THE IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION

The Formative Years



C. Desmond Greaves

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The Formative Years: 1909-1923

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C. DESMOND GREAVES

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Notes

INTRODUCTION
(pp. 1-9)

1. *Irish Worker*, Jun. 1893.
2. Michael Davitt, *Fall of Feudalism in Ireland*, London 1904, 406.
3. According to the 1891 census, out of a total of 936,759 persons engaged in agriculture, 118,980 were classified as 'general labourers'. The corresponding figure for 1901 was 117,863, showing a reduction of only 1,117 in a decade during which 60,697 left the land.
4. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism*, New York 1965, 406.
5. *Commonweal*, 5 Apr. 1890.
6. *Labour World*, 6 Dec. 1890.
7. *Weekly Freeman*, 3 May 1890.
8. *Justice*, 21 Mar. 1891.
9. Desmond Ryan, *Remembering Sion*, London 1934, 57.
10. Webb, 600ff.
11. W. J. Lowe, 'Lancashire Fenianism', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, Vol. 126 (1977).
12. Information supplied by Mr J. L. Jones.

Chapter 1
LARKIN'S IRISH BREAKAWAY
(pp. 11-25)

1. J. Anthony Gaughan in his life of Thomas Johnson notes with surprise that Larkin first met Johnson at an ILP meeting when their birthplaces were not a quarter of a mile apart. This arises from placing Larkin's birth in Berry Street. Combermere Street is at a much greater distance.
2. James Connolly, *The Reconquest of Ireland*, Dublin 1934, 310.
3. McMullen's memoir is compiled from newspaper reports. The author was living in Belfast in 1907 and knew Larkin for many years.
4. Emmet Larkin, *James Larkin*, London 1965, 31.
5. *Ibid.*, 37.
6. R. M. Fox, *Jim Larkin*, New York 1957, 69.
7. Webb, 498.
8. William O'Brien, *Forth the Banners Go*, Dublin 1969, 55.
9. *Irish Times*, 1 Dec. 1908.
10. See *Dundalk Democrat*, 2 Jan. 1909, for Dobbins's reply.
11. Diary of William O'Brien, 4 Jan. 1909 (NLI, MS. 15675).

Chapter 2
FOUNDATION AND CONSOLIDATION
(pp. 26-50)

1. O'Brien, 56.
2. Dublin Trades Council Minutes, 15 Mar. 1909 (NLI, MS.12782)
3. *Waterford News*, 7 May 1909.
4. Each generation has its vogue words. In 1896 Connolly spoke of a 'Socialist Republic', then of a 'Workers' Republic'. An earlier phrase had been 'Co-operative Commonwealth'. One guesses that 'Industrial Commonwealth' was a modification of this expression under syndicalist influence. People were often as vague about the meaning of these terms as they are today when talking of 'socialism'.
5. *Cork Examiner*, 13 Aug. 1909.
6. See *Irish Times*, 6 Sep. 1909.

Chapter 3
ENTER THE GIANTS
(pp. 51-75)

1. Diary of William O'Brien, 2 Aug. 1911.
2. Connolly, in the foreword to *Labour in Irish History*, wrote: 'The capitalist system is the most foreign thing in Ireland.'
3. Diary of William O'Brien, 16 Nov. 1911.
4. The sole surviving Roll Book of the early Belfast branch gives the date of Connolly's entry as 22 July 1911. This implies that after moving to Belfast he retained his Dublin membership until he was appointed northern organiser. See J. Anthony Gaughan, *Thomas Johnson*, Dublin 1980, 20-1, for Mrs Johnson's account of the move. I had my information from Daniel McDevitt many years ago.
5. The first *Irish Worker* had been published in the 1890s by Bernard Doyle. It was very much the organ of the skilled trades. The *People's Advocate* was started in 1891 by the National Union of Gasworkers and General Labourers. It expressed the alliance between the organised 'unskilled' workers and the socialists and republicans. It would be interesting to know whether Larkin was aiming consciously at uniting two traditions.
6. Tom Mann, *Memoirs*, London 1923, 259.
7. *Irish Worker*, 26 Aug. 1911.
8. The involvement of Socialist Party of Ireland activists, like Lyng and Carpenter, in the ITGWU doubtless contributed to the movement for merging the SPI and the Independent Labour Party. The merged organisations adopted the name Independent Labour Party of Ireland in 1912.
9. O'Brien to Connolly, 28 Sep. 1911 (NLI, MS.13908(iii)).
10. I have not been able to ascertain who gave the title Liberty Hall to the ITGWU headquarters. The expression occurs in Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* in an English context. It was later used by the writer of stories for boys, Captain Marryat, in *Midshipman Easy* in order to satirise radicalism. It is a tale of the sea, and prob-

ably Larkin read it like most other Victorian schoolboys.
11. Dublin 1 (Liberty Hall), Dublin 2 (James Street), Dublin 3 (High Street), Belfast, Dundalk, Newry, Sligo, Dún Laoire, Bray, Kill o' the Grange, Wexford, Waterford, New Ross, Enniscorthy, and Dublin (Jacobs).
12. *Irish Worker*, 8 Jun. 1912.
13. James Connolly, *Socialism Made Easy*, New York 1905, 13-17. Attempts have been made to attribute this conception to Marx. See Bernard Ransom, *Connolly's Marxism*, London 1980, 42. The passage is in *Capital*, III, 455 (Kerr Edition, Chicago 1909; cf. *Das Kapital*, III, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, n.d., 423). These attempts are based on a misunderstanding. '. . . sie die kapitalistische Hülle gesprengt hat', translated 'has burst its capitalist shell', refers not to industry in general, still less to trade union organisation, but to 'Arbeit der Oberaufsicht und Leitung' (labour of superintendence and management), which would be necessary even when capitalist ownership had ceased to exist. This is clearer if 'Hülle' is simply translated as 'covering'. Its being covered by capitalist ownership conceals the fact that management is work. Marx (through the agency of Engels) was making a theoretical point. Those who seized factories on the strength of this passage did so not because their theory was strong, but because the 'political state' was weak.
14. James Connolly, *The Axe to the Root*, Dublin 1934, 16.
15. *ITUC Report, 1912*, 12-13.
16. *Ibid.*, 61.
17. *Ibid.*, 45.
18. J. D. Clarkson, *Labour and Nationalism in Ireland*, New York 1925, 249.

Chapter 4
HOME RULE IS CHEAP RULE
(pp. 76-94)
1. O'Brien to Connolly, 1 Oct. 1912 (NLI, MS.13908(iii)).
2. *Irish Worker*, 14 Dec. 1912.
3. *Ibid.*, 22 Nov. 1912.
4. The signatories were Larkin, Foran, Bohan, John O'Neill, Peter Ennis, Joseph Kelly, Stephen Clarke and Thomas Hewson.
5. Arnold Wright, *Disturbed Dublin*, London 1914; see Connolly's review in *Irish Worker*, 8 Nov. 1914.
6. See Connolly in *Daily Herald*, 6 Dec. 1913.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Emmet Larkin, 115.
9. O'Brien to Connolly, 22 Mar. 1913 (NLI, MS.13908(iii).
10. O'Brien to Connolly, 5 Jun. 1913 (*ibid.*).
11. The full list is Larkin, Metcalfe, Brohoon, Michael McCarthy, Bernard Conway and William Fairtlough from Dublin No. 1; John Bohan and Thomas Burke from Dublin No. 3; and Edward Gibson from No. 16 branch (the Aungier Street branch). Connolly represented Belfast, James Byrne Dún Laoire, and James Stanford and P. T. Daly Sligo.

12. In the columns of the *Irish Worker* he appears as plain Michael Mullen, but he was known to Gaelic enthusiasts as Micheál Ó Maoláin *as Árainn*. Seán O'Casey lodged with him for a time in Mountjoy Square, and he has been suggested as an inspirer of the character Séamus Shields in *The Shadow of a Gunman*.
13. Webb, 104.
14. Connolly to O'Brien, 29 Jul. 1913, in *The Attempt to Smash the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union*, Dublin 1924, 163.
15. *Irish Worker*, 26 Jul. 1913.

Chapter 5
WAR ON THE WORKERS
(pp. 95-121)
1. See James Connolly, 'The Dublin Lock-out and its Sequel' in Desmond Ryan, ed., *The Workers' Republic*, Dublin 1951, 176.
2. A special edition of the *Irish Worker*, published on Wednesday 27 August, give an account of the events leading up to the tram strike.
3. *Daily Herald*, 6 Sep. 1913.
4. See O'Brien, 83-92. On p. 85 O'Brien records his feeling that Larkin was displeased at his sending for Connolly, thereby usurping Larkin's authority. On the other hand, he transferred the demonstration to Croydon Park in his capacity as secretary of the strike committee. It is possible to see here the earliest sign of the future rift between Larkin and O'Brien. The strike committee seems to have been established in the first place because of the involvement of several unions in the Easons dispute. It widened as the dispute widened and grew steadily in authority. A dual control involving the meticulous O'Brien and the impetuous Larkin could scarcely work without friction. In general at this time O'Brien was 'pro-Larkin'. Connolly had been openly critical of Larkin from an earlier period, O'Brien joining him in the summer of 1914.
5. *Report of British TUC, 1913*, 192.
6. It has been said that Connolly was driven to the Countess's house in the viceregal car. The late Mr Eamon Martin assured me that this was not the case. The viceregal car brought the release order to his sister's house, and Connolly was collected in a taxi.
7. Connolly in Ryan, ed., *The Workers' Republic*, 122-6.
8. Webb, 104.
9. Reproduced in *Irish Worker*, 11 Oct. 1913.
10. Connolly in Ryan, ed., *The Workers' Republic*, 143-4.
11. *Ibid.*, 144-5.
12. *Ibid.*, 146.
13. Here is a specimen: 'Shaun Casey, head of Larkin's souper pipers' band, Seville Place. Well, Shaun, my Irish-speaking bowsie, you were afraid of the Toiler scout to bring the band to the runaway army's Swords march out. How much of the collection did you collar? Or did you hand it over to Delia for the cause? Keep enough to pay the rent on the bandroom. If not, they will have to

play outside churches again. But mind the blues do not see you, or you will have to start telling them where you were baptised.' There are references here to several incidents in which O'Casey was involved, for example the police interference with the St Laurence O'Toole Pipe Band on the occasion of its performing outside a Protestant church, when O'Casey averted trouble by explaining that he had been baptised there. The trusting will think McIntyre had a remarkable intelligence service; the suspicious will wonder if he had semi-official communicators.

14. R. W. Postgate, *Builders' History*, London 1923, 417.

Chapter 6
DOWN BUT NOT OUT
(pp.122-138)

1. The other members present were James Gannon, James Byrne, Michael Cunningham, John Cunningham, Bernard Conway, Andrew Early, James Smith, Michael Brohoon, D. Heffernan, P. White and P. Doyle.
2. Glasgow *Forward*, 7 Feb. 1914, quoted in Ryan, ed., *The Workers' Republic*, 142 (where the date is incorrectly given).
3. Glasgow *Forward*, 14 Mar. 1914, quoted in Ryan, ed., *The Workers' Republic*, 146.
4. Connolly in Ryan, ed., *The Workers' Republic*, 149.
5. James Connolly, *The Axe to the Root*, Dublin 1921, 38.
6. *Ibid.*, 41.
7. See V. I. Lenin, 'Imperialism' in *Collected Works*, London 1942, 177; also Clarkson, 181.
8. Dublin *Saturday Post*, 21 Mar. 1914.
9. Connolly in Desmond Ryan, ed., *Socialism and Nationalism*, Dublin 1948, 111.
10. The ITGWU delegates numbered 17, viz: James Larkin, Bernard Conway, John O'Neill, Michael Cunningham, Thomas Foran, P. T. Daly, James Connolly, Daniel Coveney and Daniel Carey (Cork), John Bohan, Thomas Burke and Thomas Kennedy (Dublin No. 3), W. P. Partridge (Inchicore), John Lynch and P. Kealey (Sligo), Richard Corish (Wexford) and Frank Moss (Agricultural Labourers' Branch.)
11. Connolly in Ryan, ed., *Socialism and Nationalism*, 130.
12. Arthur Mitchell, *Labour in Irish Politics*, Dublin 1974, 60.
13. Larkin to Quinlan, 18 Aug. 1914, in *Attempt to Smash*, 166. In 1948 I discussed with Seán O'Casey Larkin's reason for going to America. He said that Larkin had used funds belonging to the Insurance Section of the union for paying strike benefit and was afraid of a second misappropriation prosecution. The matter seemed to me so important that I made a note which I still have. Years later I learned that Joseph Casey, described by Martin Margulies (*Early Life of Sean O'Casey*, Dublin 1970, 35) as a 'clerk and salesman for the health insurance division of the ITGWU' was in fact Seán O'Casey's brother, whose legal name was Isaac. He left for Liverpool under a financial cloud. The 'faked audit' referred to in *Attempt to Smash*, 82, bore his signature. These facts may help to explain Larkin's anxiety to go to America as early as November 1913. (O'Brien, 61-2).
14. *Western News* (Ballinasloe), 17 Aug. 1915, quoted in *Workers' Republic*, 4 Sep. 1915.

Chapter 7
ORDEAL BY DEBT
(pp. 139-156)

1. Minutes of Special Committee of No. 1 branch, 5 Mar. 1915.
2. Dublin No. 1 was represented by Connolly, O'Farrell, Michael Cunningham, Patrick Stafford, P. Forde, Joseph Metcalfe, and John O'Neill; No. 3 sent John Bohan and Thomas Burke; Aungier Street sent Robert de Coeur, and Inchicore Michael Mallin. Dún Laoire sent P. Crimmins, Bray S. Mulvey, Waterford John Power and John Murphy, Cork Denis O'Riordan, Sligo Alderman John Lynch and Councillor Kelly, Wexford Alderman Richard Corish, and Belfast James Flanagan (sometimes spelt Flannagan).
3. The dispute between O'Brien and Daly resulted in a Dáil inquiry and a lawsuit. Much of the relevant information can be found in NLI, MS.15657 (folder containing letters, telegrams, newspaper cuttings, etc.).
4. *Attempt to Smash*, 137.
5. *Workers' Republic*, 1 Apr. 1916.
6. Séan O'Casey, *Drums under the Window*, New York 1950, 399.

Chapter 8
CONNOLLY AND EASTER WEEK
(pp. 157-167)

1. William O'Brien, Preface to Desmond Ryan, ed., *Labour and Easter Week*, Dublin 1949, 9. Samuel Levenson, *James Connolly*, London 1973, 282, says that Connolly's disappearance was about a week earlier, but does not give his reasons for thinking so. It is a bold man who tries to upset an O'Brien date. Further evidence, though indirect, is provided by Frank Robbins, *Under the Starry Plough*, Dublin 1977, 73. Pearse gave Connolly an autographed copy of *An Mhathair* dated 21 January 1916.
2. McCullough told me this around 1969, and it is confirmed in Leon Ó Broin, *Revolutionary Underground*, Dublin 1976, 167. The existence of conspiracy within conspiracy is documented in Pádraig Ó Snodaigh, *Comhghuaille na Réabhloide, 1913-16*, Dublin 1966. The point is that the offensivist policy became official in January 1916; that is the political turning-point.
3. Ó Broin, 167.
4. Connolly's youngest daughter, Mrs Fiona Connolly Edwards, confirmed this detail in 1961.
5. Diarmuid Lynch, *The IRB and the 1916 Insurrection*, Cork 1957, 25.

6. See Maureen Wall's contribution in K. B. Nowlan, ed., *The Making of 1916*, Dublin 1969.
7. See 'On German Militarism', *Irish Worker*, 22 Aug. 1914.
8. Maureen Wall in Nowlan, ed., 190, n.15.
9. *Irish Worker*, 3 Oct. 1914.
10. *Ibid.*, 31 Oct. 1914.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*, 24 Oct. 1914.
13. *Ibid.*, 8 Aug. 1914, quoted in Ryan, ed., *Socialism and Nationalism*, 131.
14. *Workers' Republic*, 22 Jan. 1916, quoted in Ryan, ed., *Labour and Easter Week*, 137.
15. *International Socialist Review*, Mar. 1915, quoted in Ryan, ed., *Labour and Easter Week*, 60.
16. *Workers' Republic*, 18 Dec. 1915.
17. *Ibid.*, 22 Jan. 1916.
18. Lynch, 60.
19. See Robbins, 55-6. The 1915 dating disposes of some of Diarmuid Lynch's sceptical remarks.
20. *Workers' Republic*, 18 Mar. 1916.
21. Mullens told me that he did not belong to the Transport Union and that both he and Partridge were acting for the IRB. They took different railway routes to Kingsbridge, one travelling via Limerick, the other via Mallow.

Chapter 9
RESURRECTION
(pp. 168-187)

1. The ITGWU delegates were Foran, Metcalfe, Brohoon, Bohan, Lawrence Prior (Cork), James Flanagan (Belfast), James Nolan (Dún Laoire), together with John Lynch, Michael Lynch and John MacLaughlin from Sligo.
2. Quoted in Dorothy Macardle, *The Irish Republic*, London 1937, 20.
3. I discussed this question with Johnson over a number of years and am confident that I express his opinion accurately. J. Anthony Gaughan in his life of Johnson (pp 69-85) does not seem to get to grips with this vitally important question.
4. Ronald McNeill, *Ulster's Stand for Union*, London 1923, 259, quoted in Macardle, 227.
5. No. 1 branch sent Metcalfe, Foran and Brohoon, No. 3 Bohan and Thomas Kennedy. Belfast sent James Flanagan, Cork Denis Houston and Daniel Carey, Sligo Alderman John Lynch and Michael Lynch. Wexford would have sent a delegate but for 'financial difficulties'. M. J. O'Connor represented Tralee Trades Council, and William O'Brien Dublin Trades Council.

Chapter 10
THE ONE BIG UNION
(pp. 188-210)

1. Minutes of Committee of No. 1 branch, 7 Jan. 1918.
2. In order to launch it he accepted financial aid from a wealthy Englishman, Malcolm Lyon, anxious to encourage socialist-oriented criticism of Sinn Féin. When the hoped-for anti-nationalist tendency did not materialise he asked that a cheque should be returned to him. See Gaughan, 82-4.
3. The committee that managed the paper consisted of Foran, O'Brien, J. J. Hughes, Johnson, MacPartlin, L. P. Byrne and Desmond Ryan.
4. Union records use the anglicised Gaffney. His earliest surviving signature has the form MGamhna.

Chapter 11
THE GREAT SWING TO THE LEFT
(pp. 211-228)

1. See NLI, MS.15657 for many notes and cuttings on this period.
2. Eight delegates gave their address as Liberty Hall: Thomas Foran, J. J. Hughes, Michael McCarthy, William Vickers, Joseph Metcalfe, Joseph O'Neill, John Dillon and James Gannon. These presumably represented No. 1 branch. Thomas Kennedy and J. Walsh probably represented No. 3. James Lawlor of Tallaght possibly represented Inchicore. Denis Houston, Cathal O'Shannon, P. Nagle and John Brew of 8 Camden Quay would represent Cork No. 1. The other Cork delegates were Daniel Barrett and Richard Hawkins. Limerick sent M. J. O'Connor, Edward Walsh and John Flood; Sligo, John Lynch and Michael Lynch. From Waterford came W. P. Coates, M. Holland and Patrick Wilson. Richard Corish represented Wexford, James Flanagan Belfast, and Jeremiah Murphy Tralee. But in addition, there were activists from newly formed branches: L. A. Veale from Dungarvan, Michael Smyth from Newbridge, Joseph Gaule from Arklow, James Moore from Lucan, Michael Nolan from Baldoyle, and E. Kelly from Bray. The union paid £100 in delegates' fees, its nearest rival, the NUR paying only £70 19s 3d.
3. The Executive consisted of Miss Rose Timmons, Thomas MacPartlin, Cathal O'Shannon, M. J. O'Lehane, J. T. O'Farrell, T. C. Daly, Joseph Mitchell and M. J. Egan.
4. Dublin *Saturday Post*, 19 Oct. 1918.
5. Connolly to O'Brien, received Dublin, 6 Oct. 1914, in *Attempt to Smash*, 164.
6. Gaughan, 120.
7. *Ibid.*, 121.
8. Peac'ar O'Donnell once expressed the opinion to me that Cathal O'Shannon was an 'intellectual giant' frustrated by the greater strength of character of the more humdrum O'Brien. There is no question that he conducted considerable research into Irish Labour history, but lacked the application to make anything of it. W. P.

Coates achieved fame as the secretary of the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee and wrote on political subjects in collaboration with his gifted wife Zelda Kahan.

Chapter 12
UNDER THE RED FLAG
(pp. 229-250)

1. *ITGWU Annual Report, 1918*, 26.
2. At a meeting of the Socialist Party of Ireland at the Trades Hall on 14 December 1918 the subject under discussion was that of the revolutions in Russia and Germany. Those present included Thomas Foran, William O'Brien, J. J. Hughes and Thomas Kennedy.
3. I had many conversations with Hedley over the years, and everything he told that I could check proved correct.
4. The word 'soviet' (Russian for 'council') was thereafter applied to a variety of actions thought to resemble what had occurred in the Russian revolution.
5. The Irish Trade Union Congress became the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party in 1912. The report of the Waterford Congress in 1918 reversed the two parts of the title, and thereafter the organisation became known as the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress.
6. *ITGWU Annual Report, 1919*, 8.
7. The attraction was probably less London than Zelda Kahan to whom Coates was engaged.
8. That similar processes took place elsewhere is shown by a police report of July 1919 quoted by David Fitzpatrick in his monograph on Co. Clare, which indicates that in that county also the LLA had fused with the ITGWU. In some cases, as for example that of Newtown, Drogheda, a Land and Labour Association attempted to organise a strike, realised its lack of experience and amalgamated with the union.
9. This important letter addressed to P. O'Toole at the Carlow office is among the uncatalogued MSS in the National Library of Ireland.
10. Four Trades Councils were represented by identifiable members of the ITGWU: Bray (Alf Metcalfe), Cavan (Peadar O'Donnell), Limerick (Michael Redden) and Sligo (Alderman John Lynch). The Edward Lynch of Cobh was presumably the union member of that name. Of 211 delegates, 71 belonged to the Transport Union. M. J. O'Connor, the former Kerry organiser, came from Limerick and represented the Asylum Workers' Union.
11. Information from Mr Peadar O'Donnell.
12. This letter is given in full in *Attempt to Smash*, 135.

Chapter 13
WITH VICTORY IN SIGHT
(pp. 251-277)

1. For Galway 'folklore' I am particularly indebted to Mr Bartley Keane.

2. *Watchword of Labour*, 1 Nov. 1919.
3. *Ibid.*, 17 Jan. 1920. The candidates are also referred to as 'Transport' candidates.
4. Carlow, Cork, Dublin, Kildare, Kilkenny, Laois, Limerick, Meath, Tipperary, Waterford, Wexford and Wicklow. This south-eastern area in 1918 contained 91 per cent of the union membership.
5. Quoted in Macardle, 245.
6. *Watchword of Labour*, 13 Mar. 1920.
7. O'Brien, 176ff.
8. *Watchword of Labour*, 20 Mar. 1920.
9. *ILP & TUC Report, 1920*, 28.
10. I only once made notes after a conversation with Hedley, and must to some degree draw on memory. When Dowling died Hedley was given his papers. I have not yet been able to trace them.
11. *Watchword of Labour*, 1 May 1920.

Chapter 14
THE WIND FROM THE NORTH
(pp. 278-301)

1. An account of the Belfast pogrom is to be found in *Watchword of Labour*, 31 Jul. 1920. See also *ILP & TUC Report, 1920*, 100ff.
2. See Nevil Macready, *Annals of an Active Life*, London 1924, II, 487ff.
3. The *Watchword of Labour* refers to this as the 'rump' of the Trades Council.
4. *ILP & TUC Report, 1920*, 70.
5. *Ibid.*, 130.
6. *Ibid.*, 100-3.
7. Those taken in included William O'Brien, J. J. Hughes, George Spain, Michael Sheppard, Ernest Nunan, Archibald Heron, Peter Ennis and Thomas Johnson.
8. Mitchell, 106.
9. This was made available to me through the kindness of Mr Paddy Devlin.
10. O'Brien to Houston, 21 Mar. 1921 (in private ownership).
11. Sir C. E. Callwell, *Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson: His Life and Diaries*, London 1927, II, 263.
12. *ITUC Report, 1921*.
13. NLI, uncatalogued MS.

Chapter 15
THE BIRTH OF THE NEW REGIME
(pp. 302-324)

1. Robbins, 227.
2. This *fait accompli* was Britain's trump card in the ensuing negotiations.
3. The following further amalgamations and transfers took place: *Irish Independent* printing-shop workers (Oct. 1921), chemical workers (from WU Nov. 1921), Silkweavers (Feb. 1922), Wood-

cutting Machinists (Apr. 1922), Meath Herds' Union (Aug. 1922), Automobile Drivers (Sep. 1922), Asylum Workers (Oct. 1922), Cork seamen (Apr. 1923), Limerick Pork Butchers (Sep. 1923).

4. See O'Brien, 217-18.
5. Hallinan to Mulcahy, 24 Feb 1922 (NLI, MS.13955).
6. *Voice of Labour*, 17 Dec. 1921.
7. It is possible that the *Voice of Labour* was similarly circumstanced, though, printing with a subsidiary of Thoms, it could be expected to have a more speedy service.
8. I discussed the differences between his father and William O'Brien with James Larkin junior on several occasions. Each time he referred to acceptance of the Treaty as the fundamental issue and accused O'Brien of consciously working for it. But if Cathal O'Shannon was voicing a collective opinion in the *Voice* of 10 December, it would seem that they were prepared to let the two factions fight it out, and then to do business with the winner. When it became clear that the odds were on the pro-Treaty party, that became the legitimised government. After the breach Larkin attacked his former colleagues from an extreme nationalist position, and it may be that James Larkin junior formed his opinion during this period.
9. *ITGWU Annual Report, 1922*, 8.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *ILP & TUC Report, 1922*, 69.
12. *Workers' Republic*, 22 Apr. 1922.
13. Redmond, who was an intelligence officer with the Republican forces, later went over to the Free State. He was found murdered, it was believed as a reprisal for possible passing of information.
14. For this correspondence see NLI, MS.15678. Peadar Nunan was a brother of the secretary of the INTO.
15. There was a plan to 'break Larkin out', and I am inclined to identify it with Peter's mission and Foran's 'spectacular' action. Escape from Comstock, an open prison, would probably not have been difficult, but Larkin declined to accept the plan, possibly because he was considering alternative action. The difficulties of dealing with Peter Larkin are illustrated by his accusing Frank P. Walsh, the Labour lawyer who was prepared to give his services free, of evil intentions when, as a result of his entering an appeal, a movement for a pardon was frustrated.
16. The 1918 rules read: 'The General President, in conjunction with the General Secretary, and General Treasurer, shall be responsible for the organisation, extension and efficient management of the union.' The 1923 rules read: 'Their primary responsibilities shall be as follows: General President and Vice-president — General Policy of the union and conduct of industrial movements, disputes, strikes etc. General Secretary — Recruitment, organisation, education, propaganda and general administration.' All major decisions were to be considered by the five general officers, but if the General President insisted, the matter could be referred to the full Executive.

17. To the best of my recollection, I was told that this consisted of William Gallacher, Arthur MacManus and Robert Stewart.
18. Emmet Larkin, 259.
19. O'Brien, 78.
20. Emmet Larkin, 267.
21. *Ibid.*, 271.
22. Stewart described to me the meeting at which Zinoviev asked Larkin his opinion of one Labour leader after another, Larkin dismissing them with such epithets as 'lily-livered rats', etc. Zinoviev then asked him if there might not be some general political reason for this apparent mass renegacy. Larkin could only argue to the person.
23. O'Brien, 81.
24. Emmet O'Connor in *Saothar: Journal of the Irish Labour History Society* (1980), 40.
25. *Ibid.*, 49.
26. O'Brien, 113.

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