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## Golden Jubilee

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## CONGRATULATIONS to the I.T.G.W.U

We are indeed very happy to send our best wishes to the I.T.G.W.U. on this — their 50th Anniversary, representing the great body of Flour Mill operatives. It was in the 'twenties that the Joint Industrial Council for the Flour Milling Industry was set up. This Council — one of the first of its kind in free Ireland — has contributed considerably to the success of the Flour Milling industry and to the happy relationship which exists between Management and workers.

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They can always be assured of the wholehearted cooperation of the Flour Millers.

### THE IRISH FLOUR MILLERS ASSOCIATION





### MAGAZINE

EDITOR : SENATOR FRANK FURCELL PUBLISHING COMPTROLLER : R. KINSELLA, P.C.

Published by The Irisk Transport and General Workers' Union.

Proudly Presents A Special Commemorative Edition To Celebrate *The Golden Jubilee* of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union

A Message from the General President
The Strike that Shook the World
These were the Headlines in 1913
The Workers' Army that Inspired a Nation
I Romember Madame
Munster's Clorious Part in Union's
Progress
Connaught's Part in Workers' Emancipation
The Great Ulster Problem
Connolly-A Reminder
Cathal O'Shannon Remembers
Profile of John Conray
Profile of Senator Frank Purcell
Profile of Edward Browne
Profile of William McMullen
Profile of William O'Brien
Congratulations from Many Lands 4
The N.E.C. of 1923

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## THE GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY OF IRELAND LIMITED extends warmest greetings and congratulations to the I.T.& G.W.U. on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee



The General Electric Co. of Ireland Ltd., Magnet House, 13 Trinity Street, Dublin 2

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

### the General President – John Conroy

A Message from Internet and the second secon

DESIRE in this special issue of "Liberty," published to commemorate the Union's Golden Jubilee, to congratulate every member of the Union, north, south, east and west, on the contribution they are

making in upholding the proud name and glorious history of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. The achievements of the Union during the fifty years of its existence, just the same as its successes to-day, were only possible because of the loyalty and the sacrifices of the rank and file of the membership. Our future successes likewise depend on a loyal, informed and intelligent rank and file membership.

In the years since its establishment the Union has, because of the democratic principles under which it operates, its fighting spirit and the outstanding service given to its members, retained the confidence and the respect of many thousands of workers throughout the 32 Counties of Ireland.

We must retain these essential features of our Union. We must never fail to impress on the young members their obligation to maintain the tradition of service to the members; how important to the future well-being of the Union are good and well-run Section Committees, good Section Collectors, Branch Committees and other responsible Management organisms within the Union.

Much has been achieved in the past and the conditions under which men live and work to-day bear no relation whatever to the way of life of the ordinary wage earner of 50 years ago.

But much yet remains to be done. The work of the Union must continue with all the enthusiasm and all the militancy that distinguished it in the past until every wage earner and his dependents are properly fed, are well clothed and housed and have a fair share of the pleasures of this life.

In this fight for justice for the working man the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union must be in the vanguard — it must continue to live up to its heritage.

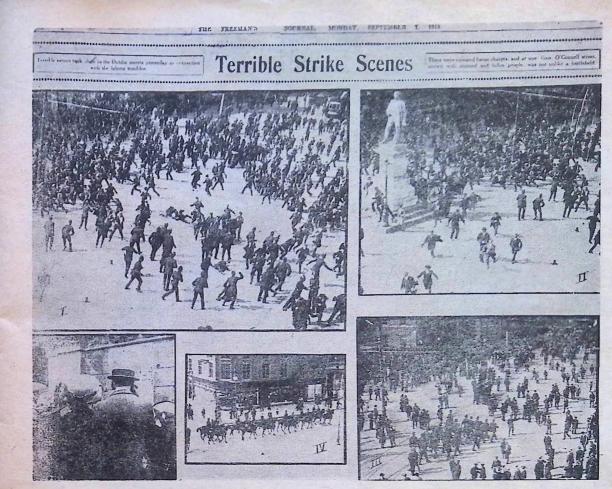
We have a sound organisation with the necessary financial resources and an abundance of experience. In short, we have all the necessary tools to do the job that is at hand and, therefore, let us go to it.

We have every right to celebrate joyfully the Union's Golden Jubilee and to feel justly proud of our Union's past achievements. Let us be sure that those who follow us will be proud of the achievements of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union of our day and that we of this generation record in history some outstanding advances for the wage earners and the working-class of Ireland.





Liberty, May, 1959



In 1913 Dublin City saw

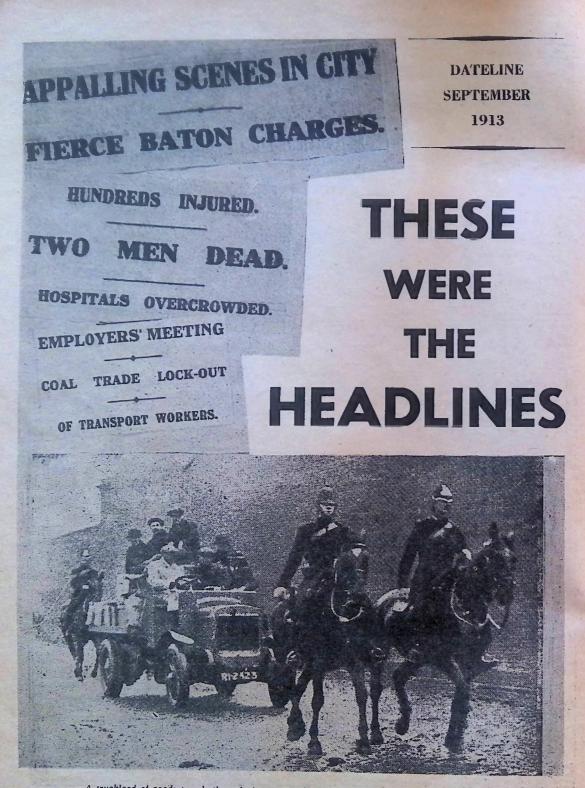
# The Strike that Shook the World

OUR years after the Union's foundation and two years after it entered into its historic headquarters at Liberty Hall—organised labour in Ireland had its most gruelling test. During the two years from 1911 until the Summer of 1913 the situation was comparatively peaceful, although it was a very busy period. The growth of the Union and its success in raising wages and improving conditions of employment were so outstanding that employers in Dublin became alarmed.

Liberty, May, 1959

When, in July of 1913, the Union, having successfully organised the employees of the Dublin United Tramways Company, began to make claims on the Company, the General Secretary—at that time the late James Larkin—was told that the Company

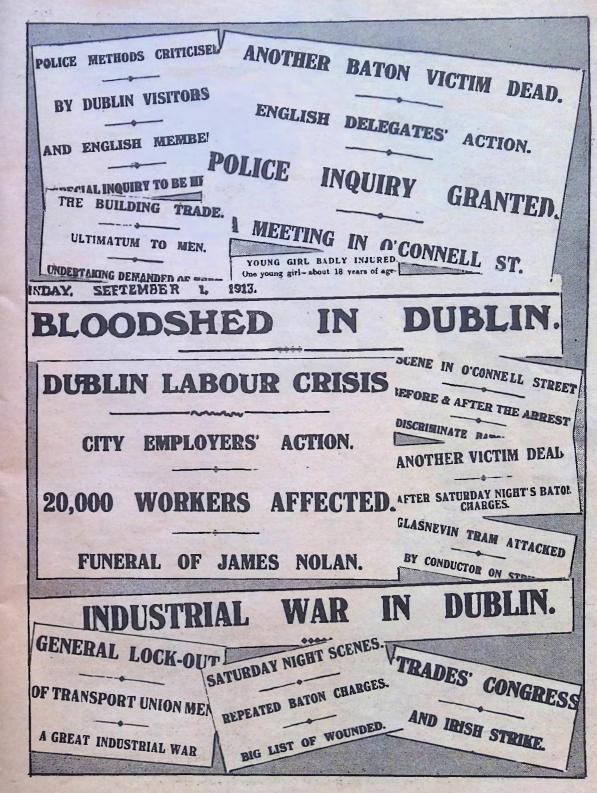
1 & 2—Baton charges in O'Connell St. 3—A squadron of the D.M.P. march into a hostile but scattered crowd. 4—Mounted police on duty after the baton charges. 5— Passers-by read the proclamation announcing lock outs.



A truckload of goods travels through the streets of Dublin under an escort of mounted police.

6

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.







THE INCEMAN'S DOTETAL WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1015

- 1. Mounted Dublin Metropolitan Police stand guard in O'Connell Street.
- 2. Crowds of strikers gather at Liberty Hall.
- 3. Keir Hardy, the famous Labour M.P., who visited Dublin during the General Strike.
- 4. Constabulary on duty at Jacob's factory, at the corner of Bishop Street.

5. James Connolly.

refused to recognise or negotiate with it. The Company then proceeded to dismiss all employees known to have become members of the Union. In reply, the Union decided on strike action—the time and date set was 10.0 a.m. on the Monday of Horse Show Week—the first Monday in August. At the precise moment arranged, tramcars all over the city stopped and the fight was on.

William Martin Murphy, the Chairman of the Company. determined not only to crush the strike, but also the Union which had dared to challenge the might of the employers of Dublin in an attempt to raise the workers of the city from the appalling conditions under which they lived and worked.

On the third day of the strike the Dublin Employers' Federation—404 members strong joined in the struggle: the leaders of the strike were arrested and released on bail. The Federation's contribution to the breaking of the strike was to demand that each of their employees, under pain of dismissal, should sign an infamous 'document'—a declaration that he was not and would not become a member of the Transport Union or an associate of it. To their everlasting credit, the workers stood firm and refused to sign, despite the fact that it meant depriving themselves of employment as factory after factory closed its doors in the biggest look-out the country has ever known. In all, over 20,000 workers lost their jobs.

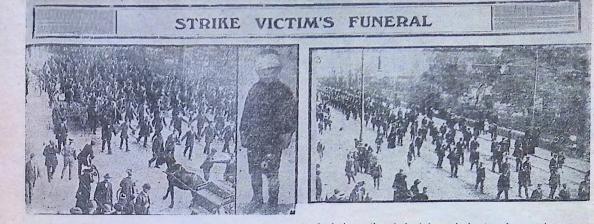
During the first week of the strike, clashes between the strikers and the police were frequent and widespread, culminating in pitched battles at Ringsend, Brunswick Street and Lower Abbey Street, in which hundreds of workers were injured and two—James Byrne and James Nolan were killed.

On the first Sunday after the commencement of 'hostilities' a mass meeting to take place at Liberty Hall was proclaimed by Dublin Castle. However, the crowd, numbering thousands, moved to O'Connell Street and there occurred scenes of unprecedented violence and brutality. Men and women—and even children—were kicked, batoned and battered in the most savage onslaught ever seen in the City of Dublin. O'Connell Street (Sackville Street as it was then) was literally red with blood from the injuries inflicted by the police.

One of the witnesses of this terrible scene was a Liberal member of the British House of Commons who was shocked to find the Liberal Government a party to these outrages committed in an attempt to prevent Irish workers from joining the Union of their choice. His disgust and amazement at the conditions prevailing in what was then part of the United Kingdom, did not apparently spread to the other members of his Party as at no time did the Government intervene or make an attempt, even unofficially, to bring about a settlement of the dispute.

A delegation of six members was sent to Ireland by the British Trade Union Congress to investigate and report. The delegation met representatives of the employers in conference, as a result of which representatives of the workers were invited

Liberty, May, 1959



THE TREEMANN ROUMNAL THURSDAY, COPYREDER & 1913.

These Freeman's Journal photographs show the vanguard of the strike victims' funeral clearing the way for the cortege; a young victim of the baton charges and the tramway men marching at the funeral.

to attend a further conference. The workingclass representatives put forward proposals for a settlement and were met by what has been described by an impartial onlooker as preposterous and impossible demands by the employers. They had no objection to their employees being trade unionists provided they joined "decent, respectable unions." In no circumstances were they prepared to withdraw the "document"—the infamous piece of paper which forbade the workers from joining the union of their choice, the union that was prepared to strive to secure for them the improved wages and conditions so urgently needed.

The delegation from the British Trade Union Congress had no alternative but to return and report that their efforts were in vain, in face of the employers' attitude. But the force of their report may be gauged from the fact that the Trade

The deputation from Dublin who visited the Trades' Union Congress to protest against the police action. They were photographed outside the Congress. Left to Right: Mr. T. McPartlin, Mr. W. P. Partridge, Mr. A. H. Gill, M.P.; Mr. T. Lawlor, and Mr. Compton.



The assessment from Dallin when source thes Trades Union Congress to pretect assiss the term of the preterminant of the control of the monetal source of the style -- Mr. T. McPartine, the will be been source of the A. H. Gill, M.P., Mr. T. Lawitz, and Mr. Congress.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

Union Congress immediately began organising financial assistance for the strikers and their families. The British workers responded with enthusiasm and generosity and augmented the fighting fund both officially and unofficially. The Co-operative Movement also responded nobly and a series of food ships arrived in Dublin. The British Miners' Federation subscribed £1,000 a week — a large sum when one considers the value of money in those days.

As the world press took up the story of the heroic fight of the Dublin workers and of the brutality of the police force and the military reinforcements, contributions to the fighting fund poured in from almost every country in the world in which workers were organised, to the extent of over £1,000 per day and in fact, the grand total subscribed amounted to over £150,000.

The struggle dragged on month after weary month with no apparent hope of settlement and as time went by and workers became desperate,

The funeral of Mr. James Nolan, the strike victim, passing up Parnell Square, on the way to the cemetery.





The faminal of Mr. James Nalan, the single victory, reasting up Parnell square on the way to the.

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There were scenes of excitement on the Dublin Quays as the foodships arrived with badly needed supplies.

clashes with the police became more frequent until the jails were full to overflowing. The sympathy of all citizens not directly concerned were now wholeheartedly with the workers and were summed up in an open letter to the Masters of Dublin written by AE (George Russell) and published in the "Irish Times" in these terms . . . "You determined deliberately in cold anger to starve out one-third of the population of this City, to break the manhood of the men by the sight of the suffering of their wives and children . . ."

After six long months, at the end of January, 1914, the fight ended inconclusively and the men returned to work. While apparently neither side had won, in a short time the workers and their Union were to show that, in fact, a famous victory had been gained. For, in addition to those who were already members, thousands flocked to Liberty Hall to join the Union which had shown that it could not and would not accept defeat for its members although it was on the verge of bankruptcy and whose members' loyalty was such that although ill-clad and starving, they still had faith that the Union would lead them to ultimate victory. It was a faith which was well placed as the Union proceeded from strength to strength — in the subsequent years — and gained victory after victory in the struggle to gain a living wage and decent conditions for the people of Dublin and of the whole country.



Members of the Women Workers' League starting their outing to the Glen of the Downs on the morning of "Bloody Sunday."

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.



A Company of the Irish Citizen Army drawn up outside Croydon House, which at that time was the property of the Union.

# The Workers' Army that Inspired a Nation

HE Irish Citizen Army was founded in the Autumn of 1913; it arose out of the stress of the turbulent times then being experienced by the working class in Dublin. The constitution of the Army required that each member must be a trade unionist, but it did not allow for the exceptional case of the non-trade unionist who was not only prepared to fight in the cause of Irish freedom but also in the cause of Labour. Here was the distinction between the Irish Citizen Army and the Irish Volunteers whose ranks were

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

\_\_\_\_\_ By FRANK ROBBINS \_\_\_\_\_

Frank Robbins fought with the IRISH CITIZEN ARMY.... He tells the story of the founding and development of what was essentially the Workers' Army—formed to defend the workers, and then to fight for Irish Freedom.



The state storm serve to his hand

The Dublin revolt. Previous stormy scenes in the Irish capital, the Dublin revolt is firzing out. An official statement issued last night states that to the prevent 707 primers have been taken, and that among them is the countes. Markieriez, who, it is believed, drove one of the motor-cars which were

Police making a baton charge.-- (Photograph Preeman's Journal ) stolen for transport purposes. The rehels have loss heavily, and James Connolly, arkin's first-American heatenand, is reported to have been killed. Our officer sevalides number thirty-Jour, including the killed. These killed

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

open to all Irishmen who were prepared to fight for Irish freedom.

The Irish Citizen Army was mainly composed of members of the Irish Transport & General Workers' Union. There were, however, also within its ranks, a small number of craftsmen of different Unions. The membership did not extend beyond County Dublin, the majority being from the City with a small section from Baldoyle and some individuals from other areas.

During the years 1911 to 1913 there was great unrest among the working class in Ireland, particularly in Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Wexford and Sligo. Low wages and harsh conditions were in operation in all spheres of employment. There were over 21,000 families living in single room apartments in the City of Dublin. The wages of those rated "unskilled workers" in factories and warehouses, with few exceptions, ranged from 10s. to 12s. for 56, 60 and more hours per week. Only in special cases was payment for Annual or Bank Holidays made. The will of the workers to change these conditions grew each day; the employers were equally determined to resist any such changes.

Intimidation and terrorism were used to break the rising spirit of the workers. It was inevitable that a trial of strength should come, and so, in August, 1913, one of the greatest labour upheavals in Europe began. As the tempo of the struggle increased, Dublin Castle entered on the side of the employers by giving a free hand to the Dublin Metropolitan Police and the Royal Irish Constabulary and other State machinery. The results, from the batons of these two very efficient police forces, were two deaths and a further death of a young woman from the gun of a "free labourer" hired by the employers, and hundreds of iniured, irrespective of age or sex. From these brutalities came a reaction never contemplated at the commencement of the dispute by the employers or State authorities. The Irish Citizen Army was born.

This organisation, in the initial stages, was solely for the defence of the working class, and their right to be members of a trade union of their own choice. Later it was to develop into a spearhead for action, fanning the flames in the resurrection of the ideals and National aspirations of the Irish people.

The ending of the 1913 Lockout and Strike left many victims — who lost their jobs — within the ranks of the Irish Citizen Army. The only avenue for employment remaining open to them was emigration to England or Scotland. This was one of several causes resulting in the reduction of the numerical strength of the Army; the outbreak of World War I, with the subsequent "call-up" of British Army reservists, caused a further thinning of the ranks.

On the formation of the Irish Citizen Army, Capt. James R. White, D.S.O., an ex-British Army Officer and son of General White of Ladysmith fame was appointed in command. He held this position for approximately six months, when he resigned. He laid a solid foundation for the future, and was deeply disappointed with the dwindling membership in comparison with the growing strength of the Irish Volunteers.

Liberty Jubilee Issue. 1959.

The Irish Citizen Army was to have a lean period for some months. The Bachelors' Walk shootings of Dublin citizens by the Scottish Borderers' Regiment and the outbreak of World War I brought into the ranks quite a number of young men who blended well with the remaining original members. Parades, at this period, were slack, and even though one might turn up half an hour late it did not mean a missed parade.

In October, 1914, James Connolly came from Belfast to Dublin to take over the Union affairs together with the Irish Citizen Army. The old slip-shod methods were abolished. On one occasion when addressing a parade Connolly said :

"I would never doubt for a moment that the men of the Irish Citizen Army were prepared to fight, what troubles me is, would they be in time for the fight."

This, and many other pep talks, brought about the desired effect and satisfied — in part — his unceasing demand for efficiency.

About this time Michael Mallin became Con-nolly's Chief of Staff. His quiet, efficient manner was responsible for getting much more out of every member and moulding them into an effective unit. A suggestion from the most junior member received careful consideration and was oftimes used for the improvement of the Army's efficiency. I remember, on one occasion, when addressing the assembled members on parade, Mallin said : "A volunteer army like the Citizen Army could be more efficient in many ways than any State army. The men in a State army do what is required of them because they are compelled to give that effort under penalty of punishment. The men in our army, being volunteers, gave their effort more willingly, and with greater idealism and without fear of punishment." He was a great believer in the tactics of guerilla warfare because of his experiences when fighting the hill tribes with the British Army in India.

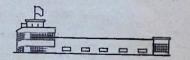
The return of the remains of O'Donovan Rossa, in 1915, for burial in Glasnevin Cemetery was an important occasion not only for the Citizen Army and the Volunteers but for all advanced Nationalists. It did a great deal towards resurrecting the feelings of many previously unresponsive men and women. The thousands in the queues outside the City Hall, and afterwards lined the streets on the route of the funeral procession was evidence of the tremendous interest evoked. I had the very special honour of being among the men chosen for the Guard of Honour at the lving-in-state in the City Hall, and to march beside the hearse throughout the procession to Glasnevin Cemetery. The memory of Padraig Pearse, standing by the grave of the dead Fenian, delivering in calm and restrained manner his oration as a last tribute of our generation to one of those who carried the torch so faithfully for Ireland, is never to be forgotten. Our answer was acceptance of that torch and a vow to emulate him and his comrades of former days.

The bearing and deportment of the men of the Irish Citizen Army registered in the minds of everybody present.

BUILT TO LAST



One of Dublin's finest public buildings is the Bank of Ireland. Commenced in 1729 on the site of the residence of Sir Arthur Chichester, a viceroy of Dublin, it housed the Irish Parliament until 1804 when it became the head office of the bank. Designed by Sir Edward Lovat Pearce, Surveyor General of Ireland, the building is justly regarded as one of the finest examples of eighteenthcentury architecture. The facade, with its finely grouped columns, achieves an effect of rare dignity and splendour. The Bank of Ireland is rich in historic associations. It was here that Grattan, Flood and Curran fought for and won independence for the Irish Parliament. It was the centre of social and political society during the most brilliant period of Dublin's history, and its walls echoed the speeches of the great orators of the eighteenth century.



Another well-known building is Sweepstakes' Hall at Ballsbridge, famous as the home of "the drum" from which YOUR name may be drawn if you invest in a "ticket for the Derby." EVERY FIRST PRIZE £50,000

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The slogan over the door at Liberty Hall summed up the spirit and ideals of the Irish Citizen Army in days when appeals to loyalty came from many different sources.

The Irish Times' comment on the day after the funeral procession was in the form of a lament: "That such a fine body of men, some of whom were even at that moment sufficiently well trained to serve their King and country in France . . . " It was an event which brought us closer to the Irish Volunteers and helped to prepare the way for a better understanding between the two organisations.

Iames Connolly had not yet come to a satisfactory arrangement with the leaders of the Irish Volunteers on the very important question of fixing the date for the Insurrection. As every day dawned, Connolly insisted that this was the day to fight. "To-morrow," he would say, "the British Government might decide to act by arresting the leaders of the revolutionary forces." He maintained that the chief reason for the failures in the past was that the various movements for freedom always waited too long. It was his belief that the element of surprise was the best tactic for revolutionary forces. Eventually, in January, 1916, an understanding was reached, the date was fixed three months hence. This was a compromise on Connolly's part, and to my knowledge not even his closest friend was given an explanation. After his discussion with certain members of the Military Council of the Irish Republican Brotherhood, he disappeared for four days. Some thought the I.R.B. was responsible, others thought a secret arrest had been made by the British. The evidence to-day is that his disappearance was voluntary, and linked with the compromise on the Insurrection date.

With the approach of Easter Week strange

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

happenings took place. Connolly was giving lectures on street fighting to Officers of the Irish Volunteers. Members of the Citizen Army were in close fraternization with the Volunteers. British military barracks were under close observation. Movements of troops were watched and reported. Perhaps the greatest surprise for members of the Citizen Army was the breaking up of the units to be attached with units of the Irish Volunteers. Connolly had promised that when the fight took place the Irish Citizen Army would go into the fight as a distinct unit to whatever sector allotted to them. When the announcement was made intimating this departure it took all his persuasive powers to assuage the disappointment engendered by the change.

What better way is there to end any story of this remarkable Army — the Army of the workers which became the Irish Citizen Army — than to quote the last words I heard James Connolly speak.

He was issuing orders to the Companies drawn up on Beresford Place in front of Liberty Hall on that fateful Easter Monday morning in 1916. Some units had already moved off to their positions . . . Connolly crossed to my Commanding Officer, Captain McCormack, and in a voice every man in the unit could hear ended his instruction with the declaration: "We are already fighting in some parts of the City; get there as quick as you can"... It was the day—and the hour—for which James Connolly and the Irish Citizen Army had prepared ... the Rising of the Irish People.

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I Remember Madame

Maura Laverty talks to an Abbey Actor, a Housewife, and a Branch Secretary to bring you this portrait of Constance Markievicz.

SHE was a source of courage and inspiration to the workers during the difficult early years of the Union. Under the banner of the Fianna and to the strains of her own "Ireland, Mother Ireland," she led the youth of Dublin into the realms of patriotism.



### A PERSONAL MEMOIR

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#### by Frank Robbins.

There were a number of us who had "sacked" our employers some weeks before the Insurrection. We became unpaid full time soldiers and munition workers of the Irish Republic, yet to be proclaimed. When not on guard duty at Liberty Hall we were in a special room set aside for munition making. Every afternoon that wonderful person-ality, Madame Markievicz, would pay us a visit along with Marie Perolz or Helena Moloney for a short chat. I remember one evening, very close to Easter Week, having left her daily present of a bag of cakes for our tea, she ex-claimed : "I don't know what I am going to do if this bally revolution does not take place soon. My Bank Manager has already told me that I have more than £40 overdrawn in my Account."

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

She was a gallant officer of the Irish Citizen Army and an admirable Minister for Labour in the first Dáil Éireann. These are the generally known facts concerning Constance Countess Markievicz.

What of the woman behind the public figure who, since her death in 1927, has already taken her place among the great of Ireland? For a composite portrait of Constance Gore-Booth of Lissadel, I am indebted to three of those who enjoyed the privilege of "Madame's" close friendship.

"Sincerity was the keynote of her character," recalls Abbey actor Harry Brogan, ex-Fianna boy scout. "Looking back, I realise that it was this obvious sincerity which made Madame so successful in infecting others with her enthusiasms. The sincerity of her passion for freedom and justice brought us into the Fianna. The sincerity of her love of Irish culture made us throw ourselves wholeheartedly into the plays which she produced at the Hardwicke Street Theatre. My career as an actor is one of the many debts I owe to Countess Markievicz."

From Frank Robbins, Secretary No. 7 Branch, I.T.G.W.U., I learned something of the qualities of Constance Markievicz as a leader. Says Mr. Robbins, who served under the Countess in the Irish Citizen Army, "We would have followed her anywhere. I have never known man or woman who had such complete selflessness. To think of Madame is to think of self-denial and endurance. One of my most vivid Easter Week memories concerns a scene in the College of Surgeons and my fight to make the Countess realise that she was more in need of rest than I. Madame won, of course—as she inevitably did whenever there was a question of self-sacrifice."

The most intimate picture of the greatest Irishwoman of our age comes from Mrs. May MacMahon (nee Coughlan). Mrs. MacMahon told me, "For the five years preceding her death, Madame lived in our home in Upper Rathmines. To have spent those formative years in the company of such a woman was a privilege for which I shall always give thanks.

(Continued on Page 69)

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# Munster's Glorious Part In Union's Progress

HE first efforts of the Union in Munster created its second Branch — outside Dublin — among some riverside workers at Cork in 1908, but not until the National resurgence of 1917 did the I.T.G.W.U. begin to make the steady progress that has marked its history since that time.

In the cities and large towns there was usually Trade Union organisation, where some of the older forms of Trade Unionism were well established. In a number of Urban areas there were local Trade Union Societies, but in the main, rural workers were only organised in some areas in the Land and Labour Association which, in effect, was a Political Social Society.

The Association of Connolly, and the Citizen Army, with the events of Easter Week and the imprisonment of many active Union leaders, including Tom Foran, William O'Brien, Cathal O'Shannon and others, gave a new status to "The Union." Its organisers and leaders were welcomed in many places by workers who saw in the new Union, virile and active national leadership by men who personified all that was best in the twin concept of National and Economic freedom.

The National Strike against conscription of 1917; the Limerick "Anti Munitions of War" Strike in 1918 and the two-day general strike to save the hunger-strikers of Wormwood Scrubs and Mountjoy Prison in May, 1920, all of which were successful, gave solid demonstrations of the power of organised Trade Unionism, strongly backed by the National effort.

The success of the General Strike to save the lives of the hunger-strikers, who included William O'Brien, then General Secretary of the Union, Cathal O'Shannon and other officers and officials, was inspiring. The Transport Union, which in large areas of the country was the only Trade Union body, played a prominent part in this effort, and organisation extended and intensified in 1918-20.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

### By P. J. O'Brien

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At the same time, the forces of occupation had in many cases arrested and imprisoned many officers and officials of the Union who were active in a dual capacity of National effort and Trade Union work. In many cases, the Secretaryship of the Union and officership in the local Volunteers, which subsequently became the I.R.A., were identical. Offices and halls of the Union were raided and smashed. One of the most prominent officers was Tadgh Barry, Secretary of the Cork Branch of the Union, who was shot dead in Ballykinlar Prison Camp, Co. Down, in November, 1920, by a sentry.

Again, in Cork, on the night of December 11th-12th, 1920, when the Auxiliary Crown Forces burned Cork, one place across the river was singled out for special attention and so the Cork headquarters of the Union at Camden Quay were deliberately and completely destroyed by fire.

Martial Law in Munster over a long period made the work of the Union most difficult, but the workers realised they had established a potent force which gave them a right and a voice in the destinies of their fellow workers.

With the changing value of real wages the Union was able to make a good case and succeed for wages improvements immediately after the end of the war in 1918, but in many cases there were long and bitter struggles with employers who resented the intrusion of the new force that would not allow them to do as they liked (and were accustomed to do) in their own line of business. In many areas of the South the close relation between the National and Trade Union forces was of tremendous advantage.

During the Truce much work was done to improve the lot of the agricultural labourer and I.T.G.W.U. Branches existed in almost every

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Offer hearty congratulations and good wishes to Ireland's largest Trade Union on the attainment of its Golden Jubilee



### PATRICK I. O'BRIEN. Secretary, Cork No. 2 Branch.

Worked in the engineering indus-try before becoming a Union official in 1919. Serves on a number of public bodies in Tipperary and Cork, is a member of the Cork Harbour Commissioners and the City of Cork Vocational Education Committee, President, Cork Council of Irish Unions. Also a member of the Joint Industrial Councils of

the Whitegate Oil Refinery Con- photography.



ALDERMAN TADG BARRY, Secretary, Cork Branch of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. Shot dead by armed Sentry while a prisoner in Ballykinler Internment Camp, County Down. on 21st November, 1920.



Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

struction Trade Union Group and and is also a member of Cork Economic Council.

a number of industries in Munster. ministration and Education. Hob-P. I. O'Brien is also Secretary of bies ; swimming, gardening and

the Oil Refinery Trade Union Group, and Chairman of the Negotiating Committee for the Verolme Cork Dockyard new agreements. In addition, he received an Honorary Diploma for Social and Economic Science from University College, Cork, in recognition of his work for the Adult Education Movement,

Special interests are Public Ad-

(Continued from page 19)

village. But in the subsequent Civil War, some hard and bitter struggles took place, the most noteworthy of which was the drawn-out fight in County Waterford which, unfortunately, became a miniature civil war in itself.

With the development of Joint Councils for industry, a number of Joint Councils were set up notably in flour and co-operative creameries and allied industries, which were in fact the forerunners of the Joint Industrial Council and the Labour Court machinery of the present day.

World-wide trade recession in the late 1920's had an adverse effect on employment, and organisation lapsed, particularly in rural and small urban areas.

Five big industrial disputes were fought out, for building labourers, in Limerick in 1929; Water-ford in 1933, and Cork in 1937-38; in 1931 a long dispute was fought in Kilrush, County Clare, affecting dock, mill and store work and in Tralee on behalf of the town workers in 1934. In all five cases the Union secured victory.

These successes reinvigorated the Transport Union in Munster and advantage was taken of the industrial programme of the late 1930's to build up comprehensive modern Branches, covering nearly all industrial areas of the province. National (Continued on Page 23)

### TIMOTHY P. GALVIN. Waterford Branch Secretary.

Was on the staff of C.I.E. before becoming Assistant Branch Secretary in July, 1951, and taking over as Secretary six years later. Student of social science, member of the Labour Party. Has a wide range of interests including football and gardening, amateur drama and singing. Military Service Certi-ficate; Medal with Bar (1916-22); interned, Tintown Camp, 1922-

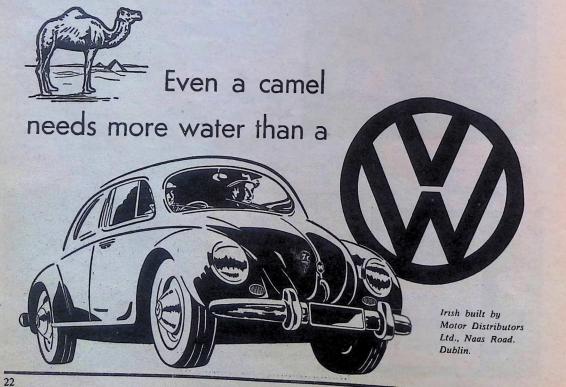
23.





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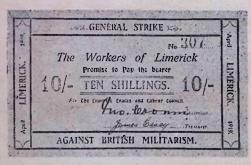


### Munster's Glorious Part in Union's Progress Continued from Page 21

or regional wages rates were established in building, bacon, hosiery, woollen and worsted, flour and transport industries which were governed by Joint Industrial Councils, and many trade boards were converted into Joint Labour Committees under the auspices of the Labour Court. Full-time offices were opened in many areas with trained full-time trade union officials to meet the new requirements of modern industrial workers.

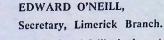
### Adult Education Movement

In the Munster area the Union took an active part in the establishment of the adult education movement under the auspices of University College, Cork, and Cork Technical and Vocational Educa-tion Committee and the Union actually guaranteed to the then Dr. Alfred O'Rahilly to nominate and pay the fee of the first class of students in Cork City. Quite a number of our members in Munster have secured the Diploma of Social and



In Holy Week, 1919, the British Military Forces intro-duced an edict in Limerick that all workers coming inte the City would have to obtain a permit. Limerick Trade Unionists rebelled against this move and called a general strike. Reproduced above is a voucher issued by the Limerick Trades Council which was accepted as currency in the City. The strike was a success and the edict was oalled off.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.



Edward O'Neill had quite a varied background before he joined the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union in June, 1943, and becoming a Branch Secretary ten years later. He served as a clerk in the Department of Defence and later, he was assistant manager at extensive reading.

the Factory of Irish Metal Industries in Galway.

Eddie O'Neill takes a great interest in nearly all outdoor games and pastimes and especially in hurling, football (both Gaelic and Rugby) and fishing. He also takes a keen interest in Boxing, and he finds a great deal of pleasure in

Economic Science on the standard two year course, with advantage to our Union.

In an area of thirty miles from Cork we have twenty textile plants giving employment to over 3,000 workers, all catered for by the Union. 15,000 members are catered for by three Branches in Cork City. Similar big Branches exist in the dis-trict headquarters at Limerick, Waterford, Tralee and Ennis.

Provision has been made for trade union agreements in the new industries in Cork harbour area -the Irish Refining Company's refinery at Whiteate, Verolme Dockyard Company, Rushbroke, and Irish Steel Holdings, Haulbowline. The pro-gress of the I.T.G.W.U. in Munster is surely a glorious chapter in the story of the grand upward march of our Union during its first fifty years.



Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

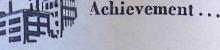
### "I'm not around that long myself"

### says the Pelican

"Still, I'd like to extend my congratulations on fifty golden years of the 1.T. & C.W.U.—it's a long time and a grand achievement. And while we're speaking of congratulations may I also add my own very special thanks to the members of the I.T.G.W. Union who have rallied round so magnificently since I first arrived on the scene. The thousands of pints of blood they've given through the years were urgently needed to combat sickness and save life, and for the future I know they'll come forward in everincreasing numbers to meet the daily growing demand for blood by doctors and hospitals throughout the country."

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THE Golden Jubilee of the I.T. G.W.U. is a proud record of achievement. It celebrates a hard uphili and successful struggle for the welfare of workers in many branches of Irish Industry.

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The Irish Times congratulates the I.T. G.W.U. on reaching this important signpost in its long and distinguished career.

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Connaught's Part in Workers' Emancipation

### By John Carroll, P.C.

ALWAY, Mayo, Sligo, Leitrim and Roscommon. These are the counties of the proud West, counties that have played their part to the full in the emancipation of the Irish people. It is but a step from national independence to industrial independence and, as could be expected from the workers of Connaught, the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union found favour there amongst the working men and women.

favour there amongst the working men and women. Because of its geographic location and rugged terrain, Connaught has not been favoured with industrial development that would have enabled its people to secure steady and remunerative employment. Indeed many of the sons and daughters of this province have been obliged to seek a living in other parts of Ireland and, regrettably, in other countries where they have proved their merits. For those more fortunate, who have been in

For those more fortunate, who have been in employment at home, the constant problem has been to secure fair standards of wages and conditions of employment. To this end, Connaught workers have united in the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union and Branches of the Union have flourished in the province since a short time after the Union's formation. The first official Annual Report was issued by the

The first official Annual Report was issued by the National Executive Council in 1918. Featuring prominently in that report were the following Branches of Connaught: Ballina, Sligo, Castlerea, Belmullet, Westport, Crossmolina, Portumna, Galway, Ballinasloe, Collooney, Strokestown, Claremorris, Ballaghaderreen, Ballisodare, Roscommon, Carrick-on-Shannon, Arigna, Elphin, Tubbercurry, Manorhamilton, Ballymote, Kilkelly, Ballyhaunis, Clifden, Gort and Maugherow.

Some of these Branches have since ceased to function, not because of laxity on the workers' part but because they were composed mainly of building and County Council workers whose means of employment ceased at the expiration of the schemes on which they were employed.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

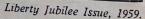
Most of these Branches still flourish, plus a number of new ones, and to-day we number just 6,000 members in Connaught in the following Branches: Ballinasloe (753); Galway (1,300); Sligo (950); Castlebar (550); Foxford (345); Westport (136); Attymon (130); Gowla (65); Tuam (350); Ballaghaderreen (80); Ballina (355); Ballisodare (157); Claremorris (157); Arigna (178); Carrick-on-Shannon (80); Manorhamilton (54).

Although Connaught has long been regarded as the poorest of our provinces, it is poor only in the lack of sufficient economic development to provide a decent way of life for its people. The spirit of our Connaught members is rich and alive, and the Branches there are thriving; through the efforts of our members and their solidarity to the principles of trade unionism, substantial improvements have been effected in their wages and conditions of employment.

There have been many encounters with employers in these counties over the years to have our Union recognised and to win better wages and conditions. Sometimes these "battles" have necessitated hardship and suffering by our members but they have never failed themselves nor the Union.

Regrettably, employees of Local Authorities in Connaught have suffered over the years the privations of low scales of wages due to the retarded economy of their governing bodies. The sparse population, the extensive areas of uninhabited and underdeveloped land do not promote a flourishing community, and over the years this has contributed to a situation in which agricultural workers, County Council roadworkers and forestry workers have been remunerated on a very low level. One of the major difficulties in fighting to improve this position arises from the fact that this type of work is mainly seasonal and no sooner have we established good organisation in a particular centre than the work dries up, the men are laid off and organisation







Many Union Delegates enjoyed the hospitality and scenery of the West during the Annual Conference at Salthill in 1956.

is temporarily disrupted. Yet withal, our Connaught Branches have played a prominent part in focussing attention on the low-level wages policy of the local authorities and their efforts have resulted in some improvement.

The past fifteen years or so have seen a gradual improvement in industrial expansion in particular areas in the province. There is a flourishing sugar factory at Tuam, a new textile mill there also; a flour-mill in Ballisodare; a woollen mills in Foxford; a flour mill and general industries in Ballina; a bacon factory in Claremorris and in Castlebar; a plastic factory in Carrick-on-Shannon and an extensive grain-meal plant at Gowla. The towns of Sligo, Galway, Ballinasloe and Westport have lengthy industrial tradition and with the erection of new factories in Sligo and Galway in recent years a much-needed fill-up was given to employment.

In all these centres the I.T.G.W.U. is firmly established and has succeeded in improving the wage rates and conditions of employment for its members.

During the years of accomplishment, the Union has been particularly well served by men of outstanding character, ability and application. Amongst those we name the late James Gilhooley who for many years toured Connaught organising Branches of the Union and welding the workers together in a fighting force in defence of trade-union principles. Jim was a well-known figure in the West and when he took over the secretaryship of our Dublin Nos. 6 and 8 Branches he left behind a fine record of service to the workers of Connaught.

Prominent also in the active affairs of the Union until his death ten years ago, the late James Flynn, who was Secretary of our Sligo Branch, carved out a niche for himself in the history of the Union's

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

development in his area. James Flynn, in addition to his unremitting service to the members of the Union in Sligo, was also a prominent public figure earning much praise for his untiring efforts to improve the social conditions of the people in Sligo. His success in this field made him much respected and his election as Mayor of Sligo was a fitting tribute to his invaluable services to his community.

Another who played a prominent and successful rôle in the furtherance of the Union's objectives in the West was John McIlhenny, former Head-Office Organiser and Galway Branch Secreatry. John was also an active participant in local affairs and was a prominent member of the Galway Corporation for a number of years.

The present Secretary of Galway Branch, Paddy Boyle, has an outstanding record of service to the I.T. & G.W. Union in Connaught. Before his appointment to Galway, Paddy had a roving commission as an Organiser in the West and he also spent 25 successful years as Secretary of our Castlebar Branch.

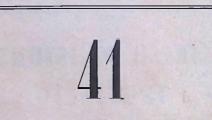
Others who have given trojan service to the workers of Connaught and who are still active in the field are James Grady of Westport, Branch Secretary for the past 15 years; Thomas Mannion, Ballinasloe Mental Hospital Branch Secretary for Thomas Charles, Claremorris Branch Secretary for over 10 years; Tom O'Meara, Tuam Secretary for 12 years; Charles Hopkins, Arigna Secretary for six years; John Reilly, Ballina Secretary for five years; Frank Gaughan and John Moloney, Foxford Branch; Michael Neary, Castlebar Mental Hospital Branch Secretary for 15 years; Patrick O'Donnell and Michael J. Coleman, Ballaghaderreen, and many others.



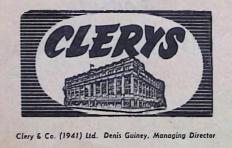


The delegates who attended the 1956 Annual Conference at Salthill

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by the members to Branch affairs. The Branches, from the smallest to the largest, are virile and active.

In recent years, successive Governments have been paying more attention to Connaught, realising the necessity of the industrial and economic development of the province. To this end, new factories, new industries, greater capital expenditure are envisaged. This will, of course, lead to a greater volume of employment in industry and ancillary fields. Our Connaught Branches are conscious of this and are planning ahead. They are determined that as employment increases so will membership of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union so that wage rates and conditions of employment will be safeguarded and will compare with the best that the country can offer.

Connaught has a record of achievement in the trade-union movement. The experience of the past years and the tradition of association with our Union that has been built up will serve its purpose for to-morrow.

### P. J. BOYLE Secretary, Galway Branch

Was a carpenter, joined Union in 1921. Worked as carpenter in U.S., returning in 1933. Rejoined the Union and became Branch Secretary, Castlebar. Served there for a number of years and organised workers in major industries. Was appointed Branch Secretary, Galway, in November, 1953.



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# The Great Ulster Problem

### By William McMullen

LSTER has played a less conspicuous part in the history of the Irish Trade Union movement than any of the other provinces, and the reason for this is embedded in three hundred years of turbulent Northern Irish history.

The Ulster Scot stock has—except for brief but eventful periods—a tendency to remain alien in the land, to look outward to Britain rather than inward in search of the intellectual sustenance and inspiration so necessary for growth and development.

From that source springs the discord that has warped the natural evolution of a trade union movement, operating throughout the whole country.

A further militating circumstance was the earlier formation of the British Trade Union movement under the impetus of the Industrial Revolution in that country, compared to the pastoral development of Ireland. Large scale industry was virtually confined to Belfast and the Lagan Valley, which opened the way for the establishment of branches of those Trade Unions in the northern area. Extension to other parts of the country, as industrial development took place, followed. In the case of Northern Ireland, with the growth of shipbuilding and engineering and the identification of interests with similar industries in Britain, this led to the consolidation of the British form of trade unionism.

The gradual "re-conquest" of the country which had proceeded apace over the years, and which was accelerated by the passing of the Local Government Act of 1898, enabled the control of public bodies to pass into Irish hands. But the Trade Union movement in Ulster remained a bastion of the British Trade Union movement, while their counterparts in the South, under the stimulus of the National reawakening, tended to build up a trade union movement indigenous of the country.

In view of all this, it is ironical that it was from Belfast—the citadel of Tory reaction—that a strike began that was to lead indirectly to the formation of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

The circumstances were fortuitous and arose out of the unsatisfactory ending for the dockers of the long drawn-out strike that was waged in that city for several month during 1907. Like most strikes that had an unsatisfactory ending, even for one section of those engaged in it, disillusionment spread with failure to secure recognition from the powerful shipping interests against whom the strike was waged. In consequence distintegration set in amongst the men until trade union organisation became moribund. That was the first step in the chain of events which later embraced somewhat similar happenings in Cork and Dublin, and led to the transfer of most of the dockers of the country from the National Union of Dock Labourers of Great Britain and to the establishment of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

Not until more than two years after its formation, did the Union get its first foothold in Ulster; it followed the arrival of James Connolly in Belfast in 1911 to become the Union's District Organiser in that city.

The outlook was not promising as the aftermath of the debacle of 1907 persisted, together with the prejudice against an Irish Trade Union organisation among the ordinary Belfast workers. The nucleus of such an organisation, therefore, if it was to succeed, must be found somewhere where these circumstances did not operate. And it was found, amongst the deep-sea dockers, who had not been direct participants in the 1907 dispute, and who had no objection—quite the contrary in fact —to becoming members of an Irish Trade Union organisation. They welcomed the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

The establishment of the organisation in Belfast did not find spontaneous reaction in the province, for if one excludes the small Antrim port of Glenravel, where a branch was subsequently started, it can be said that during Connolly's sojourn in the city from 1911 to 1914, little or no progress was made in the growth of the union elsewhere in Ulster.

### · ULSTER SECRETARIES ----

### DANIEL MCALLISTER, Secretary, Belfast Branch.

Worked as a dock labourer and checker before becoming a fulltime Union official, being ap-pointed by ballot vote as Branch Secretary, Belfast, in February, 1927, six years after joining the I.T.G.W.U. In 1931 was sent by headquarters to Newry, returning to Belfast again as Branch Secretary in September. 1937.

Has a special interest in book collecting in travelling, and his main sporting interest is in boxing.

I. POUCHER,

Secretary, Newry Branch. A well known and outstanding

member of our Union since 1926

he is Secretary to our 600 mem-

bers in Newry. Appointed

Branch Secretary in 1937 he held

this position until 1944 when he

went to sea. On his return he was

reappointed Secretary in 1951, a position he still holds with dis-

tinction. A member of the Newry

Board of Guardians and the

Newry Port Development

That was no reflection on the organising ability

of Connolly, who had his hands full with the dockers and linen mill workers laying the founda-

tion of an effective organisation, from which at an

appropriate moment it could spread outwards, if

appropriate moment it could spread outwards, if the circumstances were suspicious. Those cir-cumstances, however, did not develop favourably. On the contrary, with the Home Rule crisis reach-ing its peak, and with the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant to resist Home Rule and

with the threat of a resort to arms, anything Irish

or any organisation with headquarters in Dublin

was anathema to the average Protestant workers in the province. Connolly, who was impatient to the point of being intolerant with the political idiosyncracies of the Tory workers, did not dis-

semble or modify his Nationalist or Socialist views

to suit the prevailing mood with the view to gaining

Connolly soon discovered that political views between Belfast and Dublin were irreconcilable. During 1914, on a visit to Dublin, he made a speech

-with the forthrightness which characterised him

-on Ireland's right to self-government. That speech

was reported in the Belfast newspapers, and was not to the liking of some of his docker members in the cross-Channel trade employed at the Belfast-Liverpool steamers. They promptly made up their

minds to dissociate themselves from the Union and, in a letter addressed to the Secretary of the

Branch, intimated they did so "owing to the political opinions and ungodly propensities of the

recruits for the Union.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

Authority.



### STEPHEN McGONAGLE, Derry and District Organiser.

Before serving with the I.T.G.W.U. was Branch Secretary, N.U.T. and G.W. and Secretary of the Clothing Workers' Union. Became Branch Secretary when he transferred to I.T.G.W.U. in October, 1953.

Special interest in politics and social welfare led him to contest the Foyle Parliamentary Election in 1958 in the Labour interest: he was narrowly defeated.

Hobbies : angling, boating and swimming.

organiser, Mr. Connolly." They did not explain what his "ungodly propensities" were, presumably anything that differed from their own views.

Belfast, nevertheless, remained the hub of the organisation in the North of Ireland, as well as a main prop of the Union itself, in the dark days in its fortunes, which followed the long dispute in Dublin in 1913. It was one of the ten branches that constituted the Union in 1916, the others being Dublin No. 1, Dublin No. 3, Inchicore, Sligo, Tralee, Killarney, Cork, Waterford and Wexford. It has remained steadfast and undeviating in its

lovalty since that time despite the most disadvantageous circumstances. During the period-on at least two occasions-there were outbreaks of tragic sectarian strife that not only exposed members to the risk of loss of life in pursuit of their calling but also placed the existence of the Branch of the Union itself in jeopardy.

The great increase in membership, which fol-lowed the rising of 1916, saw the organisation formed in some twelve centres in geographical Ulster. The ratio, however, to the rest of the country was but one in twenty-five, as the phenomenal growth of the Union brought the number of branches formed up to 304 by 1918. Some of those in Ulster, however, like many of the branches formed elsewhere, proved ephemeral in character and for the year mentioned the sum remitted to Head Office in contributions was less than £300 out of a total income for the year of some £27,000. (Continued on page 65)

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## Connolly

- A REMINDER

By John Conroy

N the month of May each year we commemorate the sacrifice of James Connolly and glorify his teachings, pledging ourselves anew to establish and have accepted the principles for which he lived and died. It is 43 years ago since Connolly's execution and it is sad, but true, that we appear to be very far yet from seeing realised the things for which Connolly fought throughout the whole of his too short lifetime. We have made some progress. The bringing about this year of unity in the Trade Union Movement is a substantial step forward, but so much yet remains to be done before we can hope to see a realisation of the standard of living and the way of life that Connolly believed was the right of every working man and woman in the country.

It would be good for all of us to re-read, from time to time, the 1916 Proclamation to which James Connolly, the hero we honour this month, subscribed his name. A copy of it should be in every school and in every public building to remind us of the unfulfilled obligations resting on our generation.

We quote the fourth paragraph of that Proclamation and stress its importance—

"The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberties, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government which has divided a minority from the majority in the past."

It will take more serious thinking and much hard work before full religious and civil liberty obtains throughout the whole of Ireland. Much also requires to be done to provide equal opportunity for all citizens and to provide happiness and prosperity for all our people. The unemployed, the uneducated and the needy are still with us and their needs and their happiness will only come through the Trade Unions and working class movement. Dedicated leaders and a militant working class movement can, if determined to do so, secure for our unemployed, our emigrants and our needy citizens the opportunity for a full life in the land of their birth. Let us, in this year of 1959, as we honour Connolly, solemnly promise to make a measurable step forward during the coming year towards the abilition of the low living standards and unemployment endured by so many of our working class.

# Cathal O'Shannon Remembers—

HE first news of the decision in Dublin to establish the Union came to me in Belfast in a brief report in *The Irish Nation*, a bright, critical progressive organ of Irish-Ireland opinion, comment and argument, published weekly in Dublin and edited by W. P. Ryan, afterwards author of "The Pope's Green Island," "The Irish Labour Movement" and other books in Irish and English and for some years assistant editor in London of the Daily Herald and in the 1914-1918 War The Herald Weekly.

The report was in the issue dated January 2nd, 1909, the first in which Ryan altered the title of *The Peasant* which he had been conducting from February, 1907. From some time in 1908 I had been contributing weekly "Notes from Belfast" and occasional articles to the paper.

The report read: "New Irish Trades Union/ Suggestive Example of Independence.

"A Meeting was held on Tuesday last of delegates representing the carters, dockers and other trades in Dublin, Belfast, Dundalk, Cork and Waterford for the purpose of forming a new Irish Trade Union for those engaged in the distributive trades. The new union is to be called the Irish Transport Workers' Union, and will adopt exactly that attitude of friendly co-operation towards the English Unions that they extend to the Unions of Germany or France; but it will not merge itself in any English Unions, as too many Irish Unions have done. Mr. J. Larkin, late organiser for the English Dockers'. Union, will act as organiser. It is to be hoped that this example of independence will be followed by the workers throughout Ireland."

"Tuesday last" was December 29th, 1908, and membership counted from Monday, January 4th, 1909, first week of an historic New Year. I have never been able to confirm that delegates from the other four towns named actually came to that meeting in Dublin but support was expected from them.

The following week, although I was only a schoolboy and not yet a wage-earner, I had the cheek to say in my "Notes" that Dublin's action was welcomed in Belfast and to call on the workers in other towns to follow suit and join up. And by a slip of the pen I described the new organisation as "The Irish Workers' Transport Union." If I knew nothing about it my heart warmed to the Union that January of 1909 for the first of many times in its history of half a century.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

I believe that Irish Transport Workers' Union was the original title, accurately descriptive of the intended membership, and that it was at the suggestion of William O'Brien, an influential supporter of the new organisation and active in the Dublin Trades Council, that the words " and General " were inserted in the title, giving the broader scope on which the Union was built and developed.

A few weeks later I went to a meeting called to start a branch in Belfast and had my first experience of a rough house among dock labourers. It was a very stormy affair with sharp division over Larkin's presence, the backwash of the big strike in Belfast in 1907, and the proposal to form an Irish union in opposition to the Liverpool-based National Union of Dock Labourers. Loud support came mostly from men from the "low," or deep-sea, docks and the coal quay, and bitter opposition from the men working at the cross-channel boats, some of them still members of the N.U.D.L., and others lapsed members still smarting from 1907.

The meeting broke up in disorder and I find that from time to time in that and the following year I referred sadly in my Notes to "bickering among the dockers." I got my information on the spot for, by some time in 1910, I went to my first job in a cross-channel shipping office and was living near the "low" docks.

That was the year James Connolly returned from the United States (at the invitation of the Dublin Committee of which William O'Brien was secretary) and spoke in Belfast for Cumannacht na hEireann, the Socialist Party of Ireland.

One of the most thrilling and most memorable of my experience was meeting Connolly on that visit of his to Belfast, at first at a group meeting in a room in Donegall Street and then at a speech of his on a Sunday at the Custom House steps and at talks in Danny McDevitt's tailors' shop in Rosemary Street, the famous "College of Bounders" through which so many Socialists and Labour Men in Belfast graduated.

I had already read some of Connolly's articles, "Socialism and Nationalism" and "Patriotism and Labour" in back-numbers of Alice Milligan's Republican monthly, *The Shan Van Vocht*, dating from 1897 and 1899, a few others in old copies of his own monthly, *The Harp*, and two or three of the "98 Readings" he had collected and published in Dublin at the time of the centenary of *The United Irishmen*. And one of the articles he had sent from (Continued on Page 37)



## Lohn

THE GENERAL PRESIDENT -

## John Conroy

NE of the signs of the development of the Trade Union movement is that its leaders to-day do not use the flamboyant methods of fifty, or even twenty-five, years ago. The movement has reached the point at which different techniques are necessary to meet the problems which arise in the affairs of the workers. John Conroy, who became General President of the I.T.G.W.U. six years ago, is an example of the new school of trade union leaders.

#### A Hard Apprenticeship

The general public hardly knew his name when the Annual Delegate Conference of 1953 first elected him to guide the work of the Union. But he was already well-known throughout the Union movement, for he had spent a hard apprenticeship on organisational and conference work throughout the country when he was first moved to head office from his native Wicklow, where he learned the basic facts of trade unionism from another Wicklowman 12 years his senior—James Everett, T.D., who was then organising for the I.T.G.W.U. (at that time a body with only about one-third of its present strength). John Conroy became Branch Secretary in Wicklow, then started his many travels throughout the country, strengthening the Union and negotiating for the workers in many industries.

#### On to Headquarters

After what might be termed his "apprenticeship" he was transferred to Limerick—then developing as an industrial centre—to be Branch Secretary, a post which he occupied until 1942, when he graduated to the Union's headquarters to become head of the "Movements Department," dealing with wages and conditions and the Joint Industrial Councils. It was not surprising, therefore, that his work in this department should lead to his election, first to the position of Vice-President and subsequently to the office of General President. This brought more work in a still wider field, and while service on such bodies as the Milling Advisory Committee indicates the more familiar and direct side of trade unionism, John Conroy also serves on the boards of—among other organisations—Bord Failte Eireann and the Government's Atomic Energy Committee.

#### **Towards Unity**

He took an active part, on behalf of the Congress of Irish Unions (of which he was a former President), in the work which led a few months ago to the creation of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions —healing the I4-year-long split in trade unionism in this country. It was appropriate that John Conroy should be named first President of the new body, which is concerned with the mutual interests of half-a-million Irish workers.

While John Conroy displays none of the flamboyance of the traditional trade union leaders, and is a rather quiet speaker—delivering his speeches at a moderate pace, he is an example of the business executive type of union leader. His sharp interest for detail, and stern demands for discipline, are factors of the new trade unionism. Indiscipline, such as unofficial strikes, can wreck delicate negotiations, bring disrepute on the trade union movement; this he seeks to avoid. Trade unions in their handling of labour relations to-day should be able to negotiate without the embarrassment of rash acts, and John Conroy's experience of negotiation adds point to this view.

In the spring of this year—at the invitation of the U.S. Government—the "G.P." visited America to make a personal study of trade unionism in that country. It is typical of the man that he should be eager to undertake such a trip which means many days of wearying travelling and discussions : he is "the man at the top," but John Conroy knows that there is no such thing as standing still — the broadening of knowledge and exchange of ideas are vital to the future of the trade union movement.

### (Continued from page 35)

America to Ryan's *Irish Nation* had made an enduring and fruitful impression on me, the more effective because it was in the paper to which I was a contributor and at the time I was secretary of the Dungannon Club, the Belfast branch of Sinn Fein. This appeared on the front page in the issue dated January 23rd, 1909, and was entitled "Sinn Fein, Socialism and the Nation." It was an appreciative commentary on an article written over a pseudonym, I find now from a copy of that issue in a bundle of copies I got the other week, by Earnan de Blaghd, the present managing-director of the Abbey Theatre, whom I was to introduce along with Sean Lester to Connolly in 1912 or 1913.

These articles I mention are reprinted in the volume of Connolly's writing "Socialism and Nationalism" published at the Sign of the Three Candles, Dublin. In *The Nation* he expressed his attitude to what he called the two sides of Sinn Fein; "its economic teaching, as expounded by my old friend Arthur Griffith, in his adaptation of the doctrines of List" and "its philosophy of self-reliance." From my copy of the original I note that in the reprint "old" is omitted, "adoption is substituted for "adaptation" and List's first name, Frederick, is given.

Connolly rejected that economic teaching and accepted the philosophy of self-reliance; "a gateway by which Ireland may enter the intellectual domain which Socialism has made its own — by its spiritual affinity with the world-wide forces making for social freedom." And he showed that "indeed, as a cold matter of fact, those doctrines were preached in Dublin by the Irish Socialist Republican Party from 1896 onward, before the Sinn Fein movement was founded."

When Connolly led his first strike of dockers in Belfast in 1911, in alliance with the seamen, I was able from my vantage post in the shipping office to give him and the Branch some little help. The following year I became a member of the Branch. But if I went on reminiscing like this I would be

But if I went on reminiscing like this I would be writing an autobiography, a task I've already declined because I'd have to tell too many truths about too many people, living as well as dead. So instead of that I'll recall briefly a few out of a multitude of proud memories of my connection with the Union. And first of them my pride when Connolly sent for me to join him in the Belfast office shortly before the Whit of 1913, and in his friendship and comradeship, his guidance and his tutoring in the great years between that and the Rising in 1916.

His answer when I asked him who were in the Belfast Division of the Irish Citizen Army in whose name he presented his manifesto "War: What It Means To You" in August. 1914:

MICHAEL DUNBAR,

Secretary, Dublin No. 1 Branch.

worked in the Road Passenger Section, C.I.E. Took active part in organising C.I.E. workers in

West of Ireland and at Broad-

stone. Former member of Dublin

No. 9 Branch Committee.

Became Branch Secretary in 1947.

Joined Union in 1932 and



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William Partriage, arrested in 1913, spoke in England in support of the General Strike. A member of the Citizen Army he fought in the College of Surgeons and was sentenced to 15 years. Released in bad health he died in July, 1917.

"Miss Carney, you and me." She was Winifred Carney, Secretary of the Irish Textile Workers' Union he had established in York Street, Belfast. She was typist for him and the Provisional Government in the General Post Office in the Rising.

His readiness, any night he returned from Dublin during the great fight in 1913, to speak at the street meetings our "Don't Give a Damn League" were holding in support of the Dublin workers. In the League we numbered five, the others being Winifred Carney, Mrs. Nellie Gordon, delegate in the Irish Textile Workers' Union; Jimmy Grimley whom she later married and who died in Dublin a few weeks ago, and Jack Carney, no relation of the first-named.

Connolly's determination in August, 1914, when he told me he had decided for insurrection before that war should end and asked me to go then and tell that to Denis MacCullough and request him to inform "his friends in Dublin," meaning the Supreme Council of The Irish Republican Brotherhood. His leading of the Irish Citizen Army at the funeral of O'Donovan Rossa in 1915. His asking me to speak with himself and Bill Partridge at meeting of strikers in Beresford Place in the same year.

His answer to a question of mine when he told me that the date for the Insurrection had been fixed but that he couldn't then tell me what it was because he and five others had been sworn to secrecy on that until the time came to disclose it. And his lecture on street-fighting to the Belfast company of the Irish Volunteers shortly afterwards in 1916 in the old military hut at Willowbank used (Continued on Page 39)

> First Irish trade union representative to go to Harvard University (1951); represented Union at Shipping Seminar, Copenhagen (1957), and was member of Study Group visiting Glasgow and Bergen (1958) to examine effect of new techniques on employment in those ports.

Hobbies : swimming, boxing.



ENATOR FRANK PURCELL, General Secretary since 1948, when he succeeded Senator Tom Kennedy, came from Kilcock in County Kildare in 1922 to join the Head Office staff.

The Black-and-Tan war was over. The Anglo-Irish Treaty had been signed and about the time of his arrival in Dublin the Union was being confronted with the great national crisis resulting from the split in Dail Éireann and its Army and the tragedy of the conflict between the forces supporting the Treaty and those opposing it.

#### Military and Union Activities

Before coming to Dublin he had been engaged in his own area both in Union activities and in military operations and, in leisure moments, he can recall with some humour incidents in which he figured as a Union man and as a member of the I.R.A. In those pre-Dublin days he was for a time in St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, not as a clerical student but as an employee earning his living in the College and a member of its section of the Union.

#### Internment

A highlight in his adventures in those years was his internment in the British Military Camp at The Rath in Kildare, with hundreds of Republican soldiers and civilians.

Although neutral in the civil war, in conformity with Union policy, he was one of several officials who had the unpleasant experience of wrongful imprisonment in the hands of one of the opposing armies.

#### **Movements** Department

A quiet, unassuming country youth, he developed in Dublin into manhood as a very dependable, thoughtful, careful and conscientious official in the Movements Department, taking good example from more experienced seniors and justifying the General

Officers in charging him with negotiations on behalf of branches in Leinster and other counties, often in circumstances of great difficulty. In external and internal troubles that beset the Union in the 'twenties, trials sorely straining patience-through attitudes of members, employers, opponents-he was steady, good tempered, unperturbed, with outward calm that concealed anxiety of mind and sometimes natural vexation of spirit and con-science. He had, and has, a dual bigness of heart -in moral and physical courage and in kindliness and generosity of friendship.

THE GENERAL SECRETARY\_

SENATOR

FRANK

PURCELL

#### Hotel and Restaurant Branch

From Head Office he took up, in 1931, the Secretaryship of the Hotel and Restaurant Branch, founded in the great expansionist period in 1918. In this post he displayed aptitude and adaptability that gained him an honoured place among successful Branch Secretaries and won him the respect and trust of men and women whose occupations and contacts with their mixed variety of customers provide special problems.

### "Liberty" Magazine

For a period he acted as Secretary of the National Labour Party and-from its establishment-he has been responsible for the general direction of the Union's monthly journal-" Liberty " Magazine. The qualities inherent in Frank Purcell in his

early years in the Union are the characteristics that mark his speech and his conduct in his term of office as General Secretary and his personality in private life, on the National Executive Council and at the Union's Annual Conferences,

### **Fine Qualities**

Very regrettably illness has prevented him from taking his proper share in the Union's Golden Jubilee celebrations, the only major event in which he has not played his manly part in the Union's affairs in the past forty years.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

as a drill hall by the Volunteers and the Belfast sluaighte of Fianna Eireann.

William O'Brien, telling me in Reading Gaol of doings in and around Liberty Hall in the days and nights preceding Easter Monday, 1916, his talks with Connolly, those days and Connolly's last words to him on the steps of the Hall as he was about to move off in the march to the General Post Office.

O'Brien's discussing in Reading of plans for the re-organisation of the Union when release from internment should come and his telling, on Christmas Day, 1916, in his home at Belvedere Place, of how the plans were shaping. His invitation to me some weeks later to lecture on Connolly's life and work at a meeting in the Trades Hall in Capel Street organised by the Socialist Party of Ireland and the material he supplied me with for the lecture.

The thoroughness with which as General Treasurer he entered into the great expansion of the Union in 1917-1918. His helpful counsel when I was editing the Voice of Labour and its successor

The Watchword of Labour and in many another tough assignment, including the critical Congresses I presided at as Acting-Chairman in 1922. His skilful manoeuvering in the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress and in the Trades Council to get the whole movement and the other Unions into co-operating with our own in the general strike against conscription in 1918.

His saving of my life when he sought me out and told me what my fate would have been if I had fallen into the hands of the Auxiliaries and Black and Tans in Dublin Castle the day he and others were arrested in the raid on Liberty Hall after the Bloody Sunday in Croke Park in 1920.

My introduction, through him, to Jim Connell, the author of "The Red Flag" and many another veteran stalwart.

His conduct in the chairmanships of annual meetings of the Irish Trade Union Congress, notably the critical one at Waterford in 1918 when he was elected Secretary, and the one at Drogheda in 1941

(Continued on Page 41)



National Executive Council and Representatives of the Union in Dail Eireann, 1933: Front Row (l. to r.)—T. Ryan (National Trustee, Water[ord], W. O'Brien (General Secretary), Senator T. Foran (General President), T. Kennedy (Vice-President), Senator M. Duffy (National Trustee, Meath). Second Row—Councillor M. Connor (Drogheda), Ald. I. P. Pattison, T.D. (Carlow-Kilkenny), D. Clancy (Limerick), J. Everett, T.D. (Wicklow), J. Daly (Dublin). Back Row— D. Sullivan (Cork), T. J. Murphy, T.D. (West Cork), Ald. R. Corish, T.D. (Mayor, Wexford), P. Hogan, T.D. (Clare, Leas Ceann Comhairle), E. Finnegan (Dublin.)

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GENERAL VICE PRESIDENT

## Edward Browne

"ED" Browne is a Limerick man who 66 was elected "V.P." six years ago; in that role he has an office at H.Q. in Merrion Square, but he's not an office man. He keeps on the move to maintain the direct link between headquarters and the members: he is a first believer in the face-to-face technique for solving problems, and in the personal contact to improve and strengthen the organisation still further.

#### A Start in the Flour Millers

Like his father, he worked in the flour mills in Limerick : his father spent 40 years in the mills, "Ned" Browne was there 18 years and then became closely associated with Union activities for the first time when the men in the Limerick mills staged a sympathetic strike. He remembers the date well — April 6th, 1929. And, from shop steward in a flour mill his abilities in Union affairs carried him on to become Branch President in Limerick where the present General President -John Conroy — was then Branch Secretary. This was the start of a long association, and "Ned" Browne first became a full-time official of the Union as assistant to John Conroy in Limerick in 1938. When Mr. Conroy moved to headquarters four years later his obvious successor in the Limerick Branch, which had grown to a membership of 8,000. was Mr. Browne.

Development of Trade Union Activities

As industry developed in the Limerick area, so the Union men in the district developed Union activities to organise the workers. One of the most



important projects during "Ned" Browne's period of work in his native city was the establishment of Shannon Airport.

### The First Skymaster

He recalls that it was a cold February afternoon when the first Skymaster landed at what was then called Rineanna - the international name of Shannon came later. He had received news of the impending arrival and hurried off to the airport with his colleagues. To-day, Shannon Airport is the best organised airport in Europe from the standpoint of labour.

### 'Ned' Browne's Technique

The secret is "getting in early." Get the workers organised at an early stage and labour relations are likely to be much happier. That was the technique "Ned" Browne used at Shannon, as elsewhere, and the results have justified his view.

### Sporting Tradition

This cheerful Limerick man, of blocky build and with grey brushed-back hair, does not suggest a Rugby player when he is sitting talking ; but when he moves, he moves fast. In his young days he played Rugby for Shannon, and his sons are carry-ing on the tradition at Terenure College. Two of them were on the Terenure team that won the Leinster Senior Cup, and one of them has already played in Inter-provincial games. "Ned " Browne still likes to watch Rugby, but he also has a great enthusiasm for watching a good hurling match.

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### (Continued from page 39)

in 1916, in the old military hut at Willowbank used when the Standing Orders Committee of which I was chairman resigned and Bill O'Brien at the very top of his form surpassed himself in his never to be forgotten valedictory address.

But if I went on like this I would be writing a good deal of the life story of his which he promised us that day, a promise he must fulfil.

Three others of the Union's General Officers of past years cannot be left out of this skeleton of a chronicle. They are Tom Foran, Tom Kennedy and William McMullen, and I hope that on other pages of this Golden Jubilee number of Liberty Magazine somebody is doing them the justice I'm sorry I cannot give them here. Of many vivid pictures of them I select these too few :

Foran, fellow-prisoner of O'Brien and ours in Richmond Barracks after the Rising, on fatigue duty and helping to bring from the kitchen the first and welcome cooked square meal we got in that military prison. I'm not quite sure but I think that was the day Connolly was executed and the British Prime Minister, H. H. Asquith, paid us a visit.

Then, in 1917, when I was asked to leave Belfast and become an Organiser to spread the Union in the South, Tom taking me paternally almost by the hand on the train from Dublin and introducing me most persuasively to Dick Hawkins, Chairman, and the Committee of the Cork Branch in the single room they rented over a public house in George's Street.

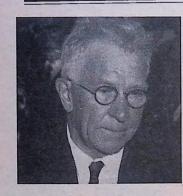
He made effective use of my association with Connolly and the part Liberty Hall and the Citizen Army had played in the Rising, connections we all exploited to great advantage in the great re-organisation of the Union in the next couple of years.

His welcome when I was called back to Liberty Hall and settled in it in the anti-conscription campaign.

His taking me to Belfast a year or two later to a conference with shipping employers there, his adroit handling of the negotiations, and when the conference was over my not unmalicious reminding one of the employers that for a few years I had been a very junior clerk in his office.

And his nimble wit in the chair at the Union's Annual Conferences and calming of troubled waters, especially at Branch meetings with barrage of heckling. It was wit that showed itself in chat with Head Office staff and with Jimmy Smith when Jimmy called at H.O. or ordered a publican's curate on Eden Quay to "split a baby" for himself and some companion.

Foran's influence and popularity with the older members in Dublin was a powerful asset in crisis and difficulty.



### FRANK ROBBINS, Secretary, Dublin No. 7 Branch.

First joined the Union in June, 1911, rejoining again in March, 1918, and serving the I.T.G.W.U. throughout the period, being appointed Secretary of Dublin No. 7 (Theatres and Cinemas) Branch in April, 1931. Before becoming a full-time official worked in a number of occupations including a soap works, the Dublin Dock-yard, as a docker and a ship's fireman : in the latter job made his first visit to the U.S. Sporting interests are in hurling, football and boxing. An enthusiastic historian whose hobby is the collection of historical documents and MSS.

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### MICHAEL MULLEN, Secretary Dublin No. 4 Branch.

After working with Ever-Ready (Ireland), joining Union in 1936, became Secretary of the Hotels and Catering Branch in 1952. Secretary, Dublin District Council. Specially interested in the development of tourism and securing public recognition of value and ability of catering workers. Prominent in organisation of Catering Exhibition, 1958 ; Chairman, Organising Committee, Irish Food Festival Exhibition, 1959. Narrowly missed election to Dail Éireann and to Dublin Corporation. Hobbies: Boxing and Gaelic Football.



GEORGE O'MALLEY, Secretary, Dublin No. 2 Branch.

Before becoming a full-time official was employed in the flour milling industry. Became an official in 1951 and after a short time in Sligo was appointed Branch Assistant in Dublin No. 1 Branch, becoming Secretary of No. 2 Branch on its formation.

An enthusiast for Gaelic games and languages and a prominent player at school (C.B.S., James's Street) and afterwards. Also a keen chess player. Associated with the work of the St. John Bosco Society since its formation twenty years ago, with service on the executive for several years.



# William McMullen

N his Dublin suburban home surrounded by books ranging from "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" to trade union pamphlets, William McMullen, General President of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union from 1946 to 1953, now spends a few hours every day compiling what he modestly describes as a brief survey of the industrial history of the North of Ireland.

"Billy" McMullen was born in 1888 in Lilliput Street in the Northern capital. His father, Joseph, came from County Monaghan farming stock; his mother from County Cavan. She died when he was five years old. His father had set up a small shop in Lilliput Street; but when Billy was shop in Liliput Street; but when Billy was two the family moved to a larger shop in Shore Road, then the boundary of the city. After an elementary schooling, young McMullen went to work in the Belfast shipyards. Before he was 20 he had become a member of the Independent Labour Party—an English organisation. In 1911 James Connolly arrived in Belfast as District Organization for the Independent Conserved Organiser for the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union and McMullen threw all his efforts into helping Connolly organise the dockers and mill workers. They were hectic days, full of agitation, mass demonstrations, and at night lectures and union meetings.

In 1912 he moved to Dublin and helped form the Independent Labour Party of Ireland and a short time later became chairman of the Belfast Branch of the Party. Home Rule for Ireland was being hotly debated and in 1914 came Billy McMullen's first big moment in the political field. Connolly had called a demonstration under the auspices of the Independent Labour Party of Ireland in April of that year to protest against the exclusion of Ulster in the Liberal Government's Home Rule Bill. This was the first big political demonstration that McMullen had addressed indoors and it was clear that he was no mean orator. His decisive Belfast accent was listened to in rapt attention that day, just as it always commanded attention at labour and trade union meetings in later years. One thing that stands out vividly in Billy McMullen's memory about that meeting is that Connolly was the only Catholic among the platform speakers.



McMullen could not get any work in Belfast and had to emigrate. He worked at all kinds of jobs in England and Scotland but nearly all the time was still exhorting workers to stand for their rights. In 1920 he was back in Belfast again and plunged into the old life of trade unionism and politics. He got Connolly's old job of District Secretary of the I.T.G.W.U. in Belfast—responsible for all Branches throughout Ulster.

The post-war depression hit Belfast, leaving thousands on the verge of starvation. Largely because of his efforts on their behalf he was elected in 1924 to the Poor Law Guardians representing the Smithfield Ward, the first Protestant to win in the Ward. As a Poor Law Guardian he led thousands of unemployed men to the poor house, demanding adequate outdoor relief.

In January, 1925, he was elected to the Belfast City Council and in June of the same year to the Northern Ireland Parliament. As Labour member for West Belfast, he led the Opposition to the Boundary Settlement in an hour-long speech and made the declaration that there could be only one answer to the Irish question-one Parliament for the whole country. He holds that view just as strongly to-day.

When Proportional Representation was abolished he lost his parliamentary seat narrowly in 1929. In the next few years he travelled extensively and then, in 1937, moved to Dublin as National Organiser of the Union. He became Vice-President, succeeding Tom Foran, in 1939, and Geenral President in 1946 on the retirement of Bill O'Brien.

He was elected 21 times to the Executive of the Irish Trade Union Congress until the trade union split in 1945; so he holds the unique distinction of having been President of both the Irish T.U.C. and the Congress of Irish Unions. He was a Senator from 1951 to 1953 when he became a director of the Joint G.N.R. Board and, of course, he is now a Director of C.I.E.

A very full life and one which "Billy " McMullen looks back on with pride ; but perhaps his greatest pride is in the remarkable growth of the Union to which he has given so much of his life.

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### (Continued (rom page 41)

Tom Kennedy's qualities were different from Foran's and O'Brien's, but they were complementary to theirs and they were decidedly valuable in administration, at Branch meetings and Union Conferences and in negotiations. My admiration was always aroused at stiff or delicate dealing with employers when Kennedy and O'Brien showed remarkable and silent understanding of each other and timed exactly the right moment for intervention by one or the other. Like Foran they knew when and how to be silent or to speak and when and how to let the other fellow, the employer, talk his head off. It was a lesson some of us learned with profit.

To me Kennedy showed personal friendship that stood me in good stead in times when candid and sincere friendship was needed, as sometimes happened. And he understood bonds of friendship between colleagues of ours on the staff.

A sad memory of the morning his voice came over the telephone to me saying he had bad news that would pain and shock me; it was of the death of Dom Sullivan, least Cork of Corkmen, good fighter in the Black and Tans war, one of the most talented of my close friends, and my successor in the Movements when I left Head Office in 1941 to become Secretary of the Irish Trade Union Congress.

More pleasant is the recollection of what Kennedy said when I was honoured with a presenta-



### CONOR O'BRIEN, Secretary, Dublin No. 3 Branch.

Was engaged for a number of years in the drapery trade, joining the I.T.G.W.U. on December 6th, 1934, and became Secretary to the No. 3 Branch in the autumn of 1957. Takes a considerable interest in sport of all kinds, and his principal hobbywhen time allows-is reading.

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tion on account of whatever services I had given to the Union.

Other memories of some importance are of his quiet chat with me at his request when I was about to be invited to be Secretary of what became the Congress of Irish Unions and of his anxiety over what the position of the Unions and the workers would be on the termination of the second world war. Out of that anxiety of his came Tom Kennedy's suggestion to me to draft for the first Annual Meeting of the C.I.U. the Union's resolutions on wagefixing machinery which were the genesis of the proposal to establish the Labour Court. And much credit must go to him for the attention he gave in the preparation of the memoranda we exchanged with the Minister for Industry and Commerce for his consideration in drawing up the Industrial Relations Bill for setting up the Court.

Kennedy was one of the orators in the Union. Like O'Brien he disliked public speaking, did it only when he really had to, but when he did he could orate and with good result in substance and manner. I had some reason to know that he could appraise oratory in a colleague.

William McMullen was and is a speaker of a different stamp and temperament but with no less directness and precision, although these come from his Belfast origin and training. Among my memories are of his reasoned, logical, marshalled pre-sentation of a case and carefully thought out and

(Continued on page 45)



### PATRICK J. BRENNAN, Secretary, Drogheda Branch.

Before becoming a full-time trade union official worked on the staff of Cement Ltd. at Drogheda; joined the Union in May, 1937, and became Branch Secretary twelve years later. A native of Clontibret, Co.

Nearly 30 different industries and commercial concerns are covered by the activities of this Branch which is responsible for a considerable area in which industrial development has taken place in recent years.





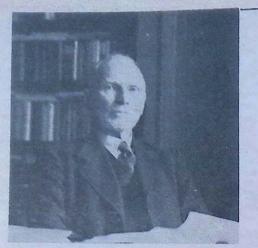


### THOMAS McCARTHY. Secretary, Dublin No. 5 Branch.

Son of one of the foundermembers of the I.T.G.W.U.-Michael McCarthy - he worked for a number of years as a builders' labourer, first becoming a member of the Union in 1929. Eight years later he was appointed as Branch Assistant, moving up to the Secretaryship in 1945.

His practical knowledge of the building trade has proved of considerable assistance. Spare time relaxation is in watching football.





F he cared, William O'Brien could make a claim to be a member of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union from its actual aundation half-a-century ago, for in 1907-be was one of the active trade unionists in Dublin who were working out plans for an Irish-based union of general workers on the lines on which the I.T. and G.W.U. was built. The origin of his ideas on these particular lines was probably even earlier through his close association with James Connolly before Connolly went to America, and through the discussions in the I.S.R.P. on industrial unionism and the regular correspondence kept up from 1903 till 1910 between O'Brien in Dublin and Connolly in New York.

In the stormy early years from 1909 his influence in the Dublin Trades Council and in the Irish Trade Union Congress was a great factor in winning supfor the Union and its policy of attack and defiance. The affiliation of the Union to the Irish 1 C. attainst bitter opposition at the annual meet-

Du da!k in 1910 was one instance of his if al use of his influential position in the movement. His leadership of the objection to a motion of condolence with the English royal family on the death of King Edward VII was another of the high-

ts at that annual meeting in Dundalk.

If less in the limelight than Larkin and Connolly in the great industrial war in Dublin in 1913, his unflagging activity and energy, his calm and wise counselling, his gifts of moral courage and candour, and his wide and effective contacts with men in key positions in the trade union movement, abroad as well as at home, were valuable factors in consolidating and maintaining the campaign of resistance conducted from Liberty Hall against the massed attack of the Dublin employers and their auxiliaries in the Press and in the police force.

His broad agreement in principle and policy with Connolly, the trust and confidence earned by his judgment, his independence and his reliability and determination, and his conception of the place of the Union and labour in Irish affairs, made him a strong, unbreakable and highly-valued link between militant trade unionism and militant republicanism both before and after the Rising in 1916.

This link put him among other non-military person lities who were named to act as a Civil Govern-

# William **O'Brien**

GENERAL SECRETARY ----

ment along with the Provisional Government of the Republic if circumstances on the eve had not altered the leaders' original plans.

O'Brien's ability in administration came into full play in the re-organisation of the Union as a great national institution, after his release from internment following the Rising, and in the building up of the Irish Labour Party and T.U.C. inside as well as outside Dail Éireann. The One Big Unionjocularly "Old Bill's Union" to the office and organising staffs—that spread out from Liberty Hall may not have evolved on strictly industrial unionist lines but it got as near to that objective as conditions in Ireland permitted and closer than pleased certain sections of the trade union movement.

O'Brien's iron will, indomitable physical and moral courage, inflexible resolution in adhering to any decision, agreement or standpoint accepted by him, and the clarity and straightforwardness of his long-term thinking ahead provided Liberty Hall with assets that carried it triumphantly through crisis after crisis, as in the Black-and-Tan war, the Civil War and the attempted internal disruption in 1923-1924. They earned him no personal popu-larity, but while he is by no means lacking in a righteous ambition he has no use for the cheap favour of the populace. Only once, and that not in any of the storms he and the Union weathered successfully, has he been heard to exclaim under strain in the chair : " After all there is a limit to human endurance."

Behind a mask of apparent coldness and aloofness there is a warmth of practical friendship and comradeship in him. Nobody in or out of the movement has anything like his store of personal and written and printed information in the history of Labour and trade unionism in Ireland over the last sixty years. To him more than to anybody must go the credit for the preservation and the continuing publication of the writings of James Connolly. He has the saving grace of humour, too, the gift

of ready and pointed retort and of equally sharp and brief, pertinent comment, and few are his equal, in private or in public, in anecdotes about persons and events.

In these latter years of his retirement Bill O'Brien takes such ease as his nature allows in the congenial company of the thousands of books he has collected, in perusing and completing files of weekly and monthly periodicals of value in social, political and literary history and in good talk among his friends and cronies.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.



WILLIAM MURPHY, Secretary Dublin Nos. 9 and 10 Branches.

Joined Union first in 1917 while working in Arklow; later worked in Glasgow. Dublin tram driver 1920-1940; 1930-1934 Chairman A.T.G.W.U. Branch and member of Area Committee; resigned from A.T.G.W.U. in 1934 and joined newly-formed Branch of I.T.G. W.U., becoming Branch Chairman and member of the N.E.C. in 1935, resigning in 1940 to become Branch Secretary. In 1950 was nominated by Union and appointed to C.I.E. Board for eight years. Was in Kynoch's munitions works, Arklow, when it blew up in 1917.

(Continued from page 43)

prepared argument at Congress and at street and indoor meetings. In the clash of opinion at these and in committee he was heard with respect.

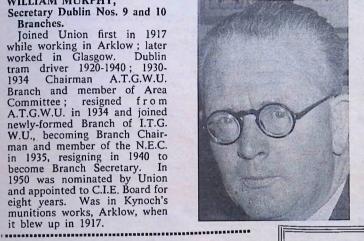
Of the present General Officers I will say nothing just now although I could write much about the days and nights I soldiered with them on behalf of the Union. And for good or ill I have still to go on hearing them make the Union's case in another place. They are fortunate in holding office in this year of the Golden Jubilee and so, too, is the Assistant to the General Secretary.

It is through no lack of regard or of acknowledgment that I am silent too, on members of the National Executive Council, both past and present, and on Branch officials, Organisers and staffs with whom I worked in the Union. They are so many that their names would make a small dictionary of Union biography.

A final memory, this time of two men who often enough were friends of the Union from its foundation year : Thomas Johnson's voice one morning in September, 1946, remarking to me on the phone on the whirligig of time that had brought him and R.J.P. Mortished and me together once again on our appointment to the Labour Court. Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

CHRISTOPHER BONASS, Secretary Dublin Nos, 6 and 8 Branches.

Was a department manager in the electrical industry before becoming a Branch Assistant in No.4 Branch, transferring to Nos. 6 and 8 as Branch Secretary in July, 1954, the Branch covering Hosiery, Cleaning and Dyeing, Tailoring and Allied Trades. Keenly interested in music, particularly the piano ; chess player, enjoys watching Soccer. Holder of Diploma in Social and Economic Sciences, University College, Dublin,



JOHN F. GILL, Secretary, Leix-Offaly Branch.

Was a coachsmith before being appointed Branch Secretary in 1921, four years after joining the 1921, four years after joining the Union ; the Branch was then the Edenderry Branch, but became the Leix-Offaly Branch in 1927. Member of Laois County Coun-cil since 1942 ; chairman, Port-

laoise Mental Hospital and Barrow Drainage Boards ; Mem-ber, County Councils General Council: Director, Irish Tourist Association. Was a member of the Edenderry Town Commissioners, 1919-1932, and a Member of Dail Eireann, 1927. Hobbies : dramatics, Gaelic football and hurling.



### ... WESTERN GERMANY

CANADA

... SCOTLAND

. IRELAND

## Congratulations

### CAME FROM MANY LANDS

### THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ...

I wish to extend to you and the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union my congratulations on the occasion of the celebration of your Golden Jubilee. I appreciate this opportunity to greet Irish workers through Liberty Magazine, the official organ of your union.

Liberty Magazine is read by many Americans who are interested in the progress of the Irish labour movement. It has done much to increase their knowledge of the work of your organization and thus makes an important contribution to increasing friendly understanding and contacts between the workers of the United States and Ireland.

I congratulate you for the accomplishments of the past fifty years and offer my best wishes for the challenging times ahead.—Sincerely yours,

JAMES F. MITCHELL, Secretary of Labour,

U.S. Dept. of Labour.

"On the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, it gives me great pleasure to extend, in the name of the AFL-CIO Executive Council and myself personally, the warmest fraternal greetings to the I.T.G.W.U. and its officers. The militant struggle over the years of the I.T.G.W.U. for the economic interests of the Irish workers and for the cause of free trade unionism and democracy is well known everywhere. Together with you we hold aloft the banner of free trade unionism; we share with you the struggles for economic security, peace and freedom; in common with you we fight against the blight of Communism which seeks to conquer the world and destroy the free spirit of man. May the I.T.G.W.U. carry on for another 50 years in line with its great tradition of struggle. Once again we greet you and are proud to shake your hands in brotherly fashion."

GEORGE MEANY, President, AFL-CIO

### FRANCE . . .

La Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens est heureuse de saluer le cinquantième anniversaire de la création de l'Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. Cinquante années de labeur syndical, cela représente bien des efforts au service de la cause des travailleurs et aussi bien des résultas fructueux.

A nos félicitations pour l'action passée, nous joignons tous nos voeux pour le deuxième demi-siècle qui commence. Que l'ardeur et le dévouement de tous, que la solidarité et l'amitié animent toujours votre action pour le bien-être des travailleurs d'IRLANDE! Que l'occasion nous soit donnée de coopérer ensemble au bonheur et à la paix de tous ceux qui souffrent à travers le monde.

G. LEVARD, Le Secrétaire General, de la C.F.T.C.

SWITZERLAND ....

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Mr. Morse, Director General of the International Labour Office, has asked me to express his best wishes to the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee.

ALFONSO CRESPO, Chief, Public Information Division.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

### CHRISTLICHE GEWERKSCHAFTSBEWEGUNG DEUTSCHLANDS

On the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union of Ireland the German Christian Trade Unions send many hearty greetings to all members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. The German Christian Trade Union is con-vinced that the struggle and the success of the past 50 years was not only a struggle for the rights of the Irish workers, but it was also a good con-tribution for the realisation of our Christian social doctrine. By this social doctrine we are combined all over the world; it makes, that the Christian trade unionists belong to one large family: a family of fighters for the social rights of working people. Considering the 50-years-existence of your organisation the German Christian workers find many examples, which are valuable to imitate them in our country too. This fact makes us proud of having a social organisation in Europe like the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

BERNHARD WINKELHEIDE, President of the Christian Trade Union of Germany, Member of Parliament.

I take great pleasure in extending to you fraternal greetings on behalf of the 1,150,000 members of the Canadian Labour Congress on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union of Ireland.

We wish continued success in your efforts and look forward to the day when the workers in all free countries will be members of the great family of free labour, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, of which the Canadian Labour Congress is a proud affiliate. With heartiest fraternal greetings.—Sincerely yours,

CLAUDE JODOIN, President. Canadian Labour Congress.

For 50 years you have been improving the lot of workers in Ireland. A period whose span has been marked by the passage of tumultuous events in the history of both our countries but nonetheless, in spite of the temporary setbacks and frustrations which the Trade Union Movement and its aspirations have suffered during this time, the members of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union no doubt look forward with fresh determination and renewed idealism which a Golden Jubilee seems somehow to engender.

The main problems to be tackled are broadly similar to those facing the Scottish Trade Union Movement — jobs and wages — and the attain-ment of those in permanency. For too long the apparition of unemploy-ment, with all its social evils, has cast its shadows over us. The part of transport and its operators in ridding us of this scourge is no small one and the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, we have no doubt, at this particular time, as indeed throughout their history, are ready to accept the challenge.

The Scottish Trades Union Congress sends you, on behalf of its affiliated organisations, the warmest and most cordial fraternal greetings on this, your Golden Jubilee, and wishes you every success in the future vears.

SCOTTISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

The Golden Jubilee of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union marks fifty years of fruitful service in the interests of Irish workers. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions, established this year, extends its greetings and congratulations and looks forward with confidence to a future in which, with the co-operation of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, the strength of the Trade Union Movement will yield further achievements in the interest of its members and of the country as a whole. IAMES LARKIN, Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.



The National Executive

Council, 1923

Louis Ford

DUBLIN



EAMONN WALL. Secretary Cork No. 1 Branch. Has been an official of the Union for 25 years, and was appointed Sec. Cork Branch in 1951.



JOHN HOWLIN, P.C., T.C., Secretary Wexford Branch. Is a former Chairman of the Branch and a member of Wexford Corporation.



bia University.



Brendan Corish, James Senator P. McAuliffe, Senator P. Tierney, T.D. Daniel Spring, Everett, T.D. Frank Purcell T.D. John O'Leary T.D. T.D.

The Political Wing By BRENDAN CORISH. T.D.

THE development of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union over the past 50 years and, indeed, the development of the Irish trade-union movement has been high-lighted by the influence which its mentors have exercised in the politico-social affairs of our country.

From its very inception, our Union has had, of necessity, to identify itself with the political, social and national aspirations of the ordinary people—the workers, for the realisation of their goals of social and economic justice and reform are dependent, not alone on industrial strength but on influence in legislative bodies and on government councils both local and national.

This identification was characterised in the Union's beginning by the alignment of the workers' industrial purpose, through the trade union, with the national struggle for political and economic independence. The struggles of the early 1900's right up to historic 1922 were the expression of a freedomhungry people and this expression was entirely in harmony with the need for industrial freedom which was sought through the power of organised labour in the ranks of the I.T.G.W.U.

The one went hand-in-hand with the other; the country's freedom was an integral part of the workers' freedom. Political, social and industrial harmonisation saw the realisation of this cherished dream.

Possibly the most important con-

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

purpose between the trade unions, particularly the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, and the politico-social resurgence was the formation of the Irish Labour Party in 1912 in which James Connolly played a pre-eminent part. He, above all others of the time, saw the need for a political instrument that would be truly and directly conditioned by and responsive to the economic and social well-being of the ordinary people. He and his colleagues saw, too, the translation of workers' industrial strength directly into the field of political endeavour and influence, for the affinity of purpose in both spheres was identical.

Thus was Irish labour transformed from an industrial unit into a complete entity, complete in the part it commenced to play in the affairs that created the necessity for its being. Thus came the translation to fact of the inspiration of the writings of Connolly and his contemporaries for this was the realisation that workers' salvation depended on the fusion of industrial and political influence.

In the years that followed, the Irish Labour Party fulfilled its trust within the competence of its political strength and representation. Its inability to dominate the political life of our country was not due to ineptitude or inability but rather to the fact that workers concentrated more on their affiliation to the trade-union movement than to the continued development of their dual purpose-the one, the necessary say in the determination of tribution towards this affinity of economic and social affairs; the

other, the necessary bargaining strength in the industrial field. Thus, on the one hand, there has been an applied and powerful growth of the trade-unions while, on the other, the political armthough in harmony with the trade-unions objective—has sought them without like support. Although this position has re-

tarded the growth and power of Irish political labour, it has not prevented it from adhering to its ideals nor from applying itself to its pur-pose. But it has given rise to situations where political labour has been baulked or hampered in its efforts to realise economic and social reforms that are compatible with workers' aspirations and which are advocated by the tradeunion movement.

Nevertheless, Irish labour has given outstanding personages to the serving of the interests of workers and the community who have distinguished themselves by their application and dedication. On local authorities, in local and central government, on commissions and other public bodies, Labour sponsors the view of the worker and has always had full regard to his needs and, in addition, his goals and ideals as reflected in the tradeunion movement.

The years ahead will see many changes in our country's in-stitutions. Already, the trade union movement itself, by unifying its ranks, has paved the way for a fuller participation in the affairs that govern its activities. It is inevitable that the political wing must follow suit. The manner of its future development, its more intimate liaison with the tradeunion movement and its ultimate emergence as the political voice of the workers will depend in large measure on the workers themselves. That is where the trade unions will score — if they undertake the necessary work of educating their members to the course of thought and action proper to the realisation of their objectives.

# The First Fifty Years of O.B.U. A Chronicle of Events from 1909 to 1959

### Glorious Heroie Dublin

1 2 A 4 A 1 4 4

- 1909—Irish Transport and General Workers' Union formally established, membership dating from January 4th. Thomas Foran, General President : Jim Larkin, General Secretary.
- 1910—James Connolly returned from America and became member. Union affiliated to Irish Trade Union Congress.
- 1911—Union premises in Northumberland Hotel re-named Liberty Hall. Irish Worker, Union's weekly organ, founded. Connolly, Belfast Secretary and Ulster Organiser.
- 1912 Union proposal for founding Irish Labour Party moved by Connolly and adopted at annual meeting of Irish Trade Union Congress in Clonmel.
- 1913- Massed effort by 404 combined employers in Dublin to smash Union and force members to desert Union and repudiate policy of sympathetic strike and tainted goods. 20,000 men and women of Irish Transport and other Unions locked out for six months, with their families making one-third of city population involved. "Bloody Sunday" in O'Connell Street, August: proclaimed meeting dispersed by brutal police baton charge; many peaceable citizens injured. Union and Trades Council officials imprisoned. Police assaulted members in tenement homes and streets. James Nolan and John Byrne killed in police encounter. and Alice Brady, a young girl, killed by an armed blackleg. Support from all over Ireland. Scotland, Wales, England, U.S.A., Australia, etc. Food kitchen in Liberty Hall; ships with food cargoes from Trade Union and co-operative movements in Great Britain. Irish Citizen Army organised as workers' defence force.
- 1914—First World War began in August. Larkin sailed for America in October. Connolly, Acting General Secretary, Editor of Irish Worker and Commandant of Irish Citizen Army. Irish Worker suppressed by British military, December.

#### Insurrection

- 1915—Connolly armed and trained Citizen Army for insurrection and printed in Liberty Hall new series of weekly, *The Workers' Republic* and the volume entitled "The Re-conquest of Ireland". Streamer—"We Serve Neither King Nor Kaiser But Ireland "—removed by police from front of Liberty Hall.
- 1916—Ĵanuary, Connolly agreed with Military Council of secret Irish Republican Brotherhood on date for Insurrection and was coopted a member of that Council. Easter

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Sunday—Military Council, meeting in Liberty Hall, decided to begin Insurrection next day, April 24th, and signed Proclamation of the April 24th, and egited in Liberty Hall. On Irish Republic printed in Liberty Hall. On Easter Monday, Irish Volunteers, Irish Republican Brotherhood and Irish Citizen Army united forces in Insurrection with Connolly as Commandant-General directing operations of the Army of the Irish Republic in the Dublin Area and member of the Pro-visional Government with P. H. Pearse, Thomas Clarke, Seán MacDermott, Eamonn Ceannt, Joseph M. Plunkett and Thomas McDonagh. Liberty Hall shelled by British On defeat and surrender of Republican Troops, Commandant Michael Mallin of Citizen Army executed and his second-incommand, Countess Constance de Markievicz, of Citizen Army, sentenced to death commuted to penal servitude for life. Councillor William T. Partridge, Citizen Army, sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude with five years' remission. William O'Brien, Secretary, Dublin Trades Council; John O'Neill, Secretary No. 1 Branch : Thomas Foran, General President ; Cathal O'Shannon and Winifred K. Carney, both of Belfast ; Helena Molony and P. T. Daly, both of Dublin, and other Union officials interned in England and Wales. Connolly and MacDermott executed by British firing party, May 12, Union funds at Insurrection, £96: and membership of Union in Dublin. Belfast, Cork, Wexford, Sligo, Killarney and Waterford, 5.000.

Towards the O.B.U.

- 1917—Re-organisation on National scale all over Ireland begun under direction of Thomas Foran, William O'Brien and Thomas Kennedy, of Dublin No. 3 Branch. Liberty Hall restored. Executive Committee representative of the Branches formed. Head Office staff of two, and five Organisers appointed. At end of year, 40 Branches with membership of 14,000.
- 1918—Transformation into big General as well as Transport Union, Branches in every county in Ireland. Led Labour campaign and oneday All-Ireland general strike against attempt at conscription of Irishmen into British Army. Weekly Irish Opinion re-named The Voice of Labour and taken over as Union organ with Cathal O'Shannon as Editor. Union delegation at Annual Meeting of Irish Trade Union Congress met as Union Conference in Waterford. Mortgage on Liberty

Hall cleared. Propaganda for One Big Union organised in industrial sections. Rules rewritten; finances remodelled and local funds instituted for Branches; Head Office extended and staff increased to twelve. Membership at June 30th, 44,000; at December 31st, 68,000 in 210 Branches with 17 organisers of whom one was a woman. Annual Conference of Delegates of Branches constituted. William O'Brien appointed General Treasurer.

- Black and Tan, and Civil Wars 1919—Membership at end of year, 102,000 in 433 Branches. Dáil Éireann established, January. Union led co-operation of Labour Party with Irish Volunteers in upholding authority of Dáil and resisting aggression of British military and police. Year's income increased by 170% to £74,000; dispute pay, £41,000. 57% of income. Voice of Labour suppressed and immediately succeeded by Watchword of Labour.
- 1920—Increased wages. Approximately £1,250,000 secured for 59,000 union members. Union a special object of attack in British terrorist campaign. War by Black and Tans in second half of year. Liberty Hall and Branch offices throughout the country frequently raided. Watchword of Labour suppressed. Union Hall burned in Cork. Head Office transferred to 35 Parnell Square. Union led successful general strike of Dublin workers for release of hunger strikers from Mountjoy Jail. O'Brien arrested in Dublin, released on hunger strike from Wormwood Scrubs Jail, London. O'Shannon arrested in London, released on hunger strike from Mountjoy Jail, Dublin. Union members elected to local Councils and city Corporations in many counties.
- 1921—Black and Tan war intensified onslaught on Union Branches. Truce between British and Irish Armies. Anglo-Irish Treaty signed, recognising Dáil Éireann as national sovereign authority. Voice of Labour revised in, new series.
- 1922—Irish Free State established. Seventeen Labour Deputies elected to Dáil Éireann; 13 members and nominees of I.T. & G.W.U.; two Union members out of five Labour Senators. Union and Labour movement neutral in Civil War between pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty forces of Irish Republican Army.
- 1923—General depression in agriculture and industry. Union Rules revised. Internal crisis in Union resulting from attitude of General Secretary, Jim Larkin, on his return from

America ; secession of some Dublin sections to form new Union. End of Civil War. Dispute pay in fighting against wage reductions, £128,724. Larkin expelled from I.T. & G.W.U.

### Calm after Storms

- 1924—After legal actions in internal crisis, new rules in force; in new election, Thomas Foran, General President; Thomas Kennedy, Vice-President; William O'Brien, General Secretary; Archie Heron, Financial Secretary; Cathal O'Shannon, Political Secretary.
- 1925—In general election in the Six Counties of Northern Ireland, Belfast Branch Secretary, William McMullen, one of the three Labour M.P.'s.
- 1926--" Strike of the five houses" successful against attempt of Dublin Hotel and Restaurant employers to set up "house Union" in opposition to I.T. & G.W.U. Branch.
- 1927—Two General Elections in the Twenty-Six Counties within the year : Union and other Labour candidates at great disadvantage in second election.
- 1928 1929—Widespread depression throughout whole country forcing on Union many disputes in defensive action.
- 1929 1930—Decreased membership in smaller towns due to unemployment, compensated in part by increased membership in cities through improved methods of organisation. Irish Labour Party and Irish Trade Union Congress Annual Meeting at Limerick decided to separate its political wing from its industrial wing and to operate as two independent bodies.
- 1930—Building workers' Branch in Dublin successfully resisted employers' attack.
  1931—Union took leading part in bringing to a
- 1931—Union took leading part in bringing to a satisfactory conclusion a general building strike lasting from January to Easter, the biggest dispute in Dublin for several years.
- 1932—Compensation amounting to £2,000 paid by Irish Government for destruction of Liberty Hall. Claim had been rejected by the British Government on the grounds that the Union had been implicated in the Insurrection of 1916. In General Election to Dail Éireann, Labour Deputies were reduced to seven, of whom five were I.T. & G.W.U. members.
- 1933—In General Election to Dáil Éireann, five of the eight Labour Deputies elected and three of the six Senators were I.T. & G.W. Union members.
- 1934—In co-operation with the Labour Party the Union drew up and pressed proposals for

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Agricultural Wages Board for farm workers. A ten weeks' strike in which the Dublin Typographical Provident Society took sympathetic action, resulted from Dublin newspaper managements' refusal to meet the LT. & G.W. Union's Printing Section on a wages demand. This and a separate dispute in jobbing printing houses were notable successes in the printing trade.

- 1935 A strike of Dublin tramwaymen and busmen had a successful termination after eleven weeks.
- 1936—On the Union's initiative, a number of Joint Industrial Councils of workers and employers were established with I.T. & G.W.U. representatives on each. The Conditions of Employment Act came into force.
- 1937—Building strikes in Dublin and Cork and an agreement concluded with the Great Southern and Western Railway for busmen.

### In the Second World War

- 1938—Increase in membership through newly established industries. Wage increases approximately £250,000.
- 1939—Senator Thomas Foran, General President from foundation in 1909, retired and was succeeded by Thomas Kennedy. Second World War.
- 1940-William McMullen, Vice-President in succession to Thomas Kennedy.
- 1941—New Trade Union Act provided for licensing of trade unions of workers and associations of employers for purpose of wage negotiation. Emergency Powers Order restricting payment of increased wages.
- 1942—Emergency Powers Order amended to permit bonuses on points system to be given to wage-earners in increase of wages.
- 1943-Increase in membership in spite of displacement of workers in various industries. More strikes than in any war year.
- 1944—Transport Act merged railways and bus and road freight services in new company, Coras Iompair Eireann.

### New Regime

- 1945—I.T. & G.W.U. with other Irish Unions withdrew from Irish T.U.C. and established Comhar Ceard Eireann, the Congress of Irish Unions. O'Brien, Workers' Delegate, and O'Shannon. Workers' Adviser, at Paris Conference of International Labour Organisation secured for C.I.U. the right hitherto exercised by Irish T.U.C. to nominate Irish workers' delegation to I.L.O. End of Second World War. At first annual meeting of C.I.U. motion by I.T. & G.W.U. for legislation for new post-war machinery for settlement of industrial disputes was adopted.
- 1946—William O'Brien, General Secretary, retired under the age limit and was succeeded by Senator Thomas Kennedy, William Mc-Mullen succeeding Kennedy as General President, John Conroy becoming Acting Vice-President. Industrial Relations Act passed to set up the Labour Court for investigation and settling of disputes; Union nominee, O'Shannon, appointed a Workers' Member of the Court.

- 1947 Death of Senator Thomas Kennedy, General Secretary : Frank Purcell, Acting General Secretary, John Conroy elected Vice-President. New agreement for busmen concluded after prolonged strike throughout the Twenty-Six Counties.
- 1948 National Wages Agreement between C.I.U., Irish T.U.C. and the Federated Union of Employers and kindred associations reached after conferences under chairmanship of the Labour Court. Frank Purcell elected General Secretary.
- 1949 Membership increased to 130,000. Successful wage demands almost restored 1939 position. Monthly Journal Liberty established.
- 1950 Strikes averaged two a week. Widespread organisation of railway workers, including sections in clerical service. Big railway strike at end of year. Branch remittances over £90,000, more than £10,000 over previous year; dispute pay £20,869.
- 1951—Death of Thomas Foran, former General President, ex-Senator and member of the Council of State. Dispute pay £70,321, highest since £128,724 in 1923.

On to the Golden Jubilee

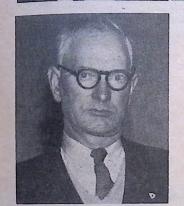
- 1952—National Agreement on claims for increased wages drawn up between C.I.U. and the F.U.E. and its kindred associations.
- 1953—Credit balance at end of year £584 9s. 2d., an increase of £108,126 9s. 0d. over 1952— Small decrease in membership due to unemployment. William McMullen retired from office of General President, succeeded by John Conroy with Edward Browne, Vice-President.
- 1954 Head Office transferred to 94 Merrion Square, West, and officially opened on May 12, anniversary of the execution of James Connolly.
- 1955—Finance £760,598. Liberty re-named Liberty Magazine. Special Delegate Conference on Report of Joint Committee of C.I.U. and Irish T.U.C. on draft Constitution for uniting of the two Congresses.
- 1956—Both Congresses adopted Report of Joint Committee and established the Provisional United Trade Union Organisation.
- Agreement between the Provisional United 1957-Trade Union Organisation and the Federated Union of Employers on collective bargaining and wage claims. Working Party representing workers' and employers' organisations, presided over by the Chairman of the Labour Court, issued detailed statement of points which might be taken to eliminate unofficial strikes or to lessen their incidence ; endorsement and implementation of these conclusions by the I.T. & G.W.U. and other Unions; result - lowest number of unofficial strikes for fourteen years. P.U.T.U.O. issued Draft Constitution for a united national Trade Union Centre for all Ireland.
- 1958—Demolition of Liberty Hall for replacement by new seventeen-storey building. Fintan Kennedy appointed Assistant to General (Continued on Page 52)

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.











### The National Executive Council

The National Executive Council of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union is elected for a term of 3 years by the delegates to the Annual Conference and may properly be called the Government of the Union. It consists of twelve members and the General Officers.

The members of the N.E.C. for 1958-1959 are (reading clockwise from the top left-hand corner): P. O'Brien (Trustee) of Dublin; E. Linehan of Cork; Sheila Williams of Dublin; George Judge of Limerick; J. Meehan of Belfast; L. White of Waterford; George Gillis (Trustee) of Dublin, J. Kelly of Dublin; M. Moynihan of Kiilarney; M. O'Halloran of Cork; M. O'Neill of Dublin, and N. Boran of Moneenroe.











iv

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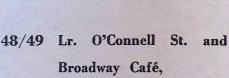
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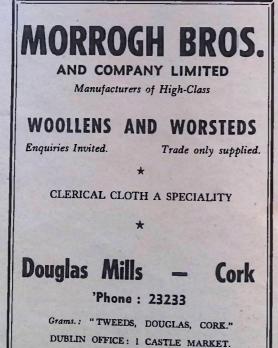
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Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.



HEN Thomas Kennedy was 17 years of age he joined the Labour movement —that was in 1904, and in July, 1946, when he became ill, he was still serving his fellow-workers. Within the period of those 42 years, he was associated with virtually every phase of the Labour movement. At 19 he was in Scotland with the late John Wheatley and the Catholic Socialist Society, and thus began his association with British as well as Irish Labour leaders.

### **Brought Connolly Back**

On his return to Dublin, he joined with William O'Brien and the Committee which brought James Connolly back to Ireland, and was in the heart of the Dublin Labour struggle of 1913. During the reorganisation period of 1917-1918 he was an official of No. 3 Branch in Dublin, and a few years later, during the crisis of 1923-1924, his strength was of great value to the Executive. It was in the latter year that he was elected as Vice-President, and further developed his fine qualities of leadership.

### President of Irish Trade Union Congress

For many years he served on the National Executive of the Irish Trade Union Congress and was its President in 1944, resigning in the following year when most of the Irish Unions withdrew to form the Congress of Irish Unions. A foundation member of the Central Council of the new Congress, he became its President in 1946 . . . in the same year he succeeded William O'Brien as General Secretary of the I.T.G.W.U., after serving from 1939 as General President, an office in which he succeeded Senator Tom Foran.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

# Thomas Kennedy

### Service as Judge

In the political arm of the Labour movement he was active for several years in the 1920's as a Labour member of the Dublin Corporation, and later served in the Senate. Perhaps a less wellknown side to his work was his service—during the Black-and-Tan war—as Judge of Dail Eireann's High Court in the South Dublin District.

### Representative at Geneva

Thomas Kennedy represented the Irish workers at the International Labour Conference in Geneva in 1931, and at many other international conferences in Europe. At home his services were used for the country on a number of Commissions and Councils, and he was one of the men who participated in the Congress of Irish Unions' Committee on the Industrial Relations Act. Another of his great services was as one of the men who secured the establishment of Trade Boards.

### A Fine Example

He was both kind and modest, with considerable skill as a negotiator and great tenacity of purpose, yet he also had the ability to reconcile groups with apparently opposite views. The Labour movement was the poorer for his death, but his fine example has provided a guide to the generation which has succeeded him.

### (Continued from page 49)

any year and the other is the payment of marriage gratuities to qualified female members up to a maximum of £10.

The continued growth and extended influence of the Union has necessitated the establishment and maintenance of an adequate and expert staff to ensure first-class service to the membership.

In addition to discharging its immediate respon-sibilities to its membership, the Union plays its part in the country's internal economy. It contributes substantially by way of taxes, rates and telephonic communication charges to the order of approximately £4,000 per annum and uses about £3,000 worth of printing and stationery each year, in addition to the publication of the Union's journal "Liberty" and newspaper publicity.

In the past twelve years, £155,000 capital expenditure has been incurred on premises and the Liberty Hall Re-Building Fund amounts to £230,000 inclusive of £40,000 transferred to this Fund for the year 1958.

Through the years, the Union has invested substantially in Government, Local Authority and Public Utility Funds and at the close of 1958 held investment certificates totalling £702,622. Of this,  £480,800 is in Government Securities, £209,322 in Local Authority Investments and £12,500 in Public Utilities.

For the first time in the history of the Union, the total assets now exceed £1,000,000. At December 31st, 1958, the total assets amounted to £1,051,843. Liabilities on the same date amounted to £3,715, leaving the net value of the Union's assets at £1.048.128.

The Golden Jubilee marks 50 years of dedication to the cause of Irish workers; the Union's preeminent position in industry and its place in our society are the results of the courage, loyalty and solidarity of the membership who, with the Union, have grown in stature, secure in the knowledge that in the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union there is acceptance of faith in the cause of Irish workers and of Ireland.

The task of the organisation will never be done until all those proper to our Union are enrolled into membership and thereby provide themselves with the means of improving their standard of living.

To-day the Union has branches and sections in every city and town in the Thirty-Two Counties embracing members employed in practically every industry and in more than 4,000 separate employments. 

MICHAEL GANNON, P.C., **Dublin County Organiser** 

Was a textile worker and joined the I.T.G.W.U. in 1936. Began his career in Union affairs as a part-time official in 1941, appointed Dublin County Organiser in 1948.

...........

Takes an enthusiastic interest in amateur dramatics; is a boxing judge of the Irish Amateur Boxing Association; and a sixhandicap golfer.





J. P. PATTISON, P.C., T.C. Secretary Kilkenny Branch.

Has been returned at every Local Government election since 1928 and holds longest unbroken membership of Corporation. Former Mayor of Kilkenny.



Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

JOHN CONROY WRITES ON -----The Past and the Future

successful.

ments.

and conditions initiated by the Union were very

During the Second World War and afterwards

the Union went from strength to strength and con-

tinued to lead the way in national campaigns for

extra pay and better working conditions. Its con-

stant militancy and outstanding leadership has attracted to it a membership of 150,000, making it by far the largest working-class organisation in the

To-day the Union has branches and sections in

every city and town in the Thirty-Two Counties

embracing members employed in practically every industry and in more than 4,000 separate employ-

The Union has never flinched from its tasks; has

never evaded its responsibilities and even in the

past decade alone - since the last war - has

expended approximately £400,000 in cash benefits to the membership, or, approximately £30,000 per

annum. In addition, and in keeping with social

development, the Union is now according two

additional benefits to its members. One is the exemption from the payment of contributions during illness for a period up to three months in

(Continued on page 56)

country, with assets exceeding £1,000,000.

THE Golden Jubilee of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union occurred on January 4th, 1959, when 50 years of faithful and invaluable service to the Union's members and the workers of Ireland passed into the pages of history.

Those years have seen the growth of an infant Union to a mature and powerful militant organisation that has dominated the scene of industrial relations in our country. Time passes and conditions change but the motivation of the workers of Ireland remains to-day as it was when a group of Quay workers met on January 4th, 1909, in the Trades Hall. Capel Street. Dublin, to give birth to the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union which they had conceived and planned during months of industrial and national stress in 1908. ...

The new Union was the result of

(1) the ineptitude of the British National Union of Dockers which operated ineffectively on the quays of Dublin;

(2) the growing feeling amongst Dublin workers that there was need for a national Irish trade union to cater for Irish workers; and

(3) the need for an Irish union that would not confine its activities to particular groups of workers but would embrace workers of all employments. These sentiments of the Dublin workers were echoed in Belfast, Cork, Waterford, Wexford, Sligo

and Newry, and within two years the Union had spread to these areas where, as in Dublin, its wages movements were characterised by great vigour and the use of the "sympathetic strike," tactics that soon won it the admiration of the workers of Ireland and the success that such vigour demanded.

This progress continued during the early years of 1920's when, despite the organised and other difficulties created by the Black and Tan War and the Civil War, the Union succeeded in organising more than 100,000 farm workers and winning many concessions for them. Following on the setting up of the Agricultural Wages Board, which resulted from the achievements and representations of the Union, organisation among farm workers lapsed and by 1932 the membership had fallen to about 30,000.

With the industrial revival in the early 1930's the membership of the Union began to increase again, when further campaigns for increased wages

### (Continued from page iv)

Secretary. National Wages Agreement between P.U.T.U.O. and F.U.E. Union assets for first time exceeded £1,000,000. Special Delegate Conference of Union approved Draft Constitution prepared by P.U.T.U.O. for a Trade Union Centre for all Ireland.

1959-Golden Jubilee of the foundation of the Union celebrated from January 4th in Dublin and throughout the country; con-gratulatory messages from Trade Unions in

on January 5th approved final draft of Constitution for united Central Organisa-tion under title Irish Congress of Trade Unions. Congress of Irish Unions and Irish Trade Union Congress adopted Constitution of Irish Congress of Trade Unions, with John Conroy as President. Death of Patrick Dunne, last of foundation members of the Union with continuing membership from

Two Presidents — John Conroy, General President, I.T.&G.W.U., with the President of Ireland,

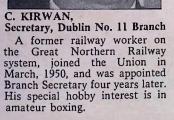
Sean T. O'Kelly.

Ireland, Great Britain and countries over-

seas. Special Delegate Conference of Union

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.





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1909.

FIRST GENERAL PRESIDENT 1913-1939 -

# Thomas Foran

Man! But Tom Foran was a big man long before he was given those honours, although he had the great virtue of humility and would never admit such a thing. In fact he would have laughed and scoffed at the suggestion.

#### The Dockers' Strength

He began his working life on the quays of Dublin, and his faith was always strong in the dockers who were the body of No. 1 Branch. When he died, the cortége — on its way from the Capuchin Friary in Church Street to Glasnevin Cemetery—halted before Liberty Hall where the dockers who were his heroes paid a last honour to the man who was undoubtedly their hero.

### Association with Connolly

In the Union he became one of James Connolly's closest associates, and learned his early lessons from him. These lessons — and the singleness of purpose which they gave him — were to prove invaluable in the work of rebuilding the Union in the years between 1918 and 1923.

### **Brilliant Negotiator**

Tom Foran had many gifts: he was a brilliant negotiator whose ready wit was appreciated at the conference table. But he was never witty for the sake of being amusing on these occasions, it was to make a point. He seemed to have a sixth sense in sizing up a meeting, whether of men or employers, and a capacity for hard work which was an example to all who worked with him in his days as General President of the Union.

days as General President of the Union. Another of his gifts was in his ability to impart knowledge to organisers. It was his training that helped to bring the membership up past the 100,000 for the first time.

#### The Indebted

Dockers and the men of the flour mills are among the many who owe much to Tom Foran's work as a trade unionist. Later he served the cause of Labour in another field — as a member of the Senate. Here the qualities shown at conferences were again of value and his contributions to debates sound and to the point. He first joined the Upper House of the Oireachtas in November, 1923, succeeding the late Thomas McPartlin : he retained his seat up to the dissolution of the first Senate in 1936, and after the Senate was reestablished under the new Constitution in 1938 Tom Foran was back " in the House ".

### Interest in Sport

This Dubliner, who was once a lively handballer in the capital's backstreets, retained his interest in sport — racing, fishing, golf — right through his life. But not until he retired from active participation in Union affairs was he able to thoroughly relax and enjoy them.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

# Cathal O'Shannon

A LIFETIME FOR LABOUR

O many trade unionists, Cathal O'Shannon is the small, white-haired alert man who peers down over his glasses from the Labour Court Bench and asks a friendly question in an apparently querulous way. It would surprise many to know that this gentle, kindly, frail man had faced death by gunfire, bomb and hunger-strike for Ireland and Labour. He helped to organise funds in Belfast for Connolly and Larkin in 1913 and before that he played a part in the foundation of our great union the I.T.G.W.U. He was a member of the I.R.B. at 17 years of age and a confidante of Connolly in 1916 and of almost all the leaders of Ireland's heroic years. In the I.T.G.W.U. and the T.U.C. he helped to organise the anti-Conscription Strike of 1918 that preceded later national and labour victories.

#### **Paternal Influence**

Born into a County Antrim family with roots in the 1798 Rising, his first memory is of his father reading *Reynolds News* and collecting for a strike on the Londonderry-Lough Swilly Railway and talking of the Republican movement. From Draperstown, Co. Derry, where his family moved in his earliest months, Cathal went to St. Columb's College, Derry, where he wrote the first of many thousands of articles on Ireland, books and biography and the output continues to-day—50 years on.

### Meeting with Connolly

In his first job as a shipping clerk in Belfast he helped to organise the railway and shipping clerks and got them a a rise and retrospective pay. He met Connolly organising his Socialist Party and the dock workers into the I.T.G.W.U. He attended Sinn Fein meetings. Soon he was a member and assistant to Connolly in the Union. He recalls Connolly sending him for "the black thing" (a revolver) to his home when the

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

1913 Lock-Out broke, and one never-forgotten morning when Connolly, reading of Sir Edward Grey's statement before war with Germany, saying : "Ireland missed opportunities before, but," laying his fist heavily on the table, "by God I will not let this opportunity pass !"

#### **Re-organisation**

Then came intense organising for the Union and Ireland; the Rising in 1916; jail, tragedy and glory in company with Labour and Republican heroes; escape and re-arrest by the Black-and-Tans after being on the run and using the free time to speak at Labour and Irish meetings in Britain. After the Truce, Cathal, with other Labour leaders like Tom Johnson, Bill O'Brien and Tom Farren, tried to avert the Civil War, but without avail.

#### Recognition

In 1922, on the eve of the Civil War, Cathal was elected a T.D. There was the hard, grinding, unheroic work of a union organiser, but came the honour of being elected Secretary of the Irish T.U.C. and later of the C.I.U. He was an able supporter and inspirer, in the background, of work for the unity of the Labour movement now achieved in the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. In all the years since 1922, Cathal O'Shannon was either editing or writing for Labour journals, engaged in negotiations or organising for the Union or preparing policy statements for Congress. In 1946 he was honoured by being made a member of the Labour Court. To-day he is a statesman of Labour and a gifted historical writer. He still believes that Ireland's national ills can be solved by Labour and sees in the I.C.T.U. the embryo of the movement of the future in which North and South will join together to recreate a new, better Ireland as part of a great federation of Labour in every land.

- ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY -



### FINTAN KENNEDY

DUCATED in the Catholic University Schools, Fintan Kennedy has been associated with the I.T. & G.W.U. since he was a youth when he joined the Head Office stan under Cathal O'Shannon, now a member of the Labour Court.

A son of the late Senator Thomas Kennedy, who was General Secretary of the Union up to the time of his death in 1947, Fintan Kennedy became head of the Movements Department of the Union in 1946 and was promoted to the position of Assistant General Secretary in 1958.

During his long association with the Union he has played a major part in its activities on a national basis and on behalf of the members has prepared and presented many claims before the Labour Court, Wages Tribunals, Joint Labour Committees, Joint Industrial Councils and other such bodies.

He is a member of the Sugar Confectionery, Women's Clothing, Creameries and Waste Materials Joint Labour Committees and secretary of the workers' side of the Bacon Curing, Hosiery and Catering Joint Industrial Councils.

Appointed a member of the Factories Advisory Committee by the Minister for Industry and Commerce, he is also a member of the working party set up to advise on the proposed new apprenticeship legislation.

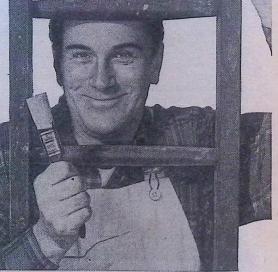
In 1957, as a nominee of the Congress of Irish Unions, he participated with a large number of European, Asiatic and American trade union leaders in a four-month course in economic science in Harvard University. He was appointed president of the European team and vice-president of the international team in the University and was selected to deliver the valedictory address before students and faculty of the University. During his visit to the United States he travelled extensively and addressed many meetings of trade unionists in various parts of that country. Subsequently he was invited by the E.P.A. to deliver a lecture in Paris to a group of European trade union officials. the professionals use

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## James Connolly

The Man and his Work

### By CATHAL O'SHANNON

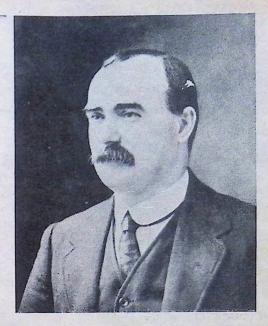
AMES CONNOLLY, Belfast Branch Secretary from 1911 and Acting General Secretary of the Union from October, 1914, until his execution on May 12, 1916, was born of County Monaghan parents in 1868 and reared in Edinburg.

As a boy in the Scottish capital he learned the hard facts of industrialism through grim experience in earning his living as a printer's devil on an evening paper, getting the sack because he was under age, and moving on to a bakery and various other poorly paid jobs.

Through a Fenian uncle he learned something of Irish nationalism and Irish revolts from 1798 onward and in his company attended street meetings and became interested in socialism as expounded by John Leslie and other speakers for the Social Democratic Federation. In that way he was brought up in the dual tradition of alliance in Scotland between United Irishmen and Scottish Reformers in the 1798 period, between Young Irelanders and Scottish Chartists in the 'forties, and between Fenians, Irish Land Leaguers and Scottish Land Nationalisers and Socialists in the 'seventies and 'eighties. That tradition and that alliance of revolutionary socialism and republican nationalism coloured his whole life and directed his life work.

In his youth in the S.D.F. he taught himself to address open air meetings and to debate, and after employment in various jobs, periods in Glasgow and other cities and an election in which he stood as Socialist candidate for St. Giles Ward in Edinburgh, he was associated with James Keir Hardie in the Scottish Labour Party, and in the early part of 1896 on the suggestion of John Leslie founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party in Dublin. With the help of a £50 loan from Keir Hardie he established The Workers' Republic as the organ of

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.



the I.S.R.P. and began to develop in the paper and in pamphlets his policy of linking the social emancipation of the workers with the Irish aspiration for national independence.

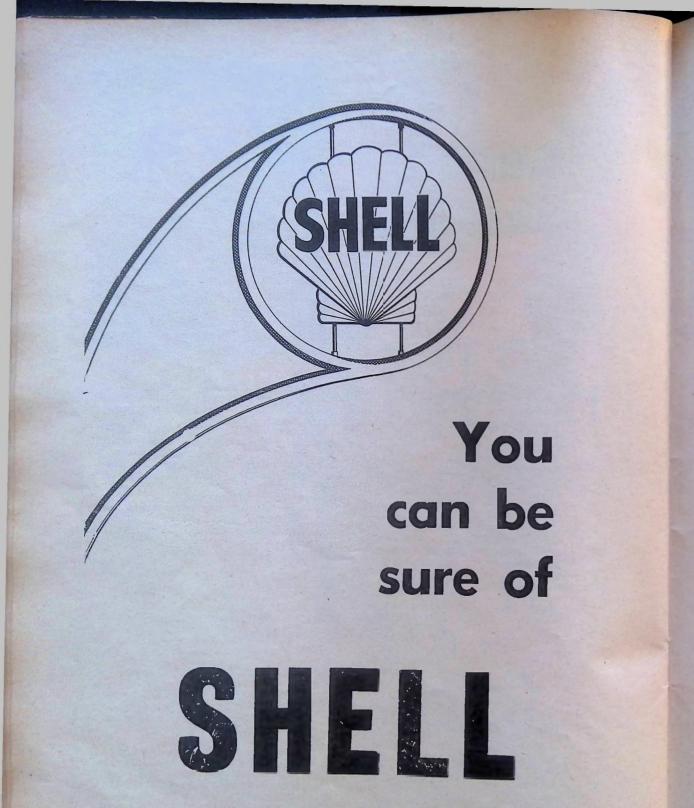
In Dublin he and the I.S.R.P. took an active but distinctly working-class part in the centenary commemoration of the United Irishmen of 1798 in conjunction with Republican organisations and established fraternal relations with the Socialist Labour Party in the United States with its propaganda of Industrial Unionism.

Through this American connection he undertook a speaking tour in the States and went from Dublin to Scotland to preside at the foundation of the Socialist Labour Party there in 1903 on the model of the American organisation.

In 1902 and 1903 he contested Wood Quay Ward as a Socialist candidate for Dublin Corporation, his candidature in the latter year being endorsed by Dublin Trades Council to which he was a delegate from the United Labourers' Society.

Later in 1903 he took his family to America, worked at a variety of jobs there, organised for the S.L.P., the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Party, and founded the Irish Socialist Federation and its monthly organ *The Harp*. Throughout his stay in America he kept in contact with William O'Brien and other old comrades in Dublin, and followed with keen interest the significant progress in Ireland of the new movements of those years in politics, trade unionism, cooperation and cultural activities as in the Gaelic revival.

With watchful and critical eye still on events at home Connolly saw the promise of great industrial and political achievement in the foundation of the militant Irish Transport and General Workers' Union in January, 1909, and of Cumannacht na hEireann, the Socialist Party of Ireland, a few months later. The links with his first years in



Dublin had not been altogether broken, and in the new resurgence of Irish Ireland the seeds planted in the 1798 centenary celebrations by him and other Separatists were beginning to bear fruit in the first decade of the century.

Out of this came the decision in 1910 to invite Connolly to return to Dublin and become Organiser for the S.P.I. The invitation was issued by the Committee of which William O'Brien was Secretary and after its acceptance Connolly anticipated his arrival by sending to O'Brien for printing the text of his work "Labour Nationality and Religion" written in reply to the Lenten Discourses delivered that year against Socialism by Father Robert Kane, S.J.

Connolly reached Ireland with his family in July, 1910, became a member of the I.T. & G.W.U. and as Organiser for the S.P.I. went on a speaking tour of Belfast, Cork, Cobh and other centres.

In a manifesto issued about that time by the S.P.I. he declared: "We mean to make the people of Ireland the sole and sovereign owners of Ireland, but leave ourselves free to adapt our methods to suit the development of the times."

In that he expressed the aim and the principle upon which he acted through the years from 1896 to 1916.

Connolly had taken up residence in Belfast in 1911 and at the request of supporters of the Union he was appointed Branch Secretary there during a strike of seamen in that and other ports. His successful leading of a strike of the men on the low docks and vigour in organisation of new members placed the Belfast Branch on a firm footing for the first time and gave him and the Union a front position in the Labour Movement in the northern city in spite of the peculiar difficulties of the religious and political disturbances prevailing in Belfast. Along with the Union Branch, at 122 Corporation Street, he established in York Street, Belfast, the Irish Textile Workers' Union for the women workers in the linen mills. In this, the Secretary was Mrs. Marie Johnson, wife of Thomas Johnson, afterwards Secretary of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, first leader of the Labour Deputies in Dail Eireann and a Senator, and until recently a member of the Labour Court. Mrs. Johnson was succeeded as Secretary by Winifred Carney, who, in the Rising of 1916, was Secretary to Connolly and the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic. After the surrender she was interned in England until Christmas 1916.

As one of the Union's delegates to the annual meeting of the Irish Trade Union Congress of 1912 at Clonmel, Connolly moved the resolution establishing the Irish Labour Party and he was a member of the Parliamentary Committee, or Executive, of the Congress until his death in 1916.

Under Connolly's leadership the Union in Belfast was an active force in the political Labour movement, as well as in trade unionism. Another of his achievements was the unification of Socialist groups in Belfast and in Dublin in a new organisation, the Independent Labour Party of Ireland. And in Belfast as in Dublin he was a strong supporter of the militant sections of the Suffragette campaigners for votes for women.

In 1913 he was a candidate in Dock Ward for Belfast Corporation and in a characteristic election address declared boldly for socialism and national independence for Ireland. And in the inflamed atmosphere in the North created by the Home Rule Bill of 1912 and the rise of the Carsonite Ulster Volunteer Force in armed opposition to it, he spoke and wrote with great power against the partition of Ireland and the intriguery and

a take being a

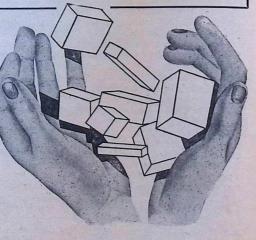
COLOUR	IRELAND and LABOUR THE WRITINGS OF JAMES CONNOLLY
PRINTERS • CALENDARS FOR COMMERCE • PRINTING FOR INDUSTRY	LABOUR IN IRELAND1. Labour in Irish History.1. Labour in Irish History.1. The Reconquest of Ireland.Introduction by Cathal O'Shannon.3. SOCIALISM AND NATIONALISMIntroduction by Desmond Ryan.3. Socialism And National Ryan.3. Socialism And 
• ALL TYPES OF BOOK-BINDING	Image: Ward of the sign of the transport & General Workers' Union         10 FLEET STREET       ::       DUBLIN.         REPUBLIC OF IRELAND.

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treachery of politicians of both the Carsonite, or Orange, and the Redmondite-Devlinite varieties.

When the great onslaught of Dublin employers was launched in August, 1913, to crush the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union under an iron heel and to break for ever the weapons of the sympathetic strike and tainted goods, Connolly was called from the Belfast office to Dublin and threw himself into the fight with all his strength and resource of voice and pen and brain.

On his arrest in the early days of the lock-out he defiant'y refused to recognise the Court and on his imprisonment in Mountjoy Jail, he compelled his release by going on hunger-strike.

Some of his best writing went into the articles he wrote during the struggle and the statements he prepared in the name of the Dublin workers' spokesmen.

At the outbreak of war in August, 1914, he declared his resolute intention to enter into armed insurrection before hostilities ceased and prepared to co-operate to that end with those men he considered had a similar purpose in the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Irish Volunteers. That decision he began to put into effect some two months later when he became Acting-General Secretary of the Union and Commandant of the Irish Citizen Army on the departure of the the General Secretary, Jim Larkin, to the United States.

At the same time, as he worked for insurrection through the following year and a half, he brought the Union in Dublin back into effective action on the industrial field, secured recognition for it by employers who had repudiated it in 1913, closed the ranks that had been shaken, conducted wage demands, negotiations and strikes and by careful husbanding of scanty assets and marked ability in

### "Liberty" MAGAZINE

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of keeping up-to-date on Union affairs,

of learning a little more about the achievements of the past and

the aspirations for the future.

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its function as the voice of the

Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

administration restored the confidence of members and won for the Union the respect of friends and even of some opponents.

In 1915 he installed a printing press in Liberty Hall and printed on it the volume entitled "The Re-Conquest of Ireland" and a new, and insurrectionist, series of the weekly *The Workers' Republic* in succession to *The Irish Worker* which had been suppressed in December, 1914. Liberty Hall became an arsenal of the ideas and the material of revolution.

The rest of the Connolly story is written in the preparation and the carrying out of the Rising of Easter Week 1916.

Here now it need only be added for the complete and accurate historical record that, contrary to an erroneous and misleading legend repeated over the years and recently renewed in a stage play, which Connolly in January, 1916, came at a conference at Dolphin's Barn, Dublin, to agreement with the Military Council of the I.R.B. on the date for the Insurrection, he acted on invitation and of his own free and ready will, without any duress, armed or otherwise, and without any element of "kidnapping".

The final decision to fight on Easter Monday was taken in Liberty Hall on the Sunday by the seven signatories of the Proclamation of the Irish Republic. The Proclamation was printed in Liberty Hall; and from Liberty Hall Connolly marched with his colleagues to the General Post Office.

In the week's fighting Connolly was Commandant-General directing the operations of the Dublin Division : "the guiding brain of our resistance" as P. H. Pearse, Commander-in-Chief and President of the Provisional Government, said in his last dispatch the day before the surrender.

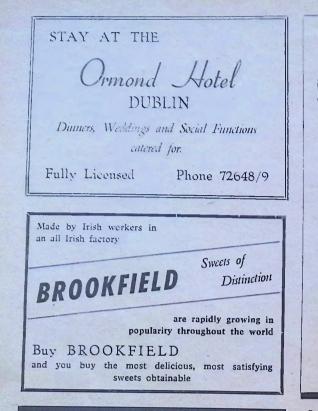
Connolly, in his own last dispatch on the same day, paid this tribute :

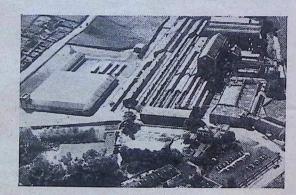
"Let us not forget the splendid women who have everywhere stood by us and cheered us on. Never had man or woman a grander cause, never was a cause more grandly served".

Severely wounded on the Thursday and in great pain, he was taken on a stretcher to Dublin Castle after the surrender on Saturday, was court-martialled in bed in hospital there and was executed, propped in a chair, in Kilmainham Jail, on May 12th, 1916.

"Let us then, with glad eyes, face the future. Ireland salutes the rising sun, and within Ireland Labour moves with the promise and potency of growing life and consciousness, a life and consciousness destined to grow and expand until the glad day when he who in this Green Isle says 'Labour' must say 'Ireland' and he who says 'Ireland' must necessarily be planning for the glorification and enobling of Labour."

-James Connolly.

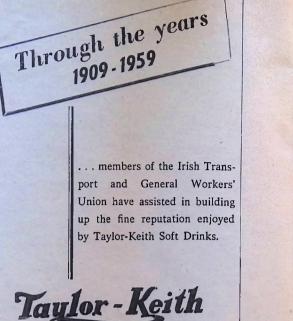




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We could go on and on about what we have done but we prefer to look to the future — to further progress and development that will make us, and indeed all Irish people, always proud to display and talk about —PRODUCTS BY SUNBEAM.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.



An unusual picture of the Union World Prize Band, in Portobello Studios, immediately prior to their successful broadcast from Radio Eireann.

## Union Plays an Active Part in Social Activities

HILE it is true that the primary purpose of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union is to negotiate wage rates and conditions of employment for its membership, the objects of the Union also lay it down that the education of workers in social, industrial and political affairs is of particular importance in the establishment of industrial and political democracy in Ireland.

The Union's objects likewise provide for :

"The establishment or carrying on, or participating, directly or indirectly, in the business of printing or publishing a general newspaper or newspapers, or of books, pamphlets, or other publications, or of any other kind of undertaking, industrial or otherwise, for the purpose of furthering the interests of the Union or its members or of Trades Unionism generally . . ."

"The furtherance of, or participation directly or indirectly, in the work of any organisation, local, national or international, any or all of which are similar to ' those of the Union' . . ."

"The provision of opportunities for social intercourse and recreation for its members."

The history of the Union over the past 50 years has shown conclusively that the attainment of the Union's primary objective — that of being an effective negotiating body for the membership — has been, still is and always will be dependent in large

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

measure on the implementation of the secondary objectives stated above.

The membership and leadership of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union have never been two distinct and separate units. They have always been inter-dependent, inter-linked, for the one is complementary to and augmentative of the other.

As a consequence, a policy has been pursued over the years whereby the closest possible liasion has been maintained between the members and the executive authority. This policy assured the democratic functioning of the Union and all aspects and facets of its affairs and activities are diligently reported to the membership. Thus, the necessary common and close bond of association is realised and maintained.

What has helped immeasurably in this connection has been the regular dissemination to the membership of reports, statements and data pertaining to the administrative, financial and industrial business of the Union. We, in this Union, have long realised the value and importance of the printed word and each year the National Executive Council issues a comprehensive Annual Report which, apart from the information it contains, is a means of extending the education of the members in matters relevant to their social, economic and political spheres. BULMERS LTD. Congratulate the I.T.G.W.U. on its GOLDEN JUBILEE

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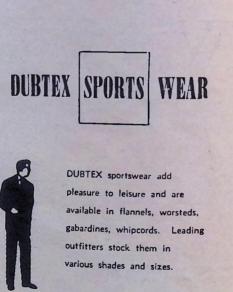
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Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.



The Liberty Study Group, under the chairmanship of P. Clancy. held a symposium on "The Free Trade Area and the Irish Worker" at the Four Courts Hotel. A packed house heard expert opinions on the impact of the Free Trade Plan on this country's economy.

The Union's policy of furthering the education of workers in social, industrial and political affairs has not, however, been confined to the issue of pamphlets or Reports. The Union views its responsibilities in this connection from a much broader viewpoint and has always co-operated with vocational and other educational authorities in the establishment of special classes and courses for workers and trade-union officials and consistently encourages its members and officials to participate actively in such courses. Financial assistance is given the members towards this end and over the past ten years in particular there have been striking results.

Through broader knowledge of the economic and social problems that beset us, the members are in a better position to understand the complexities of negotiations and policy-framing and they are also better armed to participate more actively and fully in social and political affairs generally.

Towards the realisation of this objective, the Union publishes a monthly journal—Liberty Magazine—which is acknowledged to be the country's outstanding medium for the dissemination of information and knowledge on industrial, economic and political affairs to workers. The continued expansion of Liberty circulation speaks volumes for its value.

Modern trade unionism is such that no longer is it necessary for those in the Labour Movement to do battle on the basis of class warfare. It is now accepted that the trade union movement is an integral unit in our society, discharging a most

### (Continued from Page 33)

It would be wrong to assume, because of the relative numerical weakness of the Union in Ulster, that it has been ineffectual in the discharge of its obligations to its members. The contrary is the case, and in the centres in which it now operates, which include Belfast, Portadown, Magherafelt, Newry, Derry and Monaghan, it has secured conditions of wages and hours of labour comparing favourably with those established by competing trade union organisations.

Is it a vain hope that the Province which wrote so glorious and imperishable a chapter in the cause of nationhood, will return once again to its Republican principles of 1798 and lead the Nation towards a regenerated Ireland with a fuller, happier and brighter life for its people?

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

responsible and important service to workers and the community.

Organised labour has played a predominant part in the improvement of our country's economy. This it has achieved by the improvements it has secured in workers' standard of living, by the influence it has exercised on industry and government to have an ordered and rationalised ethical code applied in employment generally by agreements and by legislation ; it has been instrumental in increasing productivity, securing a mutual recognition of rights and responsibilities by employers and workers, increasing the consuming power of the workers with consequent expansion of industry and, in short, in improving the whole social order.

Coincident with this progression has been the logical extension of workers' interests and participation in other spheres. The better standard of living they enjoy, the better housing, social services and social amenities—all of which have been influenced to an immeasurable degree by the trade unions—have led to more appreciation of the cultural things in life.

Our Union has always been conscious of this development and has contributed in many ways to its implementation.

Over the years, study groups, social groups, dramatic societies, symposiums, athletic competitions and other enterprises have been fostered by the Union in one form or another to assist in the development of workers' knowledge and interests in cultural subjects.

In addition, the Union formed in 1919 what has become the foremost civilian musical combination in the country—the Union's World Prize Brass and Reed Band. This band has brought renown and glory to the Union and to the country for, in addition, to its many successful seasons of public recitals, it has competed successfully in international musical olympiads. Here again is an outstanding example of the Union's acknowledgment that it is not by bread alone that man lives. The years ahead will see many changes in our economic, social and political affairs and institu-

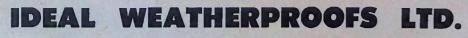
The years ahead will see many changes in our economic, social and political affairs and institutions, but no matter what happens, it is safe to record that the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union will always be fully alive to its responsibilities to its members and the community as a whole and will continue to assist in the development of a way of life that is full in all its aspects, democratic in its application and Christian in its character.

# In the "good" old days before 1906

Of course, the good old days were not so good. Behind the glitter of the gay nineties was a story of squalor, sweat shops and child labour. With the new cen-

tury came the fight for better working conditions and an end to exploitation of the worker.

In Ireland, the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union played a major part in the emancipation of the worker and we take pleasure in associating ourselves with this tribute on the occasion of their Golden Jubilee.



CORK AND DUBLIN

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.



move us to

Congratulate

THE IRISH TRANSPORT & GENERAL WORKERS' UNION

> on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee

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## THE COUNTESS WAS THE NEW NATION'S FIRST MINISTER FOR LABOUR

Constance Markievicz was appointed as Ireland's first Minister for Labour by Dail Eireann in 1919. This historic letter was one sent by her to "Seamus O'Brien" who was Jim Fitzmaurice, a Union Organiser operating in the Waterford area. This letter has been presented to the Waterford Museum, by whose courtesy it is reproduced here.

### (Continued from Page 17)

Dublin. As a member of the Rathmines Urban District Council, she was inspired by this love to fight for the purchase of the swimming bath site at Williams Park. On the day before she left us for Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital, never to return, it was this love which gave her strength for her last big effort and as a source of health and of charity. Scorning pain and

"But 'Madee's' especial love was given to children—particularly to the underprivileged children of Dublin. As a member of the Parti sickness, she left her bed to attend ming pool.""

> Thanks to the indomitable spirit of Countess Markievicz, a site was purchased at Williams Park. But the children are still without the swimming pool which she envisaged as a Godsend to harassed mothers happiness for children denied the

joys of the seaside. Says Mrs. MacMahon, "Now, with the devel-opment of Kimmage, Mount Tallant Avenue and other neighbouring districts, the Rathmines swimming pool is more than ever desirable. Those of us who value the Countess's memory feel that to bring the scheme to fruition-even at this late date-would constitute the most suitable memorial to the woman who believed that the welfare of the children of Ireland's workers should be the first care of the new Ireland."

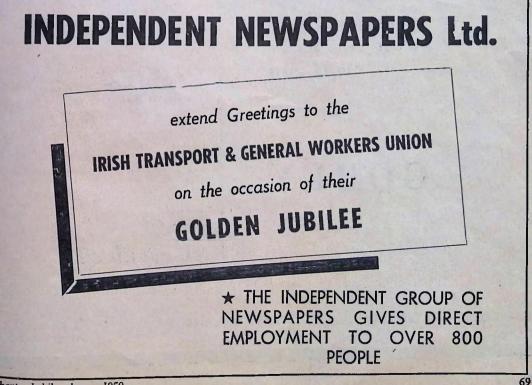
DAIL EIREANN.

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Lant. Bootasbar, 1981



Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

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O'Keeffes Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959. Rev. Michael J. Moloney, S.J. of the Catholic Workers College, points to the need for

# ADULT EDUCATION for TRADE UNIONISTS

E have all heard of self-educated men and women ; we have heard of experience as the great educator ; we have heard of people being educated "in the school of life", and in all of these ways we recognise that a certain form of development of the particular person has taken place, to make him or her the kind of person we recognise. We do not necessarily recognize that the development is of the best order. The "school of life" may not have indicated the best principles, nor formed the best type of character ; the persons may have been wrongly influenced in the choice of qualities they have developed. How frequently do we hear people assert as an excuse for their cynicism, their mistrust of others, their disregard of obligations, their lack of interest in the deeper meaning of living, that "life and experience have made them that way."

The primary value of education is what it makes of the person who is being educated. What manner of man does he become? Adult education for Trade Unionists is no different under this aspect than is adult education for any other group. Mem-bers of Trades Unions must derive value from education in their purely personal character as men and women. We admit that Trades Unions will be according to the character of the men and women who compose them. How their person-alities have been formed and developed will have a direct impact on the quality, character, tone and activities of the organisations to which they belong. It is men and women who make or unmake, cause to succeed or fail, to advance or decline, the organisations of which they are members. Hence their personal formation is of direct value to these organisations. Adult education for Trade Unionists must have as one of its elements the enlightenment of members, and the formation of habits that accord with this enlightenment, concerning the nature and personality of the human being and the nature and objects of human society.

An individual's personal life and development is dependent on the values that he appreciates. There is a tendency evident in some forms of education to ignore values that relate to the fundamentals of living. There is consequently missing in these forms of education elements that are formative of

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.



Rev. E. Kent, S.J., Director of Studies at the Catholic Workers College.

a fuller understanding and appreciation of life. There is no one who is not aware of the defect in the expert in any particular branch of human knowledge, who has little knowledge or appreciation of the broader field of human nature, human rights and duties, human association and co-operationin short, the fundamentals of human life and relationships. A great deal will always depend on what manner of man the expert is. Is it not a general experience that when a new man is appointed to the management and control and direction of others the primary question that is always asked concerning him by his subordinates and, indeed, by his superiors, is "What kind of a man is he?" Correct education will make him the kind of man that an expert needs to be. His expertness may be a danger rather than an advantage to himself and others unless he is a mature, developed, balanced and suitably social personality.

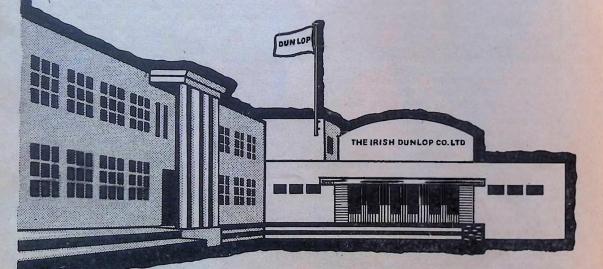
Trade Union members as individuals should in the main be men and women of enlightened and responsible outlook. Their education should be such as will enable them to lead fuller lives, and will at the same time make them informed and active concerning the nature of the family and its relationships, and its place in the development of the citizens of their country and the future members of trades unions. The needs and responsibilities of family living should form a section of their educative process, leading them to understand and appreciate what needs to be done to encourage satisfactory family living.

Into the development of this knowledge and appreciation will come the consideration of family incomes, family housing, family services, the relations of industry, service and transport organisations to the family, the standards of living and the economics of family life. Such education must impart knowledge of the place of the family in the community and encourage enlightened action for the benefit of families in the light of concrete economic and social realities. Theory and practice must be wed in such education and the teachers must be people who understand both fully and are able to form a balanced and mature outlook in their students.

20

# Rough roads and smooth

Much has happened in Ireland since 1909. There have been setbacks as well as advances, disappointments as well as triumphs. In this crucial period of our history, few achievements can be found to match that of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, which in its accumulating strength and authority has proved to be one of the mainstays of our young democracy. The Irish Dunlop Company, offers its sincere good wishes to the Union on this its Golden Jubilee.



**DUNLOP** for progress

THE IRISH DUNLOP COMPANY LIMITED DUBLIN AND CORK

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

We should like through "LIBERTY" MAGAZINE to extend our congratulations to the IRISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION

> on attaining their GOLDEN JUBILEE

# **Dublin Evening Mail**

ESTABLISHED 1823

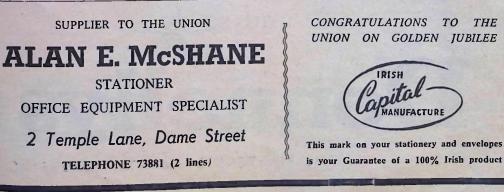
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as for any other group in the community. They should be well-informed and mature in their knowledge of the political and social realities and problems of the community. The developments in social, economic and political affairs in the international community are not without interest and value to us here in Ireland. We gradually but inevitably experience their impact and we should, through adult education, be kept aware and appreciative of developments in these spheres in other countries.

Greater appreciation of art, literature, music, both of the classic and folk types, should form part of an adult's development and should be included in a programme of adult education. It is a wellknown fact that in the past large numbers of trade union members were well-read men. The circumstances in which they lived inclined them in this direction, but to-day, with films, radio and television, education for appreciation of the finer arts is essential if that appreciation is to have any depth and exercise a formative and liberalising effect in human life.

In this modern world trade unionists and trades unions are going to have a greater and more active part to play. Providing adult education is only the first step; the acceptance and use by the individual trade union member of what is provided is perhaps more important. In this jubilee year should not one consider that the men who have led the movement were for the most part self-educated in their adult life; and should one not proceed to consider that the advancement of the movement to-day and in the future will be by men who will not "be educated out of the movement," as is happening elsewhere, but by men and women who seriously partake of the adult education that will make them better as persons and better members of the movement to which they belong.

On principles such as these the Catholic Workers' College in Dublin bases its programme of adult education for trade unionists, over five hundred of whom are currently attending its courses.



Don-n-Nelly wish everyone a happy Golden Jubilee! — and so do



THE MASTERS OF MEAT PROCESSING

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

Adult education for trade unionists should cater for the occupational life of its participants. The nature and purpose of work in human life should be made clear: the attitudes to work needed by human beings in the exercise of their activity so that work and life will not be divorced. Such education should aid men and women to live at their work, to make their activity at work an expression of living. This would involve enlightenment on all the modern developments concerning the betterment of all the conditions at work and of work, and not merely the material conditions. The whole field of labour-management relations would here be included. The conditions of work would embrace the materials, the equipment, the methods, the physical environment, the quantity and quality of production, and the general efficiency of the industry, service and transport organisation in which each one spends so much of his life.

As an important part of a man's occupational life the particular trade union to which he belongs should form part of his study and instruction. Its nature, purpose and development is something on which he should be a well-informed person. Its spirit is a matter on which he should be enlightened so that his understanding and loyalty may be properly encouraged; and an appreciation of its history, its advancement and its expansion may encourage his interest and responsibility as a member. Education should foster an understanding of the place, authority and responsibility of a trade union, of the share that his organisation is called on to take in modern life if Labour is to have its rightful place in the development of the country.

Trades Unions, like every other living organisation, must develop their life or they will become retrograde and left behind by more vital organisa-tions operating in the life of the country. It will all depend on their members as to how well and how rapidly they will develop and for this their members must expand their knowledge of trade union, place, purpose and programmes, must enlarge their appreciation of its value and worth, must develop mature judgment concerning its proper mode of development, must actively, as individuals, interest themselves in the contribution each can and should make to the progress of his trade union. One of the scandals of the movement is the lack of active interest on the part of members to show enlightened loyalty and to inform themselves on purposes, values and objectives of their own movement. What retards the advancement and enlargement of trade unions is the narrow attitude and disloyalty of their own members. Adult education for trade unionists is the remedy for which this defect clamours.

Members of trade unions are citizens and education for citizenship would be an integral part of their formation. This is rather the province of their earlier schooling; but as trade unionists they are involved in special aspects of civic obligations and fuller civic formation is as much a need for them

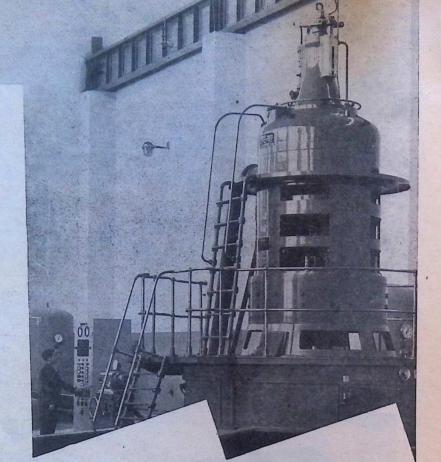


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# The Labour Court and its Work By Barry Desmond, B. Comm.

PROBABLY the most significant feature of the Irish industrial Act, 1955, and on occasions dis-

scene since the mid-30's has been the emergence of compact, powerful and somewhat exclusive trade unions operating within a well defined system of industrial re-lations. The parallel development of Irish Companies, Trade Unions and the Labour Court gives rise to some pertinent comments. This three-way division of influence and power gives the Irish economy a desirable diversity of viewpoint in determining the concept of workers' rights and in promoting moderation and economic policies by compelling important decisions to be reached by compromise and agreement.

The Labour Court, established under the Industrial Relations Act, 1946, has now been in operation for almost thirteen years and in that period it has issued over 1,200 Recommendations affecting almost all categories of workers in this country directly or indirectly. Scores of officials from all unions, employers' associations, local authorities, and Departments of State, have appeared before it at Conciliation and Public Investigation level. Criticisms of the Court's functions and procedures have been made from time to time, Dail Eireann has further passed the In-



Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

Act, 1955, and on occasions disputes, strikes, lock-outs, conciliation and arbitration proceedings have occurred with and without reference to the Labour Court.

From this activity it should be possible to review the work of the Court and to come to some general tentative conclusions on its success or otherwise as an institution designed, as the Preamble to the Industrial Relations Act, 1946, states, " to make further and better provision for promoting harmonious relations between workers and their employers . . . and for regulating rates of remuneration and conditions of employment and for the promotion and settlement of trade disputes."

The success or otherwise of the operation of the Labour Court must be viewed in its historical background and the intentions in the minds of the framers of the '46 Act. The restlessness of workers under the wages "standstill" orders, the fear that the freedom to make new contracts would cause hardship among many workers and impede the country's post-war economic recovery, the dislike of previous legislation—Conditions of Employment Act, 1936, and the Trade Union Act, 1941; the cost, difficulty and undesirability of presenting a labour problem to the civil courts, the growth in strength of employers' and workers' organisations, all gave rise to agitation on the part of trade unions, employers and independent bodies such as the Commission on Vocational Organisation that the post-war industrial relations adjustment should as far as possible be under the direction of an independent body. The '46 Act, establishing the Labour Court, is based on the idea that industry shall as far as possible be self-

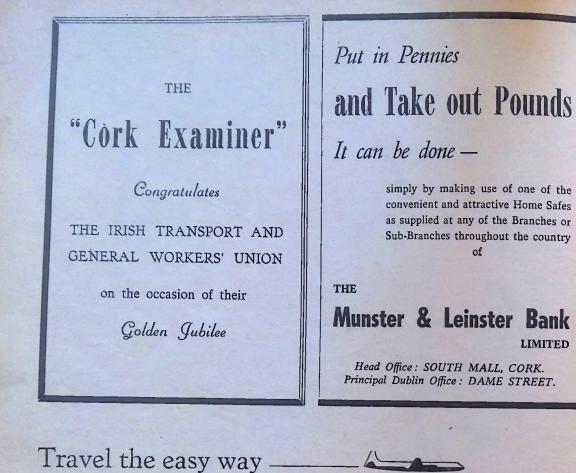


Barry Desmond, who is attached to the Movements Division in our Head Office recently completed a special course on economics in the U.S.

governing. Employers and workers should regulate their relations by means of collective agreements, either directly among tnemselves, or through machinery set-up within industry itself; or, in the last resort, with the help of an outside official body, the Labour Court. The Court's powers of intervention are hedged with many restrictions to safeguard the freedom of industry to settle its own disputes. Essentially, the Court is one of last resort and is but one of many ways of preserving peace in industry.

The other means mentioned in the Act are more important and fundamental because they are the creation of industry itself -- Joint Industrial Council Agreements, Registered Employment Agreements, Joint Labour Committees. In this field the Court has achieved a tremendous degree of success. Twenty-one Joint Labour Committees are in operation and eleven Joint Industrial Councils meet frequently. These Committees and Councils have received the full support of the unions and employers, and have acted as an effective and responsible negotiating medium. Complaint has been made about the length of time elapsing before proposals of Joint Labour Committees become effective. It means that the Court does its best to minimise delays but the procedure laid down by the Act necessarily entails delay. In this respect it must be noted that as many employers are not represented directly on J.L.C.'s this lengthy procedure ensures that they

77



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have ample opportunity to object to proposed orders.

## Mediation

Another notable feature of Court intervention in disputes has been the success of the Conciliation Section of the Act which states. "the Chairman of the Court may, before the Court undertakes the investigation of a trade dispute, appoint a conciliation officer to act as mediator in the dispute for the purpose of effecting the permanent settlement thereof or such temporary settlement as will ensure that no stoppage of work shall occur pending the investigation of the dispute. The Chairman of the Court may give a general authority to a conciliation officer to act as mediator in relation to trade disputes of a particular character."

## **How Conciliation Helps**

The Court took over the work done formerly by the Department of Industry and Commerce, and owing to the nature of this work it does not receive much publicity. but the figures issued in the Annual Labour Court Reports show that Conciliation is doing much to help industrial peace. The percentages of settlements resulting from Conciliation Conferences are as follows: 1956, 67 per cent.; 1955, 72 per 1956, 67 per cent.; 1953, 72 per cent.; 1954, 66 per cent.; 1953, 66 per cent.; 1952, 80 per cent.; 1951, 71 per cent.; 1950, 65 per cent.; 1949, 60 per cent.; 1948, 67 per cent.; 1947, 63 per cent.

## A Matter of Attitudes

It is necessary to comment, from a trade union viewpoint, on attitudes to conciliation and investigation by union officials and members to Court intervention in dis-

Vational

putes. Too often officials and union members forget that the Labour Court comes to its decision on any given case not on the simple justice of the claim as the worker sees or feels that simple justice but on the evidence, the arguments, and the facts brought before the Court in support of the claim and weighted against the evidence, the arguments and the material brought against the claim. To quote the well-known "R.E.Porter" in the June, 1949, issue of "Liberty" — "one must remember that there is a world of difference between trying to force or persuade employers to concede a claim and trying to convince a Court or tribunal that one's claim is justified and that favourable judgment ought to be given."

This aspect cannot be too strongly emphasised and it is fair criticism to state that on occasions the badly-documented and uninfor-mative submissions made by some union officials and employers result in a prolonged delay in the issuing of Court Recommendations.

## No Compulsion

The fundamental feature of a Labour Court Recommendation, namely, that the parties to the dispute may or may not accept the Recommendations needs emphasis from time to time. The broad variety of dispute issues, involving wage claims, dismissals, seniority, lay-offs, inter-union disputes, con-tainer traffic negotiations, etc., is an everyday feature of these Recommendations and it is to the Court's credit that since its inception about 75 per cent. of its 1,200 Recommen-

Finally, there are good grounds for affirming that the Industrial Relations Act, 1946, establishing

has largely achieved the general purpose for which it was designed. Its methods, its influence and opinions have, in the appropriate circumstances, proved acceptable to both employers and employees. It cannot, of course, be overlooked that during a period of the Court's existence from 1946 to 1957 inclusive an average of 245,500 production man-days per year involv-ing 12,800 workers per year were lost as a result of industrial disputes. The extent to which these averages have been influenced by the Court is a matter of conjecture. Nor can it be denied that the work of the Court is largely overshadowed by the volume of direct successful negotiations between unions and employers. On this note of realistic caution one must access the success or otherwise of the Court and attempt to forecast the future. Perhaps some day the members and officials of the Court itself will face "short-time working" and "redundancy" and it would indeed be exciting to listen to the Court official pleading to the Minis-ter for Industry and Commerce that

dations have formed a basis for the settlement of disputes.

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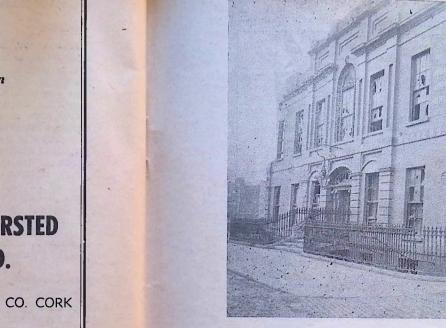
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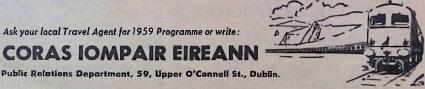
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# Headquarters for Workers' Freedom

SHIP-BROKERS' office . . . a hotel . . . a derelict building . . . the Northumber-Ind Steampacket Building – built on the Liffey's quayside in the first half of the last century was all these things before it was taken over by the Union in 1911.

But even before that date its rooms had heard the voices of men raised against injustice — in 1848 "The Northumberland" was the meeting place for the revolutionary sections of the Young Irelanders, and in the 1880's it became the centre for a branch of the Irish Land League.

The dignified façade of the building soon bore a new name when the Union moved in - LIBERTY HALL, And, as LIBERTY HALL, it became - and remained-the headquarters of a battle for workers'

rights for many years. During the grave labour troubles of 1913 Liberty Hall, in addition to being the headquarters, housed in its basement a food distributing centre. This part of the Hall was a scene of constant activity. teams of women. headed by Countess Markievicz, Helena Molony (a well-known Abbey actress).

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

Dr. Kathleen Lynn, and Mrs. James Connolly, prepared and served food to thousands who came daily. The recent demolition of the building disclosed a secret hiding place which held, in addition to other items, the slicing machine which was used for cutting bread and meat for making sandwiches during this period and later, in 1916, for the Citizen Army.

The outbreak of War in 1914 caused a set-back to the growing Union as unemployment became rampant and hundreds of members joined the British forces and went to France. But this year brought to Liberty Hall, as Acting General Secre-tary of the Union, James Connolly, a man who was, in the course of the following two years, to change the course of history. Connolly found the fortunes of the Union again at a low ebb, its treasury almost empty and the future anything but promising. He set to work, however, and as a result of his unceasing efforts and those of his fellow General Officers, the Union began a definite, if slow, recovery, and in May, 1915, the first National Delegate Conference was held in

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Liberty Hall. To this Conference came delegates from ten Branches — Dublin Nos. 1, 3 and 16, Bray, Inchicore, Kingstown (now Dun Laoghaire), Waterford, Wexford, Sligo and Cork — and the first Executive Council of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union was elected.

Connolly, in addition to his ordinary duties, found time to start the Union and Insurrectionist newspaper — "The Workers' Republic" — the first edition of which was printed and published at Liberty Hall on May 29th, 1915, but his greatest work there was the re-formation of the Irish Citizen Army. The Citizen Army had been formed during the 1913 strike, firstly to provide occupation for the unemployed men and secondly to protect meetings from the police. For this purpose the members were armed with sticks and hurleys. However, in its reorganisation, Connolly had greater aims in wiew than those of the original army. His intention was that, when the Army was large enough and well enough trained, it would fight for Ireland and the Irish working class. For some years the Irish Republican Brotherhood had been training its members for the same purpose.

In the summer of 1915 a booklet was published in connection with the funeral of O'Donovan Rossa and to this booklet Connolly contributed an article on Fenianism, promising to the I.R.B. the full support of the Citizen Army when, and if, the Volunteers were prepared to rise in armed insurrection and proclaiming that if that day was long delayed the Citizen Army would act alone. Little did Connolly know that the Irish Republican Brotherhood had already formed a secret Military Council and that the date for the Rising had already been provisionally decided. The Military Council lost no time in inviting Connolly to become a member —an invitation readily accepted. From then on, plans for the Rising went apace. Liberty Hall became an armed camp with a special drill hall in the middle of the building and other rooms set aside for military training of all forms. There was also an armed guard placed on the Hall and the building, except for the public offices, was being run on the lines of a military barracks.

On March 24th, 1916, exactly one month before the Rising, a newsagent's shop connected to the Hall was raided. Connolly was immediately on the scene, demanding to see the police search warrant. When this could not be produced, Connolly drew a revolver from his pocket and levelling it at the Sergeant in charge said — "Drop those papers or I'll drop you." The Sergeant did as he was told and with his men left the shop. Connolly immediately issued a general mobilization Order and within a half-hour the Hall was fully garrisoned. However, there was no return visit from the police.

Palm Sunday, 1916, brought a historic occasion for Ireland and Liberty Hall, as on that day the Irish Flag was hoisted over the Hall. On this historic day a space was cleared opposite Liberty Hall and the Citizen Army formed three sides of a square inside which the Women's section of the Army, the Fianna Boy Scouts and the Fintan Lalor Pipe Band took their stand beside a pile of drums. The flag was placed on top of the drums, James Connolly took up his position as Commandant, at

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

the head of his men, with his Lieutenants, Countess Markievicz and Michael Mallin on either side. A Colour Party advanced, Connolly handed the flag to the Colour-Bearer, who entered the Hall, climbed to the roof and fastened the flag to the flag pole. As the flag rose to the top of the pole to the roll of drums, a crescendo of cheering broke from the crowd that thronged every vantage point in a dense mass, in order to see the "flag of green" flutter in the breeze for the first time in seventy years. This was the first act of defiance and an irrevocable step had been taken, a step that was to lead in eight days to open conflict.

The Rising was originally planned to commence on Easter Sunday, 23rd April, 1916, but late on Saturday night it was suddenly cancelled and a meeting of the Military Council was called to take place in Liberty Hall at 8 o'clock on Easter Sunday morning. The meeting went on until late in the afternoon and then came to a decision, the Rising would commence at noon on the following day, with the occupation of the G.P.O. and other public buildings in Dublin.

On the Sunday morning two compositors, Liam O'Brian and Michael J. Molloy, and a printer, Christopher Brady, were called to Liberty Hall to print the Proclamation of Independence. The manuscript and composition of which is attributed to Padraig Pearse or Eamonn Ceannt, with amendments and additions in Connolly's handwriting, was handed to them by Thomas McDonagh. It was obvious to the compositors that the fount of type available was hopelessly inadequate so they decided to set up the first half of the document and when that was run off by Christy Brady, the type was broken up and the bottom half was set up. Owing to the shortage of type, different founts and even sealing wax were used to complete some of the letters. In all, 2,500 copies were printed.

All day Sunday, Liberty Hall was a hive of activity as men prepared for the fight and collected and packed rations for the men and bandages and other simple medical equipment for the wounded. When night came a concert was held to pass the time and keep the men in good spirits.

On Easter Monday morning four contingents of fighting men and women left Liberty Hall to take up their battle stations. The first party left at 11.35 and occupied Harcourt Street Railway Station, the last party, led by Connolly, Pearse, Clarke, McDermott and Plunkett, marched to the G.P.O., and set up headquarters there. Liberty Hall for the first time in over a year was unguarded, but the flag still floated defiantly over it. When the fighting started, the British, believing that the Hall was still occupied, sent a gunboat — the Helga — up the Liffey and opened fire on the Hall, despite receiving no return fire, the shelling was continued until the building was a shambles.

The fighting continued until the following Saturday when, in the face of overwhelming odds, the insurgent Leaders were forced to surrender. Connolly had been badly wounded in the legs early in the week, but continued to direct the defence of the G.P.O., from a stretcher. He, in company with the others Leaders, was arrested

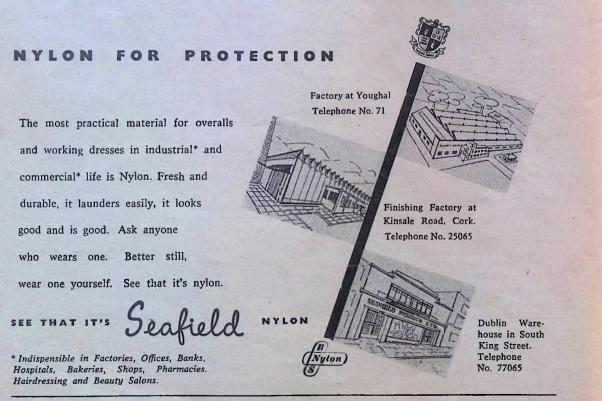


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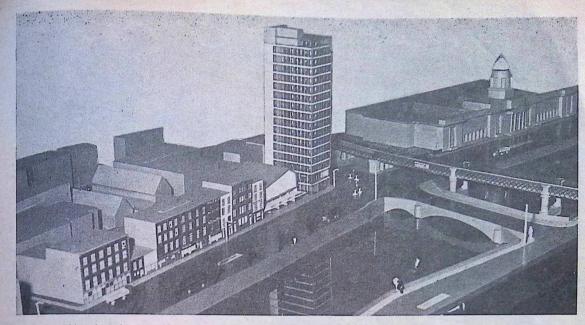
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and on the 12th May, strapped to a chair, he faced the firing squad.

The Rising was over, the Leaders dead and the rest of its participants in jail. Liberty Hall was deserted but the spirit of Connolly was not dead, and on Christmas night, 1916, a reunion of the Easter Week men was held there.

William O'Brien took Connolly's place as General Secretary and the work of rebuilding the Union and Liberty Hall and reorganising the Citizen Army was begun.

The Hall had been raided after the shelling and the furniture and records removed, but in the autumn of 1916, work was started, the Hall was tidied, the dangerous parts of the building pulled down and offices established in the few habitable rooms remaining. There arose a general zeal for trade unionism and by 1918 Organisers sent out from Liberty Hall had established 210 Branches of the Union in all parts of the country and the membership had risen to 67,000.

In the year 1919 the first Republican Government was elected and to it was elected Countess Markievicz, as Minister of Labour. Thus Liberty Hall and the Citizen Army had provided the Republic of Ireland with its first and only woman Minister of State and the first woman member of Parliament.

In 1919, the Black and Tans arrived in the country and the Citizen Army again became active, raids on Liberty Hall were frequent, but despite these difficulties the Union continued to thrive. Repairs to the Hall had begun in 1917 and the purchase of the Hall — commenced in 1913 — was completed in 1918. Although extensive repairs were carried out the building was deteriorating rapidly, and in 1935 a resolution was passed at the Annual Conference, that Liberty Hall should be de-

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

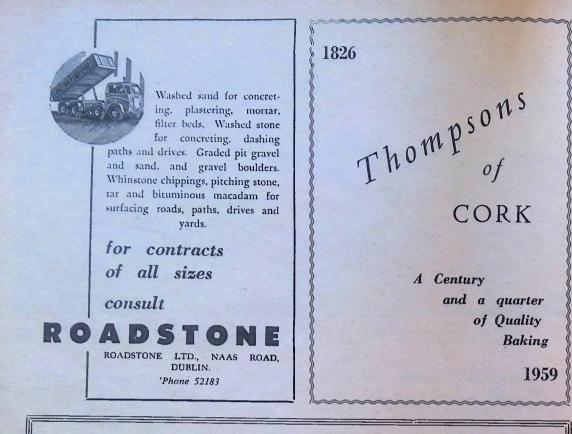
molished. For sentimental reasons, this work was delayed until 1950, by which time the building was in a very dangerous condition.

Due to the difficulty of securing premises, it was not possible to complete the evacuation of the old Hall until early 1956. Then planning for a new building and arrangements for the demolition of the "Old Spot by the River," were commenced. But it would seem that the old Hall was reluctant to go and numerous difficulties had to be overcome before, on February 25th, 1958, the demolition men moved in and in the short space of three months the old building which had seen so much history in its lifetime of 130 years, was levelled to the ground.

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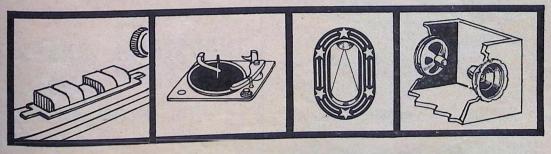
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# THE RIGHT TO PICKET

THE Trade Disputes Act of 1906 is one of the most important pieces of modern legislation favourable to trade unions. The Trade Union Act of 1871 relieved trade unions of onerous liabilities from which they had suffered for centuries. The Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act of 1875 legalised strikes. The 1906 Act affirmed beyond doubt the right to picket and also the right to engage in sympathetic strikes. What is the result of over 50 years' working of

this short Act? How have Irish courts interpreted its provisions? While, in general, the develop-ment of Irish case-law has been favourable to the trade union movement, in some respects practical and theoretical limitations have been placed on the rights intended to be conferred by the Act. Before 1906 picketing constituted the civil wrong

of "watching and besetting"; even to this day it still does, unless justified by the Act, i.e., unless carried on "in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute," as defined by the Act. It soon became clear, however, that in the opinion of the Courts there was a limit to the extent to which the provisions of the Common Law were overridden by the new Act.

In 1907 the late James Larkin addressed a crowd of strikers on a quayside in Belfast. In doing so he broke a by-law of the Harbour Commissioners, because he had not got their permission to use what was their property. When he was prosecuted

the case was made on his behalf that he was protected by the Trade Disputes Act, but on appeal the High Court held that the Act did not confer a right to enter on private property without the owner's consent. Ten years later this decision was followed by the High Court in another Belfast case in which a barman on strike entered licensed

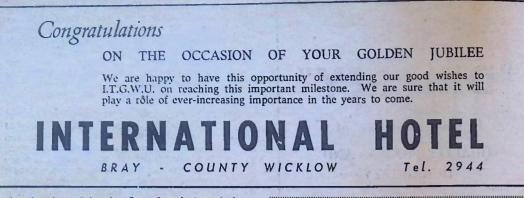
premises without permission. Not until 1937, however, was the theory that even peaceful picketing could be prevented on the ground that it constituted a trespass to the public highway, rejected by the Supreme Court of the Irish Free State in the Cork case of Ferguson v. O'Gorman. This decision explicitly states that the 1906 Act authorises the use of the public highway for peaceful picketing.

To get the protection of the Act, picketing must be not only peaceful but also in contemplation of furtherance of a trade dispute. A trade dispute is defined as any difference between employers and workmen, or between workmen and workmen, connected with the employment, non-employment, terms of employment or conditions of labour of any person.

The burden of proving that there is a trade dis-pute is on the party alleging it—the employee or his union in the normal case. This principle was decided in another famous Irish case in 1915, Larkin v. Long, in which the real parties were the LT. & G.W.U. and a stevedore at the Port of Dublin, who

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had refused to join the Stevedores' Association which had been promoted in order to improve the conditions of dock labourers. This decision of the House of Lords has remained unchallenged for 44 years; only 4 years ago one of our Supreme Court judges expressly approved of it in the case arising out of the strike at a public house in County Dublin.

But as a result of recent Irish decisions, it is far easier to create a trade dispute to-day than it was 40 or 50 years ago, especially as far as the Republic is concerned. The present favourable position was not, however, reached without long and costly litigation by Irish trade unions, which, on the whole, have every reason to be pleased with their success in this respect.

The position nowadays is that there is a trade dispute if an employee (with or without his union) has any genuine difference or dispute with his employer regarding his employment or the terms or conditions thereof. To give some recent examples will perhaps make clear how true were the remarks of an Irish High Court Judge when, in an action tried two years ago, he said : "The right to picket is a powerful weapon; there can be few who do not view the prospect of being picketed without grave disquiet; trade unionists would claim that this hard-won right ought not to be unreasonably curtailed."

In Quigley v. Beirne, decided by the Supreme Court in 1955, it was held that the difference of opinion which existed between the Plaintiff (a Dublin publican) and the Defendants (union officials and the publican's employees) was sufficient to conSALTS (Ireland) LTD.

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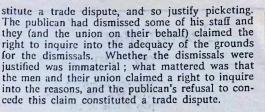
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Twenty years before, in the Dundalk case of McCobb v. Doyle, Mr. Justice Murnaghan expressed the view that "if a union adopts a principle and the principle is infringed and the union takes steps to remedy the infringement, then there is a trade dispute." It was doubted for long if the Courts would be prepared to accept this rather wide statement, but Quigley's case shows how nearly fully it has been adopted, for the Irish National Union of Vintners', Grocers' and Allied Trades' Assistants (to which Quigley's employees belonged) were there attempting to implement the union's policy of enforcing the terms of a written agreement (with the Licensed Vintners' Association) on all Dublin publicans, whether they were members of the Association (and so bound by the agreement) or not.

Another recent decision of the Supreme Court was even more favourable to the same union. The proprietor of the "Silver Tassie" public house at Loughlinstown, County Dublin, dismissed one of his staff on the ground that he proposed to work behind the counter himself. The union alleged that he was trying to turn the premises into a nonunion house by getting rid of members of the union



Liberty, May, 1959

in his employment. The Supreme Court, upholding the decision of the High Court, held that the genuineness of a trade dispute depended, not on what were the facts of the dispute, but on the good faith of the parties to it. It was immaterial whether or not the publican's excuse was true; the union genuinely disbelieved it, and by taking steps to retain the member in his employment they (and he) created a trade dispute and were entitled to picket the public house.

Turning to decisions which have had the effect of cutting down the right to picket, the most serious example in recent years is that of the Workmen's Club case, decided by the Supreme Court in 1955. To realise the importance of this case, one must bear in mind that by the 1906 Act workmen (an essential party to any trade dispute) are defined as " all persons employed in trade or industry." The employees involved in the Workmen's Club dispute were barmen employed by the Club in a bar open only to members of the Club and their friends.

When one of these barmen was dismissed because of redundancy, negotiations between his union and the Club broke down and the union picketed the club premises. But, because it was held that the Club was not engaged in trade or industry, it followed that the Club barmen were not workmen and so no trade dispute justifying a picket existed. This decision would appear to prevent picketing of, say, a golf club premises for the same reason, not to mention many other classes of workers. It has since been applied by the High Court in a Best Wishes from **Butlins** Holiday Camp Mosney, Co. Meath to I.T.G.W.U. on its Golden Jubilee 1909 – 1959

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dispute between members of the Marine, Port and General Workers' Union and the Commissioners for Carlingford Lough; because the Commissioners were not, in the judge's opinion, engaged in trade or industry, neither were their employees. Accordingly they were not workmen; the dispute was not a trade dispute and picketing was illegal. Two more recent examples serve as a further

Two more recent examples serve as a further example of the limitations placed on the right to picket. In the Bray Esplanade Pharmacy dispute (in 1957) a chemist remained open beyond the normal hours. An employee of a nearby pharmacy complained to his union of the probable effects of a continuation of this practice (mainly, the danger that he, too, would soon have to work the same hours); but the Supreme Court upheld the High Court decision that no trade dispute existed, and so the picketing must be stopped. It is far from easy to reconcile this decision with the later dispute between a Dublin furniture store and the Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks. The store remained open in the late evening with the approval of the staff, none of whom was in the union; the union, fearing the effects of a spread of this practice, took up the matter with the store, without any satisfaction, and then began to picket the store. The High Court held that there was a trade dispute and the matter was settled privately before an appeal came on in the Supreme Court.

Other limitations on the right to picket might also be mentioned. The Trade Union Act of 1941 provides that no union without a negotiating licence can picket. In industries which have a Joint Industrial Council there can be no picketing before any

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dispute has been referred to the Council and discussed by it; in addition, a registered agreement (which covers a whole trade or occupation) may prohibit a strike. Both these last two limitations were imposed by the Industrial Relations Act of 1946, which set up the Labour Court.

As to the manner in which picketing must be carried on, the law is clear ; most of the cases turn on the meaning of the word "peaceful". As already stated, the case of Belfast Harbour Commissioners v. Larkin decided that pickets may not trespass on private property, and Ferguson v, O'Gorman decided that trespass to the highway is permitted by the 1908 Act.

Another Belfast case already mentioned (McCusker v. Smith) is authority for the proposition that a picket may not obstruct passers-by, stand in their way or catch hold of them. The Monument Creamery case of 1938 held that for pickets to disseminate falsehoods could not be described as peaceful picketing. But Ferguson v. O'Gorman showed that prolonged and continuous picketing is permissible : there seems to be nothing to prevent picketing for 24 hours a day.

The question of a size of a picket came up for discussion in the High Court in the action brought by Brendan Dunne Ltd. against the I.U.D.W.C. members of the union, over 60 at a time, marched round a block of streets in Dublin taking in Mr. Dunne's shop on each "round." Counsel for the union argued that, apart altogether from the 1906



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Act, the parading was protected by Article 40 of the Constitution (which gives citizens the right, inter alia, to assemble peaceably); the Court refused to accept this argument. This case, if followed in the future, is also authority for the proposition that (apart from false statements made or displayed by a picket) it is unlawful for a picket to invite or recommend the public to support shops other than that being picketed.

Is the closed shop a trade dispute justifying a picket? No clear-cut answer to this important question can be given from Irish decisions. The Monument Creamery case was an attempt to enforce the closed shop ; but it was held not to be a trade dispute because the employer had not prevented her staff from joining the union if they wished; they were unwilling to do so. On the other hand in the Maher case of 1958 (a dispute between the owner of a cut-price shop in Dublin and the I.N.U.V.G. & A.T.A.) where the union was also attempting to have all the staff join the union, the High Court found that a trade dispute did exist, because (unlike the Monument Creamery case) one employee was already in the union. The moral clearly is that whether or not a trade dispute (which would protect a picket) exists depends on the facts of each case ; all the requirements of the Act must be satisfied.

Finally, it must not be forgotten that in Northern Ireland the protection accorded to peaceful picketing by the 1906 Act was withdrawn from persons participating in illegal strikes by the Trade Disputes and Trade Unions Act (Northern Ireland)



"In the long run the freedom of a nation is measured by the freedom of its lowest class; every upward step of that class to the possibility of possessing higher things raises the standard of the nation in the scale of civilisation." -James Connolly.

of 1927. A strike is illegal if it has any other object apart from furthering a trade dispute in the industry in which the strikers are engaged, or is intended to coerce the government either directly or by inflicting hardship on the community. A similar Act in Britain, passed after the General Strike of 1926, was repealed by the Labour Government in 1946.

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