MAGAZINE



Special Commemoration Issue

IRISH TRANSPORT & GENERAL WORKERS' UNION

GOLDEN JUBILES

1909

1959

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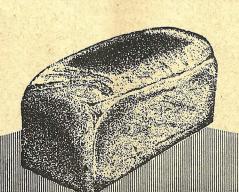
congratulations to the I.T.G.W.U

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.

The Irish Flour Millers express the sincere wish that the I.T.G.W.U. may continue to go from strength to strength and so play its rightful role in the future development of the country.

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

THE IRISH FLOUR MILLERS ASSOCIATION



MAGAZINE

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

Published by The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

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

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THE GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY

IRELAND LIMITED

extends warmest greetings and congratulations to the I.T.& G.W.U.

on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee



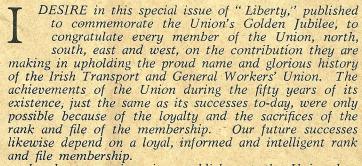
The General Electric Co. of Ireland Ltd., Magnet House, 13 Trinity Street, Dublin



Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.



the General President - John Conroy



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



This remarkable picture was taken by a Freeman's Journal photographer in O'Connell Street on the first "Bloody Sunday" when hundreds were injured and two were killed in indiscriminate baton charges.

THE FREEWAX'S DOUBLAL MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 1 18

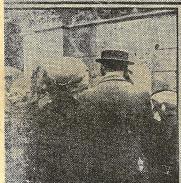
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Terrible Strike Scenes

there were repeated battom charges, and at one time. O'Commell street, power with summed and fallen people, was not unlike a bartlefield.











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.

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.

APPALLING SCENES IN CITY

FIERCE BATON CHARGES.

DATELINE SEPTEMBER 1913

HUNDREDS INJURED.

TWO MEN DEAD

HOSPITALS OVERCROWDED.

EMPLOYERS' MEETING

COAL TRADE LOCK-OUT

OF TRANSPORT WORKERS.

THESE WERE THE HEADLINES



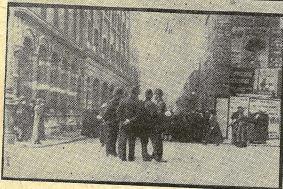
A truckload of goods travels through the streets of Dublin under an escort of mounted police.

The state ANOTHER BATON VICTIM DEAD. POLICE METHODS CRITICISEL BY DUBLIN VISITORS ENGLISH DELEGATES' ACTION. AND ENGLISH MEMBE POLICE INQUIRY GRANTED. THE CIAL INQUIRY TO BE HI THE BUILDING TRADE. 1 MEETING IN O'CONNELL ST. ULTIMATUM TO MEN. UNDERTAKING DEMANDED OF NDAY. SEFTEMBER 1913. BLOODSHED DUBLIN SCENE IN O'CONNELL STREET DUBLIN LABOUR CRISIS DEFORE & AFTER THE ARREST DISCRIMINATE RAMA CITY EMPLOYERS' ACTION. ANOTHER VICTIM DEAL AFTER SATURDAY NIGHT'S BATOR 20.000 WORKERS AFFECTED CHARGES. GLASNEVIN TRAM ATTACKED BY CONDUCTOR ON STOR FUNERAL OF JAMES NOLAN. GENERAL LOCK-OUT SATURDAY NIGHT SCENES. TRADES' CONGRESS OF TRANSPORT UNION MEN REPEATED BATON CHARGES. AND IRISH STRIKE. BIG LIST OF WOUNDED. A GREAT INDUSTRIAL WAR

THE PRESENCE PURELY ANDRESTAL









- 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—40.1 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 lock-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.

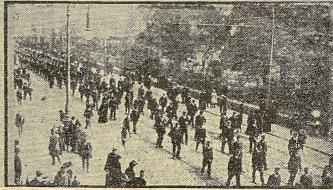
On the first Sunday after the commencement of 'hostilities' a mass meeting to take place at Liberty Hall was proclaimed by Dublin Castle. However, the crowd, numbering thousands, moved to O'Connell Street and there occurred scenes of unprecedented violence and brutality. Men and women—and even children—were 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

STRIKE VICTIM'S FUNERAL





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

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.

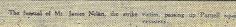
As the world press took up the story of the heroic fight of the Dublin workers and of the brutality of the police force and the military reinforcements, contributions to the fighting fund poured in from almost every country in the world in which workers were organised, to the extent of over £1,000 per 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 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 funeral of Mr. James Nolan, the strike victim, passing up Parnell Square, on the way to the cemetery.







COUNTESS AND 706 IRISH REBELS TAKEN PRISONERS

CERTIFIED CIRCULATION LARGER THAN THAT OF ANY OTHER DAILY

No. 3,906

NO STORY

DUBLIN REBELS SURRENDERING FREELY: "LARKINITE" COUNTESS, A REBEL CHAUFFEUR, AMONG THE PRISONERS.



Lieutenant-Colonel C. Fane, D.S.O. (Sherwood Foresters), one of the wounded officers.



Countess Markievicz leaving Liberty Hall,



Jacob's Biscuit Factory, which 1,500 rebels converted into a fort. Artillery shells were seen bursting against this position.



Countess Markievicz, She is married to a Russian and is a well-known suffragetre.



The Dublin revolt. Previous stormy scenes in the Irish capital

The Dublin revolt is fizzling out. An official statement issued last night states that up to the present 707 prisoners have been taken, and that among them is the Countess Markievicz, who, it is believed, drove one of the motor-cars which were

Police making a baton charge.—(Photograph Freeman's festival)

stolen for transport purposes. The rebels have lost heavily, and James Connolly, Larkin's Irish-American lieutenant, is reported to have been killed. Our officer casualities number thirty-lour, including live killed. They belong chiefly to the Sherwood Foresters.

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 injured, 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 leftmany 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.

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 Connolly'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.

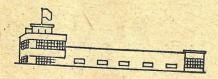
The return of the remains of O'Donovan Rossa, in 1915, for burial in Glasnevin Cemetery was an important occasion not only for the Citizen Army and the Volunteers but for all advanced Nationalists. It did a great deal towards resurrecting the feelings of many previously unresponsive men and women. The 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 lying-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 eighteenth-century 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."

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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.

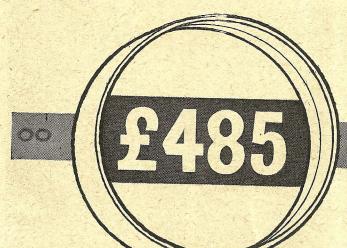
James Connolly had not yet come to a satisfactory arrangement with the leaders of the Irish Volunteers on the very important question of fixing the date for the Insurrection. As every day dawned, Connolly insisted that this was the day to fight. "To-morrow," he would say, "the British Government might 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.



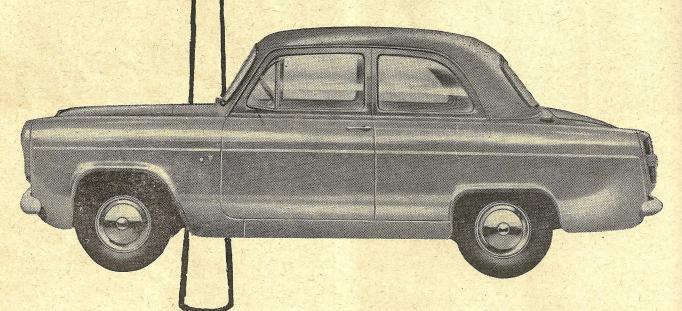
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A 13

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

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 personality, 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."

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.

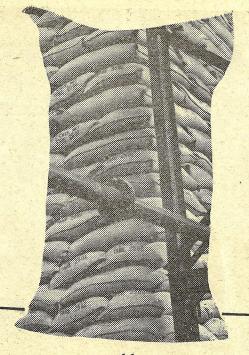
What of the woman behind the public figure who, since her death in 1927, has already taken her place among the great of Ireland? For a composite portrait of Constance Gore-Booth of Lissadel, I am indebted to three of those who enjoyed the privilege of "Madame's" close friendship.

"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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-J. & L. F. GOODBODY LTD.-

offer sincere congratulations to the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union on the occasion of their Golden Jubilee





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.

By P. J. O'Brien

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 head-quarters 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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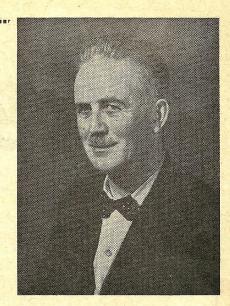
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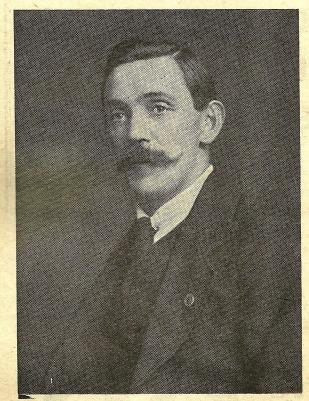
PATRICK J. O'BRIEN, Secretary, Cork No. 2 Branch.

Worked in the engineering industry 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 a number of industries in Munster.

P. J. O'Brien is also Secretary of the Whitegate Oil Refinery Construction Trade Union Group 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, and is also a member of Cork Economic Council.

Special interests are Public Administration and Education. Hobbies: swimming, gardening and 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.

(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; Waterford 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.

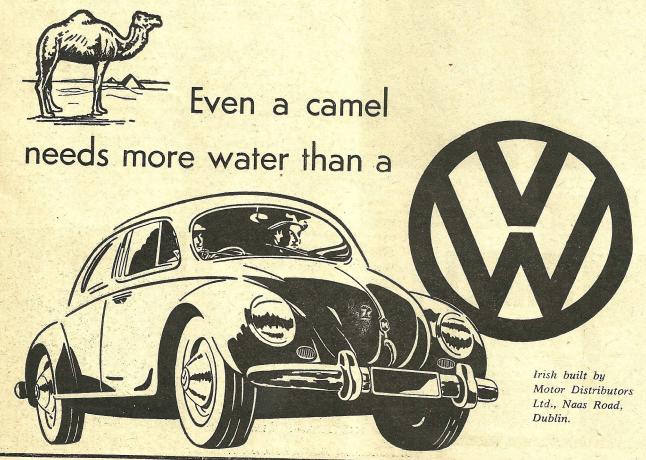
Was on the staff of C.I.E. before becoming Assistant Branch Secretary in July, 1951, and taking over as Secretary six years later. Student of social science, member of the Labour Party. Has a wide range of interests including football and gardening, amateur drama and singing. Military Service Certificate; Medal with Bar (1916-22); interned, Tintown Camp, 1922-23.



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EDWARD O'NEILL, Secretary, Limerick Branch.

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

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 extensive reading.

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 Education 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

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In Holy Week, 1919, the British Military Forces introduced an edict in Limerick that all workers coming into 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 called off.

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 district 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 Whitegate, Verolme Dockyard Company, Rushbrooke, and Irish Steel Holdings, Haulbowline. The progress 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.



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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.

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 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.

after the Union's formation.

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.

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



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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

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; 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.

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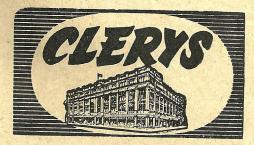


The delegates who attended the 1956 Annual Conference at Salthill

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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.

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,



Yes, that's all it costs Mrs. Lily Cleary of Killester to cook all the meals for a family of five. She said "My electric oven is excellent — I always get perfect results with it and the new high speed plates — until I got my new electric cooker I never knew electricity could be so fast." Mrs. Cleary is proud of her kitchen which has been attractively painted and tiled — by her husband. She pointed out: "It wouldn't be easy to keep it so nice only electric cooking is so clean."

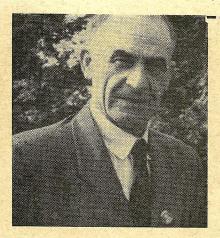
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J. POUCHER, Secretary, Newry Branch.

A well known and outstanding member of our Union since 1926 he is Secretary to our 600 members 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 distinction. A member of the Newry Board of Guardians and the Newry Port Development Authority.

-- ULSTER SECRETARIES -

DANIEL MCALLISTER, Secretary, Belfast Branch.

Worked as a dock labourer and checker before becoming a full-time Union official, being appointed 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.





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.

That was no reflection on the organising ability of Connolly, who had his hands full with the dockers and linen mill workers laying the foundation of an effective organisation, from which at an appropriate moment it could spread outwards, if the circumstances were suspicious. Those circumstances, however, did not develop favourably. On the contrary, with the Home Rule crisis reaching 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 dissemble or modify his Nationalist or Socialist views to suit the prevailing mood with the view to gaining recruits for the Union.

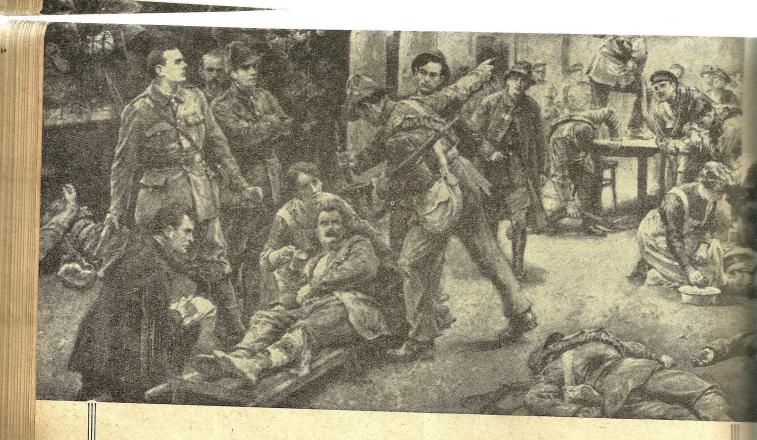
Connolly soon discovered that political views between Belfast and Dublin were irreconcilable. During 1914, on a visit to Dublin, he made a speech —with the forthrightness which characterised him —on Ireland's right to self-government. That speech was reported in the Belfast newspapers, and was not to 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

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

It has remained steadfast and undeviating in its loyalty 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 followed 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.



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 abolition 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 school-boy 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.

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

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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 14-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 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 And first of them my pride when the Union. 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;



William Partridge, 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. asking me to speak with himself and Bill Partridge at meeting of strikers in Beresford Place in the

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)



Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

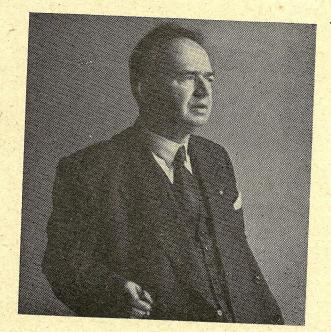
MICHAEL DUNBAR,

Secretary, Dublin No. 1 Branch.

Joined Union in 1932 and worked in the Road Passenger Section, C.I.E. Took active part in organising C.I.E. workers in West of Ireland and at Broadstone. Former member of Dublin 9 Branch Committee. Became Branch Secretary in 1947.

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.



SENATOR

FRANK PURCELL

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 Dáil 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 conscience. He had, and has, a dual bigness of heart—in moral and physical courage and in kindliness and generosity of friendship.

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

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.

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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

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National Executive Council and Representatives of the Union in Dail Eireann, 1933: Front Row (l. to r.)—T. Ryan (National Trustee, Waterford), 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. 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.)

Edward Browne



ED" Browne is a Limerick man who was elected "V.P." six years ago; in that rôle 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 carrying 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.

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 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 Dockyard, 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.

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 organ-isation of Catering Exhibition, Chairman, 1958; Organising Committee, Irish Food Festival Exhibition, 1959. Narrowly missed election to Dáil 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 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 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.

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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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-

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 presentation of a case and carefully thought out and

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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 hobby—when time allows—is reading.

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. An ative of Clontibret, Co. Monaghan.

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.

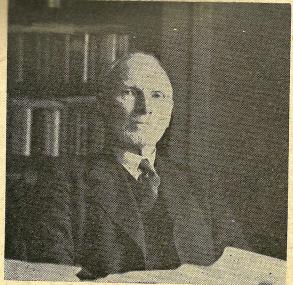




THOMAS McCARTHY, Secretary, Dublin No. 5 Branch.

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 foundation half-a-century ago, for in 1907-1908 he 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 support for the Union and its policy of attack and defiance. The affiliation of the Union to the Irish T.U.C. against bitter opposition at the annual meeting in Dundalk in 1910 was one instance of his skilful 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 highlights 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 personalities who were named to act as a Civil Govern-

William O'Brien

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 Dáil Éireann. The One Big Union—jocularly "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 popularity, 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.



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. 1950 was nominated by Union and appointed to C.I.E. Board for eight vears. Was in Kynoch's munitions works, Arklow, when it blew up in 1917.

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 Union; the Branch was then the Edenderry Branch, but became the Leix-Offaly Branch in 1927.

Member of Laois County Council since 1942; chairman, Portlaoise Mental Hospital and Barrow Drainage Boards; Member, 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.

(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 whirliging 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.

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CAME FROM MANY LANDS

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA . . .

I wish to extend to you and the Irish Transport and General Worker Union my congratulations on the occasion of the celebration of your Golde Jubilee. I appreciate this opportunity to greet Irish workers through Libert 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 the knowledge of the work of your organization and thus makes an importance 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 year 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 . . .

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.

... WESTERN GERMANY

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 convinced 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 contribution 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 attainment of those in permanency. For too long the apparition of unemployment, 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 years.

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. JAMES LARKIN, Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

IRELAND

CANADA

SCOTLAND





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.

The National Executive Council, 1923

Left to right: M. Hill, D. Clancy, T. Kennedy, W. O'Brien, Treasurer; Jim Larkin, General Secretary; T. Foran, General President; M. McCarthy, M. Duffy and T. Ryan.



JOHN CARROLL, P.C., Head of Movements Dept.

John Carroll, who was appointed head of Movements Dept., Head Office, last year, has been an official of the Union since 1944. He recently completed a special course of study at Columbia University.

Louis Ford

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T.D.

Senator John O'Leary

The Political Wing

By BRENDAN CORISH, T.D.

HE 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 contribution towards this affinity of

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 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 arm—though in harmony with the trade-unions objective—has sought them without like support.

Although this position has retarded the growth and power of Irish political labour, it has not prevented it from adhering to its ideals nor from applying itself to its purpose. 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 trade-union movement.

The years ahead will see many changes in our country's institutions. 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.