

The First Fifty

A Chronicle of E

Glorious Heroic Dublin

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

Insurrection

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

Sunday—Military Council, meeting in Liberty Hall, decided to begin Insurrection next April 24th, and signed Proclamation of the Irish Republic printed in Liberty Hall. Easter Monday, Irish Volunteers, Irish Republican Brotherhood and Irish Citizen Army united forces in Insurrection. Connolly as Commandant-General directed operations of the Army of the Irish Republic in the Dublin Area and member of the Provisional Government with P. H. Pearse, Thomas Clarke, Seán MacDermott, Éamonn Ceannt, Joseph M. Plunkett and Thomas McDonagh. Liberty Hall shelled by British troops. On defeat and surrender of Republican Troops, Commandant Michael Mallin, Citizen Army executed and his second in command, Countess Constance de Marvicz, of Citizen Army, sentenced to death, commuted to penal servitude for life. Councillor William T. Partridge, Citizen Army, sentenced to fifteen years' penal servitude with five years' remission. William O'Brien, Secretary, Dublin Trades Council; James O'Neill, Secretary No. 1 Branch; Thomas Foran, General President; Cathal O'Shannon and Winifred K. Carney, both of Belfast; Helena Molony and P. T. Daly, both of Dublin, and other Union officials interned in England and Wales. Connolly and MacDermott executed by British troops, party, May 12, Union funds at Insurrection £96; and membership of Union in Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Wexford, Sligo, Killarney and Waterford, 5,000.

Towards the O.B.U.

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

Years of O.B.U.

ts from 1909 to 1959

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

Black and Tan, and Civil Wars

1919—Membership at end of year, 102,000 in 433 Branches. Dáil Éireann established, January. Union led co-operation of Labour Party with Irish Volunteers in upholding authority of Dáil and resisting aggression of British military and police. Year's income increased by 170% to £74,000; dispute pay, £41,000. 57% of income. *Voice of Labour* suppressed and immediately succeeded by *Watchword of Labour*.

1920—Increased wages. Approximately £1,250,000 secured for 59,000 union members. Union a special object of attack in British terrorist campaign. War by Black and Tans in second half of year. Liberty Hall and Branch offices throughout the country frequently raided. *Watchword of Labour* suppressed. Union Hall burned in Cork. Head Office transferred to 35 Parnell Square. Union led successful general strike of Dublin workers for release of hunger strikers from Mountjoy Jail. O'Brien arrested in Dublin, released on hunger strike from Wormwood Scrubs Jail, London. O'Shannon arrested in London, released on hunger strike from Mountjoy Jail, Dublin. Union members elected to local Councils and city Corporations in many counties.

1921—Black and Tan war intensified onslaught on Union Branches. Truce between British and Irish Armies. Anglo-Irish Treaty signed, recognising Dáil Éireann as national sovereign authority. *Voice of Labour* revised in new series.

1922—Irish Free State established. Seventeen Labour Deputies elected to Dáil Éireann; 13 members and nominees of I.T. & G.W.U.; two Union members out of five Labour Senators. Union and Labour movement neutral in Civil War between pro-Treaty and anti-Treaty forces of Irish Republican Army.

1923—General depression in agriculture and industry. Union Rules revised. Internal crisis in Union resulting from attitude of General Secretary, Jim Larkin, on his return from

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

Calm after Storms

1924—After legal actions in internal crisis, new rules in force; in new election, Thomas Foran, General President; Thomas Kennedy, Vice-President; William O'Brien, General Secretary; Archie Heron, Financial Secretary; Cathal O'Shannon, Political Secretary.

1925—In general election in the Six Counties of Northern Ireland, Belfast Branch Secretary, William McMullen, one of the three Labour M.P.'s.

1926—"Strike of the five houses" successful against attempt of Dublin Hotel and Restaurant employers to set up "house Union" in opposition to I.T. & G.W.U. Branch.

1927—Two General Elections in the Twenty-Six Counties within the year; Union and other Labour candidates at great disadvantage in second election.

1928 - 1929—Widespread depression throughout whole country forcing on Union many disputes in defensive action.

1929 - 1930—Decreased membership in smaller towns due to unemployment, compensated in part by increased membership in cities through improved methods of organisation. Irish Labour Party and Irish Trade Union Congress Annual Meeting at Limerick decided to separate its political wing from its industrial wing and to operate as two independent bodies.

1930—Building workers' Branch in Dublin successfully resisted employers' attack.

1931—Union took leading part in bringing to a satisfactory conclusion a general building strike lasting from January to Easter, the biggest dispute in Dublin for several years.

1932—Compensation amounting to £2,000 paid by Irish Government for destruction of Liberty Hall. Claim had been rejected by the British Government on the grounds that the Union had been implicated in the Insurrection of 1916. In General Election to Dáil Éireann, Labour Deputies were reduced to seven, of whom five were I.T. & G.W.U. members.

1933—In General Election to Dáil Éireann, five of the eight Labour Deputies elected and three of the six Senators were I.T. & G.W. Union members.

1934—In co-operation with the Labour Party the Union drew up and pressed proposals for



Thomas Kennedy

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

Brought Connolly Back

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

President of Irish Trade Union Congress

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

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

Service as Judge

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

Representative at Geneva

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

A Fine Example

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

The Past and the Future

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

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

The new Union was the result of

- (1) the ineptitude of the British National Union of Dockers which operated ineffectively on the quays of Dublin;
- (2) the growing feeling amongst Dublin workers that there was need for a national Irish trade union to cater for Irish workers; and
- (3) the need for an Irish union that would not confine its activities to particular groups of workers but would embrace workers of all employments.

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

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

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

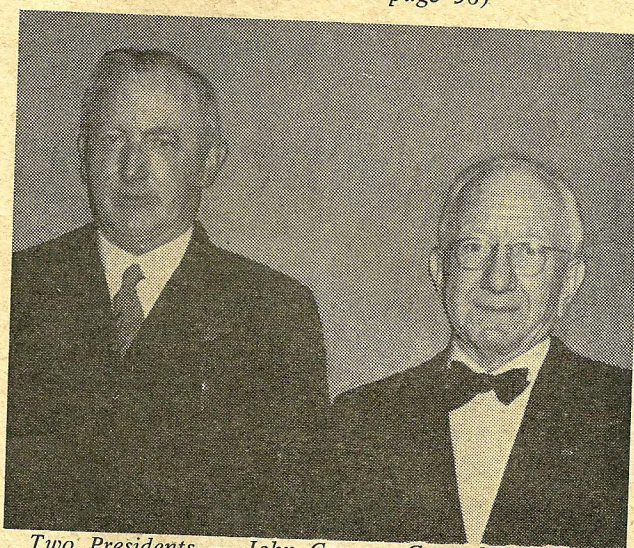
and conditions initiated by the Union were very successful.

During the Second World War and afterwards the Union went from strength to strength and continued to lead the way in national campaigns for extra pay and better working conditions. Its constant militancy and outstanding leadership has attracted to it a membership of 150,000, making it by far the largest working-class organisation in the country, with assets exceeding £1,000,000.

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

The Union has never flinched from its tasks; has never evaded its responsibilities and even in the past decade alone — since the last war — has expended approximately £400,000 in cash benefits to the membership, or, approximately £30,000 per annum. In addition, and in keeping with social development, the Union is now according two additional benefits to its members. One is the exemption from the payment of contributions during illness for a period up to three months in

(Continued on page 56)



Two Presidents — John Conroy, General President, I.T. & G.W.U., with the President of Ireland, Séan T. O'Kelly.

(Continued from page iv)

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

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

Ireland, Great Britain and countries overseas. Special Delegate Conference of Union on January 5th approved final draft of Constitution for united Central Organisation under title Irish Congress of Trade Unions. Congress of Irish Unions and Irish Trade Union Congress adopted Constitution of Irish Congress of Trade Unions, with John Conroy as President. Death of Patrick Dunne, last of foundation members of the Union with continuing membership from 1909.

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

(Continued from page 49)

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

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

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

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

Through the years, the Union has invested substantially in Government, Local Authority and Public Utility Funds and at the close of 1958 held investment certificates totalling £702,622. Of this,

£480,800 is in Government Securities, £209,322 in Local Authority Investments and £12,500 in Public Utilities.

For the first time in the history of the Union, the total assets now exceed £1,000,000. At December 31st, 1958, the total assets amounted to £1,051,843. Liabilities on the same date amounted to £3,715, leaving the net value of the Union's assets at £1,048,128.

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

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

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



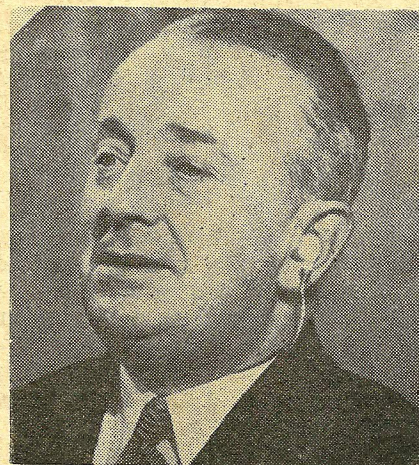
C. KIRWAN,
Secretary, Dublin No. 11 Branch

A former railway worker on the Great Northern Railway system, joined the Union in March, 1950, and was appointed Branch Secretary four years later. His special hobby interest is in amateur boxing.

MICHAEL GANNON, P.C.,
Dublin County Organiser


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

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




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

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



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Thomas Foran



TOM FORAN . . . Labour leader, Senator, Member of the Council of State—a Big Man! But Tom Foran was a big man long before he was given those honours, although he had the great virtue of humility and would never admit such a thing. In fact he would have laughed and scoffed at the suggestion.

The Dockers' Strength

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

Association with Connolly

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

Brilliant Negotiator

Tom Foran had many gifts: he was a brilliant negotiator whose ready wit was appreciated at the conference table. But he was never witty for the sake of being amusing on these occasions, it

was to make a point. He seemed to have a sixth sense in sizing up a meeting, whether of men or employers, and a capacity for hard work which was an example to all who worked with him in his days as General President of the Union.

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

The Indebted

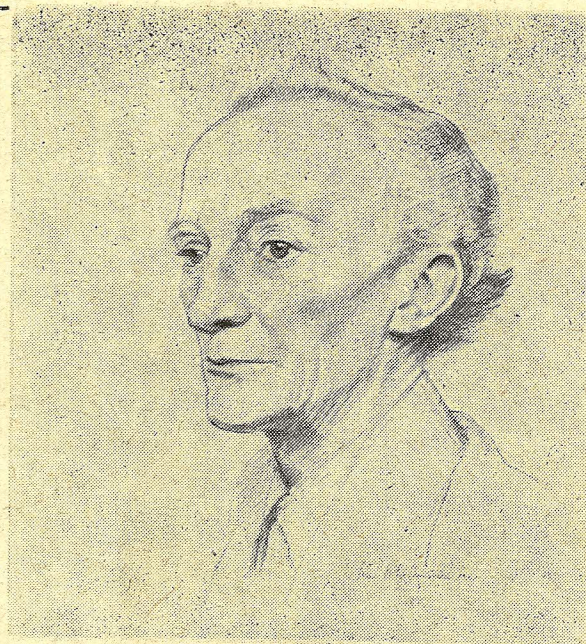
Dockers and the men of the flour mills are among the many who owe much to Tom Foran's work as a trade unionist. Later he served the cause of Labour in another field—as a member of the Senate. Here the qualities shown at conferences were again of value and his contributions to debates sound and to the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

Interest in Sport

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

Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

Cathal O'Shannon



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

Paternal Influence

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

Meeting with Connolly

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

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

Re-organisation

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

Recognition

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



FINTAN KENNEDY

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

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

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

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

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

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



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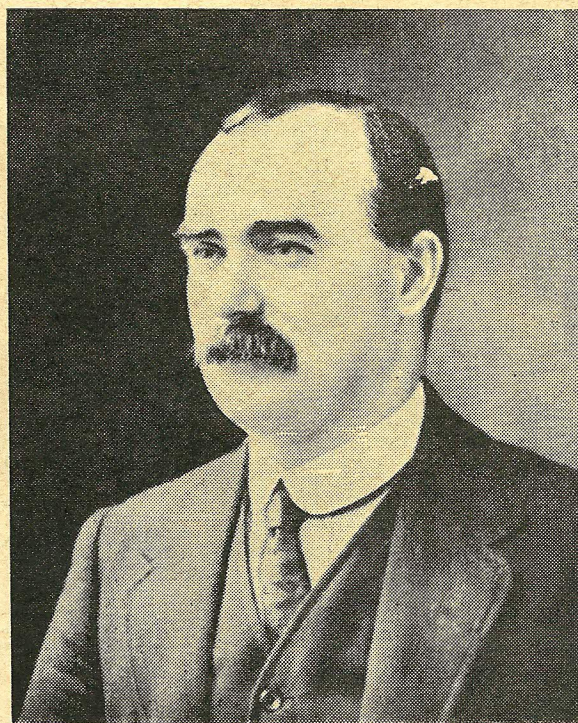


Liberty Jubilee Issue, 1959.

James Connolly

The Man and his Work

By CATHAL O'SHANNON



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Connolly had taken up residence in Belfast in 1911 and at the request of supporters of the Union he was appointed Branch Secretary there during a strike of seamen in that and other ports. His successful leading of a strike of the men on the low docks and vigour in organisation of new members placed the Belfast Branch on a firm footing for the first time and gave him and the Union a front position in the Labour Movement in the northern city in spite of the peculiar difficulties of the religious and political disturbances prevailing in Belfast.

Along with the Union Branch, at 122 Corporation Street, he established in York Street, Belfast, the Irish Textile Workers' Union for the women workers in the linen mills. In this, the Secretary was Mrs. Marie Johnson, wife of Thomas Johnson, afterwards Secretary of the Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress, first leader of the Labour Deputies in Dail Eireann and a Senator, and until recently a member of the Labour Court. Mrs. Johnson was succeeded as Secretary by Winifred Carney, who, in the Rising of 1916, was Secretary to Connolly and the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic. After the surrender she was interned in England until Christmas 1916.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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—James Connolly.



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

Union Plays an Active Part in Social Activities

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

The Union's objects likewise provide for :

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

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

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

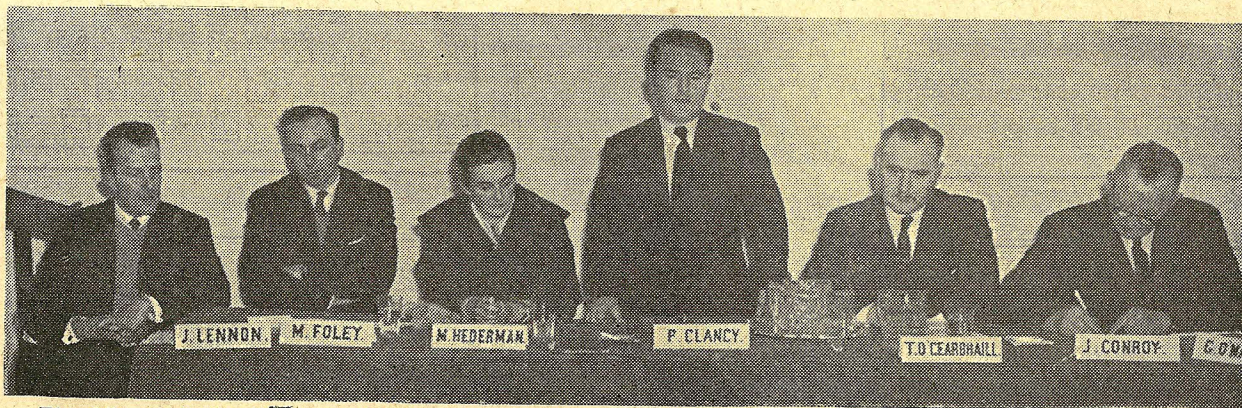
The history of the Union over the past 50 years has shown conclusively that the attainment of the Union's primary objective — that of being an effective negotiating body for the membership — has been, still is and always will be dependent in large

measure on the implementation of the secondary objectives stated above.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

responsible and important service to workers and the community.

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued from Page 33)

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

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

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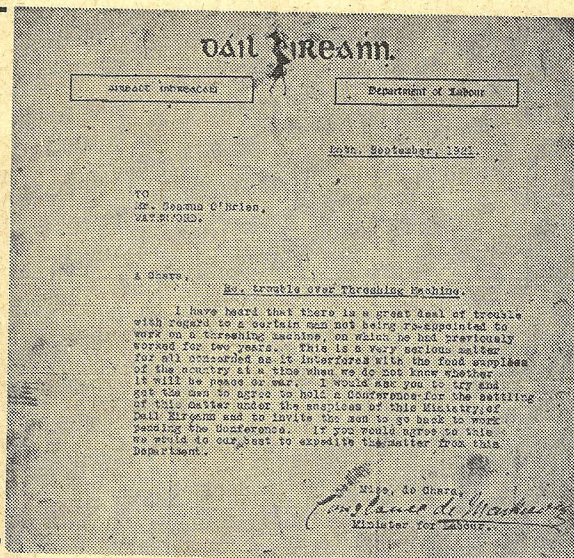
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*on the occasion of its
Golden Jubilee*

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

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



(Continued from Page 17)

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

sickness, she left her bed to attend a final meeting of the R.U.D.C. 'I wish I didn't have to go,' she admitted. 'But I must make sure that the children get their swimming pool.'"

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

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

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Rev. Michael J. Moloney, S.J. of the Catholic Workers College, points to the need for

ADULT EDUCATION *for* TRADE UNIONISTS



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

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

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

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

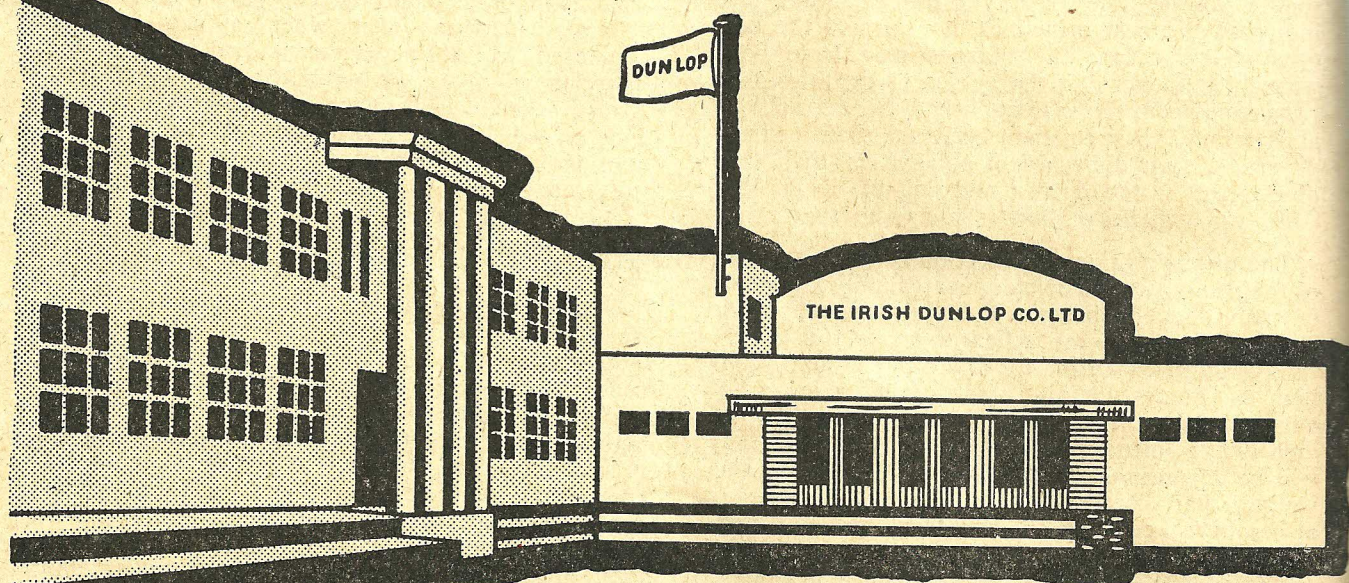
a fuller understanding and appreciation of life. There is no one who is not aware of the defect in the expert in any particular branch of human knowledge, who has little knowledge or appreciation of the broader field of human nature, human rights and duties, human association and co-operation—in short,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

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

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

Rough roads and smooth

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



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

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

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

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

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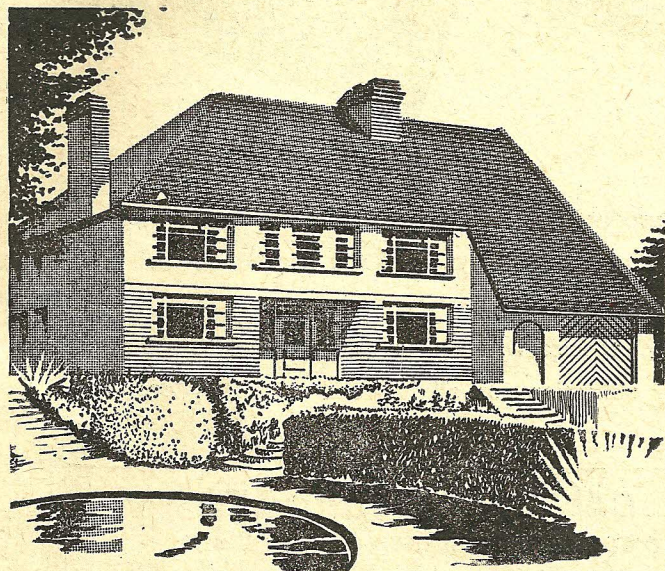
Adult education for trade unionists should cater for the occupational life of its participants. The nature and purpose of work in human life should be made clear: the attitudes to work needed by human beings in the exercise of their activity so that work and life will not be divorced. Such education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

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

on to take in modern life if Labour is to have its rightful place in the development of the country.

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

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



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The Labour Court and its Work

By Barry Desmond, B. Comm.

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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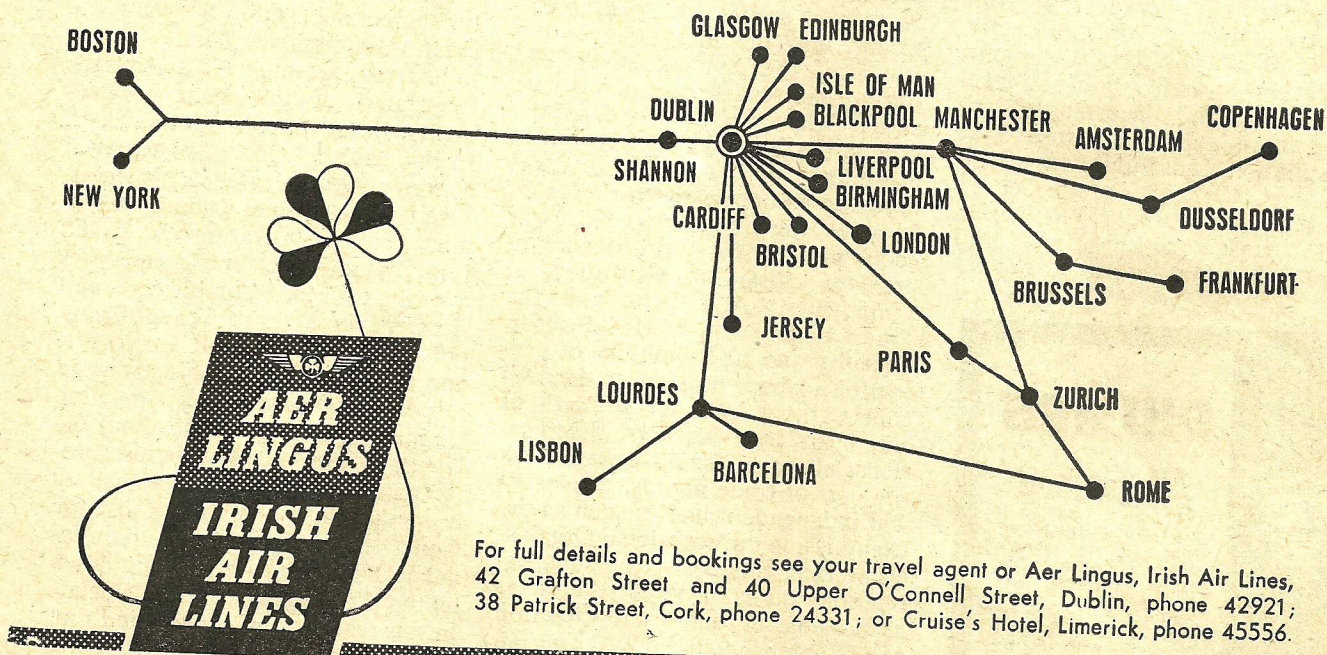
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have ample opportunity to object to proposed orders.

Mediation

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

How Conciliation Helps

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

A Matter of Attitudes

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

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

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


No Compulsion

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

Achievement

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

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

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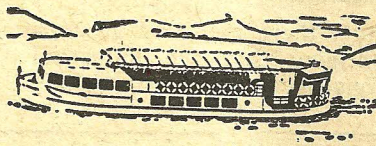
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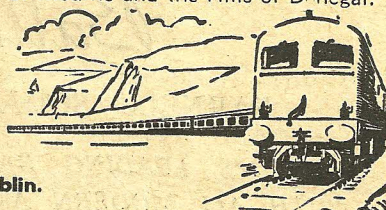
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This was how Liberty Hall looked after the Rising of May, 1916 — shell-shattered and stricken. Yet only a few months later work had commenced on its re-building.

Headquarters for Workers' Freedom

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

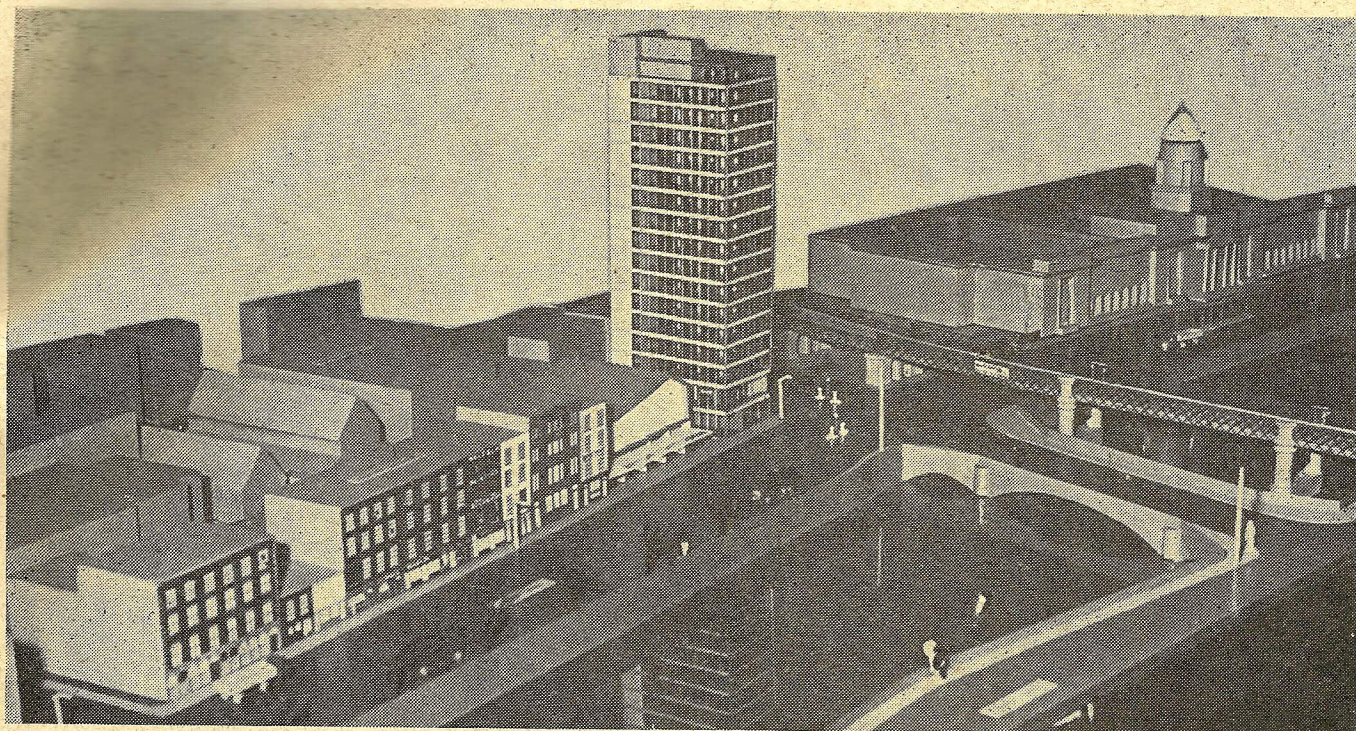
The Rising was originally planned to commence on Easter Sunday, 23rd April, 1916, but late on Saturday night it was suddenly cancelled and a meeting of the Military Council was called to take place in Liberty Hall at 8 o'clock on Easter Sunday morning. The meeting went on until late in the afternoon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

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

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

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

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



This is how the new Liberty Hall will look — tall, graceful, towering over the Liffey — a fitting monument to the men and women who gave their work, their enthusiasm and even their lives for the cause of Ireland's workers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In its place a new ultra-modern building with seventeen floors and rising to a height of 200 feet will be erected. The new building, it is estimated, will cost £350,000 and will provide accommodation for the eleven Branches catering for over 40,000 members in Dublin City. There will also be a main assembly hall to seat 1,000 which will be available to suitable societies for concerts, productions and functions, smaller halls and accommodation for lettings as offices and shops. The new Liberty Hall will rise in the spirit of the old — a centre and a symbol for Irish workers.

— ★ ★ ★ —

"Unity is a good thing, no doubt, but honesty is better; and if Unity can only be obtained by the suppression of truth and the toleration of falsehood, then it is not worth the price we are asked to pay for it."

—James Connolly.

*In a concise Review of Irish Case-Law
in the last fifty years a Barrister surveys*

THE RIGHT TO PICKET

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

What is the result of over 50 years' working of this short Act? How have Irish courts interpreted its provisions? While, in general, the development of Irish case-law has been favourable to the trade union movement, in some respects practical and theoretical limitations have been placed on the rights intended to be conferred by the Act.

Before 1906 picketing constituted the civil wrong of "watching and besetting"; even to this day it still does, unless justified by the Act, i.e., unless carried on "in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute," as defined by the Act. It soon became clear, however, that in the opinion of the Courts there was a limit to the extent to which the provisions of the Common Law were overridden by the new Act.

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

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

Not until 1937, however, was the theory that even peaceful picketing could be prevented on the ground that it constituted a trespass to the public highway, rejected by the Supreme Court of the Irish Free State in the Cork case of *Ferguson v. O'Gorman*. This decision explicitly states that the 1906 Act authorises the use of the public highway for peaceful picketing.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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stitute a trade dispute, and so justify picketing. The publican had dismissed some of his staff and they (and the union on their behalf) claimed the right to inquire into the adequacy of the grounds for the dismissals. Whether the dismissals were justified was immaterial; what mattered was that the men and their union claimed a right to inquire into the reasons, and the publican's refusal to concede this claim constituted a trade dispute.

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

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

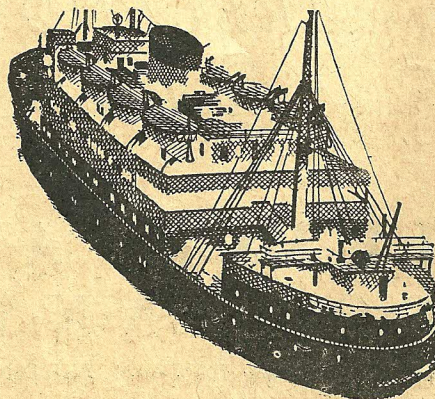
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in his employment. The Supreme Court, upholding the decision of the High Court, held that the genuineness of a trade dispute depended, not on what were the facts of the dispute, but on the good faith of the parties to it. It was immaterial whether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

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

When one of these barmen was dismissed because of redundancy, negotiations between his union and the Club broke down and the union picketed the club premises. But, because it was held that the Club was not engaged in trade or industry, it followed that the Club barmen were not workmen and so no trade dispute justifying a picket existed. This decision would appear to prevent picketing of, say, a golf club premises for the same reason, not to mention many other classes of workers. It has since been applied by the High Court in a

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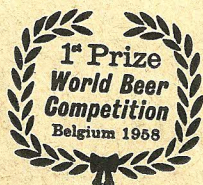
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Liberty, May, 1959

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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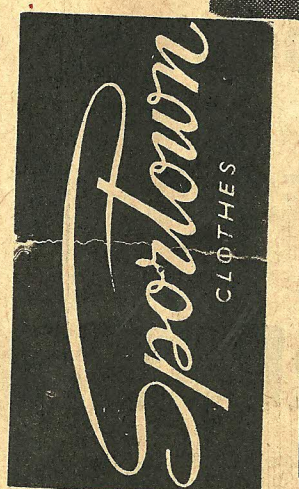
Act, the parading was protected by Article 40 of the Constitution (which gives citizens the right, *inter alia*, to assemble peaceably); the Court refused to accept this argument. This case, if followed in the future, is also authority for the proposition that (apart from false statements made or displayed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

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

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

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

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