then called by Colgan, and when I went downstairs, I found O'Brien, Foran, McCarthy, Kennedy, Ryan, Clancy, Duffy and Hill. They were standing on the steps. I went forward and told the first four named persons that they had been suspended at the Meeting of the No. 1 Branch, of which they were members, held the previous day 10th June 1923, at the Mansion House, and informed Ryan, Clancy, Duffy and Hill that they could enter and carry on their duties pending the investigation of the charges. These four members of the Executive Committee refused, and I called on them to enter and carry on their duties. Mr. O'Brien went out into the Street, and shouted to a Clerk (O'Leary) who was standing in the second-storey window "Tell all the staff to come out, we employed you, come out at once." A commotion ensued, and a man (Archibald Heron) who had come downstairs and was in the Entrance Hall shouted "Come on boys, Bill is calling you out." This man had never been elected to the Union, but Mr. O'Brien had appointed him to the Editorship of "Voice of Labour." All the staff consisting of persons, including one James Smith, appointed by Foran, marched out, but Messrs. King and O'Shea remained, and have carried on duties since. There was no objection or refusal on my part to give access to Ryan, Clancy, Hill and Duffy, or to the Employees of No. 1 Branch.

14. It is alleged in the Affidavit that I was suspended on the 11th inst. This was obviously subsequent to the incidents described, and is the outcome of a knowledge that they had been suspended on the previous day, as the Writ of Summons in this action was issued on the same day Monday the 11th June 1923. I charge that the said suspension was not lawful. The moment I was served with the documents in this action I instructed my Solicitors Messrs. Wm. Smyth & Son of 20, Lr. Gardiner St. Dublin to write withdrawing all opposition to the payment to members of their benefits, and to the full and free access of the Plaintiffs to Liberty Hall to carry on the work of the Organisation, and I sent a Deputation consisting of Messrs. Smith, Keating and Sheridan representatives of the Newbridge, Waterford, and Limerick Branches respectively to approach the said four Executive Officers, Ryan, Clancy, Hill and Duffy, to again invite them to resume their duties. I also on Wednesday the 13th day of June 1923 attended personally with my Solicitor at the Hilberian Bank and served the withdrawal notice of the objection which I had lodged on the previous Monday 11th June 1923, and on Thursday morning the 14th June 1923 as the Plaintiffs refused to avail themselves of my offer as to Liberty Hall, I sent them the key thereof, and, notwithstanding this, they have gone to the expense of taking other offices in Dublin City at the expense of the Union.

15. I beg to refer to a copy of letters which have passed between my Solicitors and the Solicitors for the Plaintiffs since the service of the Writ herein on which pinned together and marked "H." I have at the time of swearing hereof signed my name.

16. In order that the Organisation may not suffer from any acts of mine, I informed all Shop Stewards to attend at various places and pay in amounts, and carry on, and I instructed members of the Dockers Branch to attend at the Ministry of Labour to carry on negotiations in reference to the threatened lock-out. I have not taken any action of any kind to interfere with the working of the Union, and in all things I have acted in good faith within the Rules, and in the best interests of the members of the Union, and my sole object and determination is to see and ensure that the Rules of the Organisation are faithfully carried out, and that the full benefits of the Union which existed under the Rules of the Organisation are not departed from, nor utilised for personal ends and private advancement.

17. I am informed and believe by Michael Mulken and others that after the registration of the Rules in December 1916, a vast

number of members of different Branches objected to the purported alterations, and that a written objection was lodged with the Registrar in respect thereof.

18. I beg to refer to a copy of the Sunday Independent dated the 17th June 1923, upon which marked with the letter "J." I have endorsed my name before swearing hereof, which contains an Official statement received from Deputy William O'Brien, General Treasurer, one of the Plaintiffs, in which it is stated that the Executive Committee and Officers are working in Temporary Offices and that business is going on as usual and that dispute pay had been dispatched to all areas where strikes or other disputes were in progress and it further states that an offer was made to me to have the question at issue submitted to an All Ireland Delegate Conference or Ballot vote of the entire membership of the Union and that I turned down the suggestions. It is untrue that any matter at issue between myself and the entire body of members whom I represent were ever offered a determination of any question by a Ballot vote of the entire membership of the Union. It was suggested by the Executive Committee held on the 4th June that a conference of Delegates should be held to approve of the Rules, as on the occasion of the 24th and 25th April I had knowledge of the capacity of the Executive Committee to bring to Dublin a set of specially selected persons who were said to be Delegates. I declined to approve of any course except that one which was clearly within the Rules of the Organisation. My whole appeal has been and my endeavour is, to bring all matters in question between us fully before the entire membership of the Union, and as a step towards this purpose I have instructed my solicitors to issue a Writ in the Chancery Division against the members of the Executive Committee in which I shall be able to prove every allegation which I have made against the members of the Executive Committee in their various capacities and I have taken this course so that I may be able at the earliest moment to have a determination of these issues secured as I feel I cannot trust the Plaintiffs to carry on their action with the speed and celerity which the crisis in the Affairs of the Union requires.

19. My means of knowledge of the facts herein deposed to save where otherwise stated is personal or arising out of the perusal of documents laid before me in the present proceedings and where not personal or arising from such perusal my means of knowledge is truly stated.

SWORN before me this day of June 1923 at in the County of and I know the deponent.

This Affidavit is filed on behalf of the Defendant by Wm. Smyth & Son, Solicitors, 29, Lr. Gardiner Street, Dublin. Filed this day of June 1923.

COPY EXHIBIT "E."

RESOLUTION proposed by Patrick Ducie, Card No. 9245, seconded by William O'Brien, Card No. 6399; Members of No. 3 Branch, and carried unanimously:—

That Thomas Kennedy, member of No. 3 Branch and a member of the E.C., acting general treasurer of the Union, did fraudulently, with intent and without authority from the members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union and the Executive Committee and without the knowledge of the general secretary of the union sign and submitted a sworn application to the Registrar-General of Ireland, Mr. Daniel O'Connell Miley, for registration a draft copy of rules said to be the approved and amended rules of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union; that he did, with other members of the E.C. sanction and sign cheques withdrawing monies from the general fund of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union and handed cheques and monies over to certain persons, of present unknown, they not being members of this Union and without any claim upon this Union. This was done without lawful authority or warrant and in defiance of the Trade Union Acts, 1871-1913, and more particularly against the amended Act of 1913. That he, Thomas Kennedy, did refuse the widow of Edward Kennedy of 16 East James Street, Dublin (the said Edward Kennedy being a member at the time of death in good standing and full benefit) the sum of nine pounds (£9) mortality benefit, legally due according to rule 12, and other legal claimants were refused benefits by the same Thomas Kennedy. He did this knowingly to injure the credit and bring odium upon the Irish Transport and

General Workers' Union, creating dissatisfaction and consequent injury to the union. That Thomas Kennedy stands suspended from membership and all benefits of membership until such time as an investigation brings in a report and action is taken thereon at a not later date than July 1st 1923.

That No. 3 Branch empower the general secretary to proceed by legal method and all other methods within the rules of the union to protect the interests of the members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

The above Resolution and addendum carried unanimously at a general meeting of No. 3 Branch, held in the Olympia Theatre, Sunday, June 10th 1923, between the hour of 12 and 12.20 p.m.

EXHIBIT "G." MINUTES

Meeting of No. 1 Branch held Sunday June 10th 1923.

Held in the Round Room, Mansion House at 1.30 p.m.

Patrick Murray elected Chairman.

General Secretary makes statement. Deals with the statements of Thomas Foran and John O'Neill made on June 22, 1919, regarding the withholding of funds in 1913. Also the refusal of the committee of No. 1 Branch to call this meeting. The question of the illegality of the rules. The increase of the weekly contributions, illegal, also certain levies. Call for suspension of Thomas Foran, William O'Brien and John O'Neill pending the investigation to inquire into the charges of the General Secretary.

Resolution:— That Whereas: Serious charges have been preferred against Thomas Foran, William O'Brien, John O'Neill, Michael McCarthy.

That, in view of the serious character of such charges and in the interest of and for the better administration of the affairs of the Union, they be suspended from membership of No. 1 Branch until a Committee of Investigation presents their report and action taken thereon and that such committee of investigation be and are hereby appointed, with instructions to go into all matters affecting the union and the charges laid against said Thomas Foran, William O'Brien, John O'Neill, Michael McCarthy.

That said investigation committee to have power to call for all documents, summon witnesses, such witnesses to appear if members of the Union on penalty of one pound fine for refusal. The committee to sit at such times convenient for witnesses to attend and to present a report not later than July 1st 1923, and that a specially summoned meeting of No. 1 Branch be called to hear and act upon the report.

Proposed by Thomas O'Leary (Card No. 6784). Seconded by William Kelly (Card No. 32).

On being put to the Meeting by Patrick Murray, Chairman, passed unanimously.

It was proposed by T. Larkin (6402) seconded by E. Syles (16254) that the following Committee of Investigation be nominated:—

Peter Nolan (Dock); Michael Lyons (Carrier); Peter Mooney (Farrier); J. Boyle (Paper Section); W. Kelly (Coal); Michael Brohoun, T.C.; Michael Ward (Chemical); Patrick Murray, Cross Channel.

An outside Chairman to be appointed by the General Secretary.

On this resolution being put to the meeting by the Chairman it was carried unanimously.

The following resolution, proposed by R. Turner (Corporation Worker) and seconded by P. Dowling, was carried unanimously:—

That the Committee of Branch No. 1 be and is hereby discharged from Office and that 100 members be appointed by the General Secretary to hold Office until an election for branch committee be carried out.

The following resolution, proposed by W. Vicars, seconded by J. Boyle was unanimously accepted:—

That the delegates from this Branch to the Workers' Council be withdrawn. Shop stewards ordered to report to the General Secretary. Other Committees to carry on.

To the members of No. 1 Branch and all other members of the Union:—

I am compelled to bring to your notice certain facts which affect the safety of this Union and the interests of each and every member. Owing to a statement made by Thomas Foran, general president of the Union when I left Ireland, an office which he holds at present, made in the Mansion House, Dublin, June 1919, in which he is reported to have said that he withheld the sum of Seven thousand five hundred

pounds (£7,500) of the moneys given into his charge to disburse as strike pay during the year 1913, and portion of the year 1914; that he had withheld this money with the knowledge and sanction of John O'Neill, the then Secretary of No. 1 Branch of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union; that he and John O'Neill had withheld this money without the knowledge of the General Secretary (James Larkin) and his reasons for so doing was first, because he knew that the General Secretary was far too generous and would have given this strike pay to the men and their dependents, and secondly, that he feared financial bankruptcy and he withheld the money to finance and rebuild the Union; and that all this was done without the knowledge of the General Secretary, and in fact, no other person or persons excepting John O'Neill and himself had any knowledge or control of this Seven thousand five hundred pounds (£7,500). This statement was made in June 22nd 1919. It was repeated, as confirmed by the minute, before a number of members drawn from different parts of the country who were meeting illegally as a conference of delegates to discuss the amendment of Rules in 35, Parnell Square, Office of the I.T. & G.W.U. on the 25th of April 1923. It was again repeated by the same Thomas Foran, in the presence of John O'Neill, in the same Office, on the 14th day of May, and again when challenged by the General Secretary, in the presence of 2,500 members of No. 1 Branch in the La Scala Theatre, O'Connell Street, Dublin, Sunday June 3rd; again in the presence of John O'Neill and the said John O'Neill when challenged by the General Secretary confirmed Foran's statement and admitted he was a party to this withholding of funds and the betrayal of the strike and the men implicated in it in Dublin 1913. It was decided at that meeting in the La Scala Theatre, June 3rd 1923 that a further meeting should be called on the following Sunday June 10th for the purpose of dealing with rules and the appointment of an investigation committee to inquire into the action of the said Thomas Foran and John O'Neill and their explanation of all facts concerning the withholding of the seven thousand five hundred pounds (£7,500) and what they had done with the said money. For some reason unknown to me, though I had instructed in writing John O'Neill to notify the Committee of No. 1 Branch to arrange for such meeting, the Committee refused to make arrangements for such meeting and I was compelled to call this meeting under my official authority.

The withholding of this Seven thousand five hundred pounds (£7,500) is but one of the charges I now make against the said Thomas Foran, John O'Neill, William O'Brien, Michael McCarthy, Patrick Nolan, Thomas Butler, members of No. 1 who have outraged and offended in every particular Rule 14 of the only Official Rules of the Union and Clause 23 in a Rule book alleged to be rules passed by Order of the Union and signed by Daniel O'Connell Miley, Assistant Registrar, on the 20th day of December 1918 with intent to injure the Union, control the funds of the Union in their own interest and to deny the members their statutory and legal rights within the rules governing membership in the Union; that they have taken illegally monies from the members of this Union, under three heads:—

1. Money for Labour representation, at the rate of two shillings per year, per member, without authority and knowingly converting same to uses not allowed by law and against the best interests of the members and have given no account of such fund.
2. That Thomas Foran, William O'Brien, John O'Neill, Michael McCarthy and other persons not named in this indictment, did levy the sum of three pence per week as contributions without legal right or warrant or any authority from members of this Union, according to the Trade Union Acts from 1871 to 1913. That they have charged this three-pence per week without authority and expressly against the Rules of the Union and against and in defiance of clause 5 in the alleged Rule Book, and clause 12 in the alleged Rule Book of 1918. That men have been put in arrears owing to this illegality, members of this Union have been denied their legal rights, their benefits, denied work and put outside the benefits of membership of this Union by this Act; that relatives of deceased members, according to books in my possession, have been denied mortality benefits; that members have been denied mortality benefits on the death of their wives; that members of the Union have been brought into public odium and disrepute and have had to bear the antagonism and ill-will of their fellow-

(Continued on page 8.)

(Continued from page 7.)

members on the supposition they were not keeping their dues paid in this Union.

3. That it has been proved to me and appears in Auditors' statement of accounts that levies have been struck against the members, charged against them without authority and no true accounting made of such levies received; that for four and a half years they have been taking two shillings per year of each and every member of the Union, and no proper account is kept of same, of the amount received or expended and no return made according to law and the Act of 1913; that they have converted this money to their own purpose and the purpose of their friends without authority and without any official return or statement to the members of this Union; that they published in their annual reports statements untrue and for the purpose of deceiving the members, that they have published and submitted to the Registrar of Friendly Societies Mr. D. O'Connell Miley, false and misleading annual returns; that they have deliberately and with a purpose kept the Registrar and the members of this Union without a true knowledge of the financial position of the Union. These and many other matters I will make plain in a further detailed statement at the proper time and place. I briefly set out now a definite charge, that they Thomas Foran, William O'Brien, Michael McCarthy, Thomas Kennedy, John O'Neill, to mislead and deceive members of No. 1 Branch, the committee of No. 1 Branch and the Executive Committee of the Union as a whole, so that they might prevent an investigation into their wrong doings and maladministration, that they might still continue to control the property, real estate and otherwise, the funds and the economic power of this organisation for their own purpose and against the interests of the members of this Union; that they persuaded, advised and directed the Executive Committee and local committees of the many branches throughout the Union to send to Dublin members alleged to be elected to a delegate conference for the purpose of altering or amending rules; that William O'Brien, alleged to be General Treasurer of this Union, and Thomas Kennedy, acting for this said William O'Brien without authority under Rules, paid to these members monies illegally; that they provided a dinner in the Grand Central to these members, that the account for this dinner was charged against the funds of this Union, without authority from the members and against the rules of this Union; that this illegal conference of members did sit under the advice and by the direction of Thomas Foran, William O'Brien, Michael McCarthy, Thomas Kennedy and other members of the E.C.; that Thomas Foran and William O'Brien did submit a new draft of Rules which were discussed and approved of by this illegal conference, contrary to rule 33 in the rule book of the Union, and in the alleged rule book of the Union, signed December 20th 1918; that Thomas Foran attended Committee meeting of No. 1 Branch and sitting as Chairman of No. 1 Branch illegally, he directed and advised that Committee to ratify this draft of rules; that Thomas Foran and Thomas Kennedy wilfully misled and instructed Patrick Nolan, Thomas Butler, John O'Neill, John Davis, Patrick Hanratty and John Bohan to sign an application for a change of Rules and registration of same without instruction or authority of the Executive Committee or the General Secretary of the Union; that this said Thomas Foran submitted a sworn affidavit to the Registrar of Friendly Societies, D. O'Connell Miley, on the 2nd day of June 1923 which was false and with a purpose of misleading the said Registrar; that the said Thomas Foran had upon a previous occasion, on the 11th day of December 1918, before William Seville, J.P., submitted a false affidavit purporting to be the authorisation in the form of a resolution passed at a general meeting of the members, held on the 10th day of November 1918; that there was no authorisation given to Thomas Foran by a general meeting of the members of No. 1 Branch to submit an application for registration of the amended rules in December 1918; that no Meeting of No. 1 Branch was held on the 10th of November 1918; that if such meeting was held the members of No. 1 Branch had no powers to authorise Thomas Foran and other parties concerned in

submitting the application for registration of the amended Rules; that their powers as a branch were limited as to acceptance and ratification of rules only; that the affidavit by Thomas Foran and the others concerned therein submitted to Mr. D. O'Connell Miley on the 2nd day of June 1923 was untrue and false in every particular; that no meeting of No. 1 Branch was held to consider the rules; that the Branch had no power, even if so called, to instruct Foran and others to make application for registration and still less had the branch committee who have no powers whatever to consider or ratify the rules; that all these illegalities were entered into and a conspiracy organised with intent to prevent an investigation into these wrongful acts of the said persons and to prevent further, the legal rules of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union governing the activities of the Officers and the protection of the members from functioning.

I now charge Thomas Foran, William O'Brien, John O'Neill, with conspiring together for the purpose of granting William O'Brien entrance into and membership of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, in the defiance of Rule 3. I further charge that these three persons, with others have wilfully and with malice abused their powers, outraged the rules for the purpose of controlling the machinery of the Union, the funds of the Union and real estate, and all properties of the Union, for their own purpose, and against the best interests of the members of No. 1 Branch and I ask that they shall be suspended from membership, and that a committee of investigation be appointed to go into these and other charges that will be submitted in writing. And further that they be deprived of all official connection with the Union during the period of investigation. That Thomas Foran, John O'Neill, Patrick Nolan, Thomas Butler, be instructed to attend at the Office of Daniel O'Connell Miley on Monday June 11th, 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and make an affidavit that they were not instructed by No. 1 Branch members, that no meeting of No. 1 Branch members was held to discuss or ratify rules, except this duly authorised meeting and if they fail to withdraw and make such affidavit they be expelled from membership in the above Union. And Whereas John O'Neill, Secretary, is under suspension, that the General Secretary be instructed to take control of No. 1 Branch and carry on said Branch until such times as the Investigation Committee reports. And Whereas Mr. William O'Brien has failed to carry out the duties of General Treasurer that the General Secretary James Larkin, member of No. 1 Branch be empowered to take such steps, legal or otherwise, to protect the funds and properties of No. 1 Branch and also protect the Interest of the members of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union.

1923. No. 446.

SAORSTAT EIREANN

High Court of Justice,  
Chancery Division.  
Mr. Justice Powell.

Between:

Thomas Foran, William O'Brien, Daniel Clancy, Michael Duffy, Michael Hill, Thomas Kennedy, Michael McCarthy and Thomas Ryan.

Plaintiffs.

and

James Larkin, Defendant.

I, JOHN DAVIS, of 43, Upper Kevin Street, in the City of Dublin, aged 21 years and upwards make Oath and say as follows:—  
1. I am a member of the Committee of the No. 3 Branch of The Irish Transport and General Workers Union, 74 Thomas Street, Dublin.  
2. I was requested by Councillor Thomas Kennedy, one of the above-named Plaintiffs to sign a Form of Application for the registration of certain Rules. I signed the said Form and other documents on Friday night the 1st June 1923.  
3. At that time I knew that the Rules had not been submitted for approval to a General Meeting of my Branch, but I was aware that a Meeting had been provisionally arranged for Sunday 10th June 1923, which Meeting was duly held, and I thought at the time that I signed the Form that the Rules would be submitted at that Meeting.  
4. I was greatly surprised when I heard that the Rules had been registered on the 2nd June 1923 and I attended on the Re-

(Continued at bottom of Column 3.)

"THEY CHARGE ME."

"My chief fault," declares Robert Smilie, in reply to the attacks of the capitalist Press, "is not dishonesty. I am not charged with being untruthful. They charge me with being a rebel. "As a young miner at the coal face," he proceeded, "I had the cheek to ask a girl to marry me, and she accepted. We were married, and the babies began to come. "From 18s. to 22s. a week, I found, was not sufficient to maintain a man, wife, and four children. Then I discovered that a duke was receiving from the coal a minimum wage of £240.000. "Did the Creator. I asked myself, "intend that things like this should be? "I declare I do not believe that God intended one class to produce for a miserable pittance, while another class gained enormous incomes from the sweat of the toilers. I became a rebel, and I glory in the fact.

AN OMISSION.

In our last issue, on the last page, we published a story entitled, "Jim Larkin's Homecoming." We deeply regret the omission of the name of the author—Richard M. Fox. We hope to publish further articles from the pen of Mr. R. M. Fox.

gistrar, and explained the matter to him, and my position, and asked leave to withdraw my name from the documents, which he refused.

5. The foregoing facts are within my own knowledge.

JOHN DAVIS.

Sworn before me this 16th day of June 1923 at No. 13 Palmerston Park in the County of Dublin, and I know Chas. B. W. Boyle who certifies he knows Deponent.

ARTHUR T. ELLIS, A Commissioner to administer Oaths in the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland.

I certify that I know deponent. Charles B. W. Boyle. This Affidavit is filed on behalf of the Defendant by Wm. Smyth & Son, Solicitors, 29 Lr. Gardiner Street, Dublin. Filed this 18th day of June 1923.

1923. No. 446. SAORSTAT EIREANN.

High Court of Justice, Chancery Division. Mr. Justice Powell.

Between:

Thomas Foran, William O'Brien, Daniel Clancy, Michael Duffy, Michael Hill, Thomas Kennedy, Michael McCarthy and Thomas Ryan.

Plaintiffs.

and

James Larkin, Defendant.

1. John Bohan, of 36 Blackhall Place, in the City of Dublin aged 21 years and upwards make Oath and say as follows:—  
1. I am Secretary of the No. 3 Branch of The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, 74 Thomas Street, Dublin.  
2. I was requested by Councillor Thomas Kennedy, one of the above-named Plaintiffs to sign a Form of application to enable certain Rules to be registered. I signed the Form on Friday night the 1st June 1923.  
3. At the time I knew that the Rules had not been submitted for approval to a General Meeting of any Branch but a Meeting had been provisionally arranged for Sunday the 10th June, which Meeting was duly held and I thought at the time I signed the Form that the Rules would be submitted at that Meeting.  
4. I was greatly surprised when I heard that the Rules had been registered on the 2nd June and I went to the Registrar and explained my position to him, and asked his leave to withdraw my name, which he refused.  
5. The foregoing facts are within my own knowledge. Sworn before me this day of June 1923 at in the County of the City of Dublin and I know

WHAT'S NEXT? ASKS U.S.

In the first statement given out by Mr. James Larkin after his return to the British Isles, and published in the *Workers' Weekly* of London, there is not much definite information for those who are wondering what this redoubtable labour-leader will be up to next. However, the statement gives ground for the hope that Mr. Larkin may be able to re-import into the Irish situation that element of Irish which has been so conspicuous, recently, by its absence. For example, he says that as a good Britisher ("that is, according to international law; not by inclination, willingness, or conviction"), he was horrified to discover that the most respected passengers of the liner on which he sailed were "a Prince of the House of Hohenzollern, and a number of German ladies, formerly housemaids or bedroom-servants to the late Empress of Germany." He says that this Prince, and these idle ladies, set down as "princesses, countesses and other essences" were waited upon obsequiously, with no end of bowing, scraping and fawning, by British officers and men with as many bars to their war-medals as the Prince of Wales. This sort of thing made Jim Larkin a little sick, and no wonder; but let us wait and hear what he will have to say when he finds that the relations between the politicians and the privileged of the Free State are very similar to those between the stewards and scullery maids of the "Majestic," and their noble passengers."—*The Freeman*, New York City, U.S.A.

NOTICE!

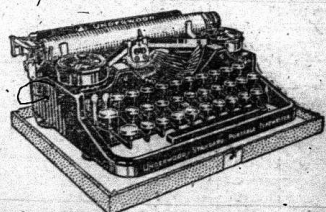
All members of the Union who were denied mortality benefits, during my absence, are requested to send in a statement of their case, together with cards of membership and death certificate. They must be sent in a registered envelope, addressed to Jim Larkin, 17 Gardiners' Place, Dublin.

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# THE IRISH WORKER

(AN T-OIBRÍOÉ SAOULAC).

Edited by JIM LARKIN.

No. 8. New Series.  
(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper).

Dublin, June 30th, 1923.

ONE PENNY

## FOUR COURTS - June 28th, 1922. - Its Lesson.

We are writing this on the eve of June 28th. Twelve months ago the Irish race throughout the world was watching with anxious eyes, with fevered heart and brain, every action of those who, by force of circumstances, the responsibility had been cast upon of guiding this nation out of the swirling whirlpool of political and economic chaos, into which they had been cast by the iniquitous and malevolent action of Lloyd George and his fellow conspirators, who then controlled all the forces within the British Empire and which forces had been ruthlessly used against an almost unarmed people from Easter Week, 1916, until the accomplishment of Lloyd George's design, the forging of a wedge (THE TREATY) which would, if properly inserted, in some crack or orifice in the national conglomerate, then slowly solidifying, composed of the various sections and cross-sections of the nation which had been fused in the fierce heat of mutual sacrifice and suffering from '16 until the date of the Treaty split them asunder.

Whatever history will say about those who brought the Treaty back and those who voted to accept and those to reject the Treaty; whatever may be said as to the forces that impinged upon the men who charged themselves with the responsibility of signing the Treaty or of those who accepted the invitation of Lloyd George and the British Government to enter into an arrangement or negotiation to bring about a condition of peace; whatever may be said in the future about the form of the negotiation, the procedure and methods entered into, surely it must be acknowledged by the apologists for the two sections who were one until the wedge (The Treaty) split them and who temporarily were joined together by the Pact, that however noble and sacred were their intentions and purpose there must have been a fundamental difference in the concept held by the individuals as to the objection and purpose governing the collective activity of the two groups that were one previous to the signing of the Treaty.

Let us agree as to the sincerity, honesty and loyalty of the individuals. Of the motivation that influenced those who brought the instrument back and those who voted to accept and those who voted to reject we cannot judge. History will deal kinder and more sympathetic of their action than even they themselves or their apologists could wish for. The men who lived with them and those who died during the past year and those who live on to carry their responsibility in to the future lived too close and were too closely associated with things in those dramatic moments of a nation's development to judge as to the effects, too vitally interested as characters in the drama to understand or appreciate the importance of their own part in the structure of the play or the tremendous forces that were working towards what we think was the climax.

The eve of June 28th, 1922, was the closing of an epoch in the life evolution of this nation. The first gun that opened on the early morning of June 28th, 1922, announced in tragic voice the opening of another epoch. All that went before that hour and that signal of death is a matter for historians, and yet it is essential for the living who are sensible of their responsibilities to study every word spoken by the protagonists, every word written and recorded, every action expressed by those who by force of circumstances or by elected choice held responsible position up to the signing of the Treaty and until the first shot was fired that reverberated the world over and which announced, in tones that cannot be misunderstood, a message to every member of the race, a message which can never be misunderstood and which like the message flashed from the guns of the Confederates when they sent their voice of Death into Fort Sumter at the opening of the Civil War in America. This is the close of an epoch and the opening of a new era in the life of the nation.

Whatever may have been the concept as to the form of government in the minds of the men and women of this nation previous to the morn of June 28th, 1922, this must be un-

derstood and accepted that all the old formulas; all the old philosophies governing the social relations within this nation and this nation's association, willingly or otherwise, with England and the Empire is settled for ever. The wedge (the Treaty) inserted which caused the cleavage within this nation had a purpose which even Lloyd George and his Government never dreamed of. It is now settled once and forever, and the gun that opened fire on the Four Courts drove that wedge into the very structure of this nation and from the morn of June 28th, 1922, until the accomplishment there will be two parties within this nation—one standing for the Government of the People, by the People, in the interests of the People, and another party or parties, whatever they may call themselves, and no matter how they may express themselves, no matter what phrases they may use, what names or memories they may appeal to, no matter how they lap themselves round with the mantle of the glorious dead, no matter what flag they fly or how apologetic they are for their actions, or in what terms they try to connect themselves with the revolutionary ideals of the past, the issue has been wrought. They stand for monarchical privilege against Republicanism. They stand for the Gall against the Gael. They stand for the Empire against the Nation. They stand for all the British Empire means to the people of the world. They stand for everything—King, Cabinet and all the powers, military, diplomatic, political, economic, expressed within the Empire. All these powers, that have been used so ruthlessly against this nation and its development in the past, and are still interfering with this nation in the present, and will interfere with and limit the development of this nation in the future until that hour when this nation will determine its own form of government.

The gun that spoke out death on the morn of June 28th, 1922, announced the birth of a new nation, for it is an extraordinary and beautiful thing this will to live and it is only through the gates of death that

life is given to men and nations. The old year dies, we are told, and the new year comes to birth. The old idea dies and the new idea is born. Men die and men come into being. Cells of the body die and new cells are born in another. Nothing is permanent. Everything fluid and everflowing. Break up matter and it reforms itself. In the great laboratory of nature the life forces are reforming in different forms, always approaching nearer to what we may term the perfect whole. We, poor mortals, like the chemist in research work, take certain elements, throw them together, expecting that the formula we work on and the fusing of the elements may result in producing a compound, and find the result is somewhat different than what we expected. Yet those elements fuse and the results, though somewhat different, the matter is the same, and if we do not get, as a result of our first attempt, aye, second or third attempt, that which we expected, we know that every succeeding attempt brings us nearer to the accomplishment of our purpose. Having an objective we must strive consciously and with determination to arrive thereat.

Our methods at first will be crude but every attempt made to approach yet unsuccessful increases our knowledge and gives us guidance and sense of direction. If those charged with leadership and responsibility fail us then we must choose others. If our guides, through ignorance, or incompetence, lead us astray we must choose others. If by over-enthusiasm and impatience we out-march our comrades we must lessen our stride. If our plans have gone awry and our methods proved futile we can make other plans, adopt other methods, try new tactics. The thing is to fix your mind and heart on the objective and then conserve your strength and expend it with a due sense of economy. We have been too lavish, too generous in sacrifice. We have so few that are worthy of responsibility, of the purpose and the cause, we should not waste them. Every conscious ego, man or woman, who understands the issues should be used to the (Continued on page 4, column 2.)



Some Untold Facts.

We were not aware of the great men we had in our midst until we had read Malcolm Lyons' "Echo." If only the cinema bosses, etc., could now be induced to accept the valuation of our great leaders as placed upon them by the "Echo," there would be no more strikes, for who would dare question their commands? We hate to spoil the picture, but we feel that it is necessary to inform members of the Union that the entry of William O'Brien into the Dail did not mean a "considerable loss in wages." Anything that O'Brien ever did for the Union, before and after entering the Dail, he was well paid for. On January 4th he took a car from Winetavern Street to the head office. The Union paid 3/6 for this ride. February 1st, he took a ride from Kingsbridge Station to the H.O. The Union again paid the sum of 6/6. On May 10th, he must have been conscience-stricken, as he only charged 5/- for the same ride; another time he rode from Kingsbridge to the H.O. The Union paid 18/- for this ride. March 1st, 1923, O'Brien was a member of the Dail, receiving a weekly salary as a T.D. He journeyed to Cork, charging the Union the sum of £5, in addition to the sum of £4 14/- expenses. He journeyed to Ovoca and Lucan on E.C. business, still a member of the Dail, still receiving a salary, charging the Union £2 10/-, in addition to £1 18/- for expenses. He also visited Athy and Tipperary, charging the Union £1 10/-, in addition to £2 4/- 10 expenses. On the day that the No. 1 Branch met in the La Scala Theatre, Mr. O'Brien visited Sligo, "in the interest of the Union." The Union was charged by Mr. O'Brien £2 for journeying to Sligo, and £2 16/4 expenses. He recently visited Castlecomer, charging the Union 25/-, in addition to £2 12/- expenses.

You can form your own opinions as to the interest of Mr. O'Brien in the Union.

Senator Michael Duffy, who told a meeting of the shop stewards of Dublin that it was "the ruffians and hooligans of Dublin who were behind Larkin," follows in the footsteps of William O'Brien. Here is his expense account, which the "ruffians and hooligans of Dublin" helped to pay:—

|                   |              |
|-------------------|--------------|
| January 4, 1923   | £4 7 6       |
| January 11, 1923  | 10 0 0       |
|                   | (on account) |
| February 19, 1923 | 5 0 0        |
|                   | (on account) |
| March 10, 1923    | 1 15 0       |
| April 5, 1923     | 5 0 0        |
|                   | (on account) |
| April 14, 1923    | 12 18 3      |
| April 25, 1923    | 2 11 4       |
| May 14, 1923      | 1 15 0       |
| May 17, 1923      | 5 6 4        |
| May 31, 1923      | 3 6 8        |

Total amount received during period commencing January 4th, 1923, and ending May 31st, 1923, was £51 10s. 1d.

Mr. D. Clancy, member of the E.C., not desirous of destroying the solidarity of the machine, he also demands super-union rates of pay. His expense account, for less than seven weeks, is as follows:—

|                |                                 |
|----------------|---------------------------------|
| April 6, 1923  | £14.12 4                        |
| April 25, 1923 | 7 6 2                           |
|                | (Attending delegate conference) |
| May 4, 1923    | 5 16 2                          |
|                | (Attending E.C. meeting)        |
| May 10, 1923   | 5 16; 2                         |
|                | (Flour milling conference)      |
| May 24, 1923   | 6 6 2                           |
|                | (Delegate conference)           |

Period commencing April 6th, 1923, ending May 24th, 1923, member received £39 17s. 0d.

Mr. M. McCarthy, member of the "Shotgun Section" of the Irish Citizen Army, for year past has received £6 per week. During the last few months he visited Cork, Limerick, Birr, Louth, Drogheda, Ovoca, and Lucan. He presented bills for £30 10s. 7d., and they were paid. Michael is going to stand in with the gang—for a time.

THOMAS KENNEDY, Member of the E.C.

Up to the 17th February, a week prior to the time when we were due to sail home, Kennedy was drawing six pounds per week. On February 24th, 1923, his wages were increased to £8 per week. The increase was made retroactive, so that on February 24th, 1923, Kennedy drew £54. On April 30, 1923, he attended E.C. meeting, Ovoca and Lucan, charging the Union £2, together with £3 15s. 6d. expenses, the same week, two days previous, he had drawn eight pounds wages.

THOMAS RYAN, Member of the E.C.

|                                   |                                 |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| February 1, 1923                  | £20 10 6                        |
| March 16, 1923                    | 17 16 0                         |
| April 5, 1923                     | 7 4 6                           |
| April 6, 1923                     | 5 10 6                          |
| April 25, 1923                    | 7 0 6                           |
|                                   | (Attending delegate conference) |
| May 10, 1923                      | 12 2 0                          |
|                                   | (Including E.C. meeting)        |
| May 14, 1923                      | 6 0 6                           |
|                                   | (Delegate conference)           |
| May 17, 1923                      | 3 0 0                           |
| Total amount received—£79 4s. 6d. |                                 |

W. HILL, Member of the E.C.

|                                    |                               |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| January 20th, 1923                 | £11 10 0                      |
|                                    | (H.O.)                        |
| February 7, 1923                   | 8 0 0                         |
| April 6, 1923                      | 13 0 0                        |
| May 4, 1923                        | 6 10 0                        |
|                                    | (E.C. meeting, May 4th, 1923) |
| June 7th, 1923                     | 11 3 10                       |
| Total amount received—£50 3s. 10d. |                               |

CATHAL O'SHANNON.

Up to January 7th, 1922, Cathal O'Shannon was receiving, as editor of the paper, £5 10s. per week. On January 14th, his salary was raised to £7 per week. His rise in wages was made retroactive, and on January 21, 1922, he was paid a cheque for £22. It is interesting to note that during the past months he has not found fit to contribute one article to the official organ of the Union.

JOSEPH O'KELLY, right hand man of W. O'Brien, drew down £20 6s. 5d. as an extra pay above his weekly wage of £5 12s. 6d.

PATRICK O'KELLY, right hand man of Foran, drew down £15 10s. 11d. over and above his weekly wage of £5 12s. 6d.

THERE ARE MORE FACTS TO BE TOLD. The above will do to go on with.

\* \* \*

ANOTHER BLOOD BATH DUE.

"In Europe, sixty million Germans are massed against thirty-nine million Frenchmen, but beneath the French flag there are fifteen million Berber Arabs in North Africa, and twenty-two million Hindo-Chinese, three million natives of Madagascar, and many hundreds of thousands of Somalis and Canques; and France—by the military annexation of her Colonies—becomes a nation of a hundred million inhabitants. This fact fills with rage those of our erstwhile enemies who thirst for revenge, and it is by no means certain that it fills with joy quite all our friends." So writes General Mangin, French general, in a preface to a war history of the black legions of France.

American audiences were informed by Lord Robert Cecil that bombs to contain poison gas, also incendiary bombs, were being manufactured. He further declared that the effect of these bombs would be to wipe out whole towns and cities. The annihilation of the population of any city will be complete if an air force, armed with a goodly supply of these bombs, pays it a visit. Civilization with a vengeance!

Thousands of Hindus have been imprisoned for daring to believe that the common people are entitled, at least, to have some say as to how the country shall be run and by whom it shall be administered. Read over again what General Mangin said. It is not exaggerating to state that there are some diplomats who will capitalise and exploit the antagonism of the Hindus against the British Empire. They will go further, and under the guise of a race war will plunge the world again into seas of blood in order that their particular country might enjoy military the hegemony of the Continent.

\* \* \*

In our leader last week, "Why Not the Pitch Cap?" occurred the following:— "it was auxiliary" it should have read—"it was ancillary—in other words, subordinate to the powers left to the military authorities." Again—"Within a few months we will have an election forced upon them." It should read—"they will have an election forced upon them."

How They Do Things.

The following circular has been forwarded to members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. It is rather interesting to know how the Executive do things in the Transport Union. This has been done without the authority and knowledge of the members, as far as we can learn.

IRISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS HEALTH INSURANCE SOCIETY.

Approval No. 120.  
32, Lower Abbey Street,  
Dublin,  
20th June, 1923.

To Local Officers.

A Chara.—As you are aware, the membership of the Approved Society, of which you are the Local Officer, has been transferred to the above Society consequent on the change of Government. In all 30 Societies have transferred their Irish membership.

The Management Committee desire to retain the services of all local officers as far as possible on the same terms and conditions as obtained previously and they feel sure that they can count with confidence on the loyal support of the local officers in making the new Society worthy of the best traditions of Trade Unionism. Enclosed is a copy of a circular giving information to individual members of the change. Please make known the contents to the members when issuing the cards, and explain at Branch meetings. An extra copy of the notice to members is enclosed, which you might place in a prominent position in the Branch meeting room.

It will be necessary to adopt a uniform scheme for payment of benefit, and full particulars as to the methods to be adopted will be forwarded to you in the course of a few days.

Please acknowledge receipt of this circular, and if there are any matters upon which you desire further information I shall be glad if you will communicate with me on the matter.

Mise, do Chara,

THOMAS JOHNSON,  
Runaidhe.

TW/BR.

\* \* \*

Flogging Bill.

To the Editor of the Irish Worker.

"Dear Sir,—They whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad," is an old Grecian saying. It is as true to-day as it was in the days of early Greece. The "Public Safety (Emergency Powers) Bill, 1923," introduced by Kevin O'Higgins, must literally take your breath away. People whom the Government deem dangerous are to remain interned; those suspected by the Government are to be interned, and the penalty of flogging is to be placed upon the statute books of the Irish Free State. Theimps of hell are beating a wild tarentella as they read the proposed Act. In the Russia of pre-revolutionary days a person could not be imprisoned if no overt act, no equivocal expression or compromising conduct could be brought home to them. "Our" Government proposes to intern persons, without trial, whom they consider are abusing their liberty. If any person dares to speak the truth and thereby imperil the election chances of Kevin O'Higgins, General Mulcahy, and the rest of the Cabinet, they can be interned. What an easy way of eliminating your rivals from the political arena! How the Czar of Russia must turn over in his grave.

The mere suggestion of such a bill is outrageous enough, but that Ministers should go so far as to introduce it and finally to write it into the statute books is unbelievable. It is when such bills are introduced that we realise the bitter tragedy that has enveloped the Labour movement. The Irish Labour Party came into being and raised fond hopes in the breasts of thousands of Irish working-men and working-women. Labour was going into the

political arena. There it was to boldly declare its faith and fight for the eventual control of Ireland by the common people of Ireland. To-day, there are seventeen representatives of Labour in the Dail. An important bill, a bill that outrages every human right and human feeling, is introduced. When the alleged representatives of Labour rise and protest, the Minister of Agriculture dismisses their protest as "futile altruism." We have the sorry spectacle of a Labour deputy, Cathal O'Shannon, even going as far as to say that under certain conditions "there might be some case for allowing this bill to be introduced."

If the Labour Party was mindful of its duty and conscious of its own power it would have stood up and threw out a challenge to Kevin O'Higgins, and it would have made Mr. P. Hogan swallow his contemptuous slurs. It would have made its protest in no uncertain tones, and then realising that it did not have the required number of votes to defeat the bill, it would have walked out and rallied the Labour movement, and in less than forty-eight hours it would have so aroused the common people of this country to such an extent that the bill would have been withdrawn. Imagine a country, that has produced men and women this nation has produced, allowing the Kevin O'Higginses to heap insult after insult, degradation after degradation, upon our heads, and we submit to it all.

—Yours,

"CROM A BU."

\* \* \*  
Salaam.

"I go my way rejoicingly;  
I, outcast, spurned and low,  
But undreamed worlds may come to birth

From seeds that I may sow.  
And if there's pain within my heart  
Those fools shall never know."  
—Ralph Chaplin, political prisoner in America.

But if men would live up to reason's rules,  
They would not bow and scrape to wealthy fools.

—Lucretius.

A flogging bill introduced for Irishmen, in an "Irish" Parliament, by Irishmen. This, after seven hundred years!

\* \* \*

Scotch Protest.

One of our Glasgow readers informs us that a vigorous protest was sent to the British Premier, Stanley Baldwin, protesting against the subsidising of Ulster shipbuilders, at the expense of British ship-building. According to our informant, there are 52,000 unemployed ship-workers on the Clyde. On the other hand, he points out, the Belfast shipyards are doing a fair trade. We now see the price that is being paid Ulster to perpetuate this foul crime of partition. The British working-class must voice their protest and refuse to be starved into the workhouse in order that another section might be subsidised to keep another nation in subjection.

\* \* \*

TO OUR READERS.

You can assist us if you ask your shopkeeper, tobacconist, newsagent, etc., as to why he does not advertise in the Irish Worker. Just ask him: "Do you advertise in the Irish Worker? If not, why not?" This is all we ask you to do. We know you will do it.

"An Injury to One is the concern of All."

—THE—

## Irish Worker,

EDITED BY JIM LARKIN.

The Irish Worker will be published weekly—price one penny—and may be had of any newsagent or newsboy. Ask for it, and see that you get it. All communications, whether relating to literary or business matters, to be addressed to the Editor, 17 Gardiner's Place, Dublin.

Subscription, 6s. 6d. per year; 3s. 3d. for six months, payable in advance. We do not publish or waste time on anonymous contributions.

Dublin, June 30th, 1923.

### BACK TO 1907.

We note the Ulster Press take issue with us because we commented on the petting of the Loyal Orange Order, who control the shipyards in Belfast, and Larkin is challenged to say how it would affect the Dublin dockyards if the British Government can graciously present to the shipowners of Belfast £2,800,000 of a subsidy, inasmuch that the Dublin dockyards are too small to build vessels of 20,000 tons. Logic was never a strong point with the paid apologists of the Orange Pogromists, who run the Six Counties' Government.

What we said we repeat, that the British Government deliberately and corruptly, and as a price paid for services rendered by the hired assassins, who in Belfast and the surrounding territory, during the years 1920 and 1921, organised and carried out a foul and sanguinary pogrom against the unnamed Catholic workmen, their wives and children, and the decent, honest Protestant Union men, who made a protest against the killing of over eight hundred men, three hundred women, and two hundred children, and the driving out of 82,000 Catholic Irishmen, women and children, out of a population of 90,000 Catholics, from a city they were born in. This pogrom was planned and systematically carried out by, and with the assistance, and in the interest of the employers of Belfast and the district. It was done with a purpose, to breed hatred and disunity between the workers, Catholic and Protestant, of Belfast. The object being to lower wages, lengthen hours, and alter conditions of labour, so that the blood-sucking capitalists of Ulster could get cheap labour and make greater profits for themselves and keep the workers of Belfast in subjection and reduce them to the condition they were in previous to the year 1907. They got the Protestant workers—those poor unfortunate, ignorant, bigoted men and women, and they ran amuck, burning houses and slaying their own fellow-workers, during the years 1920 and 1921: Their reward is; they are working ten shillings a week below any other class of workers in the British Isles. They have longer hours; and they have such conditions as the Belfast employers make them accept, while the shipbuilders, shipowners, and industrial capitalists get a free gift of £2,800,000 out of the taxpayers of Great Britain and Southern Ireland to subsidise them so that they can underbid all other shipbuilders within Great Britain and Ireland, thus gaining an advantage and monopolising all contracts for new ships and the repairing of ships already built. The actual facts are admitted, that they could underbid shipbuilders in the South of Ireland and Dublin in a contract to repair four different ships

that ought to have been repaired by Dublin shipbuilders. The firm that got the contract, Workman, Clark and Co., were proved by a committee of investigation, in 1911, to have permitted the most brutal outrages on the Catholic workmen engaged in their yards; that such Catholic workmen were driven out of the said Workman, Clark and Co. yard, and every Protestant workman who made a protest against the brutal treatment and murderous attacks upon their Catholic fellow-workmen were also driven out. Since 1911 no Catholic workman is employed in that yard if he is known. These are facts, and the price of the blood-spilling was paid by the British Government, and paid out of the taxpayers of Great Britain and Southern Ireland, to the organised industrial oligarchy which rules Belfast and the Six Northern Counties; but if the workers of Belfast want to live as bigoted slaves and desire to continue to scab, industrially and politically, against the other workers in their own country, and against the interests of the workers in Scotland, England and Wales, theirs be the shame. But the hour of reckoning will come. In 1907 we gave them service. We taught them how to be human. What a difference between the year July, 1907, when it was recognised in Belfast that "man to man the countries o'er, we're brothers a' for all that," when "The interest of one was the interest of all," and when the slogan was, "All power to the workers." There was liberty, love and understanding in July, 1907; man respected his brother man. But what of July, 1920, '21, and July, 1923? We again appeal to the workers of Belfast and the Six Northern Counties, no matter what differences of opinion you may have, or what altar you worship at; get together. Get back into your Unions. Join up with your fellow-countrymen and your fellow-workers in Scotland, England and Wales, and instead of submitting as tools to the designs of the unscrupulous bigots who use religion and your foolishness for your undoing, and against the interest of your women and children, and to their aggrandisement, organise to fight the boss and not to fight and kill for the boss, and make them pay the full value of your labour power, and let us get back to 1907, a united working-class, respecting each others' religious and political opinions, but united on a platform where all workers can agree—the right to live and control our own lives, the strength to demand respect, and treat others with respect, and no longer be slaves to bigotry, intolerance, and the industrial power of the unscrupulous oligarchy who run Belfast in their own interest, against your interests and against the interests of the nation and against the principles of Humanity. Get back to 1907.

Your comrade and well-wisher,

THE EDITOR.

\* \* \*

### THE FOUR COURTS.

(Continued from page One.)

limit of their powers; should be appreciated to the height of their sacrifice and the full measure of their service. But we should demand disciplined effort, consciousness of responsibility and willingness to serve. Impatience is sometimes more dangerous than over-cautiousness. The courage to wait is sometimes of greater value than the courage to dare. It is idle to attempt to build having only the architect's plans and the materials not assembled or in sight. If there

had been some reasoned philosophy and consciousness of responsibility in the minds of those who were comrades in arms, but a short time previous to June 28th, 1922, does anyone living to-day dare to suggest that the method applied and the results achieved were such that this nation will approve of within the immediate future? However, the guns spoke. We know the aftermath, the Four Courts fell. Men who were comrades died within and without the walls of the Four Courts and not for the first time, in the purgatorial passages of this nation's history, have Irishmen quarrelled and brought death within their own ranks, within the four walls of this nation. They have been bitter lessons in the past. North against South, East against West. Every time, Irishmen on both sides cried out, "Not mine the guilt!" But the nation suffered and the enemy, without the nation, laughed in their unholy glee.

The guns spoke on June 28th, 1922. Reason fled this country. Valuable lives, on both sides, have been sacrificed. Hatred and vengeance live among our people. Men talk of the will of the people, meaning, of course, their will to repress. Men, built in the image of God and His likeness, and who claim to be carrying out the will of the people keep one section of the race in prisons, guarded and controlled by another section of the race, and no understanding suggested or solution offered is even discussed, or any sign of the willingness to discuss means or methods to bring ordered peace within the four walls of this nation. The spirit that brought the dreadful tragedy of the Four Courts within the household of this nation still lives amongst us. Repression on one side and lack of consideration and on the other side a sullen acquiescence and submission to force. Yet, if there was a consciousness of responsibility, and a recognition of the tragedy that befell this nation a year ago, even at this late hour, the tragedy of the Four Courts might convey a message that might help to bring about a settled peace and show us the way to solve the problems confronting the nation.

Is there any sane man or woman who believes that all is well with this country? Six Counties and its people separated from the nation by the arbitrary ruling of a foreign government. Three million people, within the Twenty-six Counties, torn with strife, hatred and unrest. Fifty thousand men of the nation taken apart from useful work unformed and armed keeping in subjection another portion of their own people. The gaols full of useful men and women. The dependents of these prisoners on the verge of starvation, eking out a miserable existence. Unemployment and poverty rampant throughout the length and breadth of the land and not only military aggression, but what is more disastrous, as affecting the future, industrial conflict in practically every portion of the Twenty-six Counties. Exploitation in every field of activity. Every individual and section of the nation trying to gain an advantage for themselves as against the collective benefits of all. Selfishness and greed rampant. The compromiser and the unprincipled poison every artery of the body politic.

Let the voice of the people be heard on this 28th day of June, 1923. Let the guns be silenced. The armed

men of the nation demobilised and put to useful work. Let the gaol gates be opened and the men and women interned therein come out and return to their homes. Let a peace of understanding be entered into. Why should matters or words be the cause of a continuance of these repressive measures? The leaders of the Republican section have spoken out and ordered the men under their command to cease fire. Why stand upon form? Let the Government publish conditions of a settled and considered peace. If they claim they have already set down in writing their conditions, let them repeat them and publish them. Let the Republicans also re-state their position. Let there be an open conference arranged and matters discussed in the face of the nation. Let us have an open covenant, openly arrived at and no further backstair methods. Surely Irishmen are big enough and generous enough even to adopt the methods of a Lloyd George and his Cabinet. The British Government were not too big to invite the leaders of the Irish revolutionary movement to come in to council. Let the Premier of the Free State Government and his Cabinet publicly invite Mr. De Valera and his advisers to meet at an appointed place and discuss definite conditions that will bring peace within this land. We suggest the last document, published by Mr. De Valera, be taken as a basis for discussion, with this addition that not only shall there be a settled peace upon political and military lines, but industrial peace in this country for the next seven months, so that the mind of the people and the machinery of government may have an opportunity to function in a rational manner.

Let the issues between the political groups be carried to the ballot box, and that the right of every man and woman to express their opinions at the ballot box be fully and freely acknowledged. This cannot be done on a register arranged by one party. This cannot be done while 50,000 soldiers march to and fro overawing the people. This cannot be done while secret police intimidate and illegally restrain people. This cannot be done while hundreds of delicate women are interned without trial. This cannot be done while fifty-seven women of our race are submitting to the tortures of a hunger strike, as a protest against the continued incarceration. This cannot be done while thirteen or fourteen thousand men are interned without trial. A gesture towards peace must be made by the responsible officers of the Government. If such a gesture was made, in a generous way, there is no doubt in anybody's mind it would be accepted. And if accepted, it would mean an ordered form of government by constitutional methods and under the law no need of flogging or secret internment acts. It would mean more than that—it would mean the elected government of the country could go out into the world and ask for money, by loan or by gift, to finance and rebuild the nation. And they would have a united nation behind that request. They could give an assurance to the lender of the money that the credit of the nation was behind the request. They could give an

(Continued on page 5, col. 4.)

**SEAMEN'S DISPUTE.**

Belfast, 23/6/23.

A Chara,—I will give you an outline of the seamen's dispute in Belfast. As you know, we have had a hellish time in Belfast from 1920 to 1923. The seamen in 1920 were members of Havelock Wilson's union. Many of the members of that union were driven away from their ships at the point of the revolver, on account of their religion. We had one member shot, but the union never protested or tried to get protection for their members. When they asked for a protest meeting, Mr. Bennett, the secretary of the National Sailors and Firemen's Union, phoned for the Crown forces and we were cleared away at the point of Lewis guns of the R.I.C. and armoured cars. We held a number of meetings in St. Mary's Hall, and it was decided to make application for admission into the I.T.G.W.U. We went over, 250 strong on October 1st, 1921. At the end of 1922, we had 750 members on the books of the seamen's section. During that time we held out for our rights and we retained the ash money for firemen and overtime for all other ratings. Last August we got the Head Line to discontinue ordering crews aboard at five minutes after midnight. The Curfew Law in the Six Counties does not permit anyone to be on the streets after midnight. So we contended that the men should be ordered aboard before Curfew or after it had been lifted the next morning. In the case of the "Melmore Head" the men were ordered aboard at five minutes past twelve, so as the shipowner could save a day's pay from each man and have a full 24 hours work out of them. The men refused, as they had a right to do, as our Union has that rule on the minute book, passed by the committee last August. Well, Havelock Wilson's union supplied a crew of scabs for the "Melmore Head." Word was at once sent to Mr. T. Foran, and he got into communication with the Head Line office in Belfast and arranged a conference of the shipowners and the men. We had two delegates from the men who were involved in the dispute; Mr. T. Foran, Mr. McMullen and the branch delegate were present at the conference. The result of the conference was reported at a general meeting of the branch. In brief, the conference was a failure. Mr. T. Foran addressed the members and gave them his assurance that if the Head Line shipped any more men, other than Irish transport Union members, he would use all the power of the organisation against the Head Line steamers in every port of Ireland. Well, the "Dunaff Head" shipped a crew of National Union men a few days later, and that union has been using propaganda in the Press. I enclose you a copy. Mr. Foran has taken no action with the Head Line, up to date, and our Strike Committee has sent letters and wires, and got no reply, so the men think they are being ignored. So they sent two delegates to Dublin to place our whole case before the E.C., or whoever is in power.

We have two more ships, the "Fair Head" and the "Bengal Head," and if something is not done they will take crews from the scab National Union. We have the "Rathlin Head" and the "Fair Head" due here on Monday. You have the "Carrigan Head" in Dublin, and I think the time has come that action should be taken with this line of ships.—Yours,

UNION MAN.

P.S.—I enclose my name and address. The above letter was written by a man who has been going to sea for over twenty years. He briefly touches upon the bitter experiences of Catholic workmen experienced during the years 1920 and 1921 in the city of Belfast. The gentleman who, it is alleged, actively participated in the persecution of these Catholic seamen and firemen is a Mr. J. H. Bennett, who printed the following in the evening papers of Dublin, on Wednesday, June 27th, 1923:—

**DUBLIN SEAMEN'S DISPUTE. TRADES' UNIONISM AND BOLSHEVISM. AN APPEAL.**

The Seamen members of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union are now fighting the Battle of the sane Trade Union Movement in Ireland.

If the O.B.U. wins this fight other Unions not loved by the

leaders of the O.B.U. will be the next to have to fight.

Take this appeal to your Branch Meetings immediately and lodge your protest against the Tyranny of the O.B.U.

Have your protests sent to the different Government Departments.

Meetings of Unions will be addressed and the case explained on receipt of invitation.

This fight is long overdue.

OUR FIGHT TO-DAY MAY BE YOURS

TO-MORROW.

ACT NOW.

J. H. BENNETT,

District Secretary, National Sailors' and Firemen's Union, 70 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin.

The advertisement speaks for itself. We draw our readers' special attention to the fourth paragraph in the advertisement: "Have your protest sent to the different Government Departments." This gentleman, Bennett, knows something of Government Departments, having worked in conjunction with the Six Counties' Government in the North, during that period when an organised pogrom was carried out against the Catholic workmen, their wives and children, in the city of Belfast; when about 870 unarmed men, ordinary Union men, 312 women and something like 200 children, were brutally murdered; when blocks of houses, nay, whole streets, in fact, were set on fire, and the occupants, to the number of 32,000, mostly Catholics, and a few hundred Protestant sympathisers, were driven out of that city. This is one of the fights that Mr. Bennett took more than a passing interest in, for, according to a former member of the Union, this Mr. Bennett, when called upon to hold a protest meeting against the murderous attacks on the members of the Union who were paying him, telephoned to the Crown forces, and his own members were cleared away at the point of the Lewis guns, in the hands of the special constables, and even armoured cars were brought up against these unarmed sailors and firemen, whose only crime was that they were Catholic seamen and firemen.

Mr. Bennett says this fight is long overdue. We think he means to convey that he is paid to come down here to start a fight in the interests of the Shipping Federation, which controls and directs the so-called Union, of which he is a very good specimen of the type of official who works so mischievously against the best interests of the sailors and firemen in England, Scotland and Wales. It is understood that we enjoy political freedom in this country; that we have a separate and distinct Government—then why not separate and distinct industrial organisations? Why should these paid agents of English organisations be allowed to inject themselves into the affairs of this country? If Irish sailors and firemen desire to manage their own affairs, why should Mr. Bennett be permitted to act as an agent-provocateur and deliberately, and with malice, lend himself to the purposes of the Shipping Federation of London?

Mr. Bennett desires to attend at Union meetings and address the members on the issue affecting the lives and welfare of the sailors and firemen of this port. We are quite certain that the sailors and firemen of No. 1 Branch of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, will only be too willing to afford him the opportu-

nity of explaining his position. On Sunday, at 1 o'clock, he will be heartily welcome to attend the meeting to be held in Beresford Place, and there and then present his views to the Union men who are affected by his action. Every courtesy will be extended to him.

The seamen and firemen of Havelock Wilson's Union never fought any battle for Trade Unionism in Ireland. Their battles were fought for them. Their strike pay was paid to them by the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. They were organised by the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. Any benefits they ever gained, or increased wages, were gotten through the strength of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. But all the reductions in wages, the lengthening of hours, the additional work forced upon them, were brought about by the action of Mr. Bennett and other officials of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union, which, by the way, is not national, nor a Union, but a group of oligarchy, appointed and controlled by Havelock Wilson, whose reputation is well and unfavourably known in every port in Great Britain, and too well known for Mr. Wilson and his tool, Mr. J. H. Bennett.

This Bennett, who is the son of a former boarding-house master in Hull, never went to sea in his life, either below or under deck, except as a first-class passenger crossing over from England to Ireland. We respectfully suggest to him that it is time he used the return half of his ticket and got back to Hull. Irish seamen and firemen and Irish workmen have determined they will manage their own affairs, and any little differences they have between themselves or their officials will be argued out and settled within Ireland. The time has gone past when they will submit to direction or control from the type of adventurer like J. H. Bennett. We know J. H. Bennett. We feel certain he will be willing to meet the sailors and firemen of this port and explain his actions, not only in the present stoppage, of which he has been the cause, but the history of his connection with the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union, and his actions since he first came to Ireland.

We are glad that he has unmasked himself. He has been working too long under cover. As it has been well said, this Union that he acts for, the members pay a shilling a week to get reductions in wages, and they only exist as a Union because they are prepared at all time to do the dirty work of the shipowners of England, and take direction from the Shipping Federation of London. Whenever scabs are wanted the Shipping Federation always knows where to go to. Whenever thugs or agent-provocateurs are required the Shipping Federation knows the address to write to, and they are always supplied.

The seamen and firemen of England, Scotland and Wales are beginning to realise what's what. A few weeks ago one of Mr. Bennett's colleagues, in the port of Garston, was taught a lesson by a Union seaman, and the hired bullies that were doing the work of the shipowners in Liverpool, protected by the British Government during the war, have learned their lesson, and we are somewhat afraid they will require the magnificent qualities and sterling work of Mr. J. H. Bennett, who is such a paladin in the fight. A week ago a boat went into Dungarvan, manned by members of Mr. J. H. Bennett's always-ready-to-scab Union; the

boat was loaded and discharged by scabs, under the protection of the bayonet, and, of course, Mr. Bennett's Union men took the scab-loaded ship to sea. Oh, yes, Bennett knows about Governments! We think the British Government could give us a lot of information in that direction, and we know how willingly he worked with the Craig Government in the persecution of the workers in Belfast. If we might give a word of advice to Irish Unions, we would ask them to extend the hospitality of their Union room to Mr. J. H. Bennett, officially, and send us a copy of the invitation. We know Bennett. They will not be troubled with his presence. But we want to call his bluff. Bennett will be very likely living in the Shelbourne Hotel, like his master, J. H. Wilson, during the 1913 struggle, and dining with the shipowners. They are specially gifted, the officials of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union in the art of hobnobbing, wining and dining with the shipowners and other employers.

As we finish this article, we are reminded that Bennett did go to sea once, otherwise than as a passenger; he was unconscious at the time. There was a dispute aboard the S.S. "Mungo," so Bennett and Purcell, the delegate, were sent for. She was swinging in the Spencer Dock gates, and of course Bennett did not know that ships went to sea, being secretary of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union, and while he was discussing matters with the firemen, the mate cast mooring ropes off and she was heading down the Liffey, outward bound, for Ayr. Of course, Bennett thought they would stop this liner, he being used to passenger vessels, but the captain of the S.S. "Mungo," one of the hard-shelled sort, was not used to having passengers aboard his craft, and so they stood on, and when passing Howth light, Bennett pleaded with the captain to put him ashore. The skipper said: "No, —! I'll have you arrested for being a stowaway when I get you to Ayr." So the unconscious one got the "air," and he was shanghaied to the port of Ayr, and upon arrival he burnt up the wires appealing for money to pay his fare back. This was the first and last trip for the stowaway, Bennett. The only craft he goes aboard now is the Ship Inn, which is always safely moored. We understand that when his master, Havelock Wilson, again hoists the Jolly Roger, J. H. Bennett is going to ship as captain's tiger.

**The Four Courts.**

(Continued from page 4.)

assurance to those of our own race who we know will be all too willing to help generously with money, that such monies given would be used for the development of the country. This would be a lesson to the world that we have at last realised the tragedy of June 28th, 1922; that with the fall of the Four Courts we had opened up a new chapter, that we had learned a bitter lesson, and we had resolved to do all within our power in our own time to repent and to see to it that such a crime would never again disgrace the race; that from June 28th, 1923, onward, we would use all our energies and all the forces within the country to the enrichment and development of life, instead of the destruction of life as in June 28th, 1922. The wise learn by the mistakes of the past. Let us be wise. Let us be generous to each other. Let us be human.

"Each For All, and All For Each."

Thomas Ryan, Card No. 2147/1920, Branch No. 1, date of re-entry, May 12th, 1917, was shot to death by the "Black and Tans" in Croke Park. Contributions due from date of entry to date of death making him eligible for mortality benefit, £4 3s. 8d. Contributions actually received, and shown on card, £4 7s. 3d. Paid ninepence per week from July 1st, 1920, until the date of his murder by "Black and Tans." His widow made application for his benefit at the office of No. 1 Branch. We print the reply to the widow, showing the callous and inhuman way these well-paid officials treated the relatives of a dead member:—

"EACH FOR ALL, ALL FOR EACH."

IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.

Head Office: Liberty Hall, Dublin. "Ni Saoirse go Saoirse Lucht Oibre." No. 1 Branch. Dated 8th Dec., 1920. Address: Liberty Hall, Dublin. Mr. Thomas Ryan, 56, Viking Road, Arbour Hill, Dublin.

Dear Sir, With reference to your application for Mortality Benefit on the funds of this Union, we regret to inform you that as you have been 14 weeks in arrears at the date of the claim, your application therefore cannot be admitted.

We are returning herewith your Contribution Card.

Yours faithfully, IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION. Per pro P.F.

They address the reply to the dead man himself. We reprint the letter in full. Take notice of the motto set out on top—EACH FOR ALL AND ALL FOR EACH. They do not even take the trouble to sign the letter in full. The secretary's name of No. 1 Branch is John O'Neill. The gentleman who puts his initials on it, P.F., is Mr. Patrick Farrell. The statement made in the body of the letter that this man is fourteen weeks in arrears is untrue.

This is only one sample of the many cases of illegally withholding mortality benefits from relatives of deceased members. We quote the rule, fraudulently submitted to the Assistant Registrar-General, D. O'Connell Miley, on a sworn statement that such rules had been submitted to the members of the Union:—

RULE 12.—MORTALITY BENEFIT.

At the death of a financial member, whose arrears do not exceed eight weeks' contributions one clear week before death, the next-of-kin or nominee of member shall be paid out of the General Fund mortality benefit in accordance with the following scale:—

- For 52 weeks' membership at 6d. per week ..... £9
For 52 weeks' membership at 4d. per week ..... £6
For 52 weeks' membership at 3d. per week ..... £4
For 26 weeks' membership, half mortality benefit.
At the death of the wife of a financial member, whose arrears do not exceed eight weeks' contributions one clear week before death, mortality benefit shall be paid in accordance with the following scale:—
For 52 weeks' contributions at 6d. per week ..... £4 10s.
For 52 weeks' contributions at 4d. per week ..... £3 0s.
For 26 weeks' contributions, half benefit.

You will see that it is plain within these rules that any person joining the I.T.G.W.U and having paid sixpence per week for 52 weeks, and sixpence per week for every week on and after a full year's membership, must be entitled, and the relatives must be paid in case of death the sum of nine pounds, and for twenty-six contributions, at sixpence per week, half benefits.

Since July 1st, 1920, without the authority of the membership in Dublin No. 1, No. 3, No. 4, and No. 5 Branches, a levy of 3d. per week was forced on the members, and instead of being shown upon

the payment cards as a levy it was carried in the contribution column. This is obviously for the purpose of disqualifying men from receiving the mortality benefits under the certified rules of the Union. The denial of mortality benefits was done consciously, callously, and with intent. In October, 1922, an action was brought against the Union for the payment of mortality benefit under Rule 12, to the relatives of a deceased member. The case we refer to is that of Richardson against the I.T.G.W.U.—Mrs. Richardson, daughter of one J. Boland, deceased. The Union let judgment go by default, making no appearance. Remember that was in October, 1922. Yet, since that date many relatives of deceased members have been refused mortality benefits.

We quote a further case—Edward Kennedy, 16, East James' Street. He re-joined the Union on March 1st, 1919. He paid his contributions regularly. He was clear coming in each year, and paid the first week's increased wage, he got, which is not acknowledged in the book. He was clear coming in the first quarter of 1923. His last payment was made on February 3rd, 1923, the sum of 3/-. He paid, in 1919, according to the cards in our possession, 42 weeks at 6d. per week, in addition he paid 2/-. a political levy. In 1921, he paid 52 weeks at 6d. per week, 2/- political levy, and 6/6 illegal levy. In 1921, he paid 26/- contributions, 2/- political levy, and 15/9 illegal levy, paying £2 3s. 9d. in all. In 1922 he paid, first quarter, 10/4; second quarter, 10/3; third quarter, 6/9, and the fourth quarter, 16/-. In all, £2 3s. 4d. being 26/- contributions, 2/- political levy, 1/- hospital levy, and 14/4 illegal levy. In 1923 he paid 3/1.

To obtain mortality benefits all that he had to pay was £3 5s. 6d. He actually paid £7 5s. 8d. We publish in full the letter that his widow received, denying her mortality benefit:—

"Ni Saoirse gan Saoirse Lucht Oibre." Telephone:—Dublin 2622.

Telegrams:—"Obu, Dublin." IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION.

In reply quote FINANCE/136. General President:—Thomas Foran. General Treasurer:—William O'Brien. General Secretary:—James Larkin.

Executive Offices: 35 PARNELL SQUARE, DUBLIN. 9, Aibrean, 1923.

—Kennedy, Esq., 16 East James' Street, Dublin.

A Chára.

With reference to your application for Mortality Benefit, in respect of the late Mr. Edward Kennedy, we much regret that Mortality Benefit is not payable in this case, as, if you will refer to Rule 12, you will see that members may not be more than eight weeks in arrears at date of death, or one clear week before. According to the member's card he was 7/3 (or ten weeks) in arrears one week before death and consequently out of benefit. We return cards and certificate herewith.

We would point out that we are debarré by rule from making any payments where benefit is not actually due. You will realise that the Executive are trustees of the General Funds of the Union, which funds are the property of the members, and, as an enormous sum is dealt with, it must be disbursed strictly in accordance with the rules. The rules are made by the members, and the Executive are elected to carry out these rules, and must, therefore, adhere strictly to the conditions laid down in them. Otherwise, the members would have no guarantee that their monies were being administered in a proper and efficient manner. We would also point out that if the Executive made any payment which was not in accordance with the rules, they would lay themselves open to all kinds of irregular and illegal demands upon the funds of the Union, and if such unlawful demand was conceded in one case it would be difficult to tell where such irregular payments would stop. Under the circumstances the Executive have no option but to reject any claim where members have not complied with Rule 12, which states that members may not be more than eight weeks in arrears at death, or one clear week before.

We may add, that a Trade Union is not like a commercial undertaking, where a compassionate view may be taken, and benefits, not legally due, be thereby paid, or not paid, according to the inclination of the conductors of such commercial enterprises. Trade Unions, and Friendly Societies, by reason of their collecting large sums, from thousands of members throughout the country, are legislated for

in a very stringent manner; rules must be registered, and trustees elected, who may not depart one iota from the very letter of the rules; the law having in view that finances of such Societies might be administered in a very loose manner if there was no strict check upon expenditure.

You will, therefore, realise that if our Executive wished to take a compassionate view of the case and pay, they would not be allowed to, as they have to satisfy a public auditor, of the legality of the claim which they have paid. Should they pay any claim, which is not due, they would be liable to severe penalties, and be surcharged themselves the amount so paid out.

We trust this explanation will convince you that Societies such as ours, must be subject to iron-bound rules, which give them absolutely no latitude or discretion.

We much regret the apparent hardship involved in the rejection of such claims; but upon reflection you will, we hope, understand that, if the funds of the Union are to be preserved, there is no other way than to strictly keep within the limits laid down, as to overstep them would lead to the speedy dissipation of the fighting funds of the Union.

Yours fraternally, FINANCE COMMITTEE. per J. O'K.

D.O'L./S.M.

We draw our readers' attention to the unctuous, legalistic phraseology of the refusal. Again the refusal is initiated by a paid employee, one J. O'Kelly. We can multiply these kind of cases by the hundreds. We desire to point out that the Finance Committee, who refused this application, consists of one, Michael McCarthy, a paid official of the Union for years past, and is thereby disqualified from sitting on the Committee, under their own rules. Another member of the Committee is Mr. Thomas Foran, who is also a paid official of the Union, and has been for years past, and also the General Treasurer, Alderman Mr. William O'Brien, T.D., who, you notice elsewhere in this issue, is not at all ungenerous to himself when passing expense accounts. You know he claims he has sacrificed himself in the interests of the working-class. We hope the members of the Union will have a little patience and await with confidence our disclosures of the many of these dark passages in the records of this Union.

"Support Home Industries."

IRISH TAILORS AND TAILORESSES' UNION.

Offices, 7, Eustace Street, Dublin, June 19th, 1923.

The Editor, Irish Independent. The Saorstát Eireann Irish Labour and Economics.

Dear Sir,—Recently, I understand, the Government put up a reduction in price to the manufacturers of military uniforms, made in the Free State. This was promptly put up to the workers by some of the manufacturers in the shape of an equivalent reduction in wages, which was rejected by the workers, as the price they are receiving for the making of those garments is at present low enough.

The results—we hear the Government ceased to give any further contracts to the firms concerned, and, instead, sent a contract for 30,000 uniforms to English manufacturers. The workers go to the unemployment bureau and draw the dole.

Had the workers agreed to the reduction proposed the Government would have secured about 7s. or 8s. a week out of every worker's wages employed making those uniforms. Instead, they pay them 10s. or 12s. per week unemployment benefit, while the foreigner pockets the profits, and English workers get the wages denied to their Irish fellow-workers, male and female, by the action of an Irish Government. The situation would be Gilbertian if it were not so tragic. As the Government are out for economies, why not proceed to the only two logical conclusions which follow—Let the Government, instead of paying unemployment benefit, transport the workers to the country to which they have already sent the work, in which they may get the right to live and to work. Further, they should also advertise there for a set of ministers to carry on the Government, at much reduced salaries. The workers might also with advantage secure new Labour representatives, who would do their work at lesser rates of pay.

Yours, DERMOT J. STEWART, General Secretary. (The above was refused publication.—Ed.)

Slipping the Lariat Over. By Will Rogers.

The advance of the machine in industry has eliminated that picturesque figure, the cowboy, from American life. You only meet the American cowboy in the movies, as a figure in real life he is no more. Will Rogers, termed, and rightly so, the Mark Twain of to-day, was a cowboy in his younger days. He is now attached to "The Follies," amusing the public with his cowboy feats. While performing he deals with current topics. His being able to correctly interpret life, and with such refreshing candour, together with his remarkable ability in throwing the lariat, makes his visit to any large city in America an annual event of more than passing interest.

Every week he writes a syndicate article dealing with the events of the week, the sayings of prominent men, etc. Writing recently he deals with the Presidential possibilities of Henry Ford. In his opinion Ford would be President of the United States if he (Ford) depended upon the votes cast. On the other hand, "if it comes to a question of counting those votes," writes Rogers, "I doubt if he'd run third. For," he continues, "with all the mechanical improvements they have in the way of adding machines, they can't seem to invent anything to take the place of the old political mode of counting—two for me and one for you."

He also deals in the same article with a recent statement made by President Harding wherein he declared that in case of another war capital would be drafted just as human lives were drafted in the last war.

"When the Wall Street millionaire," writes Rogers, "knows that you are not only going to come into his office and take his Secretary and Clerk, but that you come in to get his dough, say, Boy, there wouldn't be any war. You will hear the question: 'Yes, but how could you do it?'"

"Say, you take a Boy's life, don't you! When you take Boys away you take everything they have in the World, that is, their life. You send them to war and the part of that life you don't use you let him come back with. Perhaps you may use all of it. Well, that's the way to do with wealth. Take all he has, give him a bare living the same as you do the Soldier. Give him the same allowance as the Soldier—all of us that stay home. The Government should own everything we have, use what it needs to conduct the whole expenses of the war, and give back what is left, if there is any, the same as you give back to the Boy what he has left."

"There can be no Profiteering. The Government owns everything till the war is over. Every Man, Woman and Child, from Henry Ford and John D. down, get their Dollar and a Quarter a day the same as the Soldier. The only way a man could profiteer in a war like that would be to raise more Children."

"If Mr. Harding went before the People on a platform of that kind and put it over, he could remain President till his Whiskers got so long he could make a fortune just picking the lost Golf Balls out of them. But, no, it will never get anywhere. The rich will say it ain't practical, and the poor will never get a chance to find out if it is or not."

"And, in after Years, so will this speech of Mr. Harding's be quoted, (Continued on page 7.)"

**Slipping the Lariat Over.**

(Continued from page 8.)

but the minute the fellow gets through quoting it he will go sign a War Contract for £50 Plus 10 per cent.

"In our Decoration day speechmaking Mr. Taff (Chief Justice—Ed.) spoke at some unweiling of a Monument in Cincinnati. He made an Alibi for the Supreme Court. I don't know what prompted him to tell the dead what the Court was doing, unless it was some man who had died of old age waiting for a decision from that August Body."

Judge Gary, head of the Steel Trust, recently had an investigation conducted as to the merits or demerits of working twelve hours per day in an American steel plant. The committee reported that it was better for the men to work twelve hours instead of eight. "They made this report so alluring," writes Rogers, "that it is apt to make people who read it decide to stay the extra four hours on their jobs, just through the Health and enjoyment they get out of it. I never knew Steel work was so easy till I read that report. Why, the advantages they enumerated in this report would almost make a Bootlegger trade jobs with a Steel Worker. But here is the kick. Judge Gary got up to read this report before the stockholders who had made it out. He read for one hour in favour of a twelve-hour day. Then he was so exhausted they had to carry him out, and Charley Schwab had to go on reading the sheet.

"Now, if the Judge couldn't work an hour, how did he expect his workers to do twelve every day? After Schwab read for two hours the audience was carried out. It was the greatest boost for the twelve-hour day I ever heard of. I am thinking of going out there and working for them, but, if it is such a pleasure to work twelve hours, I am going to try and get them to let me work eighteen, at least, for I don't believe I would get enough pleasure out of just twelve.

"So if you don't hear of me next week, you will know I just enjoyed myself to death in Judge Gary's Steel Mills in Pittsburgh."

The report of the Steel Trust Investigating Committee, referred to by Mr. Will Rogers, makes the claim that to inaugurate an eight-hour day in the steel industry would mean the addition of at least 60,000 employees. The report lays the blame for the continuance of the twelve-hour day on the United States Congress for its passing an immigration law which limited immigration. It is clear to be seen that the agitation for an eight-hour day in the steel industry is going to be capitalised by the American employers for the purpose of letting down the bars against immigration.

"Public sentiment will undoubtedly in time force eight hours in the steel industry," says the Pittsburgh Labour World, which thinks, nevertheless, that the public demand for this change is largely "hysterical and sentimental." This alleged labour paper goes on to say:—

"It is much to be doubted whether twelve-hour men are actually engaged in physical exertion more than from five to seven hours. During the interval between heats they often sleep, play cards, read, talk, and when they live close by they often go to their homes, returning at casting time. This is more particularly true of employees at blast furnaces.

"The twelve-hour day campaign has been made a shibboleth for agitation by blatherskites: We have never heard of any concerted effort on the part of furnace and steel mill-workers to abolish the twelve-hour turn, and certainly the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers has never made any determined outcry of stand on this question."

We have a paper in Ireland which goes along on similar lines, far more interested in the cause of the employers than that of the men.

Mr. Samuel Compers, President of the American Federation of Labour, objects to the report of the committee. Yet he repudiated the attempt of the steel workers to bring about an eight-hour day by the use of the strike weapon. We have similar-minded labour leaders in Ireland. The workers the world, as the situation becomes more intense, will find their leaders deserting them and betraying them whenever the situation demands attention. Each desertion and betrayal will serve to educate the rank and file, until after many sad experiences they will emerge wiser men and women, trusting in nobody but themselves and organising into one fighting army of labour, self-disciplined, understanding the basis of their daily struggle and the objective in view, they will go forward to be masters of a world they have built.

In future issues we hope to bring to the attention of our readers other humorists of other nations. Rogers is likened somewhat unto our own George Bernard Shaw, though not as subtle. When we begin to treat the advice of men like Rogers and Shaw with a determined seriousness and laugh to scorn some of the alleged wise boys, we will make progress. And not until then.

**Resolution.**

Limerick Union, Clerk's Office, Offices of Meelick Rural District Council, 26th June, 1923.

Sir,—At a special meeting of the above Council, held on 23rd inst., the following resolution was passed, and ordered to be sent to the parties mentioned therein.—Your obedient servant,

R. AUSTIN, Acting Clerk. James Larkin, Esq., Liberty Hall, Dublin.

Proposed by Mr. John Hayes; seconded by Mr. Joseph Keane:—"That we, the members of the Meelick Rural District Council, call for a free election in which the whole adult electorate will have an opportunity of expressing the real will of the Irish people. That we call for the immediate release of all political prisoners before election takes place. That we also demand full freedom of the Press; that all parties, Labour, Farmer, and Republican, get the same opportunity of canvassing the votes of the people, and placing their views and policies before them (the people) as Mr. Cosgrave and his party. We believe that an election carried out in any other form will only end in disaster, as the whole people will not be able to express their will if there is not freedom of speech for all. That this resolution be sent to Mr. De Valera, Mr. Cosgrave and the Leaders of the Labour Party, and Farmers' Party, and the Press."

**Inchicore Meeting.**

All members of the Inchicore Branch of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union will assemble in the Picture House, by permission of the proprietor, at 12.30 p.m. The meeting will be addressed by Jim Larkin, General Secretary.

**The Swan Song of the Three Virtues.**

(Copy affidavit of William O'Brien sworn 26th June, 1923.)  
1923, No. 10267.  
Baronate Eireann,  
High Court of Justice,  
King's Bench Division.

Between William O'Brien and James Larkin Plaintiff and Defendant.

I, WILLIAM O'BRIEN, of 77, Botanic Road, Glasnevin, in the City of Dublin, make Oath and say as follows:—

1.—I am the General Treasurer of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, which position I have held for four and a half years. I am also a Member of Dail Eireann and an Alderman of the City of Dublin, a Member of the Dublin Port and Docks Board, a Member of the Irish Lights, a Member of the General County Council, and Treasurer of the Irish Labour Party. (Also poor law pensioner.—Ed.)

2.—I have read what purports to be a copy of an affidavit sworn in the above action by the defendant.

3.—This action was brought by me to recover damages for slander and for an injunction restraining the defendant, his agents, and servants from making and publishing false and malicious statements of and concerning me, injuring my character and reputation and my business and occupation as a Trade Union official. I beg to refer to the writ of summons in this action, which was issued on the 11th June, 1923, and served on the defendant on the 12th June, 1923.

4.—The defendant, at a meeting of No. 3 Branch of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, held at the Olympia Theatre, Dublin, on Sunday, the 10th June, 1923, falsely and maliciously spoke and published of and concerning me this deponent the words following:—

"Foran, O'Brien and Kennedy have been guilty of conspiracy, fraud and corruption."

"They have been enriching themselves while robbing the widows and orphans."

"If you knew the amount of money that was robbed in this Union it would shock you, and these men are responsible."

"O'Brien, as General Treasurer, will have to account for the amount collected as political levy. Each member pays 2/- a year, and as they claim to have 100,000 members, I calculate that would amount to £37,500 in four years, and only a few thousand has been spent. What has become of the balance?"

"O'Brien, as General Treasurer, is primarily responsible for the supervision of Branch accounts, and the balance sheet of this Branch shows that £240 was collected as hospital levy, and only £25 was paid to the hospitals. Foran, O'Brien and Kennedy must accept responsibility for that."

There were present at the said meeting several hundred persons to whom the said words were wantonly and maliciously spoken and published. As to what took place at the said meeting I beg to refer to a former affidavit filed on the 12th day of June, 1923, in the action entitled "1923, No. 446, Barons Eireann, High Court of Justice, Chancery Division.—Mr. Justice Powell, between: Thomas Foran, William O'Brien, Daniel Clancy, Michael Duffy, Michael Hill, Thomas Kennedy, Michael McCarthy, and Thomas Ryan, Plaintiffs; and James Larkin, defendant," in which the plaintiff in this action is a party.

5.—I am credibly informed and believe that at a meeting which was illegally called by the defendant, and held on Sunday, the 10th June, at the Mansion House, Dublin, the defendant repeated the said words, or words to that effect, and made the same false and malicious statements of and concerning me, this deponent; and published same to several hundred persons there present.

6.—The above charges have caused me great damage to my character and reputation. They have also caused me great damage in my business and occupation as a Trade Union official and as a public representative. They were made under circumstances calculated to do me the greatest possible amount of harm, and the defendant refused to allow me to address this meeting and forcibly prevented me from

addressing the meeting and refused to allow me an opportunity of refuting them. They were wantonly and maliciously made for the purpose of driving me out of my official position and for the purpose of holding me up to public odium and contempt, and especially to the odium and contempt of the members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

7.—Some of the statements made by the defendant in paragraph 4 of the said affidavit are misleading and inaccurate. I do not say that I have any visible means, but my character and reputation are no less valuable and precious to me on that account, nor is that any reason why these gross slanders should be uttered against me. I say that defendant is tiffing with this honourable Court when he alleges that this action is merely frivolous and vexatious. I have brought this action for the purpose of clearing my character and reputation from the vile accusations which have been made against me and which have no foundation in fact, and which have not the slightest justification. I respectfully say that a judge and jury of my fellow-citizens is a proper tribunal to try this action, and that this action is one which ought to be retained in the High Court, where substantial damages can be recorded against the defendant.

WM. O'BRIEN.

Sworn before me this 26th day of June, 1923, at 71, Dame Street, in the City of Dublin, a Commissioner to administer oaths in the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland, and I know the deponent.

HENRY B. O'HANLON, Commissioner.

This affidavit is filed on behalf of the plaintiff by James O'Connor and Co., Solicitors, 71, Dame Street, Dublin.

Filed 27th June, 1923.

Messrs. Foran and Kennedy filed similar tales of woe. These affidavits in answer to our motion to remit, are most interesting. Mr. O'Brien is a single man, receiving for some time £8 per week, with a poor law pension of £77 per year, and other emoluments. We shall ask him some exceedingly interesting questions at a later stage. Mr. Foran is also a single man. They have no visible means. We know that Mr. Thomas Kennedy's statement, although he receives £8 per week, might be accepted as the truth, when he says:—"I do not say I have any visible means." Surely, they still have the Irish Transport Union!

\* \* \*

**"Down Under."**

Trades Hall, Hobson Street, Auckland, N.Z.

May 19th, 1923.

To Mr. James Larkin, Liberty Hall, Dublin.

Dear Comrade Larkin,—Your departure from U.S.A. and arrival in Dublin was cabled to this end of the earth. Remarks (necessarily a very few lines) passed by you on the present unhappy position were also cabled. They were timely words, and I trust that they will be fully heeded.

Apart from my desire to extend you cordial greetings I am nearly taking a chance in forwarding this letter to above address. I trust that you have fully recovered from your American experiences. I know that there is work to be done in Ireland that could well absorb the whole of the energies of the most energetic person on earth.

As far as N.Z. is concerned we are in for a very quiet period from a Labour viewpoint. The Parliamentary group increased its representation from 9 to 17 in a House of 80. But the spirit of a few years ago appears to be lacking. It appears to me that the Parliamentary Party dominate for a spell, whilst the Industrialists sleep. Then with great vigour will commence a campaign for industrial solidarity to the exclusion of all else. Thus have the cycles come in Australia and New Zealand, promises to follow after—a good long distance after.

Please accept my best wishes for the future.—Fraternally,

R. H. HICKEY,

Editor "Maoriland Worker."

\* \* \*

Clones friend writes:—"Send me on one copy each week for six months, for which I enclose P.O. for 3s. 3d. I was in Dublin last Sunday and purchased one of your papers, and quite agree with your views."

To a T.D. from His Father.

Ballymacjobtoget, Irish Free State, June 26th, 1923.

My dear Boy,—I received your latest speech in the House in due course, but the Editor here wouldn't publish it for me, pleading want of space. I think I know what's wrong with that boyo, and I'll try and settle his hash for him.

Things down here aren't going to my liking just at present, and you'll want to look slippy if you wish to win the constituency again. The agricultural labourers and the town workers are kicking up their heels lately, and you hear nothing from one end of the constituency to another but Labour must rule in Ireland.

There's no standing these self-same workers lately. They'll tell you to your very face that they have as much right to the ownership of Ireland as we have, and that they are going to see to it that their "place in the sun" is determined.

Between you and I and the doorpost, I'm afraid your chance at the next election is a very poor one. As well as the workers strutting around, you hear an occasional shoo of "U D. Valera" going along the road. I hope to God the Irregulars will maintain their present sullen attitude of aloofness until after the election, because 'tis the only chance we have at all of winning any seat down here.

Your present policy, my dear son, should be to get your notes published at least six times a week in the magazine page of the Irish Independent—not but that it has been there often enough before, dear knows.

Your mama and "Maney" have made things a bit awkward for me here owing to the fact that since you were appointed to that bit of a job they immediately assumed an "Oxford" accent and bounced all the neighbours. Your mama now sports silk stockings and short skirts, and I was obliged to take in a "pianny" on the hire system from an Irish-Ireland Israelite for Maney's use and benefit. She can now manage the first few bars of "Home, Sweet Home." Since the "pianny" came into the house she won't even look at a cow, let alone milk one. As she can manage about five words an hour on the typewriter, would there be any chance of getting her a job in one of the Departments?

Last week "Patsy" was sent home from College, the Superior sending me a registered letter to the effect that as far as he could make out, Patsy was only a "lout fit for thinning turnips," and here he is now on my hands, too dull to learn and too lazy to work. Would there be any chance of getting him a cadetship in the Civil Guard? You ought to speak to the Minister for Home Affairs about it. I consulted the Archdeacon on the matter, and he suggested that a letter from the Bishop would go a long way. I don't like to be worrying His Lordship, because I'm nearly certain his hands are fully full in that respect already.

It would be a good idea if you moved to insert a clause in the Flogging Bill that all labourers who won't agree to longer hours and lesser wages be given a dose of the "knout" at least three times a week. If all fruit falls in Patsy's case, you might be able to manage in getting him the job of official "Flogger." I'm afraid that's about all he'd be fitted for.

Your old Grand-aunt Eliza is very bad with rheumatism lately. Would there be any chance of a little emolument or grant coming her way? Couldn't it be worked? She'd be as useful to the State as some of the others who managed to secure positions for themselves. I'm afraid that in these matters you're neglecting your own family altogether for some time past. You didn't do too bad at the start, I know; but tien't '36, but '36, of your relatives you ought to have fixed up by this time.

Before I leave down my pen I must remind you again of "Maney" and Patsy and the magazine page of the Independent. It is extensively rumoured hereabouts that all the Cabinet Ministers are scrambling for seats in Dublin and that they are running away from their old constituencies. It is also said that Dublin will give them the surprise of their lives when the votes are counted. I'm terribly uneasy about the next elections. In fact, I'd nearly advise you to fix yourself up in a good permanent job after you arrange for your sister and brother. It might be the safest course.

Love from all and from YOUR FATHER.

Exile Writes.

Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada, June 14th, 1923.

Dear Comrade,—Just the line as I see by the reports that you have commenced to clean up the mess in Dublin. I had a letter written to you before I left, but I thought better of it and left, in case you might have thought that I was a boulder looking for a job.

The Irish Labour Party advertised for a political organiser, and as I was damned in the shipyards, owing to the action I took, at the time of the expulsions: I was earning £12 per week, but rather than sign my name to their alleged loyal ticket I preferred being a man. I had done work for O'Brien, of the I.T.G.W., in the North, and as yet never put in a bill for expenses, as I am in the movement for uplifting, not for self.

When I had finished with the White Cross in England, O'Brien could not find me a job that was promised, until I could again get a chance in Belfast to provide for my little family. Campbell and others got me to reply to the advertisement of the Irish Labour Party, and rather than leave home I applied. Johnson replied to my letter, and said the Executive could not see their way to make use of my services.

The Belfast delegate, Stewart, informed me that my application never came before the Executive of the Irish Labour Party. You see, being a Protestant like myself, and knowing the Commandments, "Thou shalt have no other Gods but Me (Johnson)." When I left the Orange Lodge in 1907 to help win Belfast for Labour, I thought I would have been a help, but the fates have willed otherwise. With a wife and eight children I had to get out and leave it to Carson! I felt it hard at leaving, as there are few enough left, but with you home again, thank God, even if the whole Labour movement had to be built afresh, you are the Man, as the movement was fast losing the ideals that Connolly and yourself set out to achieve.

When Bishop McRory heard of my crossing the pond he sent to Comrade —, Belfast I.L.P., a fine letter, also £10 to help Mrs. Hanna in her struggle, till I would get work here. As I got a bad cold when on the mission in South Wales, I lay in the Mater Hospital for two months, and I am afraid I shall never be able to again follow my employment, therefore I am sure to have it a little hard, but I have the consolation in knowing that the good work will start afresh in Ireland.

I promised the Monaghan comrades that I would try and get you to go up, so do not forget them.—I remain, yours for freedom,

J. A. HANNA.

The writer of the above letter, "Sandy" Hanna, was one of the first men to assist in organising the over-worked and under-paid workers of Belfast in the year 1907. He, with seven other masters of Orange Lodges in the City of Belfast, left the Orange order and joined in the greatest campaign ever waged for the unity of Labour, and the solidifying of the Irish working-class, Catholic and Protestant. He gave his service to the movement, without fee or reward, and all through the Carsonian regime he always took the side of his Catholic countrymen.

During the pogrom of 1920 and 1921 he was a marked man. He carried his life in his hands. He never flinched. He was sent by the Expelled Workers' Committee to collect funds for the Belfast refugees throughout England and Scotland. While Johnson, T.D., was upholding the British flag in Ulster, and supporting the British Government throughout the war, 1914 until 1917, "Sandy" Hanna was battling for the principles of Connolly and his comrades.

Hanna has been driven out of his native country, leaving a wife and eight children to carry on the struggle until he can send them help from Canada. The Irish Labour Party, Johnson, O'Brien, Mortished and Co., could find no use for Hanna in his native country, because he was a man who lived, for principle, and not for place or emoluments. We, of the working-class, must see to it that Hanna must be brought back, and in the meantime his wife and eight kiddies will have to be sustained.—The Editor.

Income Tax Issue.

Mr. James Larkin, Sec., I.T. and G.W.U., Dublin.

Dear Sir,—As the friend of the afflicted in many lands, I'll lay a case of injustice before you. I happen to be a National teacher and am at present here doing a University course. I come from the West Cork district. Throughout 1920-21 I was connected with the Irish Republican Army, and did my bit as best I could outside my ordinary working hours. My other brother was connected with the army since 1916. He fought in many scraps in 1920, and spent 1921 in jail, being released on parole about a fortnight before the general release in December, 1921, in broken health. My father is a small farmer, and our house was continually open to Ireland's soldiers. During those years I spent all my spare money on the cause. Whenever my brother went he depended on me for money. Any medical aid he received we bore the cost ourselves. During those years I paid no income-tax to Ireland's enemies, and now I find that I am assessed for a sum between £50 and £60. It would have been much easier for me to pay the income-tax to the British with the money I spent during those years. I was told recently when I claimed for expenses during those years that none would be allowed. In other words, we won't now be forgiven a few pounds tax in return for the money we spent. I am not complaining because I have not been rewarded with a job for my labours, because I never asked for any, nor did any one of the family, because we believed in an Ireland fully independent; and were it not that we did we should never have raised a hand.

But I need not tell you that it is a galling fact to see many who scoffed in 1920-21 at the poor chaps who spent their time and money, benefitting as a result of their endeavours, while we won't get one paltry shilling off income-tax. The least the Government may do on this matter would be to forgive those who took active part in the struggle during those years all taxes due from them. The number would not be many, for it was not difficult to count those who were willing to give money and time, and life if necessary, during those hard years when fighting was not a paying job, or rather, when one had "to pay," or at least to lose if one joined in.

I am not writing this as a particular case or because I want you to take any steps, but as a sample of a gross injustice to men in a position similar to mine. But I should not complain, because I know many honest poor chaps who took men at their word in 1920 and '21 and who sacrificed position, outlook, means, and in many cases parents' means, during those years, and who are now absolutely on the rocks, and who will be on the Rocky Mountains at the earliest opportunity. Thus Ireland treats the men who stood in the gap in dark and evil days. Does any other nation in the world repay her soldiers thus. Though I am writing you this letter, I don't do so that you may know my particular case, but that you may have a few samples of the general conditions in parts of Ireland to-day. On account of my position I ask you not to use my name.

(Dear Brother,—Are you not aware of the fact that the meek shall inherit the earth? Those who did the fighting and suffering have got to sit back now and watch how the meek express service to this country.—Ed.)

Irish Transport and General Workers' Union

Below we publish a list of subscriptions received, up to the time of going to press, in response to our appeal made recently from the window of Liberty Hall:—

- Acknowledged in our last issue, £90 2s. 9d. John Taylor, Is.; J. Vickers, 2s. 6d.; P. McAuley, Is.; R. Graham, Is. Collected on No. 2 (Tenters Fields, Stanley street, per Christy Carroll, 2nd collection), 16s.; the Breasters of Cement Boat (per T O'Leary), 15s.; Scrap Iron Workers (per T O'Leary), 5s.; Frank Brennan, 2s. 6d.; J. Quirke, Is.; W. O'Leary (Casual Dockers), £1; Thos. Morgan, Is.—Total amount received, £92 18s. 9d.

OMISSION.

In our last issue we acknowledged receipt of 35s. from Christy Carroll. This was from No. 2 job, Tenters Fields, Stanley Street. We also omitted from the list the donations collected by M. Behan, amounting to 14s. 6d.

"Bossism at H.O."

IRISH MECHANICS AND WORKERS UNION.

Market St., Athenry, Co. Galway.

Dear Sir,—I, as well as all the workers of this county, are glad to see you out of prison and back to take charge of the workers' organisation again, and it is hoped that at an early period you may visit the West, and meet the workers of this part of the country, as it needs a revival and some organisation. A number of the branches of the I.T. and G.W.U. Union have during the past twelve months broken away and formed a new Labour Executive under the title of the "Irish Mechanic and Workers' Union." It was a long time brewing, due to the bossism of Headquarters and their utter disregard of the interests of small unions. Small unions, of which there were a number here in the West, were unable to survive by sending 75 per cent. to headquarters, and no interest taken in these small branches. We, for instance, tried many times to get a grant or loan to procure some place to have our members meet, as we had only an old shed to meet in, just while we collected the money to send on to Dublin. The result was that, like other branches, we had to break away to better ourselves. Therefore, on these grounds, Co. Galway would need to be looked after.

Fraternally yours,

WM. O'REILLY.

Secretary of the late Branch of I.T. and G.W. Union.

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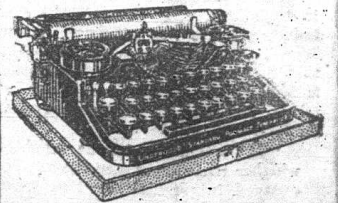
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