

# THE IRISH WORKER

AN T-OIBRÍOĒ SAOULAC

Edited by JIM LARKIN

No. 22. NEW SERIES.

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.)

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TWOPENCE



This is the audience that enthusiastically acclaimed the decision to call the "One Day Strike."

## THE INFERNAL LOAN

It may be we are bankrupt in morals, manners, ethics and principles as a nation, but thank the fates we still have our Brewers, Bankers, and Bursars to come to our aid. The National Loan (?)—what a screaming farce. Every anti-national, anti-civic, anti-human force, organisation or corporation in the country is bringing out their last reserve, their latest chance to try and stave off the inevitable. "God Save Ireland" we used to sing. No more, brothers. The Dark Brothers are all sufficient. Every Freemason and Orange Lodge is roused to action, every pound they have amassed from the harassed bodies of the Irish working-class or accumulated from the body and soul destruction of the foolish ones of the nation, is now gathered together and deposited to save the nation. Hell, no—not one of these selfish corporations that are now so blatant in their professions of services and patriotism would, two years ago or even less, have given one solitary shilling to sustain a life within this nation, never mind the nation as a whole.

The Death Bell has tolled for the bravest and the best. The rebellious ones are silent in death. So fear has passed from the hungry hearts and selfish minds of the privileged ones and they come to share in the blood plunder. They want their bills met, their claims for reparations met, they want to pay their hired guards. So Guinnessess, Goulding, and the other Dark Brothers bring out their accumulated profits wrung from the exploited bodies of the workers. And for the loan of this ill-gotten wealth these usurers demand 5 per cent. The best of our race gave their lives, asking nothing in return only the recognition of a principle. The ghouls want their 5 per cent. A National Loan—another national betrayal! Why should not these money-changers pay into the national coffers a money-tax. The best of the race paid a blood-tax cheerfully, not seeking reward nor profit, while these dark ones were either actually assisting in retarding the work of the patriotic dead or were working secretly to the same end. Guinnessess made not less than ten million pounds profits, the others

in ratio to Guinnessess. Why not demand they accept their share of the monetary burden this nation assumed during the last few years. A levy on their unearned increment—a levy on their war profits is in order.

And, not satisfied with their 5 per cent. blood profit, they demand, as an inducement, that the workers' miserable wages must be reduced. This is the unholy compact—lower wages and we will support the loan. Well, they will have their day. Men and women, for daring to express their considered opinions, can be put away in gaol or unknown graves; every form of pressure can be applied; the laws are outraged; even the bodies of the dead are no longer respected. To make war on the living used to call for condemnation. When Kitchener abused his power in Egypt and desecrated the lifeless body of his enemy the world expressed its detestation of the crime; now it is considered in this country the fit and proper thing to deny the bereaved their dead.

And within a few days of Christmas we

we find men and women still held in prison and internment camps without trial—and it is fully demonstrated now—without any justification—and the body of Denis Barry is refused christian burial in this Island of Saints and Scholars—and the money-mongers of Cork meet and pledge their support to the Loan—and there is joy in the old Constitutional Club in Cork City—and Kildare Street drinks its wine and toasts the King—and every Lodge is filled with happy, prosperous, loyal sons of the Empire—and the sons and daughters of the Gael lie in gaols and internment camps. Yes, we are Free and Gaelic—Gaelic and Free, moryah! But we are getting the Loan subscribed by the Dark Brothers and all is well—perhaps.

### JIM McLACHLAN.

We republish below notes of a talk in prison with Jim McLachlan, Nova Scotia Miners' Leader, who has been sentenced to two years imprisonment in Dorchester Penitentiary for the crime of being loyal to his class.

Jim, who is a composite of a Keir Hardie, a Bob Smillie and a Tom Mooney, a Scotch chiel, fearless and outspoken, true as steel, a man whom the spoils of office, political temptations nor the terrorism of the employers could deter from doing that which he believed to be the necessary thing to do, is railroaded to gaol by the machinations of the paid stool pigeons, corrupt labour Union officials and the power of the Canadian Coal Operators to control the Canadian Judiciary. Jim is a bigger force in gaol than outside on the firing line.

This judicial crime, like the proceedings we have seen and experienced in the Courts of this country, has clearly demonstrated to the Canadian workers the close connection and harmonious working between employers, certain Union officials and the forces of the Government.

### WITH JIM IN JAIL.

The Old Fighter has Great Confidence in the Outcome of the Class War—Some Caustic Comments on the Various Rewards of Leadership.

By J. S. WALLACE.

(Some notes of a conversation held with J. B. MacLachlan, secretary of the Nova Scotia Miners, jailed because he fought for the working class.)

"They have a saying in the penitentiary that your friends remember you for a day, your sweetheart for a year, your mother forever. However, my experience hasn't given me any cause to complain.

"And if I find the time moving too slow, all I have to do is to follow the farmer's plan. They say if you want a short winter, all you have to do is to endorse a ninety day note for a friend.

"That recalls the story of the Irishman whose son was drinking too heavily. The old man pointed out to the younger one that if he swore off, his life would be greatly prolonged. After some time the young chap tested it out. At the end of a month on the water wagon, he returned and said: 'You were right about keeping sober prolonging the life. This is the longest month I ever spent.'

"The only difference between jail and a job is that here I am separated from my wife and family. Under capitalism all the workers are in jail all the time. And lots of them haven't got the security of shelter and food that is offered in a penitentiary.

"You recall what Thoreau said when his friend Ralph Emerson visited him at the time of the agitation against chattel slavery. 'David,' said Ralph, 'what are you doing in there?'

The reply came like a shot: 'Ralph, what are you doing out there?'

Reference being made to the fact that he and Joe Howe were both tried for sedition and that Howe now has a monument to him almost in the shadow of the jail where MacLachlan now is, the latter jokingly said: 'When you build mine, build it where I will have something worth looking at; place me in the Salt Market in Glasgow where I can watch the workers gather.'

"You cannot permanently bring peace to the workers under capitalism. To retain the confidence and maintain the interests of the workers you have to lead them from struggle to struggle. But if you get out of line with the other sections of the working class army, your head is lopped off. Faced by this dilemma, you can easily understand why so many trades union officials who start as militants end as bureaucrats, bleeding instead of leading the workers. They are thinking of their own skins, their own sinecures.

"John Lewis, Tom Moore and Roy Wolvin are the Unholy Trinity who acted as a Unity against the workers in Cape Breton.

"They tell me that one chap who acted as informer against one of the boys on trial in Cape Breton received an official cheque for thirty dollars. Thirty pieces of silver.

"New ideas are born in stables and brought up in jails. Whenever a new cause is struggling its way to recognition its adherents frequently have to die for it. In the early days of Christianity many clergymen were dragged to the Coliseum. How many of them are in jail to-day for an ideal?

"I look forward to the end of my sentence not as an escape from servitude, but as an opportunity to dive once more into the struggle of the workers. And I will enjoy measuring the advance that has been made in the meanwhile." Two years will bring appreciably nearer the coming of Communism."

Our readers should take into consideration these pregnant words of Jim McLachlan:—

"You cannot permanently bring peace to the workers under capitalism. To retain the confidence and maintain the interests of the workers you have to lead them from struggle to struggle. But if you get out of line with the other sections of the working class army, your head is lopped off. Faced by this dilemma, you can easily understand why so many trades union officials who start as militants end as bureaucrats, bleeding instead of leading the workers. They are thinking of their own skins, their own sinecures.

You of the Irish working class see to it that two years from to-day we will have marked a new advance on the road to Emancipation; that the creatures masquerading as Union Labour Officials, though in all truth stool pigeons, agents and servants of the employing class, be relegated to obscurity, or at least to the glorified atmosphere of that Freemason Lodge—the Senate.

### A STAIN ON OUR NAME.

We regret the incarceration of our old comrade Madame Markevitch. If ever there was an individual who should have been immune from arrest it is this fearless woman whose heart always took charge of her head. If there is an individual living to-day whose obvious sincerity demands respect, it is she, who lies body-bound, untried and unafraid. We know this frail woman who for twenty odd years has been a light unto the abysmal intellectual darkness of this land, who has faced perils that others now in power dare not even consider. Everything she gave, asking nothing in return. And her reward—a cold cell in an Irish Bastille. For what?—for speaking what she considered the truth. Well, we know while that most fearless heart functions she is free and unconquered. Greeting, comrade. Speed the day.

### REPARATIONS.

By "C.B.E."

(From the Australian Seamen's Journal)

Last February the Board of Trade in England began to dole out a few pounds to men who, through war work and exposure during the war years, are now broken down and unfit for further labour. It took over four years and a Royal Commission to allot to the war heroes of the Mercantile Marine what amounts to about 3/- per week, and, small as this is, some are getting even less, although their claims were substantiated by medical certificates that they were no longer fitted to follow their occupation. So much for the gratitude of those who profited by the sacrifices made by the men of the Mercantile Marine.

During the last election in England quite a lot of kudos was got out of the proposed "reward" which the seamen were sure to get if Lloyd George and company were returned. The question was made a particularly strong one during the election campaign in South Shields, but the people there, like the seamen of England generally, did not believe in the rosy promises of Mr. Havelock Wilson, nor did the voters of England believe in those promises either, with the result that the Lloyd George gang has gone, and so has Havelock Wilson, from the seats of the Mighty.

Before the seamen of England can achieve much for themselves they will have to bestir themselves, and re-organise their union on such lines as will give them the right to say under what conditions they will labour on board the vessels. The shipowners are piling up huge reserves out of the sweat of the men who go to sea, and it is surely time the seamen woke up.

### BRITISH SEAMEN'S WAGES, ETC.

To the Editor, "Seamen's Journal."

Sir,—We are indebted to you for the exposure in your columns from time to time of the high-handed way we seamen are being dealt with in the matter of wages, etc., by that tool of the shipowners—Havelock Wilson. We were always given to understand that the rank and file would always be consulted before a reduction of wages took place. But on this occasion, Wilson agreed to everything the shipowners wanted, without consulting any of the men on the ships. But, equal in iniquity every way to the wage reduction is the cruel manner that boats are allowed to leave the United Kingdom, undermanned in the stokehold. During the last few years many ships have been leaving with six fires per man, going through the Tropics at that. Five and four blast fires have been common since the Armistice. Now, everyone knows that prior to the war the manning in the stokehold of most British ships amounted to cruel blood-sucking, and the men, acting on their own during the war, outside the Union, managed to improve the manning scale to three or four fires per man. But when the market got overstocked with men, Wilson, and his blood-suckers on the Maritime Board, had the scale reduced to pre-war level, as can be seen by a perusal of the Maritime Board Year-Book, 1922. The rank and file have put up a few good fights on the job, but Wilson and his official toe raggers were too much for them, they having put their scabs on the vessels. The excuse has been set up that extra men were put on ships for extra speed, in case of submarines. Such a statement is false and misleading, as the extra men were got by job action. Very few boats made better speed during the war, and the shipowners always got their pound of flesh in pre-war days. We have a paper at Home called "The Seamen," printed at our expense, but in the interest of the shipowners, hence we thank you for trying to improve our lot by exposure of Wilson, Incheape & Co.

"FIREMAN."

## COMMUNIST PARTY ELECTION MANIFESTO.

The Communist Party goes into the General Election Campaign full of confidence in the ultimate triumph of the working class.

### Capitalism has Failed.

The chaos and misery of Central Europe, the growing strength of reaction at home and abroad, the daily increasing peril of militarism, the attacks on wages, hours, and working conditions, the failure of the capitalist system to provide a decent standard of living for the working class—all these problems are at the present day demanding drastic action, and speedily, if the workers are not to be forced down altogether into the position of mere slaves of the machine.

Protection and Free Trade are not the issues of the election. They are only rival schemes of rival sets of capitalists for their own profits. It is capitalism itself that has failed.

### The Workers Must Unite.

Capitalism is unable to organise the production of the world. All the attempts to reconstruct Capitalism only mean driving the worker further down. The workers must organise to end capitalism and establish social production by all for all. Only so can they end their sufferings. Skilled craftsmen, labourers, housewives, clerks, ex-service men, unemployed, professional workers, must join together to go into the election as a united army against the enemy forces of big business and finance. The issue of the election is between the workers and the capitalists.

The Communist Party sees no way out except for the workers to take the reins of power into their own hands. It believes that this will only be done effectively when the workers make up their mind to abandon the Parliamentary machine and concentrate all authority in their own class organisation, setting up a workers' dictatorship based on their own workers' councils to suppress all forms of capitalism. But the Communist Party believes that a big step forward towards this end will have been taken when the workers for the first time unite to set up a Government of their own representatives to carry on their fight against Capitalism.

"Neither a Liberal nor a Tory Government, but a Workers' Government"—that is the watchword of the moment.

### No Truce with Capitalism.

Unyielding opposition to all the schemes of the capitalists must be the task of the working class representatives. The present leaders of the Labour Party claim to stand for Socialism against Capitalism. That claim must be made good, and the workers must see to it. Their present programme contains nothing in it of socialism. It contains nothing that a progressive capitalist might not sign. Such proposals in the present crises are a betrayal of the workers and of Socialism. They are equivalent to helping to restore capitalism, at a time when this means involving the workers in certain catastrophe, misery and war. The workers must repudiate such leadership and policy by every means possible, and insist on a real Socialist programme against the capitalists. But if the leaders fail, the workers must not hesitate to go forward all the same in a solid army.

The present crisis admits of no delay. Immediate measures must be taken in hand to meet the present sufferings of unemployment and destitution, and in face of the international situation. These measures the working class must compel the Government to carry out immediately.

### Economic Demands.

The State should take control of all land and factories to organise production so as to

provide employment for all and produce what is needed.

Workers' Control Commissions to be established in every factory, with powers of investigating the financial and commercial activity of the employers, and participating in the management of the individual enterprises, controlling overtime, etc.

All idle factories to be requisitioned by the State without compensation.

All land allowed to fall out of cultivation to be requisitioned by the State without compensation, and credits provided for the development of agricultural production.

All export and import trade to be conducted under the direction of the State, to regulate them in accordance with home needs and production.

State control of credits and banks.

Capital Levy—not to redeem debt, but for social purposes.

Suspension of interest payment on the National Debt above holdings of a specific figure.

Abolition of indirect taxation.

All income in excess of a living standard to be taxed to its full value.

### Social Demands.

A National Minimum wage of £4 a week.

Maintenance at the national minimum, payable by the State Exchequer, for all unemployed workers until work is found for them, and for all sick and aged workers, the same to be administered through the Trade Unions.

A six hour day to increase production by absorbing the work of all.

Housing: Sufficient accommodation for all to be immediately put in hand. Credits to be advanced by the National Exchequer to the Municipalities for the employment of direct labour in building.

Free Health and Education facilities on an equal scale for all.

Ex-Service Pensions and Gratuities: fulfilment of all pledges made during the war.

Young Workers: Free education and maintenance with vocational training up to the age of 18.

### Foreign and Colonial Policy.

Full recognition of the Russian Workers' Republic and trade with Russia to be developed to the full.

No intervention in Germany and immediate withdrawal of British troops.

Opposition to the granting of loans to any governments oppressing the workers.

Repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles and the cancellation of war debts and indemnities.

International Conference of Governments, including Soviet Russia, for the settlement of all outstanding questions affecting the peace of the world.

Total disarmament. No credits for armaments or war.

Empire: Complete liberation from British dominion of all subject races.

These are the measures immediately necessary to deal with the present crisis at home and abroad.

To these measures we must bind every Labour candidate.

The struggle for these measures is a stage in the struggle for Socialism. These measures are not themselves Socialism. They can be carried out in the frame of the existing Capitalist State.

But they can only be carried out in the face of implacable capitalist-opposition. Therefore only a Labour Government, based on the working class and responsible to it, can and must carry out these measures as soon as it comes to power. Therefore our immediate object in the present struggle must be the establishment of a Labour Government. But that Labour Government must base itself on the support and confidence of the masses of the working

class, and be prepared to strike unhesitating blows in the interests of the working class.

**Confiscation of all idle factories and land. £4 a week Minimum Wage—a 6 hour working day.**

**Full maintenance for all unemployed. Housing for all.**

**Vote Labour and Communist. No divided ranks.**

**A Workers' Government and a Workers' Programme.**

Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

November 20, 1933

We print the Manifesto of the Communist Party of Great Britain. You will see nothing much different therein from the Manifesto of Sinn Fein. Fintan Lalor might have written it.

We would welcome a discussion on the merits or demerits of the principles and programme set down. All members of the Labour Party—formerly members of the Communist Party of Ireland—specially invited to contribute to the hilarity.

### MERRION BROADCASTING STATION.

J.W.K.F.W.

A valued correspondent writes asking what do we think of the Labour Party's Railway Nationalisation Bill. We could answer in a phrase—not worth the Labour! but we refrain from saying the obvious thing. Let us submit the telephonic vibrations between the perfect Bill and the Bill's stepfather. Thus—"Are you there?"

"Yaas, who's speaking?" "This is the Phunkett House Protege." "Well, what do you want. You're getting more troublesome than Sean Lyons." "Oh, my dear Cossy, you are quite unfair, weally, I haven't asked you for a favour within the last twenty-four hours." "Well! what are you ordering, oh! I mean what do you want." "You see, my dear Cossy, one must make shadows if one cannot make anything else. The Party wants the privilege to introduce, 'a Bill,' a little one, but our own. Of course, you understand this is just a case of window-dressing. You know how it is done; the label on the bottle is for the eye—the contents of the bottle, well, that's another matter. You see we have been here over twelve months and with the exception of voting as you direct and saying what the employers desire to use in printed propoganda against the workers we have done nothing." "Oh, I am afraid we cannot waste time on such foolishness. You see economy is the slogan now, and to waste money on printing a Bill which on the face of it is a lie is both waste of time, paper, and ink." "Oh, Cossy, you really must do this for me. Everybody uses me, everybody suspects me, and I must get some return for the services I have rendered. Please allow me to introduce this Bill. We can have a little shadow-boxing, some publicity and then the Bill can find the incinerator." "Very well, then." "Oh! by the way F—n. You know, F—n, of course, friend of Cuffe and Fleming. He desires to serve his country. Ha! Ha! He demands the Senatorship as the price of his service during the recent trouble." "Well, that's your funeral. How does the Queen's Jubilee Pupil feel about it?" "Oh! F—n won't play if denied and they must hang together or they'll hang separately. Any orders for me leave at Dawson Street. O'C—l has arranged to take up £15,000. Don't be too hard on the pedagogical slaves. Of course they only move resolutions. It is a great game while it lasts. Oh! I suppose Bill is to get County Dublin as arranged with O'C—l 'as a quid pro quo for South Dublin.' Of course he will run as an Independent Labour Candidate, my word! Of course you'll arrange for K—n to warm the Rolls. See you later at the Club. Cheerio! Old Top."

"AN Injury to one is the concern of All."

# IRISH WORKER

EDITED BY JIM LARKIN.

THE IRISH WORKER will be published weekly—Twopence—and may be had of any newsagent or newsboy. Ask for it, and see that you get it.

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We do not publish or waste time on anonymous contributions.

We are not responsible for views or opinions expressed in Special Articles.

## IRISH WORKER LEAGUE NOTES.

On Sunday night we had an enthusiastic gathering of the League in the Trades' Hall. Our foremost purpose in meeting together was to commemorate the sacrifice of the Manchester Martyrs. An oration fitting to the occasion was delivered by our Editor.

The attendance was good and the spirit fine. It gave us great pleasure to see such a fine display of loyalty to the League. Loyalty and Service should be the slogan of our League. Loyalty to our principles and service to the Cause. Service without loyalty is a dead, soulless thing which is only expected from the paid servant; and loyalty without service is a useless thing. It is a spirit without a body, a mere phantasy of use neither to foe nor friend. But when they are combined they become irresistible. And such is the spirit we wish to see manifested by the Brotherhood of the League.

After the meeting books of tickets for the draw were distributed to all who thought they were in a position to sell them. The number thus disposed of was gratifying. Upwards of two hundred books were taken away by members. There was also a large number of new members awaiting enrolment. From all quarters reports are coming in regarding the great strides the League is making. Would it not be possible for each member to enrol one new member before the end of the year.

Last week in these notes we requested the Committee to meet and apportion the week nights out to members who would attend here and offer their help when needed. On Monday night we had quite a large crowd here looking for some way in which they could help. Unfortunately they came on an unlucky night. We were at a standstill owing to lack of material. The best way would be for these members who have the leisure to leave their names with the Committee who will then tell them what nights they will attend here. This will save fruitless journeys.

Again we urge you not to "fall down" on the Xmas Draw. We must make this the biggest draw that has ever been held in Ireland, and by the look of things we will. Anyone who has finished his or her supply of tickets will receive more if they will call at 17 Gardiner's Place.

There is another matter we would like to draw your attention to, and that is the paper. We want you to realise that this is your paper. It is the official organ of the League. Each and every member is a part owner, therefore, why not take an owners interest in it. Get new readers anyway and every way. When you are finished reading your copy each week pass it on, or better still buy an extra copy each week and pass that round. That is the way to gain readers. Realise this, the more readers you find for the paper the more

members you find for the League, and in the words of the ancients "you will be killing two birds with one stone."

One last word. Don't forget the paper is twopence from this week onwards.

## IRISH WORKER AND IRISH WORKER LEAGUE.

### Christmas Draw.

Our gesture of comradeship seems to have re-awakened the old spirit of tolerance, understanding and friendship which was a marked feature of Irish Social Life even in the darkest days of our country's history. As Ethna Carbery so sweetly expressed it:—

"There was always peace in the little town, The kindly neighbours went up and down With a word to you and a word to me And a helping hand where need might be."

That is the idea. A helping hand, a cheerful smile and a greeting to those afflicted and in sore need. The idea has caught on. One chiel came bustling in to-day, Nov. 28th. "Give me forty books." Another "here is a pound and four blocks, give me another five books." Seven friends turned up last night at 17: "Can we help in any way?" That's the idea. Ryan, Sec. I.T.W. Union, Castlecomer: "Send two more books." Pat Comyn, Kilrossantry, Co. Waterford: "Herewith, etc., send two more." Jim Ferrom, Newry: "P.O. 11/-, send two more books." Jim Brady, one of the Old Guard of No. 1, thus: "Jim, send on three or four books." Chris Gilsenan: "P.O. for 10/-, send four more books, also send M. Brown and Jim Halpin a few books." Madden, Manchester: "Ten books received, send ten more." Henry, Barrow: "Books going like hot-cakes." And so the wave of sympathy and service swells into a sea of kindness.

What are you doing? Your Comrades and the Cause need you!

### TURNING THE OTHER CHEEK.

A week or two ago the teachers of the Free State were notified that their salaries would be reduced by 2/- in the pound. Many meetings were held and much hot air let loose, but in spite of all the threats and denunciations we believed that wiser counsels would prevail, and we were right. In the evening papers of Tuesday 27th we were informed that the Irish National Teachers Association had subscribed £15,000 towards the Free State Loan. We rejoiced and were exceedingly glad. We hope that if the Government should attempt to still further reduce their salaries these practical trade unionists will subscribe at least another £10,000. It will not only be the right thing to do, but it will also serve as a good example to those rash and foolhardy trades unionists who would sooner resist than turn the other cheek.

### SUBSCRIBE! SUBSCRIBE!

Roll up, roll up. Come along me hearties. Dig down deep and grasp the "Jimmy-o-Goblins." Fork up, only £10,000,000 wanted. More expenses to be met. The Labour Party want another Ministry, and Cosgrave's found another relative. Great minds think alike. Cosgrave appoints the Minister, Johnson the Clerks. Fifty-fifty. Come along, ye coolies, dockers, carters and all who voted for Cosgrave and Johnson, subscribe and do without that extra pint, or better still make your kids do without that necessary loaf. The £10,000,000 must be got.

Till the war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle flags are furled, In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.

(Tennyson.)

We have been favoured with a marked copy of "The Voice of Labour" for Nov. 10th 1923. The Editor, who married a job, permits the following queries to appear:—

### PERTINENT QUESTIONS.

How much money was raised by the unofficial "voluntary levy" in connection with the Strike at the Port of Dublin?

How was the above Fund expended?

How much was paid to Collectors, and how much to the Strikers?

Have the accounts been audited by a certified accountant, and, if so, when will a Balance Sheet be published?

What sum of money was recently paid in the Purchase of a Mansion in Gardiner's Place, and where did it come from?

Who is responsible for the recent establishment of a new Motor Transport Company in Dublin?

### "QUERIST."

We hope the honest (?) querist (who, by the way, appears to be ashamed of his name, and with good and sufficient reason we opine) will be satisfied with our attempt.

To No. 1—Who are you who asks? And why do you ask? May we ask how much was raised by the War Chest Levy, Political Levy and other illegal levies which were not accounted for since 1917.

To No. 2—By the women and children of the union members whom your paymasters betrayed.

To No. 3—To Collectors not a cent. Ask the members who were betrayed by the would-be Senator and the Queen's Jubilee Pupil how much did the Collectors of the War Chest Fund and other levies collect—for themselves.

To No. 4—Yes! The accounts will be audited, and not by the auditor nor auditors appointed by the "Injunction" Executive. A Balance Sheet will be published but not signed by the auditor who signed the "Balance Sheet" submitted to the Registrar.

To No. 5—Comrade, we don't know if, when or where any sums of money was paid in the purchase, no more than we know who bought the house in Botanic Road or the residential flats—farmed by the Grand (?) Treasurer. Where did it come from? Ask Johnston—not Tom. He might tell you who shared the spoils with him.

To No. 6—Comrade—Evolution. Any more questions?

"Nemo me impune lacessit."

Please return Collecting Books for Voluntary Levy Lockout Fund at once to Lockout Committee, Liberty Hall.

### A SLAVE'S LULLABY.

Hush-a-bye, baby, on the tree top,  
When you grow up you can work in a shop,  
When you are married, your wife can work, too,  
So that the rich will have nothing to do.

Hush-a-bye, baby, on the tree top,  
When you are old, your wages will stop,  
And when you have spent what little you save,  
It's rock-a-bye, baby, off to the grave.

### STARVING GERMANY.

Whilst the men, women and children of Germany are being slowly starved to death, the German industrial capitalists are spending 50 and 60 gold marks each night for a dinner at the Hotel Adlon, or the Bristol Hotel, or any other one that is expensive enough. When you know that 60 gold marks equals nearly £4 you realise how much interest these high-souled patriots are taking in their country's welfare.

## IRELAND AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

## II.—ENGLAND (continued.)

## The English Working Class (continued.)

(Correction.—In last week's issue one sentence read: "N.B.—At present unemployment in Britain is proportionately 20% greater than in Ireland." The figure should have read 50%, and the error was the printer's.)

We shall now review those political associations amongst the working-class which desire more radical changes than those hitherto mentioned, and which advocate the use of means other than "constitutional," i.e., which prefer not to rely upon the manipulation of the machinery of government evolved by the ruling classes in order that society should be controlled in their interests. The standpoints of the supporters of the movements about to be described is that of the revolutionary economists and sociologists, of Marx, Kropotkin, Connolly, and De Leon, to mention four of several illustrious names, and the gist of it is:—

That "the prevailing method of economic production and exchange" governs all social conditions, and that the State is consequently a coercive force regulating the lives of the community so as to ensure smooth working for the said economic production and exchange. From that belief proceed all the principles and the whole of the ideology of the revolutionary movement. The Communist Party of Great Britain really proceeds from the union, in 1919 and 1920, of the Left, i.e. more revolutionary wing of the I.S.L.P., the British Socialist Party, some of the members of the Socialist Labour Party of Scotland, and the Workers' Socialist Federation. These elements were those which professed to adopt the standpoint mentioned above, and which saw great hope for mankind in the Russian Soviet Revolution of 1917. Affiliation was secured to the third or Communist International begun by the Russian Bolshevik Party after the betrayal and disintegration of the Second International during the war. The present aim of the Communist Party is to establish a Republic built of Workers' Councils which would eradicate production for the profit of alleged owners of property and substitute co-operative effort to supply the needs of all. The Soviets are a network of councils of workers in each small unit of production. The smallest unit is the shop or farm council, and the working unit the soviet of delegates from each factory, dock or farm in a locality. The works come together on an industrial basis, rather than in branches grouped according to the places of residence. The soviets are really and actually the Industrial Unions, and to save space and perhaps inadequate presentation of the case for Industrial Unionism, it were best that the reader consult Connolly's "Axe to the Root," published by the I.T.G.W.U. Industrial Unionism aims at building within the walls of capitalist society the very fabric of the edifice of the Workers' Republic destined to replace capitalism, and the One Big Revolutionary Union is at once the instrument used to fight and overthrow the master-class, and the framework of the new co-operative classless society of the future.

Thus the C.P.G.B. proclaims the State as the agency of the ruling class, and that even if obtained against great odds, a complete Parliamentary and Municipal majority would not permit of the establishment of freedom because the master-class could easily induce the King to exercise his Royal Veto, the armed forces to rally to their sovereign, the constitution, and the defence of the sacred rights of private property, and the administration and judiciary to function irregularly or not at all. In this connection, later articles alluding to Spain, Italy, Saxony and Greece will be relevant.

The Party aims at sustaining the existing, and at present somewhat discredited, trades

unions, at reforming them and leading them towards Industrial Unionism as opportunity offers and as the strength of the bolder trades unionists increases.

To this end, the more revolutionary branches, district and national bodies have linked together in the Red International of Labour Unions, rival to the International Federation of Trades Unions which contains those representing various shades of anti-revolutionary opinion.

An effort is being made to rally the workers to "The United Front," i.e., to unite in opposition to the offensive of the masters against wages and conditions, and for certain palliatives of capitalism such as the 48 or 44 hour week, better housing, and work or maintenance at T.U. rates for the unemployed. At the same time the amazing duplicity and treachery of many leaders is exposed and efforts made to secure leading positions within the Unions for the more advanced workers. Any development within the ranks calculated to revivify the T.U. movement or weaken its present oligarchy of rule-bound bureaucrats is vigorously assisted. There can be no honest denial of the fact that the influence of Communist Party members within the Unions has been considerable. Recently, as a result of pressure from the branches a Congress of Trades' Councils was held at Birmingham to endeavour to investigate the position generally and that of Trades' Councils in particular. At Trades' Councils members meet delegates from local T.U. branches and working-class political bodies. Communist influence naturally began to operate first amongst the branches and hence Trades' Councils are in advance of the higher executives. At Birmingham 1,000,000 workers were represented, and the Congress accepted as its creed that there should be one union in each industry under the direction of the General Council of the Trades' Congress, which E.C. would be empowered to co-ordinate strikes and apply the funds of the unions for purposes approved. This plan is a species of Industrial Unionism.

In the chair was Harry Pollitt, of the Boilermakers' Society, a member of the C.P., leader of the minority at the Trades' Union Congress at Plymouth in October.

Whilst about 350,000 English trades' unionists are joined with the R.I.L.U., some 6,000,000 are members of the I.F.T.U. At the Second Congress of the R.I.L.U. in Moscow last year 12,274,000 workers were represented, as against nearly 22 millions nominally connected with the I.F.T.U. But the membership of the I.F.T.U. has decreased annually since the War, whilst the R.I.L.U. has grown remarkably during its three years of existence. Since 1922 the principal Dutch Unions, through their "National Labour Party"—i.e., Federation of Trades Unions—have left the I.F.T.U. and joined the R.I.L.U. Seven countries now have more trades unions in touch with Moscow than with Amsterdam, the H.Q. of the International Federation.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the Left Wing movement in English Unions is still numerically weak. The Executives are not yet unseated, and the chief obstacle to the R.I.L.U. is the resistance offered by their tremendous power over trades' journals, funds, patronage and votes.

The C.P. has definitely espoused participation in Parliamentary, Municipal and local elections, on the ground that such contests as well as the presence of Party champions' in the legislatures are useful for propaganda, because of the attention paid to the activities and ideas of candidates and elected representatives, and of the opportunities given, for example, to M.P.s of exposing the iniquities of the ruling class within Parliament itself. Some consider that by entering the legislatures, Communists will make it easier ultimately to destroy them when the Soviets take control.

The C.P. endeavours to form a United Front with the Labour Party against the

Masters' parties. To this end it assists Labour candidates in all election battles and urges its members to enter the Labour Party. It knows that the Labour policy of change and amelioration via Parliament and Local Government bodies will not succeed, nevertheless it hopes to hasten the advent of a Labour Party in nominal power so that the fallacy of bourgeois democracy may become evident. C.P. leaders regard the period of Labour Parliamentary majority as an inevitable stage in social evolution and declare that it would be wise to help the Labour Party to a majority since the C.P. would then become the workers last and final resort. Again, it is thought that to oppose Labour would alienate working-class sympathy, since the workers are beginning to place confidence in Labour as their party. At the same time it is hoped to undertake successful educational work amongst Labourists, to mould labour opinion and to win the leadership of that party for those accepting more advanced views so that ultimately the Labour Party may turn to Communist beliefs. The C.P. has tried for three years to affiliate as an autonomous unit to the National Labour Party, but the indemocratic system of voting at the Party Conference has permitted the officials of the Party, and particularly its affiliated trades unions, to reject the application. Yet, support for C.P. alliance has grown steadily, and a majority of the local labour parties and trades councils, which are directly represented at the Congress, are now advocates of Communist admission. Locally affiliation has often been obtained in spite of strong contrary pressure from the National Executive.

C.P. candidates stand only when the Labour Party nominees refrain, and where it can be arranged C.P. candidates fight as Labour nominees.

The Party does not propose to try to propagate the desire for communist life at present, but prefers to concentrate the whole attention of the masses on every immediate issue on which a struggle against the ruling classes can be forced with some prospect of success, and therefore on which the workers can be expected to rally, pointing out the fact that the cause of all the strife lies in the nature of the system of society. The Party urges its speakers to use any working-class platform available, and to avoid stressing the differences of opinion regarding the conception of the world of the future after the conquest of power by the proletariat.

The "Workers Weekly," organ of the C.P.G.B., has a sale of about 80,000 copies, largest of any labour weekly. Proportionately, this is only one-half of that of the "Irish Worker" in Ireland. Membership is increasing fast. Regarding Ireland, the C.P.G.B. supports the revolutionary workers against the Empire. The only M.P.s who opposed the Ratification of the alleged Treaty were the two Communists, Saklatvala, Parsee, compositor, and Labour M.P. for Battersea, and Newbould, an authority on the ways of commerce, member for Motherwell in Lanark. There will probably be several more Party representatives or sympathizers in the House of Commons shortly.

The views of the present leaders of thought within the Third International could best be gleaned from a study of Bukharin's "A.B.C. of Communism."

From the C.P.G.B. there seceded about two and a half years ago those who formed the Communist Workers' Movement, now a unit of the Fourth Communist International. This movement is numerically very small but on the increase. Its outstanding thinker is E. Sylvia Pankhurst, Editor of the "Workers' Dreadnought," who at seventeen years of age was a suffragette pioneer and acquired sympathies with labour revolutionaries when very young. It divides its energies equally between opposition to the established order of things and the education of opinion in favour of co-operative society. It deems it essential that the thinking workers

should both reject the profit-making system and that they should commence to visualize their ideal of how life should be ordered. The C.W.H. will not fuse with any of the reforming workers' parties, though it assists any group of workers in any struggle, provided that the objective is not inconsistent with the end of Communism, e.g., "The Daily Herald" is controlled by a Committee of the General Council of the Unions and Labour Party, and endeavours to support the attitude of the reforming officials. The C.P.G.B. opposes the officials, but hoping eventually to win control of the "Herald," at some distant date, it endeavours to increase the circulation. The C.W.H., on the contrary, would prefer to see the "Herald" replaced by an opposition workers' paper, and has no desire to save its precariously sustained life. The movement refuses to participate in elections, and derides Parliamentary action, because it believes such action results in the sidetracking of the workers' cause and corruption of the organisation. Again, because Trade Unions are organised on craft basis and with branches almost always formed not as workshop units but residentially, it advocates the creation of the All Workers' Revolutionary Union of Workshop Councils. It doubts the practical possibility of reforming trades unions by capturing executive power, and does not perceive any logic in the view of those who, whilst preaching Industrial Unionism, enter the wrongly-constructed craft bodies in order to wait until a majority in each of those bodies instructs its leaders to reform their mode of organisation.

An argument in favour of this theory was provided during the dock strike. As a result of "Red" votes, C.P. members were elected to each of the two leading secretarial positions in the Docks Group of the Transport Union. However, when the T.W.U. officials opposed the strikers and refused strike pay, these two "extremists" remained neutral and did not join the strikers. The C.W.M. alleges that they had become corrupted or were already corrupt when by manipulating the extreme vote they became well-paid servants of the Union.

The A.W.R.U. has no paid officials. A copy of its constitution will be printed in the next issue and should serve to illustrate the ideals of the C.W.M. sufficiently well. It has no loop-hole for corruption, is easily controlled by the workers themselves, is composed of men and women of one mind, has no bureaucracy, and its rules provide for cohesion without centralization of power. The C.W.M. and its International dislike centralization and aim at creating an intelligent mass movement acting in the desired direction rather than a disciplined party under the management of astute leaders, the desideratum of the Third International.

This movement also favours the cause of the Irish Workers' Republic and endeavours to explain the struggle of the Irish people with the English Empire to the English. In considering the influence of these parties on English workers, let us now deal with the unemployed.

EXILE.

(To be continued.)

### A JEW WE DON'T LIKE.

Hugo Stinnes owns or controls one twelfth of the total wealth of Germany, yet when he was asked to contribute towards the starting of another soup kitchen for children he insolently refused. In the meantime his son is in America trying to form a partnership with Sinclair, the Oil King, for the purpose of controlling the oil-fields of the world.

It is the Trade Unionist who is in the fringe-line of the class struggle. He it is who has blocked the wheels of the capitalist machine. He it is who has taught the workers of the world the lesson of solidarity.—(Professor Hemon.)

## THE WORKING CLASS AND THE VOTE.

By ELIZABETH JAY.

One of the beginnings of the industrial struggle was the agitation by the working-man for the right to vote. At that time the workers thought if they once had the vote class legislation, trade grievances and all their other wrongs would be swept away. If they got the vote they knew they could get "trade-unions" as dreamt of by men for so long. "The vote, and nothing but the vote"—for once the vote was secured, all was secured and nothing but happiness and prosperity would now be the poor man's lot.

Now, they have got their vote and their "unions," and they have found that the "Promised Land" is not yet in sight, nor the millennium reached. Their vote, which was to give them power to choose those who would represent them, and remember their claims and interests, did not fulfil this end, and their unions never achieved the aim and ideal of consolidating workers for their mutual benefit.

Those they voted into power, once they lost their vim and enthusiasm and directed their talents in to channels directly opposed to the interests of the class they represented.

There are several reasons for leaders, and especially workers' leaders, betraying their trust. They have only the good-will and well-wishing of their supporters who naturally cannot give much more, and on the other hand all the forces of this earth are opposed to them. What god is greater than the money-god, and what organisation more powerful than the press? And these two factors combine against the leaders and compel them, too often, to sell the class that trusts them, for rank and gold. Sometimes, it is not hard to persuade these men to turn traitor, for great men have a peculiar habit of scorning the heights by which they did ascend and despising those who gave them power.

The press does its work well for the Capitalist class. It is easy to fool the multitude when so many believe that what is in print—because it is in print—is gospel veracity. So fabulous promises are poured out, workers and toilers are advised to be patient and enduring and submit to the Higher Authority—in other words, the monied-class; peace and good-will to all men is preached, again in other words, let those in power do what they like when they like, and the poor toilers have just to cast up their eyes and say—"Thy will be done"—"Amen, amen, I say to you"—the devil was always able to cite scripture for his own purpose. It can clearly be seen therefore that a leader who can stand firm and not be seduced by his powerful enemies, and a free press—without taint of pharisaical hypocrisy and untrammelled by Capitalist censorship—are two wonderful things. However, such a man and such a press can be found in Ireland. "The Irish Worker" is not only for the Irish Worker but for every worker, English, American and European. This paper sees so well through the aims of those in power, from the employer to the trades union leader who has turned traitor. All the workers who wish to do their duty by themselves and for their fellow-workers must follow the path trod by one who has spent his life in uplifting and educating them. To do this they must support the "Irish Worker," and the very good sense and fairness of the matter printed in its pages will do the rest, and when the big struggle begins they will know what to do and how to do it.

Slowly and by degrees the workers are learning that they must not only vote but must vote the right men into power. This is a difficult thing but it is part of their education—fair words and fair deeds, they know, do not always go together. One

thing they are now learning well is, how men whom they have put into power have forgotten them and the class from which they sprang, and the low, brutal methods they employ to retain their power, the taste of which seems so very sweet to them.

(The above article was written by a Belfast girl, aged 16 years.—Ed.)

### SUPPORT LONGSHOREMEN.

It is quite evident that the Shipping Federation of British Columbia is quite determined upon establishing the Open Shop. This is but a continuation of the organized drive in this direction which has been carried on since the end of the war.

For months prior to the strike of the Longshoremen, now in progress in Vancouver, many municipal governments advertised extensively in the *Prairie Daily Papers* that no jobs were to be had on the Pacific Coast, and that no relief would be given to the unemployed.

When the strike began these ads were withdrawn and other ads inviting the unemployed workers (who were duped by the transportation companies of England) to come to the Pacific Coast as there was plenty of work to be secured on the waterfront.

These workers who were fooled into coming to Canada are being invited to scab upon the native workers.

The Shipping Federation of B.C. is carrying half-page ads in the gutter press of Vancouver in which they openly declare for the Open Shop; that they will not have any further dealings with the Longshoremen's Association and boast that they have taken all steps necessary to protect scabs.

This means that in order to enforce the Open Shop and a lower standard of living upon the waterfront workers they are assured of a sufficient number of gunmen and thugs to institute a Reign of Terror similar to that established by Beseco a few months ago in Nova Scotia.

The International Longshoremen's Association is the largest single union in Vancouver. It is ably and fearlessly led by militant workers selected by the rank and file. If it goes down in this struggle it will be due to lack of support from the rest of organized labour in Canada.

If the United Shipping Federation is permitted to strangle the Longshoremen, other unions will also be crushed and the entire labour movement jeopardized.

Therefore, we call upon all organized workers to make Common Cause with their struggling comrades on the Waterfront, and furthermore call upon the Trades and Labour Congress to make use of the power reposing in its hands by calling upon all organized workers to rally to the support of those workers engaged in a life and death struggle against the United Front of the bosses of the Shipping Federation of the Pacific Coast.

### CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, Workers' Party of Canada.

WM. MORIARTY, Secretary.

JACK MACDONALD, Chairman.

(The above Manifesto sounds familiar to our ears. For the Shipping Federation of Canada read "Shipping Federation of England" and it would apply right here.—E)

The true organic formula of political as of economic justice is—

From each according to his powers,  
To each according to his needs.

(J. A. Hobson.)

Bad kings and governors help us, if only they are bad enough.—(Emerson.)

**THE NOBEL PRIZES.**

We congratulate the elected Literatti of the "Nobel Prize for Literature" Committee in their new associate, William Butler Yeats, poet. We regret that Oliver (Cromwell) Gogarty was allowed to move a motion in the new Freemason Lodge—the Seanad—and insult the selectors by suggesting there was a political reason for the selection of our countryman, a selection too long delayed. We make no comment on the Cromwellian harangue of Gogarty—it was worthy of him, but an insult to the poet who wrote "Kathleen Ni Houlihan."

**"SWAN SONGS"**

Winston Churchill, in the second volume of his Swan Song entitled, "The World Crisis," thus:

"Good, plain, straightforward frontal attacks by valiant flesh and blood against wire and machine guns 'killing Germans' while Germans killed Allies twice as often, calling out the men of forty, of fifty, and even of fifty-five and the youths of eighteen, sending the wounded soldiers back three or four times over the shambles such were the sole manifestations now reserved for the military art. And when at the end, three years later, the throng of unformed functionaries, who in the seclusion of their offices had complacently presided over this awful process, presented victory to their exhausted nations, it proved only less ruinous to the victor than to the vanquished."

He tells the truth and shames the devils who were responsible for the war, and the so-called military genius, who prolonged the agony. Our readers will agree with his deductions. The world's peoples walked through hell for over four years, so that Statesmen might play a game of chess with human lives. And then they dare to commemorate their infamy.

Mr. Smuts, General, and Premier of South Africa, thus:

"It is an inspiring, I have almost said awe-inspiring, spectacle to see our great Commonwealth, or rather our League of Nations, gathering from the ends of the earth. Here in a tumbling, falling world, here in a world where all the foundations are quaking, you have something solid and enduring. The greatest thing on earth, the greatest political structure of all time, it has passed unscathed through the awful blizzard and has emerged stronger than ever before. Why has it stood the test where so many others have failed and gone unscathed? It is because in this Empire we sincerely believe in and practice certain fundamental principles of human government, such as peace, freedom, self-development, self-government and the like."

Oh you? Smut.

Peace—Oh Hell!

Self Development—Ask India? She knows!

Self Government—See Free State?—and the like.

A world camp of hired assassins, millions of unemployed men and women—Hate—Murder—and the like.

We affirm as a fundamental principle that labour, the creator of wealth, is entitled to all it creates.—(Wendel Phillips.)

**BONAR LAW.**

**EULOGIES FROM IDIOTS.**

"... They recognised his honesty of purpose and personal integrity."

(T. P. O'CONNOR.)

"... Mr. Law was a man of conspicuous loyalty to his convictions, a dependable friend, an upright opponent, and a faithful public servant."

(RAMSAY McDONALD.)

"... Mr. Law left behind him an unstained record." (Asquith.)

Lloyd George referred to Mr. Law's loyalty.

The following are some quotations from Mr. Bonar Law's speeches:—

"If this Home Rule Bill should by any chance be forced through, then God help Ulster, but heaven help the Government that tries to enforce it."—From a speech delivered April 9th, 1913.

(See Lloyd George's speech above. Loyalty Moryah!)

"If Ulster does resist by force, there are stronger influences than Parliamentary majorities. They know that in that case no Government would dare to use their troops to drive them out. (Parliamentary speech, June, 1912.)

"We regard the Government as a revolutionary committee, which has seized by fraud upon despotic power. In our opposition to them we shall not be guided by the consideration, we shall not be restrained by the bonds which would influence us in an ordinary political struggle. We shall use any means—whatever means seems to us likely to be the most effective. This is all we shall think about. We shall use any means to deprive them of the power which they have usurped, and to compel them to face the people they have deceived."—From a speech, July 27th, 1912. (We agree.)

**PRINCIPLES (Sic).**

The "Times" London Correspondent, speaking with one of the Separatist Leaders in the Rhineland during the attempt to overthrow the German Republican Government in that area of Germany, inquired whether he was of German birth?

"I am not a German," he said, "but a French citizen of Polish birth. My name no one knows. I am called 'The Captain.'" He said that he had been brought to the Rhineland three weeks ago "to put this affair through by force," and that he had previously "organized the whole of the troubles"—the troubles created in the French interest—in Upper Silesia. His job now was to overthrow the existing local authorities of all the Rhenish towns. "The type of men under me," he added, "will fight for anyone who will feed and pay them and desert to the other side when pay stops."

Somehow the last sentence seems familiar. We in this country have also had experience of that kind of soldier. We wish 'The Leader' joy of them.

**STRAY "THINKINGS"**

If there were less strikes there would be more wages; and if there were more wages there would be less strikes.

Building a house these days requires the skill of a contortionist in order to pass through the many "Rings."

The Labour Party's Transport and Communication Bill implies the formation of a Ministry of Transport. Evidently the "jobs" in a certain Union connected with transport are becoming precarious.

Respectability covers many sins, even lack of respectability.

In this world the more honest a man is, the poorer he is, and vice versa.

Roguary becomes a virtue in this world, when its results are money.

The modern version of the old saying "Justice tempered with mercy," is "Justice tempered with cheque books."

What use are strikes? Answer: they give the machinery a rest.

When is a soldier not a soldier? When he's a strike breaker.

What are "Old Age Pensioners" for? To sharpen the "Axe" on.

Did Saint Patrick drive the snakes out of Ireland or did the snakes drive Saint Patrick out? We suggest they split fifty-fifty.

**Why the Old Age Pensions were Cut?**

Many people are seeking an answer to the above question. With the object of solving this deep and mysterious happening we set our reportorial Sherlock Holmes on the quest. He, after many deductions and subtractions, has discovered the following facts. 1,700 pounds equals 34,000 shillings, equals two loaves per week subtracted from 34,000 Old Age Pensioners, equals one Cabinet Minister.

People wonder why Lord Iveagh built the Iveagh Buildings. Well! the less people die from bad housing, the more can die from drink.

"It is possible that there may be skating during the week." (Daily Paper.)  
We think some people have been skating on thin ice for some time now.

Tim Healy is valued at £35,000 per year or £729 per week. £729 equals 1,620 sums of 9/- per week when 65 years of age. Therefore Tim Healy at 70 years of age (in the opinion of Mr. Cosgrave) is equal in value to 1,620 citizens at 65 years of age. Is he really?

Without the help of the masses you cannot act; you may teach martyrdom, but not victory.—(Mazzini).

**THE NEW SENATOR.**

We congratulate the Senate on the selection of the new Senator. We suppose this is in payment for services rendered. We suggest that John Saturnus Kelly should be chosen to fill the other vacancy.

**THE ONLY XMAS DRAW FOR THE PRISONERS IN IRELAND. BUY A TICKET**

### THE MEN OF THE MOMENT.

In England at present there is great excitement over the coming General Election. The following are the chief figures in the lime-light, with some news attached.

**Lloyd George** :—The man who sent the Black and Tans to Ireland, and who split the Irish Nation to the foundation.

**Asquith** :—The man who was responsible for the murder of Pearse, Connolly, etc., in 1916.

**Stanley Baldwin** :—The man who hopes to ruin the Workers' Republic in Russia by means of an Economic Boycott. He is also playing a little game in the Ruhr.

**Winston Churchill** :—The Man of Blood, the War Lord, the man responsible for the massacre in the Dardanelles.

**J. H. Thomas** :—The man who sold the miners on Black Friday. The Socialistic Imperialist.

**Austin Chamberlain** :—The man who has made politics a profession. He would sell his soul (if he had one) for a political job.

**Sir Edward Grey** :—The man who concluded the intrigue that ended in the Great War.

**Ramsay MacDonald** :—The man that slipped. He also blessed the Treaty. 'Nuff said!

### "The Eyes of the Fool are in the Ends of the Earth."

Our readers will note that the columns of the Daily and Weekly Press are filled with news about every conceivable happening outside of this country. German crises; French crises; Italian crises, etc., etc. Writing on Wednesday evening, November 21st, we take up the papers for the day and find that eight of the ten columns of news matter deals with foreign happenings. The leader column exclusively confined to comments on foreign political issues.

In one of these so-called Irish newspapers six lines are given to the passing of Denis Barry, done to death in the Curragh Camp, a man who had given his youth to the struggle for liberty and now his life for his country; and a column to the announcement of the passing of a man whose life had been an utterly selfish and money-grubbing existence.

There is no wealth but life—and life including all its powers of love, of joy and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings.—(John Ruskin.)

The British Slaves of the Sea were allocated £5,000,000 for loss of clothing, wages, health, limbs, etc., consequent upon the sinking of British ships by the German submarines. Some of them who lived to claim their share got three shillings per man.

He knows nothing and he thinks he knows everything. That points clearly to a political creer.—(G. Bernard Shaw.)

We have but to toil awhile, endure awhile, believe always and never turn back.—(R. L. Stevenson.)

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### List of Collectors' Books Outstanding on 28th November, 1923.

#### OLD ISSUE.

10, M. Shanahan; 20, — Nolan; 23, J. Stone and J. Byrne; 30, P. Verdon; 38, J. Edwards; 39, W. Tuohy; 40, M. Brennan; 46, P. Clarke; 49, W. Walsh; 57, J. Traynor; 58, E. Pearson; 62, E. Pearson; 85, C. Fox; 86, H. Fitzsimons; 98, M. O'Neill; 103, J. Beggs; 117, J. Kelly; (?), Dunne and Kelly; 120, T. O'Brien; 127, Banba Hall; 128, (do.); 129, (do.); 121, Holohan and Kelly; 130, Banba Hall; 131, (do.); 132, (do.); 139, Missing; 142, A. Donnelly; 145, V. Walsh; 146, P. Bryan; 147, J. Murphy; 148, J. Kelly; 150, J. Mahony; 151, P. McAuley; 152, W. Markey; 156, P. Carroll and Quainey; 157, P. Quail; 158, J. Lynn; 159, M. Watson; 164, J. Dempsey; 173, M. Rowe or Raul; 175, P. Kavanagh; 179, Hanks; 188, Brennan; 194, T. Dunne; 198, Hill (Brooks Thomas); 200, Donnelly; 201, Downes; 202, (?); 203, No. 3 Branch; 204, (do.); 205, (do.); 206, (do.); 207, (do.); 208, (do.); 209, (do.); 210, (do.); 211, (do.); 212, (do.); 213, (do.); 214, (do.); 215, J. Walsh; 224, A. Coonan; 229, J. Byrne; 261, P. Doody; 263, T. Carrick; 264, No. 3 Branch; 265, (do.); 266, (do.); 267, (do.); 268, (do.); 269, (do.); 270, (do.); 271, (do.); 272, (do.); 273, (do.); 274, (do.); 275, (do.); 282, E. Lalor; 289, C. Murphy; 292, E. Hall, No. 2 Branch; 296, (do.); 309, E. Crystil; 318, M. Wynne; 322, J. Ball; 340, H. Dall; 344, T. Foley; 346, R. James, No. 2 Branch; 347, P. Confrey; 349, J. Nolan; 366, W. Walsh; 382, M. J. O'Brien; 391, M. Donnelly; 392, R. James, No. 2 Branch; 396, B. McCann; 397, T. Foley; 398, Sherlock and Lawless; 404, J. Ball; 408, J. McCabe; 411, P. Farrelly; 414, H. Daggers; 415, (do.); 416, (do.); 417, (do.); 421, P. Hannon; 422, P. Mulvaney; 425, J. Corcoran; 429, J. M. O'Brien; 437, J. Hartnett.

#### NEW ISSUE.

37, (?); 42, Miss Gough; 64, W. Lynch; 65, (?); 68, P. Conlon; 69, (?); 90, W. Wynne; 95, (?); 108, J. McManus; 120, (?); 124, McEoy; 130, J. Gray; 134, P. Pollard; 140, (?); 141, (?); 142, (?); 145, (?); 146, (?); 147, (?); 148, (?); 149, (?); 150, (?); 151, (?); 152, (?); 153, (?); 154, (?); 155, (?); 156, (?); 157, (?); 158, (?); 159, (?); 160, (?); 161, (?); 162, (?); 163, (?); 164, (?); 165, (?); 166, (?); 167, (?); 168, (?); 169, (?); 170, (?); 171, (?); 172, (?); 173, (?); 174, (?); 175, (?); 176, (?); 177, (?); 178, (?); 179, (?); 180, (?); 181, (?); 182, (?); 183, (?); 184, (?); 185, (?); 186, (?); 187, (?); 188, (?); 189, (?); 190, (?); 194, (?); 195, (?); 196, (?); 197, (?); 198, (?).

### HANGED!

A man was hanged in Mountjoy Gaol on Thursday morning last. The men who armed him in the beginning can accept responsibility for his action. Theirs was the guilt!

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# THE IRISH WORKER

## AN T-OIBRIÖE SAÖDLAC

Edited by JIM LARKIN

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15TH, 1923

TWOPENCE

### CAMPAIGNING.

In response to an imperative message from our old comrade, Willie Gallacher, December 1st, we put all things aside and took ship from Dunlaoghaire on Sunday morning, December 2nd. On our way from Holyhead we stopped at Chester and to our consternation discovered we were travelling with the "Windbag of the Century"—the renegade par excellence, Lloyd George, who, accompanied by an army corps of secretaries, journalists (paid liars), and broadcasting outfit, was en route to capture the City of Norwich from Labour and incidentally to charge the atmosphere of Great Britain with political poison gas. Our old campaigning friend of the Boer War days (Founder of the Free State) pushed his face through the window of the special compartment of the train and addressed the specially summoned concourse—thirty-seven simpoleons, plus the two railway refreshment waitresses and your humble scribe. Poor George, old in years and iniquity, in a voice faint and almost inarticulate, bleated out his political incogitancies, the cheap organisms assembled cheered, and we pulled out for Manchester. Upon our arrival at that centre of revolt we sought the old rendezvous—"Clarion Cafe"—sunk into our old seats and called for food. While reflecting on the change in the spirit of the revolutionary rendezvous, we were roused from dreams of time by our erstwhile comrade of the years dead past—Comrade Mary Quayle, daughter of a former secretary of the Dublin Brick and Stonelayers Society. Mary is now blossomed into a full-blown rose, physically, and a sane and respectable trade union official, organiser, office-holder in the Amalgamated Transport Union, another combination like unto the I.T.W.U., to control the wage slave in the interests of the Fat Man. Our comrade Mary who is to be with us in the flesh to help our comrade, Ted Hart, to properly discipline the imported and native born sycophants who are slaving for Messrs. Wills (or the Imperial Tobacco Combine) and incidentally doing the same work industrially as the imported Black and Tans did in a military and political way. However, we spoke Mary fairly and in the spirit of comradeship. But what can words do against economic logic. We missed our train for the North, and having to spend some seven hours we took advantage of Comrade Quayles' suggestion and took in a political show (a Labour Meeting). Upon arriving at the place appointed we found the hall packed and some hundreds being turned away. We wondered had the revolution come for the announcement read outside the hall—William Paul, Communist Labour Candidate, would address the electors of Rusholme division.

Ten years had passed since we last pushed a few ideas forth through space in this division of Manchester, and we thought within ourselves—are we within the octave of the revolution. Edward Carpenter's Labour Hymn rang true—"England is

risen and the day is here." We approached with due deference one of the Red Knights guarding the portals and suggested a small spot of English ground inside the hall would be conducive to my mental development. He was young, I was unshaved and a fearsome looking visitant. I was denied.—No room? I then suggested a line of writing be conveyed to the chairman requesting audience for the stranger without the gates. In a moment a horde of these Bolsheviks headed by the fearsome Chiel Paul (without whiskers), rushed forth. I was seized and dragged within. Of course I was fearfully disappointed about the whiskers—all the pictures I had seen and word stories I had read made a special feature of the whiskers. And here was a most cheery band of lads, and nary a hair on the face. My heart misgave me. I had been led into a trap. It must be a Baldwin-Lloyd George Sunday School. But without a pause I was pushed on to the platform, packed with well-dressed, perfectly respectable looking people, and away out in front of the footlights a couple of thousand more humans had risen to their feet, and lo and behold ye! they were intoning the War Song, written by Jim Connel (the Old Dublin Docker)—"The Red Flag," and then when silence covered them a voice announced our capture and we were led like a lamb to the altar where we ventured to breathe a few words of praise, criticism and supplication, and desired that we all stand in silence in commemoration of the passing of a pioneer—Brave John McLean—clean in heart, mind and ideas. A moment of remembrance and then we were again seized, hurried to a motor car, and off to another meeting; the same experiences; and then to a third meeting—and still they asked for more. Everywhere Paul spoke the same magnificent spirit was shown, young and old eager and enthusiastic. Then to the Cafe for a cup of tea and the long journey to the Border and beyond. I was not allowed to wait for the morning train alone. When we pulled out for Dundee a comradely greeting and good wishes was waited from the platform. Tired, worn out for lack of sleep but happy in the knowledge that the labour of years was bringing forth a harvest. We sat penned knee to knee throughout the long journey from Manchester to Carstairs where we had release and a much needed measure of space. We arrived in Dundee at nine; a visit to a hairdresser's was in order. After a shave and wash we felt equal to meeting Rob Roy. We made rendezvous with the Chiel Gallacher at noon on Monday, and until we pulled out for the South on Thursday it was one thrill of deep satisfaction.

Our memory carried us back to other visits to Dundee, to the companionship of comrades dead, some who lived faithful to the "Cause that knows no failure." And we remembered one who joyed with us in labour and service who proved recreant. He paid. Poor Jim O'Connor Kassuck—one of the best industrialists that Scotland

produced, the offspring of an Irish father and a Scottish mother. Poor lad, he could not stand the strain and died in France. We remembered the hectic days of conflict when we pursued Winston of Dardenelles fame from meeting to meeting. It was an inspiration to meet old comrades and thousands of new ones. We missed one chiel, Rob Stewart, but we were doubly fortunate in being allowed the hospitality of his good sisters' house and the comradeship of his two bairns, now grown into virile manhood. "The young saplings grown into sturdy oaks—like the father." It was good to be with the Clan Dalgetty, a well-favoured, intelligent, courageous Scottish working-class family. May the luck of life grant your scribe a few more hours of this life in Bonnie Dundee. We do not intend to detail our experiences at the many meetings we were honoured in giving service at. There was one candidate who dared to speak the truth—Gallacher. No evasion, no equivocation, no question of expediency was allowed in the campaign. "Tell the truth and shame the Devils" was the slogan. Willie Gallacher increased his poll 100%—from 5,000 to over 10,000. Some abler pen than ours will write the story of what was an epoch-making campaign. We cannot pass away from Dundee without giving greeting to a family we were privileged to meet—the Clan MacDonald—five women—a mother, two sisters, and two daughters, one the beauty and youngest of the clan—a Rale Rebel. She was the first for three generations to revisit the land of her fathers and they gave her royal hospitality—in an Irish gaol, after doing her duty on the firing line from Dublin to Cork—"Scotland for ever." The older family of the Gael and the younger are fusing—a rare combination. The next time the Bonnets cross the Border it will not be at the orders of a Claverhouse and not for the same purpose.

The new slogan:—Workers of the World Unite—"We have a World to Gain." Ten thousand class-conscious workers in Dundee have sworn they will be free. Hundreds of thousands have sworn in Scotland, England and Wales, and put their sign and seal on their belief. That is the significant thing—not that 191 Labour members have been returned. A class-conscious proletarian army is enrolled and on the march. We left Dundee with the cheers of comrades for encouragement and the cry "will ye no come back again?" Then on to the South. We paused an hour or two in Manchester and then on to Liverpool—after ten years. We opened to a full house in the Stadium. A greeting, a message delivered, a renewal of friendship born in the long dead past, a pledge to never renage, come weal or woe, a promise to return, and the lights of Holyhead fell astern and morning gave greeting over the Wicklow Hills. And so our brief campaign ended—as all journeying should—"Home with my ain folk." And the cause goes ever onward till the good day brings the best.

## THE ELECTIONS IN ENGLAND.

In round numbers the "before" and "after" figures are:—

	Before	After	
Tory	350	260	Master Class
Liberal*	120	155	
Labour	145	192	Workers
Communist	2	nil	

\*includes both Lloyd George-ites and Asquithians.

Regarding the figures, it is interesting to observe that in 610 constituencies—five have yet to declare—no less than 209 are "represented" on a minority vote! There are 89 Tories, 69 Labour, 51 Liberals, and 3 others who cannot, by any pretence, claim to represent their constituencies.

At all events the number of seats held by each party happens, this time, to be roughly proportional to the vote cast for each. In 1918 Labour secured nearly one-quarter of the votes and only one-eleventh of the seats, in 1922 it exceeded the quarter and got less than one-quarter of the seats. The two Communists were both defeated, but the total Communist poll for the country was increased three-fold. The advent of a number of C.P. members cannot be long delayed.

Now, what is behind the whole business? Twelve months ago we were promised tranquility; even during the summer nobody expected an election. Then hey, presto! Mr. Baldwin secures a Cabinet majority for dissolution and a sham fight wages round the old gags of Free Trade and Tariff Reform. Lo! Lloyd George and Asquith embrace, and the "Mail" and "Express" both Tory newspapers, open a campaign against Baldwin and in favour of the Liberals. Exit Baldwin!

To understand the position we must sift the facts from the fancies. The facts are these:—

(a) The French iron and coal kings have collared the bulk of the iron and coal rights of the Continent.

(b) The Ruhr struggle was and is a fight between the French and German iron and coal kings for possession of the mines and metallurgical works, and of the indispensable workers without whom not an ounce of coal could be raised nor pig of iron cast.

(c) Baldwin is a colliery owner and steel master, and though not pro-German, does not want his French rivals to succeed.

(d) There are other interests in England who have nothing to gain by preventing the French capitalists from seizing the Ruhr resources but who actually have financial holdings in France and with French capitalists

(e) These interests control the "Daily Express" through Lord Beaverbrook, and the "Daily Mail" via Lord Rothermere.

N.B.—The "Daily Mail" publishes a Paris edition, and the allied paper, the "Times," is connected with the French "Le Temps."

(f) The Tories split consequently into pro-French and anti-French groups. Baldwin scented an attempt to supplant him, and decided to take the bull by the horns and force an election. He unexpectedly took up the Protection issue, one likely to gain him most Conservative support, and dissolved Parliament, hoping to win through by bluff. He caught Lloyd George absent in U.S.A. But Lloyd George hastened home and resolved to unite with Asquith even whilst on the liner. As soon as he landed he spoke in favour of Free Trade and Liberal Re-union.

A short while before the Asquithians and Lloyd Georgians had voted against each other several times in the House, and had been carping at each other whenever possible. Yet in a flash all George's vagaries were pardoned and Asquith and he stumped the country together.

The "Mail" and "Express", both Protectionist papers, in this election apparently fought on the Protection issue, began at once to belittle Mr. Baldwin! Now this combine

owns about half of the London dailies and Sunday journals of importance. Under Northcliffe's control, they turned out Asquith and made Lloyd George, and later they dismissed Lloyd George and secured victory for Law and Baldwin. Now they sedulously cultivated Lloyd George and his friends and as a result Baldwin's cause is lost!

The Labour "Herald" discovered that at Lord Beaverbrook's house there assembled during the election fight Lord Birkenhead (Tory), Austin Chamberlain (Tory), Lloyd George (!) (Lib.), and Winston Churchill (Lib.), and these two pairs of "foes" spent a half-day together.

Something is in the wind.

The meaning of it all is that as Baldwin had to be got rid of somehow, the Beaverbrook-Rothermore clique struck a bargain with George and his old Coalition coterie to use the Liberals as the pawn in the game.

Notice that one day Mr. Baldwin was about to offer Birkenhead, the ex-Coalitionist, a Cabinet seat, and then suddenly changed his mind!

Now for the chances.

Baldwin's group, backed by the "Morning Post," are temporarily out of action.

The Tory Party split into two beneath the surface.

The "Mail" and "Express" clamouring for a Coalition against Labour. But Simon, Asquith's lieutenant, to-day—Monday—rejects such a proposal! Neither Baldwin nor Asquith could rule.

The ex-Coalitionists can hardly hope to collect sufficient renegade Liberals and Tories.

Yet none desire a Labour Government.

But Labour, although in a minority, wants to form the Cabinet! Labour's tactic is to go in, bring forward forward some popular measure that the bourgeoisie could not possibly allow to pass, and then, when their legislation is rejected, to "go to the country" demanding a mandate from the workers to restrain the Liberals and Tories from hindering them in their work of healing the sores of unemployment and bad conditions! In such a gamble, the odds favour Labour.

In this peculiar state of things we can only be sure of one thing, and that is that the end of the Parliamentary sway of the masters is in sight. When it has gone, the masters will try the Fascisti alternative. And so on to the collapse of Capitalism.

But what if Capitalism collapses around a working class which has not thought about the society to replace it? What if there is nothing ready to take its place? Would not chaos result?

What is true here is true of Ireland. It behoves us to prepare now for the new world, to visualize its outlines and prepare to achieve it. We betide us if capitalism decays—as it must decay—and when the structure collapses we have no alternative dwelling.

EXILE.

## URGENT CASE.

Out of many letters from victims of the fratricidal strife that has cursed this country since the vote on the Treaty, and still poisons the life of the "nation," we quote a few lines. The writer, an accomplished girl of 24 years of age, shorthand typist (competent to fill any secretarial position), returned home on the death of her brother, an I.R.A. officer, consequent on a breakdown in health due to shock of brother's death, was perforce compelled to resign position in England. Another brother (eldest) was severely wounded by Black and Tans—afterwards imprisoned for seventeen months, just off hunger-strike; two other brothers just released, one on crutches; and a younger sister just out of prison. No wages, no resources, bills accumulating, no hope of meeting them. Writer requires a job. Who knows of anything—any kind of clerical work? Write in confidence—Editor.

## More Executions

On a certain occasion Dean Swift wrote a friend, giving his opinion of the Protestant Church in Ireland and his explanation of the number of scoundrels in the episcopate was that on their journey from England to Ireland to take up their bishoprics the bishops were waylaid and murdered by highway men who dressed themselves in their habiliments and finished the journey for them, taking on the duties of the episcopate in due course.

We wonder if some similar process has been operating in Government circles in this country, else why the slavishness of "our" statesmen (?) in following English precept and practice.

A short year or two ago our ears were deafened by the din of prophetic patriotism. The gospel of the inherent virtue of Gaelicism and of the glorious future awaiting the infant nation when it should burst the bonds of slavery was preached on every hand. But since then the "patriots" of that swift moment have emerged into the governors of to-day—and with what results?

This morning two men were executed in Mountjoy for murder—as a deterrent, we suppose. Certainly they will never commit any more murders. Justice has been done, the law has been vindicated, and we are sure—this being a Christian age and ours a Christian nation—that virtue has triumphed.

"An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth"; so ran the old Jewish gospel. "But I say to you; thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself . . ." so spoke Christ in the later dispensation. And still two men died this morning that we might maintain our dignity as a nation and our position in the Christian world. We ask our readers to think out the matter with us for a moment or two.

Two men have died, leaving dependents unprovided for. Those whom they killed did not benefit by their execution and no man or woman in Ireland is the better of their deaths, unless a shock to our finer sensibilities is something of an advantage. No one has been deterred from similar acts by the deed, nor will any one be deterred. But the determination of "our" government to punish similar acts in the same way has clearly been manifested. What a consummation?

Two wrongs do not make a right, and of the two wrongs we do not pause in saying that the greater was this morning's fell deed. It has now been demonstrated that our civilisation is rapacious and heartless, that there is no such thing as Christ's mercy, that what really matters is that the unfortunates whom heredity and training have predisposed to crime must suffer for their parents' short-comings and the defects of training. Will anyone say that either of the two who died this morning has actually his brother's blood on his hands? Who can read his brother's mind? Can you, Mr. Cosgrave? "Let him who is without stain cast the first stone." "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord."

## OUR STATEMENT AND OUR APPEAL.

Our readers must understand that all correspondence, special articles, etc., sent in by contributors, are published without any editorial censorship. We either print or reject. We make no apology either to contributor or reader. We do not necessarily accept or endorse the view-point of our contributors. We regret our columns are limited. We hope to enlarge the paper and the scope of our work—one must cut the pattern according to the amount of cloth. We are on the upward path. Give us a push up! Give us a new reader! Give us your ideas! Above all give us credit for being in earnest! Expediency is no part of our plan—Principles first, last, all the time!

## IRELAND AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

### WALES.

**ECONOMIC EVOLUTION.** The earliest known ancestors of the Welsh people inhabited the whole of South Britain, living in communities in a manner somewhat similar to the Gaels, but possessing a civilisation and a polity less developed than that of their western neighbours. They became part of the Roman Empire and worked for a master class whose status was not unlike that of the twentieth century capitalists who to-day exploit their descendants, except that a great deal of the feudal remained in Roman civilisation and economy even when the Empire had become based on a world commerce. Roman sway ended with the invasions of the North Germans and Jutes.

These races, commonly designated as Saxons, lived in military formation at that time, a state of affairs brought about through the clashing of nomadic tribes in the course of their wanderings. For generations they had been unsettled. Land was the right of every family, yet each plot was exchanged every few years and a kind of re-division took place. Caesar explains this as being due to two causes:—(a) a desire to allow each family a chance of working the better fields, and (b) a check against the warriors begetting an affection for home and their own little spot, and so ceasing to be reliable when war came. These folk were less cultured than the British, but were by no means barbarians.

The unconquered remnant of the Britons were driven westward where they preserved their own customs for centuries. And what were these customs? Their ancient tribal life had generally been destroyed by the Roman state, subsequent warfare had accelerated the rise of the military nobles. So that mediæval Wales was semi-aristocratic and semi-communist. The latter tendency was due firstly to the remaining influences of the pre-historic tribalism, and secondly to the fact that from the earliest years A.D. Irish settlers had permeated Wales and West Wales, as Cornwall was once named. Whole clans of Gaels were located in Powys at one time, just as St. Gerald of Mayo brought home with him hundreds of Welshmen, fathers of the Barretts and MacHales of Tir-Airley and "Mayo of the Saxons."

But the Norman feudality eventually overcame the hardy and stubborn Welsh nobility in the course of a long struggle. Notice the difference of this conquest and that of Ireland. The root difference lay in the fact that whereas Ireland's co-operative state was organised in a completely different way from that of the Normans, Wales was already by that time largely feudal. In Ireland men fought against the loss of their land and free crafts, in Wales it was to save the nobility from surrendering their lordship over the masses to the stranger aristocrats! The Welsh conquest meant that the Welsh rulers gave up the border "Marches" to the predatory foreigners who had gradually overrun the limits of Welsh sovereignty, and agreed to hold the interior of Wales subject to the King of England. The Welsh of the Marches were sometimes displaced by English planters, but sometimes, exchanging a Welsh for a more severe Norman lord, they remained.

Now for the barons to obtain the mastery over the Gaels in Erin, it was necessary to displace the Gaelic Co-operative State, and because that State was so loosely centralised, this necessitated the introduction of the feudal, i.e., militaristic landlord system in each little district. Thus it was that the conquest of Ireland was so much more protracted and bloody. Even the defection of recreant chiefs failed to aid the conqueror materially, because Irish chiefs were not

owners of the soil and property of the people. On this point, consult "The Gaelic State in the Past and Future" by Darrell Figgis, Maunsell and Roberts, 2/- nett.

In this process of uprooting our fathers' hold on their country, its land and capital, it was found logically necessary to Anglicize the Gaels, to plunge them, first of all, into unlettered ignorance, and then to allow them education in the conquerors' ideology. But in Wales, once the nobility had fused with the rulers of England, and when Welsh Tudors were England's kings and queens, there was little need to eradicate Celtic traditions. Welsh Celticism had long ago begun to assimilate feudal ideas, Irish Gaelicism was economically communist. Now that reason should suffice to explain why Wales to-day is still thoroughly Welsh in language and art. Modifications of this explanation would be due in a detailed study of Wales, but are hardly needed in this sketch of ours.

There is much beauty and singular distinction about the Welsh culture, and surely it is a pleasant thought that it has survived the ages. Yet, the tendency towards uniformity which is incidental to Capitalism has crept up the Welsh mountains and for some few generations the Welsh have been learning to speak English and lose the marks of the Celtic Brython. Against this change has arisen the Celtic Movement of Welsh Nationalism, a movement which must be seriously considered in connection with the future of this race. Now, the Nationalist movement generally, including its politically separatist side, draws its strongest inspiration from the lowest classes. It is the expression, consciously or unconsciously, of the wish of the poorer Welsh to repel that Capitalism which has reached Wales from England. The phase of the rule of the bourgeoisie commenced in England, and commercialism then spread to Wales supplanting the old feudalism. It naturally brought English owners into Wales, and because the earliest years of capitalism were those of its most brutal inhumanity, the antagonism against the masters produced a dislike of the English. The modern Welsh Socialist inclines to the view that disintegration of the Empire will aid his proletariat. The intellectual, and the lover of the muses and arts longs for national freedom in order to conserve the riches of Celticism.

Now, to objectors to this nationalism let us put these questions. Why should English customs and language be permitted to uproot the Welsh? Are not those who oppose the Celtic and Gaelic revivals on the grounds of Internationalism really thinking in terms of the most aggressive Nationalism? The national issues within the Empire at present obscure the social. Should we not bid the Welsh achieve their natural right of control of national destinies, so that they may then apply their energies to economic reconstruction?

Wales is largely agricultural. Most of the midland and northern workers are on the land. However, a large proportion of the country is mountainous moorland. The little country is well mineralized, and the South Wales coal deposits are amongst the largest, most valuable and easiest worked in all Europe. The same area is famous for smelting and the tinplate industry, the ores being carried to South Wales from Cornwall, Rio Tinto in Spain, and even farther afield. Good harbours line the southern coast equipped with miles of quays. In short, South Wales is as busy as any district in the world. En passant, we might be interested to observe that Mr. Stanley Baldwin, the late Premier, owns large holdings in South Wales, collieries and other concerns, besides his steel works in the English Midlands.

The South is cosmopolitan. Besides the Welsh, there are Irish, Jews, Chinese, Scots, Englishmen and men from the Continent. The miners of South Wales are a distinct type,

and one of their attributes is that they are prone to revolution. The evil traditions of the mines will not be soon forgotten, and the colliers of all the world share this rebellious reputation. The South Wales Miners' Federation is organised more or less on a pit basis, and without much radical change it might be made a part of the contemplated Industrial Union. Unofficial localized lightning strikes are frequent, perhaps in sympathy with a discharged or under-paid worker, or in order to secure the dismissal of a non-unionist. The miners have eradicated non-unionism from most of South Wales by direct action. In all the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, the Durham and South Wales men are the most forward. The South Wales Lodges fought hard for support for Communist Party affiliation to the Labour Party this year, and nearly succeeded in gaining the approval of the M.F.G.B. When they do gain their end a large adhesion to the pro-C.P. vote will have been secured.

The C.P.G.B. has many members amongst the younger miners' leaders in Wales. On the other hand, the C.W.M. is winning a foothold here and seems to have hopes of launching the A.W.R.U. amongst the Federation members, many of whom are now aware of the unreliability of their officialdom and the unsatisfactory nature of the present union structure. Spasmodic rank-and-file Committee movements have often grown up, served an immediate purpose "extra-constitutionally," and have then died. Perhaps one may be commenced destined for permanent use.

The election figures for Wales are worth quoting. From South Wales come 25 M.P.'s, 18 Labour, 3 Liberal and 4 Tory.

The Midlands and North chose 1 Labour M.P. and 9 Liberal. For the whole country 19 Labour, 12 Liberal, 4 Con., or 19 Labour in 35! In England Labour secured only just one quarter of the seats, so that Wales is evidently far less bourgeois in outlook. South Wales, in fact, is almost anti-capitalist. The rest of the people are still following the Liberalism of George. It is indeed remarkable to go to North Wales, to see the poverty of the people, and then to learn that Lloyd George is still their idol. George is astute enough to speak in Welsh of Wales' ancient glory and to attend regular service in the Welsh Baptist Chapel, where he is something of an authority on hymns in the Welsh tongue! In his own country, at all events, the little man with the uncut hair is still a great wizard!

**THE FUTURE OF WALES.** She is an economic unit as completely as any nation in Europe. With the co-operative system which alone can bring the fullest scientific aid to the peasants, her agriculture could be made all-sufficing. Her industrial wealth is already stupendous. Her people are, in spite of the lack of clan-consciousness amongst the northern farm-labourers and quarrymen, already well in advance of the English in their views of life. Further, they are a distinct nationality.

These facts all point towards the inevitability of autonomy. It would seem most natural that in the future the workers of Wales should win possession or full control of their own education and artistic life so as to satisfy legitimate and healthy national aspirations. On the other hand, their economic system will perforce become part, but an integral part, of the common economy of these islands. For matters of common economic concern, the Welsh Soviets would be in free connection with those of England, Scotland and Ireland.

To those to whom this prophecy hazarded may be repugnant, and whom we might term "centralists," let us recall the experience of Russia and her neighbours, the late subject peoples of the Empire of the Czar.

When the Soviets had won power in Russia it was necessary to define the status of the

(Continued on column 3, page 4)

"AN Injury to one is the concern of All."

## IRISH WORKER

EDITED BY JIM LARKIN.

**THE IRISH WORKER** will be published weekly—Twopence—and may be had of any newsagent or newsboy. Ask for it, and see that you get it.

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### THE ANTI-PARTITION PARTITIONIST.

The "Independent" is quite jubilant now that Tyrone-Fermanagh has rejected Partition in the person of the Unionist candidates and elected the Anti-Partitionist candidates. We hold no brief for either the Partitionist or the Anti-Partitionist candidates in the Tyrone election, but nevertheless we are glad that the people of Tyrone and Fermanagh have gone on record against the mutilation of their country at the behest of the British Imperialists and industrial and financial capitalists.

There is no need to repeat how many Catholic and how many Protestants there are at present resident in Ulster. It has been shown very clearly that religion is only a side issue, and that the real wedge which is splitting the Irish nation physically and morally is of an economic nature. Some weeks ago we were very forcibly reminded that the British Empire was still in existence when our highly respected President attended the Imperial Conference. He represented the Irish Free State, also known as Southern Ireland or the Twenty-Six Counties. There is much food for thought contained in the two latter cognomens. We were always under the impression that there were thirty-two counties in Ireland, yet Mr. Cosgrove is credited with representing twenty-six. We would now like to know whether our much esteemed President is a believer in Partition. If he is, then we have no remarks to make. If he is not, may we humbly inquire why he did not protest against this unnatural division at the Imperial Conference, which we understand is called together for the purpose of settling the internal disputes of the Empire. He did not protest, therefore we are not drawing a too-far-fetched conclusion when we say that he must hold some brief for Partition. Of course we know he has accepted and enforced a Treaty which is founded upon the policy of Partition or "divide and conquer." We also know that the "Independent" has consistently supported Mr. Cosgrave (the Partition President) and the Treaty which is acting as a shield for the wedge mentioned above.

In our humble opinion it is just about time that the "Independent" learnt some respect for the intelligence of its readers. Every day of the week its columns are filled with praise for the Treaty and the men who have enforced it; and the main provision of this Treaty is the formation of the two areas known as the Twenty-Six Counties and the Six Counties. Yet on Friday and Saturday of last week it had the impudence to congratulate the people of Tyrone and Fermanagh on their rejection of the Partition candidates.

The "Independent" has accepted every new solution of the Irish question that England has been pleased to put forward

from the days of Parnell up to the year of grace 1921. Home Rule, Dominion Status, Unification, and the Treaty have all been championed by our esteemed contemporary, and they have all embodied the policy of Partition in their articles.

"Murphy's Rag" was always in favour of Partition and why? Because it suited the purses of the business men who pay for the advertisements which appear in its columns. There is not another paper on the globe which possesses a record equal in trickery and deceit like that of the paper "that pays the highest rates." In 1916 it called for the blood of the signators of the Republican Proclamation, and in 1923 it quotes their words in support of the Free State and pretends to pay reverence to their memories. In 1917 this same rag denounced the I.R.A. as murderers and blackguards, yet in 1922 it refers to them as the heroes who saved this nation. But what's the use of talk. The "paper with the biggest circulation in Ireland" doesn't care. It has no reputation to lose. It is purely a commercial broadcaster. Its columns are at the service of the highest bidder. It is a real Irish-Ireland paper and it reverently honours Our Lord the King as all good Irishmen should.

### IRISH WORKER LEAGUE NOTES.

In these notes last week we gave a brief synopsis of the work and purpose of the Irish Worker League. We did not mean that it should cover the whole ground and really only meant it to be an answer to those critics who think that it is our intention to destroy Trades Unionism in Ireland. We believe they have been answered.

New members continue to come in. A big list of applicants appeared at Liberty Hall on Sunday. This week we are preparing a scheme of organisation which will be put into effect as soon as the Christmas rush is finished. We intend to form a network of Irish Worker League Branches all over Ireland. We will have our representative in each town or village who will be on the spot and will be prepared to further all our plans and make practical all our ideas for the progress of the Irish Working Class. By this means also we will be able to get the Irish Worker into every home in Ireland, especially every working-class home.

There is a great need for the Irish Worker League in Ireland at the present moment. Every social organisation in this country has shown itself incapable of dealing with the situation which had existed in our midst during the last two years, and which continues to exist in spite of all attempts to prove the contrary. There is more real poverty, want and starvation in Ireland now than there ever was in the past five decades. The ignorance of the people is appalling. They show themselves to be unable to grasp the simplest proposition in either social, political or economic science. They don't know, they don't care, and they won't learn. And the present organisations have not only not tried to destroy this state of things but many of them have actually encouraged and increased where possible this awful ignorance and apathy of the people. There are many reasons for this conduct. Many of them are unable to cope with the problem, others have no desire to better the situation, and still others wish the apathy and ignorance to remain because they know that once the people of this land awaken their power for evil and corruption will vanish like the dew before a hot sun. Of all the organisations in existence at present the Irish Worker League is the sole one which need not fear the awakening of the social conscience of the Irish People. It's mission and life's work is the awakening and organising of our people, to show them the truth and to guide their steps along that straight and narrow path that leads to happiness, comfort and equality for the people of this land. This League need not fear to have its record

of public service investigated and thrown open to all eyes. We have no job-hunters, would-be T.D.'s, fools and other parasites sucking our life blood and forcing us into corruption, trickery and even wholesale robbery. We want no jobs, no money, no preference, but we do want influence, but not political or family influence; we want that influence that derives its power from the mass of the people in their desire for progress. That influence we are gaining each day. Soon we will demand and not ask, and when that day comes we warn all fools, knaves and political leeches to clear out and seek new hunting grounds.

The paper is commencing to spread throughout the country. During the last week we have received four new orders from wholesale newsagents. This shows good progress, and we expect the circulation will bound up after the New Year.

The Xmas Draw is going well. We urge all our members to get going in earnest because we have very few days now in which to reach the 100,000 mark.

If any of our members have any suggestions which they think would improve these notes we want them to send them along. We are always open to criticism, in fact thrive on it, so let's hear what you think about this column. It's yours and you can do what you like with it, you can even throw it out altogether if you wish. We hope to call a meeting of the League within the next few days, and would ask all members to attend.

### IRELAND AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

(Continued from page 3)

several peoples which were partly or wholly non-Russian and which nearly struck out for complete separation of Governments, the key to the problem was obviously self-determination, and self-determination was willingly offered by the Russians, even to those parts which were likely, as independent states, to remain capitalist. The Soviets resolved that it were better to leave the workers of these new Republics to find for themselves that the New Russia was not the Old Russia!

The Ukraine, for instance, separated and became a capitalist state, its rulers aided every anti-Bolshevik adventure and allied with the German, British and French armies, they ultimately began an open war against the Russian working-class revolutionary government, a war in which they were soundly beaten, the rebel element amongst the Ukrainian workers eventually coming to the assistance of the Red Army of Russia! Revolution began in Ukraina, with the help of the Russians, and at length the Ukrainian Soviet Republic stood side by side with the pioneer Russia.

Likewise others of the new Republics have espoused the Workers' Cause. Lately they have co-operated in matters of common concern to a remarkable extent. The President of the Ukraine went with Chichern to meet Lloyd George, and to-day he, Radkovsky, is the representative in London of all the Eastern Soviets; for a few months ago the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was proclaimed. Within the Union are Russia, the Ukraine, Transcaucasia, the Far Eastern Siberian Republic, and some dozen of Soviet States, great and small, each with varying autonomy to suit its needs, and aggregating roughly 150 millions of citizens!

Now, what has happened in the East would be bound to take place in the West when and in the measure as the workers rise to power, national barriers will sink down. We should allow this to occur naturally.

EXILE.

### Help the Shipyard Workers!

Attend in your thousands at Croke Park on Sunday next, at 11.30 a.m., in aid of the above workers.

## Letters to the Editor

Dear Mr. Editor,

With reference to your article in last week's issue entitled "Is the Jew a Menace" and asking for comments, I herewith beg to submit the following as my considered opinion. I agree, we are like passengers in a train driven by a mad engineer. Ninety per cent. of the world's people have no idea where they are going, what they were born into the world for, they have no conception of the beauty of life, no ordered purpose in their lives. The deficit in a large portion of the human family I attribute largely to our architects, or designers of the present order of Society. Think of life what it ought to be, if a rational community had the ordering of its own life. Think of the large pools of undeveloped wealth lying at our hands, if we just had the reason and common-sense to put our hands upon them, and use them for our own material comfort.

Then think of what science and invention is offering us, and the small use we are able to make of it. Take, for example, most of those who guide public opinion, or for instance those who control the Municipal Administration of our country. How many of them have the slightest purpose in their work? How many of them have the least idea that Municipal Administration means anything more than going on to the next item on the agenda? How many of them would understand what you were getting at if you asked them what they were doing with the life of their city? The very fact of your asking them such a question would be final evidence to them that you are an unbalanced and impractical person.

Israel Zangwill is right, the driver of the train is mad, and the passengers are a lot of blind, ignorant fumbling.

Europe has no statesmen. Correct. But Europe has quite a number of old acrobats schooled in all the arts of knavery, cradled from youth in the secret arts of diplomacy, trained from boyhood in the Universities how to juggle with men's lives, how to use certain catch cries that will touch the imaginations of the illiterate masses. What great Christian missionary breathed those noble words, "The Great War to end War," "Hang the Kaiser." You will admit, Mr. Editor, it took a very ingenious mind to coin that phrase; what a band of patriotic recruits that expression brought forth. "Save Little Belgium," "England a fit place for heroes to live in"; great humanitarian doctrine, even Sergeant Michael O'Leary killing ten Germans himself. "Irish Guards to the front"—

Mr. Zangwill says gamblers—I say frauds.

Yes, I believe that Zangwill is a skilled philosopher, politically and economically. He sees Europe lying prostrate with a disease brought about by a gang called statesmen, and a combination of greedy capitalists. Yes, a disease that no doctor of the old school can cure. Let us not be downhearted. There is a school of young surgeons whom, I believe, have found a true diagnosis of the disease, and in due course will restore the patient to full and vigorous life again. Mr. Zangwill refers to Poland as an example of one of the liberated countries after many centuries of suffering, she, in turn, persecutes others. My opinion is, it is not Poland, nor the common people of Poland that are responsible for the persecutions. Before we make an accusation against Poland let us ascertain the nature of the constitution which governs Poland, and find out if that constitution is similar to our own and based on the same foundation as the constitution which governs what is called the civilised world. Is it not a fact that Poland is a Christian country? I believe she professes the Christian religion, but the mere fact of a country claiming to be Christian is no guarantee that it will not persecute the inhabitants of another country. The history of the world up to the present moment proves that it is quite possible for

any Christian country to go to war with another, claiming also to be Christian. It is interesting indeed, how each will invoke the blessing of God to give them victory in feats of arms that will annihilate their foes. To me it is a little puzzling to see how both sides can have victory at the same time. I am afraid I will require to trace this hatred, which is a characteristic of most countries, to its proper source. Who might be the men who govern Poland? Are they members of the Polish aristocracy, or are they subservient tools of the capitalist magnates of Europe? They are not typical representatives of the working-class of Poland. The working-class of any country have nothing to gain by hatred or quarrels with the working-class of another country. Nationalism, says Zangwill, is a vague term. I say that it is a dangerous doctrine for those who practice it. Though I believe Sir Walter Scott has said:—

"Breathes there a man with soul so dead,  
Who never to himself hath said,  
This is my own, my native land."

Then he refers to the savage loving his land:

"Though rude the soil or chill the air,

There is a certain amount of sentiment in this. Sir Walter possibly meant those who owned the land. Patriotism is a vague term. It depends what you are patriotic about. I have known men to kill each other over the following verse, both parties claiming to be patriots, and the issue is still undivided—

"Britons never shall be slaves."

There is a patriotism that has an idealism in it. A patriotism that goes beyond that narrow patriotism. Such a patriotism we have had typified in that illustrious son of Ireland, Terence McSwiney, deceased Lord Mayor of Cork. All true lovers of liberty the world over will bow their heads with veneration to Ireland's departed son for the Christ-like sacrifice he made to vindicate patriotism, truth and justice. Yes, we in Ireland must pass through that phase of nationalism. We, too, cannot stand out against a world system, but we can endeavour to show the world the path that leads to a brighter and nobler future, when the world will be our country, mankind our brethren, and to do good our religion. President Wilson, though trained in the school of Imperialism, he too had a fair conception of Idealism. His League of Nations policy meant well, and, if it had been given a fair trial, might have done much to save us from the blighting influence of war, and indeed might have brought us within measurable distance when we could safely say the world is my country. But alas for poor Wilson. The old gang were too tricky. They were not Utopian dreamers but keen business men of the world. I don't claim to be able to express the sentiments of the world's people, but I venture to say that if a plebiscite of the world's opinion was asked for, they would unanimously declare the Versailles League to be the embodiment of downright hypocrisy.

Take the Ruhr for instance. The insane policy pursued by the French has ruined Germany, and ultimately will bring starvation on the rest of Europe unless saner councils prevail. Yet, this so-called League of Nations can do nothing to prevent French Imperialism from carrying out a policy of national hatred against a neighbouring country. The working classes of the world, if properly organised and getting an opportunity of reading some healthy literature, would be capable of founding a League of Nations based on a solid foundation of true comradeship, then, instead of being constantly engaged in wars, or threats of, or even industrial disputes, we would be in a position to put our own house in order and live as human beings should live, enjoying the fruits of their labour, learning to take advantage of all the great gifts that science and learning is offering us, instead of spending millions of pounds in destructive

### HUGO STINNES

#### Exploiter of a Nation and the World Proletariat.

The German Government, no matter who leads it, always does stupid things. "Frankly, I worship on the altar of big business."

"Gott sei dank! My Children are interested only in business. Art and the theatre are as distasteful to them as to me."

"Peaceful though the occupation of the Ruhr may look on paper, it is a real war in the feeling that it arouses in the people of the territory. This is a coke war. France needs coke and we have it."

"If the so-called rich people of Germany are dispossessed, the German people will starve to death. Immediate cheap production is absolutely necessary. Every strike is a murder of the people."

"Do the German people want to survive? Then the German people must work at least as much and as long as before the war. If we have to pay reparations also, then they must work more and longer. Whoever tells Germany that taxation of the so-called property class has a chance in the present situation lies and deceives the people."

(Next week we will give a more detailed account of this "business" man.)

weapons of war to blow the brains out of people, we should spend millions of pounds with an endeavour to cultivate brains. Then I believe man will be making a genuine attempt to fulfil his divine mission when he shall proclaim all men are my brothers.

"Dare to be a Daniel,  
Dare to stand alone,  
Dare to have a purpose firm,  
And dare to make it known."

I am convinced this gospel is not the monopoly of any nationality or religious sect, Jew or Gentile, Christian or Turk. Some of the world's greatest thinkers are Jews.

"A BELFAST DOCKER."

#### ANOTHER "SILENT WITNESS."

It is alleged that the Dublin Building Traders' Guild, in addition to a new method of estimating, have also discovered a new method of accountancy. We are informed it is going to be tested. Another "Silent witness" is going to speak out.

#### HAVE YOU A KICK?

Say Comrade, are you in earnest? Then get wise to yourself. Are you giving the old world any momentum or are you just existing. Get in the game. We have plenty of work for you to do. We want a few vibrations from you. Shake yourself or you will become a mossback. Are you taking an active interest in your Union? Are you keeping in touch with modern developments? What are you reading? Do you know what matter is? Are you matter in motion or indurated? The Irish Worker League can find you a place in the scheme of things. We want all kinds of people to help mould this old universe to our heart's desire. Be a moulder, not a mould!

## Correspondence Column

## REPLIES.

"SIMPLE SAM"—No; it is not legal for Friendly or Health-Insurance Societies to spend their funds on other than objects of importance or for the general welfare.

Your suggestion that they should be expended in hospital accommodation for the poor or meals for the children of the poor is ridiculous in view of present circumstances. You betray a lack of patriotic feeling when you take exception to the investment of such funds in N—1 L—n.

\* \* \*

QUAYBOY—What is a Senator? A Senator is a man or woman appointed to sit in the Senate. His (or her) duties are to exercise a check on legislation passed by the representatives of the people. It sometimes happens when a candidate for parliamentary office is defeated at the polls that the elected government gives him a place in the Senate, if he is what is called a "dangerous man." This is done on the general principle that if he is turned down by the popular vote at the General Election, he is, by virtue of the fact, a proper person to criticise popular legislation.

We cannot answer your query as to why W—O'B— refused the Senatorship; space forbids. But you will hear surprising news shortly.

Not at all; it's a pleasure.

\* \* \*

"TEACHER"—No, you are wrong in assuming that the interest accruing on the £15,000 invested by the I.N.T.O. in National Loan will be sufficient to make good the "cut" in the teachers' wages. Our Statistics Department informs us that it will barely suffice to pay the "salary" of the Secretary of the I.N.T.O.

Your query as to why a man should be allowed to receive pay for two jobs shows a narrow and vindictive mind. Don't you know that if a man does the work of two men and only accepts the wages of one, he is actually working at half rate. You must be dead a long time or where did you get your ideas? Do you think Mr. O'C—1 would blackleg by only accepting one salary?

\* \* \*

"SAMSON"—You wish to know what a "living" wage is. There is really no fixed standard. If you are an Indian or a Chinaman a couple of handfuls of rice and a shake-down is considered all right. If you are a farm-worker in Ireland, or a roadman, a living wage is that which the bosses of your Union order you to accept in order to "maintain the solidarity of the working-class."

\* \* \*

"BLOSSOMS"—(a) Certainly; National Loan is a safe investment, and particularly patriotic. No, the English will never come back. One of the purposes of the Loan is to secure this. Your ignorance is astounding. The reason Guinness, Arnott, the Masonic Society, the Church of Ireland and other bodies have not supported National projects in the past is—that they were deterred by England's presence in Ireland. England having now been driven out, their patriotic instincts are breaking loose.

(b) We recommend a "fiver" each way on the Prince of Wales' "selected" at Leopardstown.

## RUSSIAN NEWS.

We hear that the Russian Soviet Government intends to equip a ship and send it round the world as a floating Exhibition of Russia's Industries. The exhibition will include all goods made in Russia, all raw material produced there and other products. The ship is expected to leave in the spring.

## HOLD THE FORT, FOR WE ARE COMING!

## UNION MEN BE STRONG!

IRISH NATIONAL UNION OF VINTNERS',  
GROCCERS', AND ALLIED TRADES'  
ASSISTANTS.

29th Nov., 1923

## VICTIMISATION OF WORKERS.

## IMPORTANT.

The Secretary, Trade Union.

A Chara—We are instructed by our Executive Committee to bring under the notice of every Trade Union affiliated to the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, and to their individual members the following important case which our Union is now engaged in fighting and to ask them for their practical support, both Financial and moral, to enable us to establish the right of every worker against victimisation at the hands of the Employers who may claim that they shall be the judges of the political or religious views of those whom they employ.

The following are the facts of the case which has dragged us into the Law Courts:—

In the month of October, 1922, Robert Cullen, a member of our Union and employed by Patrick Hogan, Publican, 68 Up, Dorset St., was arrested by Government Forces, and detained in custody without charge or trial until Sept. 29th, 1923, when he was unconditionally released. Two days after his release he called on Mr. Hogan and asked to be reinstated in his old position. This Hogan refused to do, stating as his reason that "he had no vacancy" and was fully staffed. Cullen then reported the matter to his (the above) Union.

The latter to avoid, if possible, any trouble decided to send representatives to interview Hogan in the matter, in a friendly manner with the hope of getting Cullen taken back, but without success.

After very careful consideration our Executive Committee decided that it was a very clear case of victimisation and solely because of Cullen's internment, and unanimously decided that the Union should make a demand on Hogan to re-instate Cullen. Hogan was written to this effect and his reply was a direct refusal. He was then notified that unless Cullen was reinstated within seven days from date the members of his staff who are members of our Union would be withdrawn on that day week—Oct. 5th.

Acting on instructions the General Secretary of the Union went to Hogan's and before he could interview the staff he was taken into custody by D. M. Police who informed him that they had instructions to arrest him and charge him under the Public Safety Act. He was brought to the Police Courts, indicted and acquitted.

The next day the staff were called out and a picket placed outside Hogan's establishment. The pickets were ordered off by the police under threat of arrest.

We got into communication with the Chief Commissioner of Police and also the Home Office, who informed us that we were acting illegally as there was

(Continued on Column 2, Page 7)

## Individual Liberty

## A PICTURE OF THE WORKER.

## Individual Employers Supplanted by Companies, Trusts and Federations of Bosses.

(Longshoremen's Strike Bulletin.)

The Fetish of "individual freedom" is enthroned on high as the watchword of conventional morality. The subsidized daily Press waxes eloquent as it proclaims the inalienable right of the individual to work when or where he pleases without interference from any organization, or outside coercion. Our friends conventionally ignore the social nature of modern industry. The picture of the individual worker dealing direct and having personal contact with an isolated employer is a mental concept inherited from an age that is rapidly fading away.

The individual employer has been supplanted in modern industry by companies, trusts and federations of employers. For the individual toiler to attempt to wage a lone fight against these powerful aggregations of capital is just as fruitless as for a primitive savage, armed only with a bow and arrow, to attempt to withstand the attack of a company of soldiers armed with machine guns, poison gas, aeroplanes, and all modern methods of destruction. Combinations of employers can not only deny to the isolated employee, discontented with his conditions of employment, any opportunity for redress of his grievances but can also blacklist the unfortunate individual who will then understand the nature of his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

These changed social conditions have given birth to new concepts of social duty amongst members of the working class. Inexorable necessity has forced the working class to organize and co-operate in industrial unions for their mutual protection. Not only does working class morality enjoin the duty of workers in allied industries to support each other in any industrial struggle, but it reaches out still further and proclaims the duty of all workers, irrespective of age, sex or condition, to assist by all means within their power any section of the working class whose interests may be threatened by the aggression of the master class.

## THE ENTENTE CORDIALE.

The Insurance Section, I.T.G.W.U., has subscribed £10,000 to the "National" Loan and the Masonic Order in Ireland £11,000.

Making every allowance for the all-consuming fire of patriotism, isn't £10,000 a high price for the wage slaves of the I.T.G.W.U. to pay for the honour of enabling their General President to hob-nob with the "Free and Accepted" brethren of Molesworth Street?

As the £10,000 is the property of the sick members of the I.T.G.W.U. and should have been used for their benefit, the action of the Insurance Committee in throwing it away in this manner is discreditable. It now but remains for the 'Injunction' Executive, I.T.G.W.U., to invest the money they saved by closing down the dockers' "strike" in the same cause.

## FIRST CARGO OF WHEAT.

The first cargo of wheat since the war has arrived in Hull from Russia. It was carried by the SS. King Alfred. The cargo consisted of 50,000 bushels of grain. Two other shipments will arrive shortly at Southampton and Manchester.

In general, conditions indicate a quick revival of trade with Russia in the spring when the ports in Russia are freed from the ice.

## Progress of Labour

Which has been made in past Fifty Years  
as told by Robert Smillie, M.P.

### EVOLUTION OF THE UNIONS.

Appeals to Public Conscience and Courage  
of the Working People in General.

"The progress of betterment in industrial conditions has been so slow, so often retarded, so often has labour had to fight the same battle twice and thrice, that it is only by comparing present conditions with the conditions existing thirty, fifty, seventy years ago that we can be conscious of progress at all." This is a telling passage from the survey with which Robert Smillie, M.P., introduces the autobiography which he is contributing week by week to "Answers."

"Yet fifty years ago," he continues, "when I first went down the mine, it was like a sanatorium, a veritable pleasure resort, compared with the inferno of still earlier years!"

"The mind hardly dare picture those horrible conditions; yet nothing but combination among the workers has had power to mitigate them.

"And when I hear men who have hardly suffered a hardship in all their sheltered lives inveighing against the tyranny and power of the trade unions, about the folly of strikes, and the danger of setting class against class, I can hardly be angry with them because I know that their ignorance of the evolution of those very unions which they complain of is as deep as the sea."

### LONELY VIGIL

Mr. Smillie quotes from his own experience to illustrate the terrible conditions under which the miners carry out the daily toil; his description of the fortnightly vigil which it fell to him to keep, when for twenty-four hours he was alone in the over-bearing silence of the pit, a mile below ground, is as harrowing as anything of the kind can well be.

Not less moving is his appeal to the conscience of the public and the courage of the working class movement generally.

"As long as we are witnesses of the poignant scenes which turned Whitehaven and Falkirk so lately into great houses of mourning, as long as thousands of miners are doomed to dwell in hovels instead of homes, as long as their lives and the happiness and welfare of their loved ones are at the mercy of sometimes callous employers, I say, with old Sir Richard Grenville, 'Fight on—fight on!'"

### MINERS RESURGENT.

The miners of South Wales are again resurgent. At a Conference of the South Wales Miners' Federation held last week in Cardiff it was decided to demand the revision of the National Wages Agreement at the National Conference which was to be held in London at the end of last week. Their demands include the increasing of the minimum wage and the alteration of the division of the proceeds of the coal industry.

Many people believed that the miners had received their death blow when they were betrayed on "Black Friday" by the leaders of the Triple Alliance. Seemingly they are still alive and kicking. The miners have a big reputation for fighting hard battles and winning, in spite of the opposition of the mine owners and "labour" leaders. If a strike ensues as the result of their demand for better conditions then they will be faced with a great struggle. There is little doubt that they will prove themselves worthy of their place in the vanguard of Labour's Army and we wish them a quick realisation of the fruits of victory.

## HOLD THE FORT.

(Continued from Column 2, page 6)

not a trade dispute at Hogan's. We were further informed that if we persisted in picketing Hogan's premises our pickets would be summoned and the case tested.

We put on two pickets. The police took their names for the purpose of summons. Following this we received notification from Police Head Quarters that further picketing would lead to arrests. We withdrew the pickets who had to appear in the Police Courts on the following Monday when they were charged with "besetting the licensed premises of Patrick Hogan, Dorset Street, with a view to compelling him to abstain from carrying on his business and with a view to compelling people not to enter his shop there being no trade dispute between Mr. Hogan and his employees."

The Magistrate (Mr. Lupton) convicted the pickets, holding there was not a reasonable trade dispute at Hogan's but agreed to state a case for the superior Court.

Our Executive Committee had, prior to taking action, already carried out a ballot vote of the members of the Dublin Branch on the question of the re-instatement of released members and by a very large majority the members gave the Executive Committee a mandate to take action wherever necessary.

Believing in the justness of our cause our Union decided to let the case be tried in the superior Courts.

This means heavy expenditure and as we are aware that nearly every Union may be similarly affected at any moment that we are fighting a common cause and therefore we sincerely hope that we may get a fair measure of financial support from each Union to defray the cost of the struggle.

It has fallen to our lot to be the first Union to force a just issue. Had it been another Union that was affected we would be the first to offer our services in the fight.

We have interviewed prominent members of the National Executive of the Irish Labour Party. We have their support and their advice to send forward this circular.

Mise, le meas,

P. COONEY, President.

P. HUGHES,  
General Secretary.

### "THE SILENT WITNESS."

When Thos. Grace, labourer, and Sec. Moneyglass Branch, I.T. and G.W.U., was charged at Fethard with the larceny of £12, the property of the Branch; it was stated that when he was asked to give up the money for lodgment he alleged he had been held-up by masked and armed men and robbed. A Mrs. Ryan swore she was in a field and saw the accused stand at a gate, look round, and discharge three shots. He then ran away but no one else was with him at the time. She admitted she sent him a note signed "Silent Witness," saying she witnessed the "hold-up," and calling on him to give up the money. The hearing was adjourned.

We can assure our readers that Mrs. Ryan is not the only "Silent Witness." There are some others who witnessed the robbery of more than £12 and they will not be always silent. In fact they are only awaiting the summons from the Court, and then there'll be sparks flying!

Boxing Tournament—See page 8 for Venue, Date, and Full Programme of Events.

## The Government-To-Be

By ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

I have listened to the sighing of the burdened and the bound,  
I have heard it change to crying with a menace in the sound;  
I have seen the money-getters pass unheeding on their way,  
As they went to forge new fetters for the people day by day.

Then the voice of Labour thundered for its purpose and its need,  
And I marvelled and I wondered at the cold, dull ear of greed;  
For as chimes, in some great steeple, tell the passing of the hour,  
So the voices of the people tell the death of purchased power.

There is growth in Revolution, if the word is understood;  
It is one with Evolution, up from self to brotherhood.  
He who utters it unheeding, bent on self or selfish gain,  
His own day of doom is speeding, though he toil or though he reign.

God is calling to the masses, to the peasant and the peer;  
He is calling to all classes that the crucial hour is near;  
For each rotting throne must tremble, and fall broken in the dust,  
With the leaders who dissemble and betray the people's trust.

Still the voice of God is calling, and above the wreck I see,  
And beyond the gloom appalling, the great Government-to-Be.  
From the ruins it has risen, and my soul is overjoyed,  
For the school supplants the prison and there are no unemployed.

And there are no children's faces at spindle or the loom.  
They are out in sunny places, where the other sweet things bloom;  
God has purified the alleys, He has set the white slaves free;  
And they own the hills and valleys in the Government-to-Be.

### SOCIETY NOTES.

A very enjoyable function was held on Friday night last at the Glorioso Hotel by the Union of Red-(White-and-Blue)-Shirts, under the presidency of Mr. John Thomson. Admission by card. After the toast of "The Status Quo" had been honoured, Mr. Thomson gave a brief address. Taking as his text the "Status Quo, long may it live," Mr. Thomson said if it were not that there were men who refused to change their principles at the dictation of a minority he would have no business there. "What matter," he added, "if they were a majority," but to expect him to cultivate or profess principles not held by a majority of the people and by so doing fly in the face of Providence who had fixed it as a natural law that there was safety in large numbers, was to misunderstand his character.

An enjoyable sing-song followed the President's address. Alderman O'Brien gave a delightful rendering of "Take him, back to U.S.A." Senator Foran sang "Rafferty's Racing Mare" with great effect and gave a combined exhibition of "Tick-Tack" and Masonic hand play which was much appreciated. Senator O'Farrell sang "The Sleepers," an idyll of the "Iron Way," with great effect. Senator Tom Farren won the prize for the most effective yet unobtrusive disguise, appearing as "a man." The evening concluded with the singing of "We all go the same way home."

## Lunch for Nurse

We are informed—by a little bird—that some sad happenings are to be investigated among the crazy ones down in the Sanatorium (Portrane Asylum) for idle Poor Law Guardians, City Councillors and Aldermen. Just get this, reader. Our tired City Fathers going down to the crazy-house to rest their weary brains. It seems two of the awfully tired fathers had no mental stimuli, so they sent for a nurse to sit with them in the rest room set apart for the said tired administrators. Resident Doctor objected and Alderman—would-be T.D. (and if rumour speaks correctly, would-be benedict)—and the willing nurse are to explain.

We will print the explanation.

The Alderman, it seems, is a decidedly generous soul. He thought the nurse deserved recognition of her willingness to amuse, if not to instruct, his serenity. So he ordered lunch for the lady and over the nuts they discussed Union matters. But he forgot to order the lunch, at his own expense. He let the suffering ratepayers foot the bill—sounds like the days of Scully and Co. out in the States—the tired business man takes the stenographer out to lunch, and he generally pays. An Alderman should do no less—and the other Guardians of the poor. But this is another batch of dough. We will not set it till next issue.

### WE WONDER !

We wonder who instructed the Hon. Bill—and the other members of the inner shrine—to take up £10,000 of the "Infernal Loan." Is this the price we pay as members of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union—National Insurance Section—for the deep silence and the denial of a complete investigation into the accounts and the working of the Insurance Section—after Johnston was made the goat—Johnston got three years imprisonment for the larceny of £3,000. Whew! How someone must have smiled. Johnston in quod could not squeak—maybe not! Wait and see!

### KEEP YOUR EYE ON THIS.

There was a meeting held in the Mansion House on Wednesday of demobilized soldiers and officers of the Free State Army. The notice convening meeting was posted in the Labour Exchange and signed by one Fitzgerald—presumably ex-Brigadier-General Fitzgerald—formerly of Brunswick Street—brother-in-law of Commander-in-Chief of the Free State Army. The meeting which was attended by some three hundred men—mostly demobilized officers—met to form an association similar to the British Army Veterans Organisation. We noted that some 50 per cent. of the demobilized men present were pensioners of the British Army. Much talker talker took place. A resolution demanding the dismissal of non-servicemen from Government Departments and their replacement by members of the new organisation. Ex-Brigadier-General Fitz was elected General Secretary. An Executive of seven and a Treasurer—all officers and all members of the movement.

We missed comrade Capt. Paderwiski. He must be still in line of battle, discharging ships somewhere a strike or lock-out is in existence. We suggest to the demobilized rank and file of the Free State Army that the lessons bitterly learnt by the soldiers of other demobilized armies might be considered. Officers cannot ever appreciate the rankers needs nor his point of view. What is the matter with the Unions you formerly belonged to. Is that not the proper place for you demobilized men? The officers only want you for stiffening purposes. They want you of the rank and file to give them the force of numbers. You will get the satisfaction of securing jobs for them and you can still get the dole—when you get it.

## The Xmas Spirit

We note the intention of the people's—will—Government to prolong indefinitely the illegal detention of their opponents now in the prisons and detention camps of the Twenty-Six County Area, by the introduction of the Expiring Laws (?) Bill. Why do they waste time on Bills, Acts and Statute Law when the whole system of government is based on force and violence. And the Smith's Cracker is the "Courts of Justice Bill" which is to be discussed this week-end. Why all this codology? Would any sane person be impressed by the farce which is being played so badly in the Twenty-Six County Area. Elected representatives of the people are set aside on the grounds of irregularity, incompetency, etc., and commissioners appointed to carry out the administration of laws, and the only qualifications some of these commissioners possess is a family or political connection—or it is suggested they are relatives of someone who fought in the Post Office. Fought for the office through the Post Office would be more truth than poetry.

### DOES THIS CONCERN YOU ?

We want to make this gesture of friendship a real thing this Xmas—a bitter Xmas, an inhuman Xmas, an unchristian Xmas. We want to make it, on our part, a human Xmas. We want to give a word of greeting to as many of the dependents of the prisoners detained—for private or political reasons—in the internment camps and goals of this country. The Irish Worker League members and we on the paper are concerned about the success of this gesture of ours. Are you? Then help us to sell the tickets unsold, to bring back the duplicates of books sold. Help us to get things ready for Draw. Don't throw all the burden on a few shoulders, and all within the last hours. Bring or send your sold duplicates to 17 Gardiner's Place—Liberty Hall every night or Sunday morning, or No. 3 Branch, High Street.

DON'T FAIL THE MEN !

### XMAS DRAW.

Will the comrades who have tickets sold kindly bring in the blocks or send them in to Gardiner's Place, or they may be handed in any night after seven at Liberty Hall, or No. 3 Branch. Your attention to this suggestion will facilitate our extremely heavy task.

This is the fellowship.

## Important Meeting

at LIBERTY HALL, SUNDAY, ONE o'clock

**JIM LARKIN** (just returned from tour in England) will speak on "Labour Revolt in Industrial and Political Great Britain."

**IRISH WORKER LEAGUE**—Meeting  
SUNDAY NIGHT, 8 o'clock, Trades' Hall.

JIM LARKIN

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## The Match of the Season

CROKE PARK

Sunday, 16th December, 1923

Grand Football Match

KICKHAM'S

v.

ST. BRENDAN'S

At 11.30 a.m.

Tickets - One Shilling

## BOXING!

## A Real Xmas Box

For Dublin Enthusiasts

... AT ...

## ROUND ROOM. ROTUNDA

Wednesday Evening

19th December, 1923

At 8 o'clock sharp. Doors open at 7.30.

Great Return 20 Round Contest  
**PAT McALLISTER** v. **LAURENCE WARD**  
Irish Premier - Roscommon, Challenger  
Welter-Weight. for Gold Belt.

10 Round Challenge Contest  
**J. PHOENIX** v. **J. DOYLE**  
Who has challenged Winner of Army and  
all Irish Cruiser-weights. Navy Champion-  
ship, 1911.

10 Round Contest  
**W. WILSON** v. **T. ALLEN**  
Dublin. Watch this Kid. Fermoy.

### AND OTHER CONTESTS

Gold Belt will be presented to **P. McAllister** by **John Lawlor, T.C., Ex. Handball Champion of the World, who will preside.**

Admission - 2/4, 3/6, 5/9, and Ringside 10/-

Printed by THE GAELIC PRESS, 21 Upper Liffey St., Dublin, for the Proprietor and published by him at 17 Gardiner's Place Dublin.

# THE IRISH WORKER

## AN T-OIBRIÖE ZAOÜLAC

Edited by JIM LARKIN

No. 25. NEW SERIES.

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.)

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22nd, 1923

TWOPENCE

### XMAS 1922.

This time last year we were sojourning in a nice cool cell in a sanatorium known as Sing Sing close by the village of Ossining, New York State. We were completing our third year as a guest of the State of New York. We had been invited to rest within the gaols of that enlightened State for the space of not less than five years and not more than ten. If we were very good we could do five years in three years and nine months, and if we were refractory or uncontrollable we would be welcome to stop the full ten years.

They are a really hospitable people, the Americans, as the Mexicans politely call them. Our invitation to accept their enforced hospitality was based on our alleged attempt to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence. We had dared to promulgate a few ideas. You will notice if you watch political events closely that Governments, Monarchical, Republican or Free States, don't like ideas. We had some twelve hundred creatures—that once were men—imprisoned within the walls of Sing Sing; thirty-nine of these men built in the image of God and His likeness, as we learnt in our childhood, were in the Death House awaiting electrocution. You see they have no English hangman within call there, so they have to find an easier way. Free born Americans believe in progress, so when the State sets out to commit Judicial Murder they believe in using modern scientific methods. They put the victim of the ordered process of the Law in a chair; strap a few electrodes on to him and turn on the juice from the switchboard. Anyone can turn a switch, it takes an Englishman to hang a man by the neck until he is dead and he gets £10 pier-point. Ha! Ha! Of course we could not get an Irishman to hang another Irishman. No brother. They usually "crease" them. We remember sitting in our cool cell, note cool, on the 18th December, 1922, at 11 p.m., when the electric lights began to flicker and we knew another victim of Justice (?) had ceased to hope. The light of life had been snuffed out by the State.

Well! We who were body-bound made no moan. A Christian civilisation that had permitted conditions to exist that produced criminals—so-called—must provide gaols, electric chairs, hangmen and their victims. We who were left, thought only of how we could fool such a society. How could we, when released, exploit the system.

We had some three hundred native-born Italians and 50 Italian-Americans; their total years of imprisonment amounted to some 6,000 years. There were twenty-one of them who had ceased to exist in law; they were awaiting justice—in the Death House. Seventy-five of those in the outer prison had been charged with murder, found guilty and sentenced to death, but after a brief sojourn, from seven months to two

years in the Death House, they had their sentence commuted to life imprisonment. They have a real sense of justice, the Judicial Authorities. Within the States a man sentenced to life imprisonment does twenty years, a man sentenced to natural life (in prison slang) does-it-all. He stops in gaol until he dies. Natural Life—the State Joke!

One of these countrymen of Pico-della-Mirandola. Yclept! Romanelio had run a very successful undertaking establishment—and white slave emporium—on the side—in the City of Brooklyn, New York State. Romanelio had always taken advantage of opportunity, so when Prohibition had blessed (?) America, Romanelio saved the embalming fluid he used in his undertaking business, fortified it with a quantity of wood alcohol and shipped it to all points wherever a free born American was reëdeavouring in a blind-pig awaiting a shot. Some of this fortified embalming fluid found its way to Hartford, Connecticut, and some twenty-five citizens who were taking a swig of this bootleg rot died in one day, some forty-seven lucky (?) mortals who got a shot of it in Massachusettes left this Vale of Woë during the same week. Romanelio was arrested, not for pre-meditated murder, no! it is to laugh—for a breach of the Interstate Commerce Laws and was sentenced to two and a half to five years. He used to boast that he had made one million and a half dollars in a year and a half. That he had one hundred policemen on his staff. He ran three bawdy houses, seven pool and gambling joints, could fix any Judge in New York District, Attorneys dare not prosecute him. He was visited every day by noted politicians, Democratic and Republican. Romanelio was and is known as "the King of the Bootleggers." He is now out of Sing Sing and a power in political circles in Noo Yark! He hates and denounces the Bolsheviks. The other Italians were the usual victims of a brutal system. We had two hundred and ninety Hebrews, seven in the Death House, the remainder smart business men. They were from every land, citizens of every nation. Never growled, took advantage of everybody, every regulation, every mean political, social and religious trick to make their time easier while in, to open the doors before the sentence would expire, and to have something to start with when they were released. They were an interesting study. Then we had over one hundred negroes, "bad niggers" as the average citizen would say. I lived in close and intimate relationship with these bad niggers. They were much of a muchness with the average man. One thing I found out. The Negro is no longer a Slave, mentally, physically or politically, and America is going to wake up some morning and find out. Some of the most earnest students in the prison school were the same bad niggers, and some of the whitest men we ever met in this world had black skins just as some of the blackest-hearted

scoundrels we ever met had white skins. Outwardly the nigger was a wilful, saucy, singing no-give-a-damn sort of cuss. My analysis—close and sympathetic—a man obsessed with sorrow, and acquainted with grief and yet realising his position determined to alter it and for the betterment of society. They were a never ending source of study and delight. Then we had a good number of Germans, many Poles—master criminals. The Poles, dogged and determined fellows, they had taken to crime after due consideration, weighed its pros and cons and reckoned prosperity awaited them. Spaniards, one of my most intimate prison friends was a Spaniard. He was sentenced to do fifty-two years—a laughing Greek God! Another a gifted craftsman, took ten thousand dollars to back Carpentier against Dempsey and took five years for his joke. We had Greeks and Turks; the best of friends and the best of crackmen, a few English, Scotch, and only four Welshmen, ordinary criminals out of a job, took the easy way and landed in the school (slang for gaol). What they did not know going in they would know going out. And last but not least, the Lost Legion of the Gael. There were some ninety-eight American born Irish and seven from the old land. Knowing as a student of life its commitments; knowing that conditions (environment) have a tremendous effect on the individual, having studied sociology and criminology yet this we found, that heredity or blood if you like does matter. We suppose Sing Sing could be taken as a laboratory or criminology. It is admitted that Sing Sing houses the "Creme de Creme" of the world's criminals, and there are classes among criminals as clearly defined as in the larger prison outside. Just as much pride of caste in prison as you would find among—say the "House of Peers" or the "Seanad." Of this phase we write at another time. This we found that among what is known as the degenerate criminal class you seldom found one of Irish birth or blood. They never engaged in White Slavery—procuring—few were dope pedlars, as a rule they were hold-up men, box-men (safe crackers), second storey men (burglars).

They never squawked, seldom or ever would you find a stool pidgeon (gaol spy) among them, a rat (tale carrier) got short shift. They never used the knife when fighting, every other Radical section of the prisoners, especially the Latins, used the knife on the slightest provocation, the Negroes razors, and when you realise that every day in the prisons of New York State there are on an average six cutting matches and that five prisoners were murdered in one prison in New York State last year, 1922, in two cases their heads were completely severed from the trunk; seven or eight prisoners are always lying in prison hospital getting treated for wounds (majority serious) inflicted by their fellow-prisoners. You will understand what a difference it makes in the spirit of the place, the whole atmosphere is charged by the fact that some prisoners

## WOMEN AND THE LABOR MOVEMENT

(Continued from page 6)

unknown. The parasitic woman is of two kinds, it is true. She who openly lives for enjoyment and is of use to no mortal being, and the other, far more common, who simply has no place in life, is supported by some man and does nothing useful or worth while in return, as for instance an unmarried daughter living at home and doing nothing in particular.

It seems desirable to link up the modern industrial woman with her far past ancestress. It is indeed with a sense of pride that we working women of to-day can look back to her. Like us, she worked, worked incessantly, but also, unlike some of us, she was a pioneer and a leader, inventing and progressing, even though her progress was probably invisible to herself and only to be detected in the long perspective of ages.

Rudyard Kipling, in "The Cat That Walked by Himself," gives a vivid and dramatic picture of primitive woman's resourcefulness, although the particular achievement he chooses with which to make his point, the taming of animals, happens to lie in a field now generally assigned to man. He is perhaps closer to the truth in his reading of the past, when he credits early woman with being an agent in the process of taming man himself. As the vision of the writer sees it, "Of course the man was dreadfully wild till he met the woman, and she told him that she did not like living in his wild ways. She picked out a nice dry cave, instead of a heap of wild leaves to lie down on; and she strewn clean sand on the floor; and she lit a nice wood fire at the back of the cave; and she hung a dried wild horse skin, tail down, across the opening of the cave; and she said 'Wipe your feet dear, when you come in, and now we will keep house.'"

[The above article is a reprint of the first chapter of Alice Henry's Book on "Women and the Labor Movement." The Author is well qualified to deal with the question, being Director of the Training School for Women, run by the Trades' Union League of U.S.A.]

## SURE!

On opening the office hall-door the other morning an old friend of the editor fell in on the mat; no other than Aloysius Macspud.

He has always been a supporter of Mr. Cosgrave's government and he told the editor and staff things about both institutions they never heard before.

Says he, "did it never strike you how leniently the government has all along dealt with the Republicans?" "Never," said the editor and staff. "Well," says he, "if you had been reading the papers you would have seen how in the case of every murder or robbery by Free State officers or men the criminals have been caught, while the Republican murderers and robbers have been allowed to escape free." "Extraordinary," says the staff; "Yes," says the editor. "Why," says he, "are the Republicans allowed to get off?" "Search me," says the editor.

"Well, I'll tell you," says Macspud. "It's because Mr. Cosgrave wants them to turn their backs on heresy, and it's because he knows that no good can come out of it and he wants to wean them from it, that he is overlooking their MINOR offences." "Gosh!" says the office-boy, "them Republicans must be fierce." "They are," says Macspud.

## THE HIGHER STRATEGY.

Mr. Tom Johnson agrees with Mr. Cosgrave that the King is Not Commander-in-Chief of the Free State Army. That prepares the ground for the introduction of still another Bill, doesn't it Thomas, and smooths the way for the appointment of — to the Ministry of —

## THE MEZUZAH.

## Wonderful Symbol of the Jewish Faith.

On the doorpost of a famous London shop is a strange metal case four or five inches long and about half an inch in breadth. This, fixed on to the doorpost in a slanting position, is a Mezuzah, a small article, indeed, but a symbol with a long and intensely interesting history (says a writer in a London paper).

If you could obtain permission to open that small metal case you would find inside it a small parchment scroll with Hebrew characters inscribed upon it. This writing, consisting of 22 lines, contains two passages from the Old Testament, Deuteronomy VI, 4-9, and XI, 13-21. On the outer side of the parchment there is the one Hebrew word, "Shaddai," "the Almighty."

From time immemorial every devout Jew has observed the law which bids the sons of the faith to affix upon the doorpost of every door in their houses a Mezuzah. The most strictly observant Jews affix the Mezuzah also to the doorposts of their places of business, be it shop or counting house.

Thus in the heart of London is to be seen a religious emblem which the Jews have carried with them down the ages from their Oriental home.

The purpose of the Mezuzah is to remind the Jews every day and all day of the omnipresence of God. As he enters his home, and so, too, as he leaves it, the Jewish householder places his hand upon the Mezuzah and thus "throws" to it a kiss betokening affectionate loyalty through this sacred symbol to God and His laws.

The Mezuzah thus serves as a constant reminder to the Jew of his religious obligations, and is a constant visible outward expression of his undying faith.

The Mezuzah is affixed when the Jew enters into residence of a new house, with due solemnity to the accompaniment of a formula of benediction: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, Who has sanctified us with Thy Commandments and didst command us affix the Mezuzah." Once fixed, it is never removed until the Jew leaves the house to take up permanent residence elsewhere.

The obligation to affix the Mezuzah arises from the command contained in the passage of the Old Testament which runs: "And thou shalt write them (these my commandments) on the doorsteps of the house, and within thy gates."

When a young Jew is about to marry and is engaged in the happy pursuit of buying his furniture, one of his first purchases is a set of Mezuzahs. Without these, though his house should be furnished with the whole world's goods, it would be without its Jewish soul. Once the Mezuzahs have been fixed, the house is ready for dedication as a fit and proper Jewish house.

## WE TOLD YOU SO.

If you have a penny to spare and buy the Voice of Labour this week you will find a staggering description by the "Returned Empty from Moscow," of the "fight" made by the "Labour" party to secure the passing of the Railway Bill through the "Dail."

The forceful arguments and unspeakable logic of Tom Johnson—the man from God knows where—with Bill O'Brien in the middle distance passing along wet towels—will greet you there, and if heaven has gifted you with imagination you will see, in your mind's eye, the hurry and scurry of excited men and women rushing along the parliamentary lobbies breathless, hatless and some of them footless, to hear the mastermind of Abbey Street unwrinkling itself.

What a heaven it will be when Mr. Johnson gets his Railway Bill through! WHEN! — and WHAT a Bill! We have heard that

it was drawn up by a linesman in the throes of a hashish dream. It's not true. Hashish ain't that bad. It was sketched out by Tom Johnson himself from the profundity of his experience on the Loop Line, reinforced by Senator O'Farrell's knowledge of timetables and Senator Foran's acquaintance with racing fixtures, the whole cemented with J. P. F. X. M. J. R. Mortished's system of economies elaborated by close study of the late T. W. Stead's "Books for the Bairns." That's what did it.

It is told that when Mr. Cosgrave read the draft of the Bill he laughed. "Send for Tom Johnson," said he, "I haven't laughed like this since I retired from the Bar."

The Minister for Finance gave it as his considered opinion that if it were possible for him to laugh "he sure would smile."

The Minister for Education agreed to put it in the National School Syllabus as a contribution to literature and mathematics, and Dr. McNeill also expressed the wish to have it played on a Celtic harp and said it would look fine in Ogham. Professor Magennis gave it as his view "with all possible deference to any whose opinions" he did not hold, "that it was a tribute to the scholarly attainments of a very distinguished Englishman."

But away and beyond anything that has or can be said of the Bill is the opinion of the Voice of Labour and its editorial microcosm. "You pass your money and . . . Buy it now."

A wireless message from the Ku-Klux-Klan received by Mr. Johnson read: "Warn Cosgrave Bill must pass, else prepare death." Signor Mussolini telegraphed: "Congratulations Bill, down capitalism, down socialism, UP US."

## THE CRIMSON BANNER.

Hark to the thunder! Hark to the tramp!  
A myriad army comes.

An army sprung from a hundred lands,  
speaking a hundred tongues.

And overhead a portent new, a blood-red banner see.

The nations gather in affright to ask what the sign may be.

"Banner of Crimson, banner bright, banner flaunting the sky!

What is the message ye bring to men, the hope that ye hold on high?"

"We come from the fields, we come from the forge, we come from the land and the sea.

We come in the right of new-born might to set the people free.

Masters! We left you a world to make, the planning was yours to do.

We were the toilers, humble and sad, we gave our faith to you.

And now with the dread in our hearts we stand and we gaze at the work of years,

We have builded a temple with pillars white, ye have stained it with blood and tears!

For our little ones with their teeming hopes ye have roofed the sweat-shop den.

And our daughters fair ye have prisoned in the brothels reeking pen.

And so for the sign of our murdered hopes, our blood-red banner see.

We come in the right of new-born might to set the people free.

Tremble, oh Masters! Tremble all who live by others toil.

We come your dungeon walls to raze, your citadel to spoil!

Ours is the blazing banner, sweeping the sky along.

Ours is the host, the marching host. Hark to our battle song!

Chanting of brotherhood, chanting of freedom dreaming the world to be,

We come in the right of new-born might to set the people free.

## IRELAND AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD.

### IV.—SCOTLAND.

"I was reading but the other day in a book by a zealous, useful and able Scotch clergyman, one of these rhapsodies, in which he described a scene in the Highlands to show (he said) the goodness of God. In this Highland scene there was nothing but sunshine, and fresh breezes, and bleating lambs, and clean tartans, and all manners of pleasantness. Now, a Highlands scene is, beyond dispute, pleasant enough in its own way; but, looked close at, has its shadows. I can just see, over a knoll, the green and damp turf roofs of four or five hovels, built at the edge of a morass, which is trodden by the cattl into a black slough of despond at their doors, and traversed by a few ill-set stepping-stones, with here and there a flat slab in the tops, where they have sunk out of sight; and at the turn of the brook I see a man fishing, with a boy and a dog, a picturesque, and pretty group enough certainly, if they had not been there all day starving. I know them, and I know the dog's ribs also, which are nearly as bare as the dead ewe's; and the child's wasted shoulders, cutting his old tartan jacket through, so sharp are they."—RUSKIN.

\* \* \*

**ECONOMIC EVOLUTION.**—The earliest records of our race tell us that about the dawn of the Christian era a migration of Gaels began to take place to Alba, the land of the Picts or Caledonians, a people concerning whose ethnology and customs we know little. The fact that the Gaels ultimately fused completely with them, rather points towards the likelihood of their being organised more or less on the tribal communist plan of Eire.

The legions of Hadrian and Agricola do not seem to have been able to establish Roman rule over even the Southern Picts, since the final boundary of Roman Britain became the Tyne to Solway wall. At all events, from the time of Cormac MacAirt and the Fenians to that of Columcille and the monks the exodus to Dalriada was very great until a great tract or country was Gaelic. The constitution of Eire was decentralized, i.e., anarchical, and so it was not hard for the Dalriada Scots to secure acknowledgment of their independence of Ireland at the Drumceat Convention. Besides in those early days Christianity influenced Irish public life, and the clerics largely held with St. Columba that if the Alban Gaels desired autonomy then they were entitled to it. Remembering the modern episcopal affection for Imperialism, one sighs with Wordsworth: "It is not so as it hath been of yore."

Independent Dalriada, after a century of alternate alliance and warfare with the Picts, succeeded finally in forming one nation with a Gaelic constitution, and the clan society, the highest form of real freedom and the best form of combination, of individualism and co-operation which Europe has yet seen, despite its imperfections and inconsistencies. But later came the sea-rovers, and though they failed to win the mastery of Scotland they remained in the North as the predominant race, just as they did in Dublin and all over Eastern England. The Vikings were rather more militarily, i.e., feudally, inclined. South Eastern Scotland was once part of the Saxon Earldom of Northumbria, until it fell automatically into the hands of the Gaels of Dalriada after the formation of the Scottish nation, and the population of this part was largely Saxon and still more feudal than the Northmen.

(Edinburgh was called Edwinsburgh by the Saxons, after a Saxon Earl.) Still later, Norman knights and barons overran this area and acquired titles therein, in fact a general penetration of the south of Scotland

took place which resulted, to a large extent, in its "Normanization"; and thus South Scotland in medieval times was feudal, the Highlands remaining tribal. The Court and the King saw the advantage of feudalism. Under Celticism the Ard-King and Chieftains had no hereditary titles, and possessed merely administrative functions; under feudalism they formed real governing class in their own right. The turning point of Scottish history is the period during which first the kingships, and secondly the legislatures of England and Scotland became one. The union of the crowns was the direct and peaceful result of matrimonial alliances between the respective royal families effected for their mutual advantage.

Capitalism on the large scale flowered first in England and spread to Scotland under the aegis of the English bourgeoisie. The nobles of Scotland controlled the Scottish Parliament, an institution which grew up in Edinburgh and the Lowlands and became the State legislature, just as a Parliament had grown up in England. The chieftains of the Highlands were often little concerned with Parliament. Their place was with their clans, and their clans cared little for king or Parliament, feudal growths quite superfluous to the Gaelic Highland and Isles. In Parliament the struggle was between the aristocracy which had arisen with feudalism, and the new bourgeoisie class. The former knew that so long as Parliament remained independent they themselves would retain their great power; the latter supported union, firstly because they were under English capitalist influence, and secondly because amalgamation meant joining with a body which was more favourable to the growth of commerce and the bourgeois than was the Scots' Parliament. Bribery, and the corruption latent in the powers of patronage possessed by the London Government secured a bare majority for union in the Scottish Legislature, just as was done in Ireland in 1800. The Scottish Union was accomplished against the wish of the patriotic majority of the Lowland workers, in face of the determined opposition of the feudal aristocrats who feared the effects on their incomes and prestige of the growth of the towns and commerce, and despite the distrust of the clans, who, however, rightly held both the Edinburgh and London Parliaments as equally dangerous to their social freedom.

The story of the Stuart revolts in Scotland is really the account of the death of co-operative free society in Scotland. All the dissatisfied elements named above supported Prince James and Prince Charlie against the German ancestors of the present English King, hoping that a victory for the Stuart would be a defeat for the English bourgeoisie, and when the Hanoverians finally triumphed at Culloden, steps were taken to uproot the clan system altogether, measures which were altogether successful. Some of the chieftains had joined the enemy in the hope that they might receive their clan lands in fief for the King, and become landlords of the feudal type. These recreants were rewarded. In other cases, relatives of the chiefs or imported foreigners became landlords. Some of the fiercest of the Highlanders were cajoled into the Highland regiments now opened in the British army.

The economic disturbances following this change of social system and the exactions of the new landlords have left Highland agriculture far behind that of most other lands, and consequently the peasants are very poor as a rule. In some of the small islands the clan system still prevails in part or in whole. The writer read once of an island off the Western coast where all the land was held in families, where provision was made for each adolescent youth when he come of age by enlarging his family's portion, where every person had his right to a living and a means of earning it, whilst redistributions take place every few years at a public meeting. The "council" of

these islanders, or soviet we might call it, watches over production to ensure that all the necessary crops are sown, and that the fishing is carried out regularly. There is a Baile there yet, that old officer of the clan who acts as hospitalier for travellers and supervises the public buildings in the village, as well as presiding over the village gatherings.

How perversely obstinate are the Celts, clinging like blind limpets to the outworn survivals of the dark ages! Why has not the Baile become the landlord of the village, with the public buildings his rent offices and mansion? The fish should be sold to an auctioneer who would send it forward to be sold again, time and time again, until maybe some of it reappeared by train from London to be placed on the slabs in a fishmonger's shop somewhere in the farming district of the isle.

Yet there is hope! Lever, of Port Sunlight, the soap king, was lorded but recently, he has chosen the style of "Lord of Lord of the Western Isles," a title of the MacDonnells of Islay and Antrim, and is busily engaged in putting his "property" on a sound basis. From newspaper reports it would seem that the men of Lewis at all events have resolved to put a spoke in his wheel, and rumour hath it that Leverhulme is rather sorry that he purchased the Western Isles.

There has been considerable unrest amongst the Highlanders since the war—as indeed there was before that glorious epoch of "our" Empire's history. Only a few weeks back some hundreds of landless ex-servicemen were imprisoned for seizing part of their country and refusing either to quit or pay rent. The upshot of the affair is that they have been released and are promised a plot when one is available.

The problem here is not so very dissimilar from that in parts of Ireland, and the solution is the same! May it be applied soon!

The landlords of the South-west of Scotland are mainly industrial and commercial. In Ayrshire is the coalfield which supplies the shipbuilding enterprises of Belfast and the Clyde and the steelworks of Lancashire. Glasgow is the most populous city of these Islands after London. Its cosmopolitan inhabitants are nearly all engaged in industry and amongst them are more men and women of Irish extraction than are to be found in Dublin City. The spirit of discontent is rife amongst the Clyde shipworkers, and showed itself resolutely even during the War to save civilization; when the men refused either to permit delation of labour or increase of output per man—hour. Glasgow is a hotbed of sedition indeed. Let us examine the strength of the parties.

From the Highlands come 10 Liberals, 4 Tories, and 1 Labour M.P. The one labour man was elected in Aberdeen, an industrial city. Liberalism holds sway here, a relic of the Gladstonian era, when liberalism was still nominally the anti-landlord party, breaking the chains of feudalism, and with specious promises of social reform. The older Highlander is not yet in touch with the workers' movement, but the younger men and particularly the landless ex-soldiers are imbibing Socialism. The Isles polled a heavy Labour vote; and it is merely a question of time before the rapid decline of Liberalism sets in.

In the South, Labour holds 33 seats to Liberalism's 9 and the Tories' 10. Edinburgh is not included in those totals. The capital elected 1 Labour, 3 Liberals and 1 Tory. Respectability still holds Dunedin, a commercial city, clinging yet to gentility. Government offices and colleges are in evidence as well as private clerical establishments.

In all Scotland Labour has nearly won a majority of seats. Like Wales, she is in advance of England, if regarded comprehensively.

The Scottish Labour M.P.s are rather more Socialistic than the English and Welsh.

(Continued on Column 1, Page 5)

"AN Injury to one is the concern of All."

## IRISH WORKER

EDITED BY JIM LARKIN.

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### FIGHTING FORAN — SENATOR EXTRAORDINARY

The audacity of the elected person is proverbial, but the sublime audacity of the appointed Senator "bates Banagher and Banagher bates the devil." The Plunkett House Protégé, the Senator and some other tipsters went down to the Curragh during the past week (not in Parkinson's car—nor in Cuffe's) these two respectable, responsible Labour Leaders went down to tell the poor simpletons down at the Race Course, or close to that, if the employers or County Council dare to suggest any reduction in wages the valiant Senator Foran, and no less patriotic Imperialist Johnson will fight. Oh! not that the workers will fight. Oh no! Foran—£14 a week—and Johnson at £6 per week plus extras—will fight. Yes, ask Mr. Barry, Mr. Goodbody, Mr. McLaughlin, Mr. Brown, ask any employer in the Dublin Employers' Federation, Cork Employers Federation, ask the Ministers of His Majesty's Government, ask the Cabinet. Johnson will fight—Foran will fight. Oh, my respected aunt. £14,000 of the Union funds lent to Rathdown Rural Council to provide sewerage (?) for a Mr. Fleming, La Scala Theatre, contractor to work some gentlemen of leisure at the Union of the workers known as the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union is pledged, nay, was organised for decent labour. Yet, the money of the Union is advanced without the permission or knowledge of the members to provide money to pay a contractor. We wonder what the poor road-workers of Kildare think of the Fighting Foran. Fight! How do you simple souls think Senators get appointed? For fighting? Open your eyes "It would pay you for your pains to educate your brains and do a little thinking on your own."

What do you road slaves of Kildare or any other County think of a Labour Leader when Messrs. Goodbody and Brown, of the Millers' Association, move a vote of congratulation to the fighter Foran on his appointment to the Masonic Lodge Senat, Merrion Square—and Compass.

#### THE EFFORT.

We desire to congratulate our readers and the members of the Irish Worker League on the magnificent and generous way they supported our effort to help some worn and weary brother over a stile this Christmas. We issued our appeal to our readers and members of the Irish Worker League on November 11th. We did not issue a book of tickets until November 25th. We did not get any away by post until the first week in December. Our advertisement was

refused by the "Daily Herald" on some pretext. Our comrades of the "Forward" "Eire" and "Workers Weekly" did, we understand, publish our brief announcement. Everyone connected with paper, League, etc., was and is overwhelmed with work. And yet, with all our handicaps, we are going to help, and that is all we are concerned with in this world. As we write, a group of lads are doing the necessary detail work essential for the smooth working of things the night of the Draw—to-morrow, Thursday, at eight o'clock, in the Trades' Hall, Capel Street. The Draw is open to the world, no one barred, all are welcome to sit in with us. A Committee of ex-Internees will supervise Draw, all details connected therewith, every item of accounts will be audited and published by them. All the proceeds will be left to them to disburse, whatever the result may be. We wish every buyer of a ticket could win the first prize, that there should be no blanks. Anyhow, everyone who has ventured will have the satisfaction of knowing the purpose is unselfish, our real objective the inculcating of the divine spirit of comradeship and unity amongst the common people, and understanding. We are particularly pleased to have enrolled men and women of both camps to assist in the meritorious work. We regret we denied our comrades in the adjacent countries an opportunity to participate in the good work. If they knew the need we know they would all engage to assist. We cannot at this writing give our readers any further details. Every person who sold a book will be supplied with a special copy of Worker giving members' names and addresses, full and complete details will be issued, that you can depend on. This edition goes to press on Thursday. Friday we print a special edition giving full report. Xmas will be with us ere we speak you again. We give you all greetings and good wishes for a Merry Xmas, good cheer, good hope, and that our comrades be with us is our earnest wish.

#### X'MAS 1922

(Continued from Page 1)

will have recourse to the knife. Once a stabbing match is engaged in a regular vendetta starts, gang after gang is embroiled. Of course the ordinary criminal entering an American prison must join a gang or he don't get very far. We who were political prisoners though not recognised by the Law as politicals, were recognised by the government within the prison. We were looked up to, consulted about home, legal matters, in fact all inside and outside activities affecting the lives of our unfortunate brothers. We would be engaged for hours every night writing to sweethearts, wives, mothers, lawyers, and most of our leisure time was occupied drafting and writing petitions for clemency for the poor victims to the Governor of the State who holds the power of life and death over every prisoner incarcerated in State Institutions. He can release a prisoner at any time, under any conditions. In such a place under such conditions and with such comrades we spent Christmas, 1922. And now what of the prison we are hoping to spend our Christmas 1923 in? In Sing Sing all had work, plenty of food, Xmas week movies and music for all. The Governor came to see that everybody was getting attention; priest, rabbi, parson, attended for our spiritual benefit; friends sent in greetings some came in person, even left their own furside on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day to come to the prison and give a word of cheer to those buried alive. Everybody seemed to have realised the true meaning of the phrase—"Am I my brother's keeper?" And what a difference in this—prison! The Free State "Am I my brother's keeper?" verily, friend, you are.

A thousand innocent men, untried prisoners

are still confined in the bastilles of this so-called Free State. Two women prisoners still detained, untried, therefore innocent under the Law; one of these women has given years of service to the cause of freedom. She was a veteran in service when those who caused her arrest and ordered her detention were unwearied in selfish pursuits. Even the stupidest creature that ever was pushed by fortuitous circumstances into a position of power. President Coolidge has thought it fitting to release all political prisoners in the United States. Our pinch-back statesmen refuse to recognise the demand of the Nation's people, irrespective of the political alliance, for the release of all untried prisoners. We have no axe to grind. Some of these incarcerated have been in bitter antagonism to our work and will continue in that unsympathetic attitude on release. Our demand for their release was, is, and will continue to be based on legal and ethical grounds. We have gone below human standards in this area of Ireland. Everything is now measured and considered from the standpoint of brutalitarianism, power, place, profit the three gods worshipped; truth, honour, humanism unknown; oppression to the uttermost, especially oppression of the poor and aged helpless. Militarism rampant, bayonets, not brains rule. The New Commandment "Thou shalt do injustice to those who suffer from injustice. From those who have little take that which they have, to those who have much add as much more. Forty thousand breadwinners denied the opportunity to work and refused even a share of the effulgence of nature. The only solution for unemployment—semi-starvation suggested by those well-paid Solons—is to pay less wages, to those working increase their hours, and so add a few more thousands to an already over-congested labour market, and in a country where two pigs are claimed to be worth £336, a human being is not worth a crust nor worth a chance to earn a crust. The Neroic souls who govern us in the interests of the Dark Brethren blaspheme religion, peddle patriotism and degrade the purpose, exploit the sacrifice of the sacred dead.

They have made the altar of their country a stepping stone to power and place. All is not lost! A few still hold the flame of righteousness, truth, honour, service alight in their hearts and even though the gaol may be their abiding place, hunger and persecution their lot, the hour will come "when the poor will rise up and the rich will fall down," the gaol gates will open! and free men and free women will walk abroad in this land. The prison we are in will be turned into a home, "The House Beautiful" where all in the family who give service will get service. Not for a few will the blessings of nature be garnered, but all who need shall enjoy and the gates swing wide. Such were the thoughts we hold in a Free State Prison, 1923. "Hope never died in the heart of humanity." 1924 the Year of Liberty. All Hail!

#### NOTHING LIKE SYSTEM.

Ald. O'Brien, ex-T.D., has declared emphatically that no reductions in wages should be enforced on members of the I.T.G.W.U. by employers before being submitted to the "Executive." That's what we are paying the "Executive" for, isn't it?

#### MUNICIPAL GOALS.

The Municipality of Vancouver, B.C., have decided to sell coal to the citizens at the same price they buy their coal on contract, plus cost of weighing and sacking. This means a saving of over four dollars per ton, or one-third less than the private coal exporter charges. We wonder when the first enlightened Municipality in Ireland will take up this question. Coal could be sold retail in Dublin at £1-15s. per ton and produce a profit for the ratepayers.

## IRELAND AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

(Continued from page 3)

The I.L.P. in Scotland is less bourgeois in its methods and views than the I.L.P. elsewhere. The "Forward," its organ, opened its columns to Constance de Marcievicz a few months ago.

The Communist Party is gaining ground fast in Scotland, and although J. T. W. Newbold, M.A., the Party member for Motherwell was defeated by the united front of the reactionaries, every C.P. candidate increased his poll this month. The anti-Parliamentary 4th Internationalists have held strongly supported meetings on the Clyde. The Glasgow "Reds" were eager to hear the account of what happened at Poplar—vide issue of 8/12/23, and afterwards refused a hearing to Wal Hannington, National Organiser of the National Unemployed Workers' Committee Movement, when he denounced the Unemployed Workers' Organization of East London, the new body which refuses all compromise and entangling alliances.

There has recently been formed in Scotland the Scottish Workers' Republican Party. Its leader was the great John MacLean, M.A., who, with others who had seceded from the Communist Party, banded together to organize a Party which would reject every programme except that of a Scots' Soviet Republic. The S.W.R.P. refuses to become part of the reformist Labour Party, and advocates industrial preparation for the new order of propagation of the fundamental beliefs of Communists. They further claim the complete independence of Scotland from the Empire, believing that Scotland's history renders this a just demand, and that by pressing forward towards a Scottish Workers' Republic they are best aiding the insurgents in England and abroad. They are at present prepared to contest Parliamentary elections so as to inaugurate an abstentionist policy for Scotland, following the Sinn Fein example, although the abstentionist M.P.s would not become a de jure government like the Republican Dail, because the Workers' Republic is constructed along the lines of the industries through the Soviets. A Dail like Ireland's resembles the ordinary capitalist legislature of any capitalist state.

The S.W.R.P. has a large following in Glasgow and its environs. MacLean had intended to stand for a Glasgow constituency and would have had a strong chance of winning, but for some reason not widely known, he was not nominated. Maybe it was because he was even about to die.

As announced in the "Irish Worker" this stalwart hero breathed his last a week after the polling day. MacLean was acknowledged as the greatest leader of the militant Scottish worker of this generation. He combined the qualities of Connolly and Larkin both, and he possessed in addition the superhuman endurance of a Terence MacSwiney. He was ever agitating, educating and organizing. Connolly's and his were two of the loudest and most earnest voices raised during the tragedy of the War, crying to the wage slaves to cease slaughtering each other and to seize the opportunity of taking the earth into their own hands. The "Irish Worker" mentioned his lonely struggle in the jails and his victorious hunger-strike.

When the Russian Revolution was achieved, in 1917, MacLean was the one Labour leader in Britain in whom the Workers' Republic could at once feel complete confidence, and who was in direct communication with them.

In 1922, at Gorbals, Glasgow, the election figures ran:—

Labour	16,000
Lloyd George (Liberal)	8,000
John MacLean (Communist)	4,000
Liberal	1,000

Since then he led in the formation of the S.W.R.P., and Glasgow was hot with enthusiasm for MacLean when the preparations were being made for the recent voting.

And then, just when his people were beginning to admire and follow him, he died for them, killed at the age of only forty-four years by the after-effects of his suffering and struggles. Ten thousand followed his hearse to the grave.

Of MacLean and of such as he, like St. Paul—"in labour and painfulness, in much watching, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often," one can quote these lines of Pearce:

"There are in every generation those who make the ultimate sacrifice with joy and laughter, and these are the salt of the generations, the heroes who stand midway between God and man."

There is a noticeable growth of separatist desire in Scotland, but it is not shared by the richest capitalists. These are the holders of the coal and iron holdings of the Southern Uplands and Ayrshire, and the shipyards of the Clyde. Their industries are truly part of the economic capitalist system of England, they are thus part of the class which owns the resources of England and Northern Ireland. Consequently the Imperial system is their system. There is no real Scottish capitalist economy. The big industries are merely an adjunct of the English. Those of the small capitalists who seek to create a Scottish capitalist economy, and many of the small traders favour the Home Rule movement.

Scottish Home Rule was actually proposed during the tenure of office of the Liberals under Asquith, but was defeated by about 100 votes.

The Gaelic revival has given an impetus to the Scottish National League and Gaelic League. The S.N.L., whose most prominent figure is the Hon. Erskine of Marr, advocates complete separation and hopes to apply Sinn Fein tactics. The movement, like the Irish Republican movement, is really a Gaelic proletarian movement, and it is only reasonable to imagine that the working class members of the S.N.L. will pass over to the S.W.R.P., just as the worker members of Sinn Fein are turning to the Irish Workers' Republican organizations.

Those who hope to free the workers from the Empire or who sympathize with or are not antagonistic to the Gaelic renaissance are joining the S.W.R.P. For the logic of this point of view it were better if the reader consulted the article on Wales of last week, rather than that space be devoted to an exposition of a point of view already explained.

The 4th International Movement in England seems to understand the S.W.R.P. better than does the C.P.G.B., which opposes, the separatist aim of the Scottish group. This seems all in accordance with the centralizing tendencies of the Third as against the decentralization upheld by the Fourth.

The S.W.R.P. seems to be based on historical grounds at all events. Arguing as we did about Wales last week, and citing the experience of Russia and her autonomous allies, a convincing chain of reasoning seems to link us with the future Scottish Soviet Republic, a unit of the European group of the World Federation of Co-operative Commonwealths.

EXILE.

## PUTTING DOWN IRREGULARISM.

The "Irish Independent" commenting on the recent murder of Sergt. Woods, Civic Guard, says, "it is another proof . . . that the arms hidden in Ireland are a menace to public peace."

The efforts of the government authorities should satisfy the editor that the government are determined to wipe out irregularism, and we are sure the public will give them their moral support in their efforts to disarm the demobilised rank and file. It is a pleasure to find ourselves at last in agreement with Murphy's organ.

## IN MEMORIAM.

## MICHAEL O'DOHERTY

Wounded in Post Office, 1916

Died December, 1919

His Leaders called him, he was there  
To take his part and do his share ;  
His heart was sound, his spirit brave,  
His resting place a hero's grave;  
He never shirked his Country's call,  
And struck a blow for one and all.

A Soldier of the Irish Citizen Army.

Inserted by his Sister, Elizabeth  
O'Doherty.

## THE BROADCASTING HORNSWOGGLE GAME.

We have in preparation an exposé of the Broadcasting Hornswoggle Game. An attempt to hand over the future system of transmission of news to a few persons; to give these favoured and unprincipled ones a monopoly, the scheme is one on par with the way Isaacs-Marconi, Lloyd George and Co. got a strangle hold on the wireless business in 1911. To those who are using their official position to assist a foreign group of monopolists to get full and complete control of this important development in the transmission of news, we would suggest a "little conscience now and then is relished by the simplest citizen." If there is to be a monopoly then in all honesty let us have State monopoly. We would welcome any and every item of information from any of our readers who may add to our measures of the inner workings of the group who are manipulating the deal. Give us the dope. We will publish and shame the devils.

## A CORRECTION.

In our report of meeting of demobilized men and officers of the Free State Government, held in Mansion House one week ago, we said notice convening meeting was posted in Labour Exchange and signed by one Fitzgerald, formerly of Brunswick Street, brother-in-law of the Chief-of-staff of the Free State Army. Our correspondent, an ex-Free State Army man was misled, we presume, by the name Fitzgerald. The gentleman formerly of Brunswick Street, still holds his rank in the Free State Army. He is not demobilized. We are sorry! Our reporter made an honest mistake. We, in the rush to press, had no time to make the necessary inquiries. The Fitzgerald who convened the meeting and was elected secretary of the new organisation is ex-Sergeant-Major Fitzgerald. He called upon us and outlined the need, aims and purposes of the organisation. We concur with his opinion. There is need of such an organisation. We go further. We think that all former comrades, ex-soldiers, ex-prisoners should be organised together. However, we are going to give you the information official in our next issue, and we promise the lads any backing or publicity we can extend to them. Next time you go fighting think of what you are fighting for, not who you are fighting for.

Coalporters and Fillers—Don't fail to attend Meeting, Trades Hall, Sunday, 6.9.23.

## Women and the Labor Movement

By ALICE HENRY.

### CHAPTER I

#### PRIMITIVE WOMAN IN INDUSTRY.

For many years scientific men have been studying the more primitive peoples, and have thrown much light upon those early forefathers of the race. The geologist has found among the rocks faint traces of human existence. The archaeologist has collected crude tools and garments, remnants of early homes, and records clear for him to read, of their culture. In these researches woman and her doings have not been entirely overlooked. Even as far back as the Roman historians we find evidence that woman's share in those early beginnings of civilisation was too important to be ignored. Still it is only lately, however, that woman's part in the making of the world of that day and in the preparing of the world as we know it now in our day, has received close and careful attention. There is still a great deal of work to be done before so vast a field can be thoroughly explored.

A small group of scientists has of recent years laid special emphasis upon primitive woman, and through their researches and writings we are now able to build up a fairly clear picture of how great is the debt owed to her.

The first, as far as I know, among writers in the English language, to draw attention to the discoveries and the achievements of those early creators of civilisation was Otis T. Mason, in "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture," published in 1894, and still referred to as an authority. Mr. Mason shows how extensive and unceasing were the labors of the women of those early times, and how successful they were in utilizing the crude materials at their hand, for the support of their families and for the enriching of life.

With wealth of illustration he has recorded and interpreted for us their achievements as food bringers, weavers and basket-makers, their skill in turning the skins of animals to good purpose, in making the first clay vessels to hold food, or to be transformed into things of beauty by some primitive magic of decoration, for they were artists too. Women were the first linguists; they were, even in those early days, the founders of society and its conservators.

Otis T. Mason has been followed by such investigators as William I. Thomas, Lester F. Ward, Thorstein B. Veblen, John M. Tyler, Elsie Worthington Parsons, while Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Catherine Gasquoine Gallichan and others have popularized much of the same material.

Writers may differ profoundly as to the degree of woman's importance and power in the society of their day in prehistoric and early historic times, but they are unanimous in according to average woman the credit for being the mother of the arts, the pioneer in culture and the architect of the pristine community. The man in those early days was, it is agreed, a much simpler being than his mate. He wandered far afield in search of game or in pursuit of his foes. On the surface, one would say that he was the adventurous one. But with hunting and fighting he reached the limit of his adventures. It was woman, apparently so tied down and limited by the claims of her children, who after all was to find fullest scope for her energies. In that day to stay at home was to be the inventor, the discoverer, the teacher, the leader. Fison and Howitt (quoted by many authorities) put it most tersely when they say, speaking of the Australian aborigines, "A man hunts, spears fish and sits about. All the rest is woman's work." Thorstein Veblen, speaking generally, expresses it thus: "Fighting, together with other work that involves a serious element of exploration, becomes the employment of

the able-bodied men; the uneventful everyday work of the group falls to the woman and the infirm."

As long as the man had to expend most of his energies in such exhausting pursuits as hunting and fighting, he was compelled to rest, to idle during his hours or days near the primitive fireside. Meanwhile women were becoming of constantly increasing value to men because they were producers.

Woman's work might on the whole be just as hard, but she did not have to expend her energy so violently and within such brief periods, so that she had more time and more thought to give to those domestic arts, which she pursued for the sake of her man and her children. Motherhood was the great teacher. For the infant the mother exerted all her powers of invention, all her quickness and resourcefulness in utilizing what she found to her hand.

Professor Thomas ("Sex and Society") points out that one of the most remarkable and unexpected results of woman's performance of the great function of home-maker was not only to make of her, as we have shown, the first weaver, the first artificer, the first artist, the first gardener. This had another reaction, one quite as important; it made of her a more highly developed being, a being socially more advanced and far fitter for her high task, the training of children, and the advancing of by ever so little of the next generation on the path towards civilization. She had more or less to associate together with her fellow-women and with the growing children and therefore she rose in culture.

While much of the knowledge that we have gained about primitive woman comes from digging into the remote past, let us not forget that primitive woman still exists, although at a somewhat advanced stage of culture. Many inferences drawn from the silent record of the past have been checked, interpreted and confirmed by the observations of explorers and travellers. A few instances of these will illustrate what is meant. They are the more striking because they are taken from peoples widely separated, and not at all akin. MacDonald thus describes the customs of East Central Africa: "The work is done chiefly by the women. This is universal. They hoe the fields, sow the seed and reap the harvest. To them too falls the labor of house building, grinding corn, brewing beer, cooking, washing and caring for all the material interests of the community. The men tend the cattle, hunt, go to war; they also spend much time sitting in council over the conduct of affairs." Mrs. Gallichan ("The Age of Mother-Power") tells how one traveller saw the women in the Pelew Islands as the agriculturists of the tribe:

In the Pelew Islands women are most important because they work the taro fields. The richest woman in the village looks with pride on her taro patch, and although she has female followers enough to allow her to merely superintend the work without taking part in it, she nevertheless prefers to lay aside her fine apron and to betake herself to the field, merely clad in a small apron that barely hides her nakedness with a little mat on her back to protect her from the boiling heat of the sun, and with a shade of banana leaves for her eyes. There, dripping with sweat in the burning sun, and coated with mud to the hips and down to the elbow, she toils to set the younger woman a good example. Moreover, as in every other occupation, the kalitho, the gods, must be invoked and who could be better fitted for the discharge of so important a duty as the mother of the house?

Thorstein Veblen in his "Instinct of Workmanship," in speaking of the beginnings of agriculture, dwells upon woman's innate liking for and interest in young growing things.

"Now, as has already been said, the scheme of life of the crops and flocks is, at least in the main, and particularly so far as it vitally

and always interests their keepers, a scheme of fecundity, fertility and growth. But these matters visibly and by conscious sentiment, pertain in a peculiarly intimate sense to the woman. They are matters in which the sympathetic insight and fellow feeling of womankind should in the nature of things come very felicitously to further the propitious course of things. Besides which, the life of the woman falls in these same lines of fecundity, nature and growth, so that their association and attendance on the flocks and groups should further the propitious course of things, also by the subtler means of sympathetic suggestion."

Tyler ("New Stone Age in Northern Europe") leads up to woman's importance in agriculture. The evidence of that period shows the women as the inventors and discoverers of the household crafts as well as most of our science. Because they were the first herbalists, they were the first household physicians. In the care of children they were compelled to be alert, quick minded, ready for all sorts of emergencies.

"The woman provided the vegetable food as well as much of the animal, and became the first gardener and farmer. She introduced tillage of the ground, and thus became economically by far the most important member of the partnership, and she probably had by far the more alert, quick-witted brain."

Further, the establishment of agriculture gave rise to the idea of the earth mother. Savage man inclines to eat the seed corn so there is none to carry over to the next season. It has been difficult, therefore, to introduce agriculture among savage peoples, especially among nomadic tribes. The early women agriculturists are supposed to have established the idea of the taboo of the goddess. Though man would not control his appetites so as to save the corn for planting, he did yield the supernatural warning. The planting of crops became possible and this in the end led to regular settlement.

Robert H. Lowie in "Primitive Society" analyzes very carefully the great amount of material that has been brought together by various travellers, and interpreted by men of science. He urges the greatest caution in theorizing too loosely where our information is necessarily so incomplete. He shows that division of labour between the sexes is often a conventional thing. The Bantu races in Africa do not permit women to attend to the herd; whereas Hottentot women are the regular milkers. He goes on:

"The treatment of women is one thing, her legal status another; her opportunities for public activities still another, while the character and extent of her labours belong again to a distinct category."

He thinks that plain borrowing of customs is a frequent reason for the finding of similar practices over wide regions of the earth's surface. How else, he says, can we account for the ceremonial and habitual separation of the sexes as found, in its extremest form in the Islands of the Pacific, but in a degree, characteristic of the early inhabitants of the entire Pacific Coast of North America.

Lowie quotes from Bogoras his account of the manner of living of different tribes of the Chukchi; a people like the Eskimo. They were a maritime community, and the women took little active part in the earning of the living, but apparently led a comparatively easy and non-productive life. When the reindeer was introduced among them a change took place, the women of reindeer-owning tribes leading a harder life. They had, however, become economically more useful, and therefore had a better prospect of an independent existence.

In the long last the real importance of any individual is in proportion to his or her usefulness to the community. No one will deny that the early mothers of the race were of a supreme value to their fellows. What we call to-day the parasitic woman was

(Continued on column 1, page 2)

## St. Antoninus of Florence.

His "Revolutionary Economics."

### SOCIAL TEACHING OUTLINED.

Saint Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, was born in that city on March 1st, 1389, or a few years after the revolt of the peasantry in England, the rebelling of the disenfranchised in Florence, the rising of the mob in Paris, and the great Schism of the West. His own birthplace, a republic and a great manufacturing city, was governed by parties elected on a very limited franchise, which almost turned a democracy into an aristocracy, and which was nearly torn asunder by struggles between rival governments, between the interests of agriculture and manufacture, and between capital and labor.

It is better for the Saint to speak for himself and in his four-volume work, "Summa Theologicus," he reduced to writing the ideals which he strove to realise, and the principles on which were founded his numerous works for the "have nots."

### ECONOMIC EVILS AND EVIL ECONOMICS

He writes that "God gave us natural riches (as property, cattle, food, and such like), and also artificial riches (as precious metals, clothing, etc.), so that we might by application of them merit eternal life."\* Having stated that riches are a means to an end, he says that "God has bestowed wealth on man so that he might look on Him as the Well-Wisher of the race, might love Him, and in His Name give alms to those in need," and that "temporal goods are given to us to be used in the preservation of our lives," to which he adds "production is on account of man, not man of production." Fore-stalling the modern division of Economics into Production, Distribution and Consumption, the Archbishop warns his readers that sin can become an economic evil, and an economic evil can become a sin, and that wealth in its varied forms can be diverted to evil use either because they are evilly acquired, or evilly distributed, or evilly consumed.

### THE OBJECT OF PRODUCTION.

Production, he declares, is the law of life, and an must work; it is his duty, his perfection, and his happiness. Man is "to acquire by labor the amount of food sufficient for preserving one's being." This should necessitate "only a moderate amount of time and a moderate amount of anxiety," and "the object of gain is that, by its means, man may provide for himself and others according to their state. The object of providing for himself and others is that they may be able to live virtuously. The object of virtuous life is the attainment of everlasting glory."

### LABOUR AND COMMERCIAL VALUE.

The Saint notes many of the faulty practices of his day, such as false weights and measures, badly built houses, cloth not properly shrunken, and books not well bound. He considers that international commerce knits together all the world, bringing peace in its wake, and gives to the whole commonwealth of man the particular benefits of each group of peoples. And that in commerce truthfulness, justice and other virtues are necessary. "Among men no social life is at all possible, except on the understanding that each speaks the truth. Therefore deceit, lying and falsehood, are destructive of human society, and truth its preserver." He insists that the value of things commercial depends upon labour, whether of head or hand, that they are in themselves useless until they have either been completed by human industry or transferred to more profitable markets by human labour.

### WHEN INTEREST IS JUSTIFIED.

He justifies interest if capital is lent at great inconvenience to the owner, or if there is the danger that the lender may not receive repayment, or if the lender is sacrificing a gain that he otherwise would have made in trade. He allows the taking of a percentage on bills of exchange because of their great convenience to travellers and pilgrims; but if the motive of the lender is simply to exact interest, then he is a usurer; hence he himself denounces "those of the nobility who are unwilling to work, and yet who directly seek, by lending their money to merchants, to secure an annual interest besides the eventual return of an undiminished capital."

### AN ENEMY OF COMBINES.

He endeavours to fix the amount of gain that is lawful in commerce, and he tells us that the legal practice of his century allowed half as much again of the appraised value of an article as the maximum of selling price, and half as little as the minimum of buying price. Trusts he denounces, and writes of them that "When monopolist merchants agree together to preserve a fixed price so as to secure an unlimited profit, they are guilty of sinful trading"; and he lays down that no power is to be allowed to individuals by the State of exploiting for their own ends the food and other necessities of the people.

### SURELY AN ANARCHIST!

He points out that God did not create "the poor from earth and the nobles from precious metals," that "it is to the interest of the State to concern itself with the citizens, that they be not dragged down into poverty." And the State, "when there is any necessity, . . . can demand from its subjects (even against their will) lawful help in money and personal service"; "the prince (i.e., the government) ought diligently to see to it that there be no want in the city, but rather abundance of provisions. For this reason he must foresee and prevent any such destitution, by providing especially for the corn of the people." But there is also the law of charity, "for whosoever's sustenance his own labour sufficeth not, the others of his own society who can work harder than they have need or who possess riches, are obliged to provide by the natural law of charity and friendship." "For this reason has God established the rich and mighty over the poorer folk that they should provide, not for their own private ends, but rather for the common good."

### WISELY DIRECTED CHARITY.

On Consumption he writes that it is a sad thing to see side by side extravagance and penury, to see horses and mules gaily caparisoned while the poor perish from hunger, or in a plague-stricken city, when the sick are naked, cold and foodless, to find men and women dressed in vain and gaudy ornaments. A man must pay his debts before he gives either to beggars or to the Church, and the citizen is admonished that "it is not sufficient that a man gives alms, he must also take the trouble to give them in the right way." A quotation from S. Ambrose is added, that "The Lord desireth not the pouring out of wealth, but its administration."

### SAINT, ECONOMIST AND SAGE.

His life was one long round of work and prayer; even in late life he would sit day after day from four in the morning until nine, and later, at night, working at his sermons, his reading, and his books. He slept sometimes only by tilting up his chair. A critic, a moralist, a historian, a preacher; consulted on all the small and great questions of the day; forced to become archbishop of

a large diocese by Pope Eugenius and by popular acclamation, the appeal to him of the city magistrates, deserves quotation: "You love, no doubt," they say, "the silence, the cloister, and the contemplation, but are we put here to live alone? Is it not rather true that the country to which we belong, the friends to whom we are bound by love, the social organisation in which we find ourselves, nay, the whole human race, have claims on us, and even rights over us." Frail and delicate, he lived seventy years of a crowded life. Peaceful, yet fearless, he rebuked rich and poor, priests, rebels and merchants; he fought the government of the city and forced them to obey the laws and respect the liberties of Florence.

But his will he left all his money to the poor, but so faithful had he been in practice to his own teaching that after a prolonged search there only could be found four ducats.

[We think our readers might profitably spend an hour reading the above summary of the life of a good, brave man and saintly Bishop.

The thirteenth century produced some remarkable men and events. You can get a copy of St. Antoninus' Work, "Summa Theologicus," in the Library, Kildare Street. We understand many extracts from this remarkable work have been published in English and German. The good Bishop seems to have absorbed the ideas promulgated by one who went before him—John Ball, the Franciscan Friar, whose clear, analytical mind dissected the sophistries mouthed even in that day by the apologists for the profiteers. The mind and manner of both these brave pioneers is attuned, "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman."—Thus John Ball, 13th century. "God did not create the poor from earth and the nobles from precious metals."—Thus the good Bishop Antoninus.—13th Century, Verb Sap.!

### TRUTH WILL OUT.

"The Capitalist . . . The trouble with him is selfishness and ignorance—mainly his ignorance. He seems to know nothing of the history of feudalism and the French Revolution . . . He seems unable to grasp the fact that he is in the minority, and that the majority are moving on into a new social, political and industrial order. The labour problem will never be solved by a soldier with a gun . . . Something should be done, and done at once . . . for the common use of all men.

"Another thing we should look into is the length of the working day . . . I think that eight hours is even longer than is necessary. I cannot see why the employer should rob the employes of the major portion of the benefit arising from the introduction of machinery. I cannot see why, if a machine can do the work of ten or twenty men, a man should be compelled to work at that machine as many hours as he did formerly when his output was one-tenth or one-twentieth as much.

"As for wages—nothing can be solved by wages. A high minimum wage will do no good. If other conditions were to remain unchanged, a minimum wage of twenty dollars a day would be of benefit to the working classes for no longer period than it would take the landlords to raise the rent and the middlemen in food distribution to increase the prices of food.

"Wealth is the fruit of labour . . . and it belongs to labour.

"It is time to quit our hypocritical piety in the form of 'charity' and begin to be just in our dealings with men."

"We will give a book to the first reader who sends in the name of the employer who wrote the above pregnant truths.—Ed.

## The Murder of a Nation!

29th November, 1923

Many thanks for your welcome letter which came quite as a surprise and therefore twice as welcome. I'm sorry to see by that your health is not quite up to the mark and that you're intending taking a sea-trip. Well, the sea-trip ought to do you good, and Spain and Italy too, if you are intending visiting them, but as glad as I would be to see you again, I wouldn't recommend you of visiting Germany. For Germany is dying, not a natural death, oh no, that would be, with such a nation, an impossibility, but she is getting murdered and is bleeding slowly to death. I enclose a small cutting of a newspaper (thousands of them and periodicals, magazines, etc., have ceased to exist) This small bit of paper tells more than many a novel of thousands of pages. The translation runs thus: "**Eleven suicides out of despair. In Wernigerode in the Harz eleven persons committed suicide last week. The cause in each case was to be found in the desperation at the dearth of food stuffs, that drove them to do it.**" Wernigerode is a town of hardly 15,000 inhabitants near the Bracken (of Tannhauser fame) in the Harz Mountains; and of nearly every thousand inhabitants one committed suicide in one week. If anything like that would have happened before the War in the Congo or Peru, every newspaper in the world would have commented on it, but to-day the press, nearly all the world over, is influenced by French propaganda and money, which she steals every week in thousands of billions in our banks. My brother in Mannheim earned before the War about 40 marks (£2) a week, now he is earning 18½ billions, i.e., 18½ gold marks. Now a pound of meat is costing 3 gold marks, so that he is working for six pounds of meat a week, and the Engineering Trade is a well-paid one. Of course you will know the cause. On the Rhein and Ruhr is standing to-day a greater army than that great German military power ever had there. One of those savage Senegal Niggers or Moroccan bloodhounds eats as much as four children require! We have to pay and feed this enormous unproductive army, that has brought the industries to a standstill; they stole the railways and rolling-stock, and to pay the imported French and foreign employers (over 25,000 German railway employers are still in French and Belgian prisons because they did not break their pledge to the German Government, which paid them) they steal in the German banks every week all the money they can find. Officers bring their wives, mother, brother and sister-in-laws, aunts and uncles, father and mother. The rooms they require, the furniture they all require (from a wardrobe to the pot de chambre) are all commandeered. Every town that will be blessed with a French garrison must supply the necessary bordalls and the number of German girls (Rhein and Ruhr has Roman Catholic population) for those black and white ravishers. The prices in the shops must be shown in plain figures and the "change" of the Franc will be dictated, so that those white and black hordes may cheaply buy. Every ex-convict, thief, murderer, tramp, etc., will be furnished by the French authorities with a revolver and gun and is enlisted into the so-called "Rheinish Army," a force similar in reputation and deeds as the "Black and Tans" you had in Ireland. These blackguards will be sent to-morrow to a certain town, where the French soldiers will to-day disarm the police, so that the victory of the Rheinish Army may be as easy as possible and to show the world the unanimous desire for a Rheinish Republic. After arrival of those corner-boys they seize, under the protection of the French soldiers, the Town Hall, Post, Bank, etc., smash the skulls of a few civilians and command every official to obey the newly established "Rheinish Republic" in which the whole of Germany not a single person

wants but the French. Every town in Germany is full of evicted inhabitants of the Rhein and Ruhr, over 300,000 having been evicted. They had to leave as they were, sometimes in shirt-sleeves and without a hat. The families had to follow within forty-eight hours. Furniture and everything had to be left behind for the black. Many of them were evicted because they had the audacity of singing a German song, just like in Ireland soldiers and civilians had to go to prison for singing "The Wearin' of the Green." In this strain I could write yet page after page, but you will see by my letter what you anticipated about Germany in your letter is only too true. Under those circumstances you will forgive me when I postpone the parcel of Limburger and Cigars for a happier period yet to come. I myself am a great friend of Limburger, but I don't know any more how it is tasting. Nor am I able to buy cigars, for the money earned is wanted for more necessary things. As we were earning thousands, we had more than now when we are earning billions, and we are already afraid of the trillions, as we are certain to have less still then. But I hope that all common-sense is not gone out of the world yet and that one day may bring us happier times. With best greetings.

### THE PROFITEERS.

You have decked your frowsy wives with borrowed splendours,  
You have hung your daughters' necks with stolen pearls;  
Have you thought about the other wives, the lenders,  
Or the wretches made to decorate your girls?

You have fashioned from the needs of sick and dying,  
From the souls of children pleading for the right,  
Ready cash to-day to do your Christmas buying,  
Ready cash to pay your light o' love to-night.

You have coined your filthy gold from blood and sorrow;  
There are soldiers' graves across the fields of France,  
Whence the dead, who died through you, upon the morrow  
Will arise to damn your profits with a glance.

The deathless deeds worth doing and worth telling—  
All the things that noble men hold high and true—  
All but seemed to you for buying and for selling,  
All to serve a greasy human vulture—you!

God! That better men should toil and sweat and labour,  
Bear the cross and climb up Calvaries of pain,  
While the drawling ghouls that spare not friend or neighbour  
Damn the world to make a crucible for gain.  
If the blackest hell, O Lord, there be a blacker;  
If beneath the deepest pit a deeper pit;  
Not for harlot nor for thief nor coward slacker,  
But for these that blackest, deepest hell is fit.

Profiteers of every sort and kind and fashion,  
Where you tread full many other feet have trod;  
You are ranged against the power of Christ's own passion;  
Hark! Behind you walk the searching feet of God!

[The above poem was written by Dr. Shipman, Pastor of the Heavenly Rest, 5th Avenue and 45th Street, New York City.]

### GENTLEMEN OF TRINITY!

The gentlemen of Trinity are excelling themselves—they are outdoing the Free State Government in their devotion to King and Empire. To-day, Wednesday, at three o'clock, some one hundred and fifty of these gentlemen students—non-producers, idlers living on the backs of the poor, harrassed wage slaves of this area and the Six Northern Counties—congregated in the Amiens Street Station and started their usual ballhollering and then took advantage of the kindly, good-natured people assembled within the Station. They took possession of a carriage and proceeded to sing—or roar—God Save the King! Rule Britannia! "Dolly's Brae"! Protestant Boys! To ——— With the Pope! The well-fed idlers who were also going North for their holidays after exploiting the poor, simple Southerners, though not taking an active part in the Portadown demonstrations, stood smoking and smiling. Maybe those who laugh last will laugh best. We wonder what would have happened to any body of workers who would have dared carry on in such a blackguardly manner. Mr. Commonsense Murphy would have ordered out the Cossacks. Mr. Commissioner being a good Imperialist himself thinks the Trinity cubs have a special license these times. A little time, a little patience, and manners will be inculcated into more than one set of blackguards.

Yours,

ONE OF THE RAILWAY SLAVES.

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