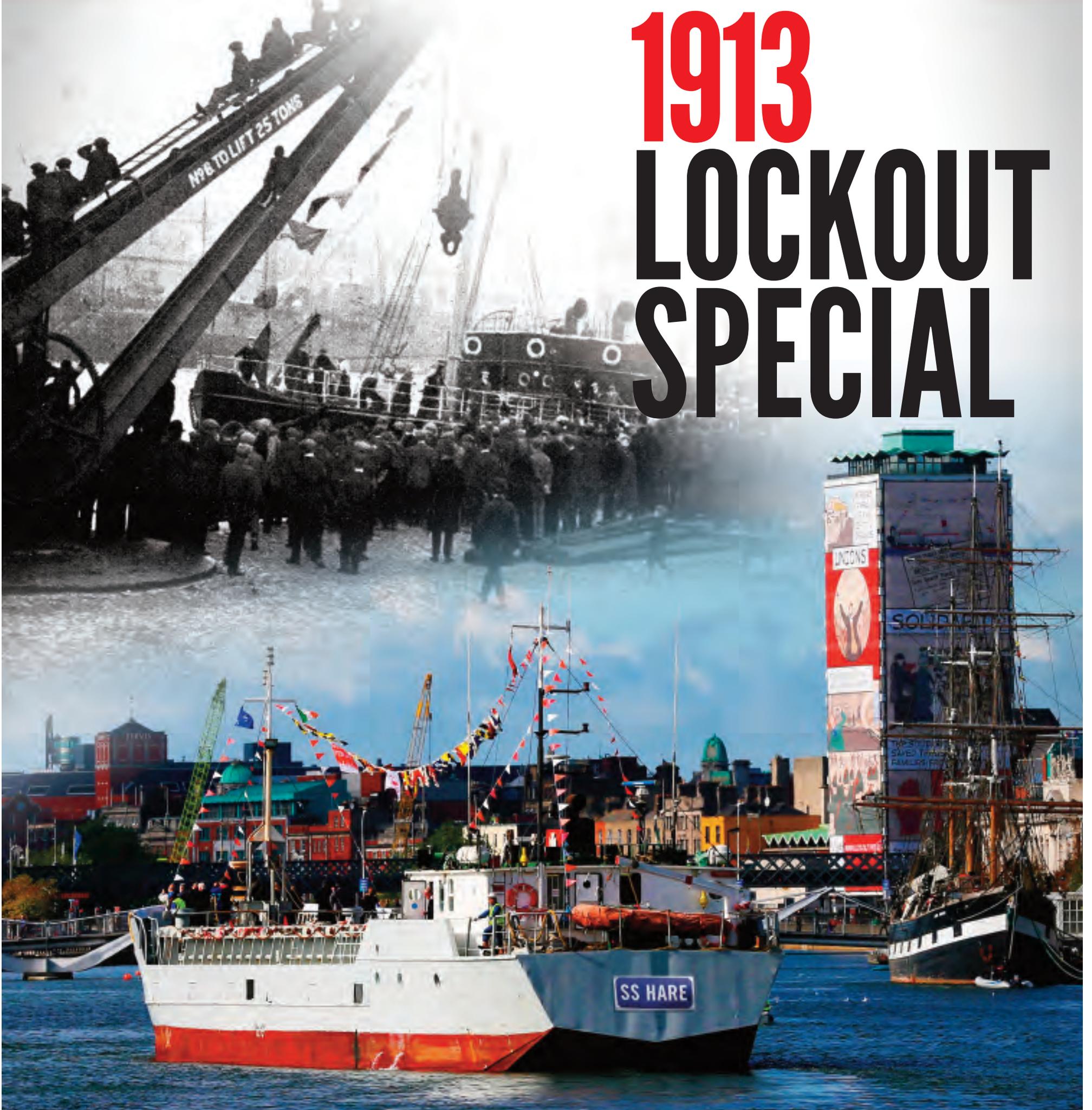


# Liberty

October 2013

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## 1913 LOCKOUT SPECIAL



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**T**HE 1913 LOCKOUT SPECIAL has been published to coincide with the SIPTU Biennial National Delegate Conference which takes place in the Round Room, Mansion House in Dublin from Monday 7th October, 2013.

The Lockout Special is dedicated to those who gave their lives and liberty during the historic labour struggle in Dublin one hundred years ago and to the courageous workers and their families who endured such hardship as they fought for the right to be members of a trade union.

In this special edition of Liberty we reproduce many images, including original photographs depicting the determination of the 20,000 locked out workers during those months from August 1913 to January 1914 when employers, supported by a brutal police force and the mainstream media, sought to starve them and their families into submission.

The horrific social conditions in Dublin at the time, which contributed greatly to the anger of the city's exploited general workers, are also recalled while similar confrontations between labour and capital in other towns and cities across the country during the period are recounted.

The significant role of women during the Lockout is examined while the battle with the Catholic Church over the controversial effort to send the hungry children of hard pressed families to supporters in England is also revisited.

The solidarity and support of the trade union movement in Britain in providing massive food and financial aid to the workers of Dublin is illustrated in our cover image and coverage of the re-enactment on Saturday, 5th October of the arrival of the SS Hare and its cargo of supplies on Dublin's quays one hundred years ago last month.

The historic battle of that time was essentially about the right of workers to join, and be represented, by the Irish Transport and General Workers Union and it remains relevant today particularly as the right to collective bargaining is still not recognised in Irish law.

We would like to thank all of our contributors including Stella Larkin Mc Connon and James Connolly Heron, relatives of the 1913 leaders, James Larkin and James Connolly respectively, TUC general secretary Frances O'Grady, David Begg, Padraig Yeates, Caitriona Crowe, Fintan O'Toole, Paula Meehan, Ida Milne, Donal Fallon, John Cunningham, Brian Hanley, Francis Devine and Michael Halpenny.

We are very grateful for the original photos from 1913 supplied by Terry Fagan, UCC, NSAI, the National Library of Ireland and more recent images provided by Derek Speirs and Photocall Ireland.

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Volunteers dressed in period costume collect food packages from the SS Hare on Saturday, 5th October.  
Picture: Photocall Ireland



## SS Hare docks in Dublin

**The arrival of the SS Hare into Dublin was reenacted on Saturday, 5th October, on City Quay.**

Following its one-day voyage from Liverpool, the ship was met on the Sir John Rogerson Quay by volunteers reenacting the role of the workers and their families to whom the original SS Hare brought food packages during the 1913 Lockout.

Among those on board the

ship were SIPTU General President, Jack O'Connor, SIPTU General Secretary, Joe O'Flynn, ICTU President, John Douglas, ICTU Assistant General Secretary, Sally Anne Kinahan, Unite Regional Secretary Jimmy Kelly and Unite General Secretary Len McCluskey.

Douglas spoke of the "bond of solidarity" between British and Irish workers that was represented by the ship. He said this solidarity was still

strong today and had been particularly evident during the British Miners Strike, when Irish workers had raised funds to support strikers' families.

The original SS Hare provided desperately needed relief, which included "60,000 packages of butter, sugar, jam, potatoes, fish and biscuits", to workers' families during the 1913 Lockout. It was the first of several British Trade Union Congress shipments, which arrived from September 1913 to January 1914.



Pictured in front of the Belfast mural, ICTU President, John Douglas, Belfast Lord Mayor, Councillor, Máirtín Ó Muilleoir, Chair of NIC-ICTU, Pamela Dooley, and ICTU Assistant General Secretary, Peter Bunting.  
Picture: Kevin Cooper

## Belfast mural recalls the workers' struggle

**A new trade union mural highlighting the links between the workers' movement north and south was unveiled on Wednesday, 25th September at the Congress offices in Belfast.**

Congress commissioned two leading muralists, Danny Devanny and Mark Ervine, to mark the centenary of the Dublin Lockout by creating the mural. The artwork tells the story of organised labour from the Belfast Dockers and Carters Strike of 1907 to the struggle of women in the factories and mills to the current campaigns against austerity and for social justice.



Larkin memorial stained glass window, Belfast City Hall.

## Remembering John Quinn

**A local history project is searching for relatives of leading Belfast trade unionist John Quinn, who was a prominent figure in the city's 1907 dockers and carters strike, as it prepares to erect a headstone in his memory.**

The Belfast dockland-based Shared History Interpretive Project (S.H.I.P.) is committed to archiving the history of the Belfast docks and its associated industries and workforce.

Chairman Liam McBrinn said: "John Quinn was a fervent trade unionist, a founder member of the ITGWU in Belfast and a confidante of James Connolly, Winifred Carney and James Larkin. He played a major role in the 1907 strike and we are planning to honour his memory with a headstone on his grave in Milltown Cemetery."

Among John Quinn's descendants is his great grandson Jonny Quinn, the drummer in the band Snow Patrol.

Anyone with information on John Quinn is asked to SHIP at 57 Pilot Street, Belfast or to e-mail ship1@me.com. The group plans to unveil the new gravestone later this year.

# President unveils Tapestry



**T**HE 1913 Lockout Tapestry was unveiled by President Michael D Higgins on Wednesday, 18th September.

A major community arts project, sponsored by SIPTU and the National College of Art and Design, it was inspired by a similarly community based tapestry project in Scotland, the Prestonpans Tapestry.

The Lockout Tapestry is the product of the work of nearly 300 volunteers over 18 months. Designed by artists Cathy Henderson and Robert Ballagh, it tells the story of the working people of Dublin during the 1913 Lockout in thirty panels which together comprise this unique commemorative work of art.

Volunteers who created the Tapestry came from the trade union movement and communities across the country, including primary and secondary school children.

See pages 16-17 for a full display of the panels of the Lockout Tapestry.



Photos: 1) President Michael D Higgins at the unveiling of the 1913 Lockout Tapestry in Liberty Hall on Wednesday, 18th September. 2) SIPTU Vice President Patricia King (centre) discusses the Tapestry with President Higgins, SIPTU NEC member and Tapestry volunteer, Ann Ryan (left), artist Bobby Ballagh, SIPTU General President, Jack O'Connor and Sabina Higgins. 3) President Higgins and Sabina Higgins with, L to R, Artist Cathy Henderson and Tapestry volunteers Friedhelm Arntz and Ann Marie Horan. 4) President Higgins unveils Tapestry with pupils from St Louis High School, Mater Dei primary school and Larkin Community College who were among the volunteers who created the 1913 Lockout Tapestry. 5) President Higgins and Sabina Higgins pictured with SIPTU officials, the Tapestry designers and the some of the volunteers who created the artwork. 6) President Higgins, Sabina Higgins, Stella Larkin McConnon and SIPTU General Secretary, Joe O'Flynn. 7) SIPTU General President Jack O'Connor presenting President Higgins with 1913 Lockout Centenary memorial badge. Picture: Derek Speirs.

## Lockout Commemoration



Thousands watched the re-enactment of the 1913 Dublin Metropolitan Police baton charge on striking workers at the State Commemoration of the Lockout on Saturday, 31st August, on O'Connell Street, Dublin – 100 years precisely to the day of Bloody Sunday 1913.

Picture: Photocall Ireland

## Áras tribute to Lockout workers



President Michael D Higgins aboard a vintage tram at an event commemorating the 1913 Lockout in Áras an Uachtaráin on Thursday, 10th July. The President spoke to several hundred trade union activists about the significance of that great industrial dispute. He concluded by paying tribute to those present for their "painstaking efforts to create a society defined by solidarity and equality for all its citizens." Photo: Courtesy of www.president.ie

**Dreaming in the Zeitgeist**

I catch them in half light, or winter dawns,  
a summer's evening, shadows cool and blue  
when dipping sea gulls skim the brimming river;  
I catch them from the corner of my eye —  
the ghosts of women workers long since gone.  
I get down on my knees and bless their dust,  
I salute them in my every waking breath —  
mothers and grandmothers who made a stand  
against slavery, against the whip hand.

Hard times again, a different song of fear,  
a different whip, the same indifferent face.  
We track them through the archives silting dust:  
in photographs, in yellow newsprint lining drawers —  
undaunted grandmothers, mothers of the poor,  
the ones who raised their voices to be heard,  
spat on, slagged off and slandered by the mob  
they louder spoke for every silenced voice,  
for the lost and broken sisters in their sad haunts.

Sometimes on the city's granite quays  
we sense them in the river's lonely prayers.  
They reach between the future and the past  
their work-worn hands across from there to here.  
They watch their daughters dancing out their fate  
under the waxing or under the waning moon:  
stars in their courses, wise bringers of dream.  
They will not let us rest — they need us now  
as much as we need them, to show the way.

*Written by Paula Meehan for the unveiling of the IWWU plaque at Liberty Hall in March 2013.*

**Mayo strikes back**

This DMP baton was used by an officer to strike Tomas Mac Cathmhaoil (Thomas Campbell) from Swinford, county Mayo on 31st August 1913 as he walked along Sackville Street on his way to Kingsbridge train station. He was caught up in the large crowd that gathered to listen to Jim Larkin speaking from the balcony of the Imperial Hotel. When the DMP officer attempted to strike Thomas, he knocked the policeman to the ground and took his baton. The law student put the weapon in his satchel and headed for the train and Mayo. He later fought in the War of Independence and on the anti-Treaty side in the Civil War. He then ran a legal practice in Swinford and Ballina. was twice chairman of Mayo county Council and ended his career as county registrar in Wicklow. He died in the 1960's and his son Caoimhghin, a solicitor in Galway reclaimed the baton from a local historian in Ballina some years later.



Pictures: William Hederman

This poster is advertising a public meeting organised by the Irish Trades Congress, a forerunner of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. Among the speakers at the "Labour Demonstration" in Beresford Place, adjacent to Liberty Hall, were Jim Larkin and James Connolly. The poster ends with a message exhorting those attending to show their trade union badges prominently – "Badges Up!"



**Jim Larkin's brief case**

The leather case is in the possession of the Irish Labour History Society Museum. It was only on close inspection that the inscription "Jim Larkin, W.W.U., Local 65" was discovered. The case most probably came into Jim Larkin's ownership during his time in the United States between 1914 and 1923 when he worked as an organiser with the Industrial Workers of the World; W.W.U. stands for "Workers of the World Unite."

**Food on board**

This coupon allowed the bearer to receive a parcel of bread and other items from the British Trade Union Fund. The coupon was issued jointly by the British TUC and Dublin Trades Council and would have been redeemed when one of the several of TUC funded food ships that arrived in Dublin in the winter of 1913 docked. This coupon would seem to have been for the very first food shipment carried the SS Hare – it states "Apply – South Wall. From 12 noon to 6 p.m. Saturday, 27th Sept., 1913."



**1913 Timeline**

- 19 JULY**  
DUTC boss William Martin Murphy warns his workers he will sack ITGWU members. Within weeks, he dismisses hundreds of employees.
- 15 AUGUST**  
Murphy sacks 40 men and boys in the despatch and delivery office of the *Irish Independent*.
- 22 AUGUST**  
Dublin Castle promises Murphy full backing of the police and military.
- 26 AUGUST**  
Tram strike begins. Murphy drafts in 'scab' crews to operate buses with DMP escorts. Larkin dubs dispute a Lockout not a strike at a mass meeting outside Liberty Hall.
- 28 AUGUST**  
DMP detectives raid the homes of Larkin and other trade unionists. They are charged with incitement before Police Magistrate and DUTC shareholder E.G. Swift. Larkin calls for a mass demo on Sackville Street on Sunday 31 August.
- 30 AUGUST**  
James Connolly is arrested and charged with incitement. Riots break out in Ringsend and spread to Great Brunswick Street. Labourer John Byrne, 50, is beaten senseless by police on Butt Bridge and 33-year-old labourer James Nolan is attacked by police on Eden Quay. They are taken to Jervis Street hospital where both die of their wounds.
- 31 AUGUST**  
'Bloody Sunday'. Larkin attempts to address crowd on Sackville Street. Police baton charge causes between 400 and 600 injuries.
- 1 SEPTEMBER**  
The TUC conference in Manchester is appalled at 'Bloody Sunday' reports. Delegates pledge support. Meanwhile more employers lock out ITGWU members. There are disturbances outside Jacob's biscuit factory as ITGWU members are turned away. Rioting on both sides of the Liffey.
- 3 SEPTEMBER**  
James Nolan's funeral. Thousands follow the coffin to Glasnevin cemetery. William Martin Murphy unveils strategy to smash the ITGWU at a Dublin Chamber of Commerce meeting. Over 400 employers agree not to employ ITGWU members.
- 7 SEPTEMBER**  
Mass rally on Sackville Street to assert freedom of assembly. It is one of the largest demonstrations ever seen in Dublin.
- 9 SEPTEMBER**  
James Connolly goes on hunger strike in Mountjoy. Larkin in England on fundraising tour.
- 13 SEPTEMBER**  
Connolly is released from prison after escalating his protest to a hunger and thirst strike.
- 15 SEPTEMBER**  
Ten thousand railwaymen in the English west midlands, and three thousand workers on Merseyside, black goods from Dublin in spontaneous, unofficial, strikes. Murphy sets up a fund to help smaller employers buy motorised vehicles.
- 21 SEPTEMBER**  
James Connolly, who is deputising for Larkin, tells the press: 'We are willing - anxious, in fact - to have a Conciliation Board'.
- 22 SEPTEMBER**  
The employers formally reject Lord Mayor Lorcan Sherlock's proposal to set up a conciliation board. The army begins regular strike-breaking duties.

## 1913 Timeline (continued from page 5)

**27 SEPTEMBER**

The SS Hare docks with £5,000 worth of food supplies from the TUC. The British labour movement raises over £93,000 to help the strikers and their families. Another £13,000 comes from other sources, mainly British Labour and Socialist Party branches, Irish unions and trades councils.

**5 OCTOBER**

The Parliamentary Committee of the TUC decides it will stop sending cash to Dublin, but will continue to send ships with food and fuel. This marks the beginning of a policy to distance itself from Larkin, who is refusing to cede leadership to the TUC.

**6 OCTOBER**

The Miners Federation national conference in Scarborough calls for a general strike in Britain to support the Dublin workers.

**13 OCTOBER**

A delegation from the Industrial Peace Committee meets Dublin Trades Council, which agrees to a 'Truce', if the employers agree.

**15 OCTOBER**

Police battle strikers in Bray harbour to protect coal imported by Heiton & Company.

**18 OCTOBER**

Another food ship, the SS New Pioneer, arrives with 30,000lbs of food stuffs. Strikers begin hunting down 'scabs'. In Luke Street strike-breakers flee homes and 300 workers riot in Denzille St when the DMP rescue a strike-breaker at Wallace's yard.

**20 OCTOBER**

Tramway workers begin returning to work. Many are threatened with eviction from DUTC company houses and car men (drivers) face having their licences revoked by the DMP.

**23 OCTOBER**

8,000 ITGWU members march through Dublin in protest at the employers' rejection of the Industrial Peace Committee's initiative.

**26 OCTOBER**

Robert Williams, secretary of the National Transport Workers' Federation, promises £2,000 to relieve immediate distress in the city. He is part of a TUC delegation in Dublin to discuss a new peace initiative by Archbishop Walsh.

**27 OCTOBER**

The DMP raid Liberty Hall and seize union records. Larkin is arrested. Large crowds gather outside Green Street courthouse where mounted police maintain order. The handpicked jury finds Larkin guilty of sedition. He is sentenced to seven months.

**28 OCTOBER**

James Connolly takes over leadership of the ITGWU while Larkin is in prison.

**29 OCTOBER**

A large group of strike-breakers from Britain arrive at the North Wall to work for T & C Martin timber merchants. Rumours spread that the TUC plans to reduce aid to Dublin. Connolly warns employers if they bring in any more strike-breakers 'the streets of Dublin will run red with blood'.

**4 NOVEMBER**

The ITGWU buries James Byrne, the branch secretary in Dun Laoghaire (Kingstown) after he dies of pneumonia. He contracted it on hunger and thirst strike in custody after being arrested on for alleged intimidation of a labourer.

**6 NOVEMBER**

The Shipping Federation vessel SS Ella arrives in the Alexandra Basin with the first consignment of strike-breakers on board. The port is heavily guarded by the DMP and RIC. The military are on standby. The SS Ella is joined by the Lady Jocelyn and the Paris. By the following

Continued on page 9

## New coin minted for Larkin



As part of the commemoration of the 1913 Lockout the Central Bank has produced a limited edition €15 coin. The silver coin, which was designed by Rory Breslin, depicts Jim Larkin addressing workers and their families in front of locked factory gates. It is a limited issue with only 10,000 minted and is available to purchase for €44 from the Central Bank's website or directly from its offices in Dame Street, Dublin.

## 1913 Lockout Stamps



An Post has released a three stamp set marking the centenary of the Lockout. The set, designed by Ger Garland, makes use of original photographs from the 1913 era as a backdrop to three of the leading figures of the Lockout, Jim Larkin, James Connolly and Countess Markievicz.

James Connolly, is seen with the original Liberty Hall in the background; Constance Markievicz against a photograph of children outside tenement buildings in Chancery Lane (now Bride Street) and Jim Larkin against a photograph of the Bloody Sunday Riot which took place in Sackville Street (O'Connell St.) just outside the GPO.



Workers listen to speaker at Liberty Hall Picture: National Library

# Gentleman Jim I knew and loved

**I**T WAS the sight of an infant huddled beside its dead mother in the slums of Liverpool that awoke in the young Jim Larkin a great passion to struggle against injustice.

As Jim's granddaughter, Stella Larkin McConnon, recalls: "He was giving a hand with some work when he was 16 or so in a place called Christian Street in Liverpool.

"There was a peculiar groaning noise coming from a basement, they went down to see what it was. There was a woman lying there dead, from malnutrition, and there was a baby on top of her trying to get food. That haunted him."

Years later the incident was still referenced in the Larkin family as a defining moment in her grandfather's life.

However, it is as a doting grandfather that Stella remembers the ITGWU founder.

She got to know him well while waiting for her father Dennis, who was also a trade union organiser and politician, to come out of meetings in Unity Hall, the then headquarters of the Workers Union of Ireland.

"How I knew him was that my dad and I used to go to Unity Hall in Marlborough Street nearly every

Jim Larkin's granddaughter **STELLA LARKIN McCONNON** recalls for Scott Millar a gentle giant driven by a passion to fight injustice

Sunday for a meeting. He would leave me with my grandad while he was having his meeting.

"He was a gentle giant, very kind and interested. He had such a strong voice. I didn't think he had an accent – it just sounded normal to me; the pity is it was never recorded.

"I remember one time, in particular, my mother took me to hear him

speak to a crowd and someone put a microphone in front of him. He looked at it and said I don't need this microphone and he didn't – his voice was strong enough.

"Even though he left school at 11, he had a tremendous command of English. He never ever read from notes when he was speaking, it all just came out."

As well as a passion for the workers' movement, Larkin's strict teetotalism was another feature he handed down to his children.

"My dad and his three brothers were the same, none of them drank. My grandad started it. He was so worried about the effects alcohol had on people. He would always have a cup of tea. It's something we always loved, cups of tea."

Stella recalls waltzing with her dad at one of the many socials organised by Larkin.

"He always wanted to do things that brought people together. People were so important to him, he felt it was really important for people to

get together and talk and relax. There was no alcohol, people would have tea and sandwiches."

Stella has been impressed by the commemoration of her grandfather's work in recent years.

The stained glass window installed in Belfast City Hall in 2007, commemorating Larkin's role in organising workers in that city, is a particular favourite.

As is the statue on O'Connell Street, Dublin, which Stella feels captures some of the essence of Larkin's powerful personality. "Every time I pass it I make sure to greet him."

But it was the high esteem in which the working people of Dublin held her grandfather that is his ultimate epitaph.

Stella recalls her grandfather's funeral procession in January 1947.

"I remember the day he was brought to the graveyard. There was fierce snow, it was very heavy, men digging up the road to try and get the snow off. When they saw the funeral they stopped, put their shovels on their shoulders and fell in behind it.

"They walked the whole way out to Glasnevin. I can still see that now."



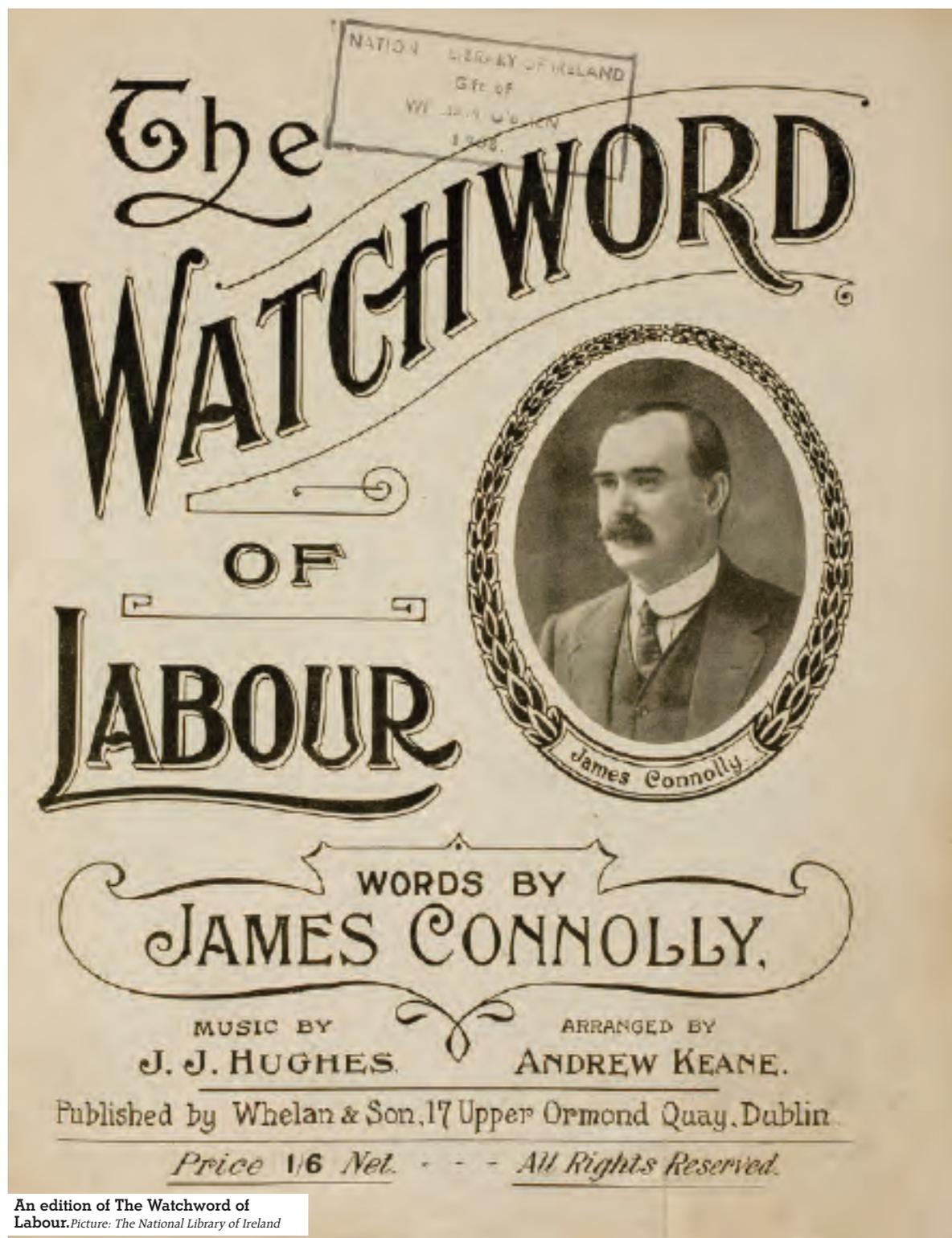
'I remember the day he was brought to the graveyard. There was fierce snow with men digging to get the snow off. When they saw the funeral they stopped, put their shovels on their shoulders and fell in behind. They walked all the way to Glasnevin'



# Words that still inspire us



By  
James Connolly  
Heron



An edition of *The Watchword of Labour*. Picture: The National Library of Ireland

**JAMES CONNOLLY HERON** on the enduring relevance of the writings of his great-grandfather, James Connolly

**T**HE Lockout was about more than just union recognition. It was, as stated in an inscription on a medal presented to James Connolly in 1914 by the Independent Labour Party of Ireland, "Dublin's Labour War".

This medal also bears the inscription, "a felon's cap is the noblest crown an Irish head can wear", referring to his incarceration in Mountjoy jail.

The Lockout was seen as a defeat for the labour movement. Yet Connolly, writing in the *Irish Worker* one year later, put it differently.

He wrote: "The battle was a drawn battle. The employers, despite their Napoleonic plan of campaign and their more than Napoleonic ruthlessness and unscrupulous use of foul means,

were unable to carry on their business without men and women who remained loyal to their union.

"The workers were unable to force the employers to a formal recognition of the union and to give preference to organised labour.

"From the effects of this drawn battle both sides are still bearing heavy scars, how deep these scars are none will ever reveal." (November 18th, 1914).

The Lockout also provided the means whereby the Citizen Army came into being.

On foot of the arming of the Ulster Volunteers, the British establishment was prevented from acting against the arming of the workers as a defence force. That failure to respond would cost them dear in the years leading up to the Rising.

Once Connolly took control of the Army, everything was to change. The IRB was left with no opportunity but to negotiate with him lest he move ahead with a rising without them.

The centenary commemoration and celebration of the Lockout throws up questions as to where the trade union movement stands today as the scourge of emigration and unemployment now returns to haunt us.

The prime duty of the movement, of course, is to protect the interests of its members, but it must go further than that if it wishes or claims to be the inheritor of its founders.

James Connolly, writing in *The Harp* in 1918, pointed out that "the struggle for the conquest of the political state of the capitalist is not the battle, it is only the echo of the

battle, the real battle is being fought out, and will be fought out, on the industrial field."

And so the movement must take a lead in challenging the class divisions in our society today. It cannot do so from a position of weakness and division.

The great Celtic Tiger wealth that should have been used to cater for the needs of all citizens was squandered at an altar of greed and corruption.

We partied, we are told, but not all were invited to the party. Some of those who did party and are directly associated with the collapse of our economy continue living lavish lifestyles supported by State funding through the generosity of NAMA operating on our behalf, behind closed doors.

The stark contrast between a golden generation of one era and a

corrupt golden circle of a more recent one could not be clearer or more striking.

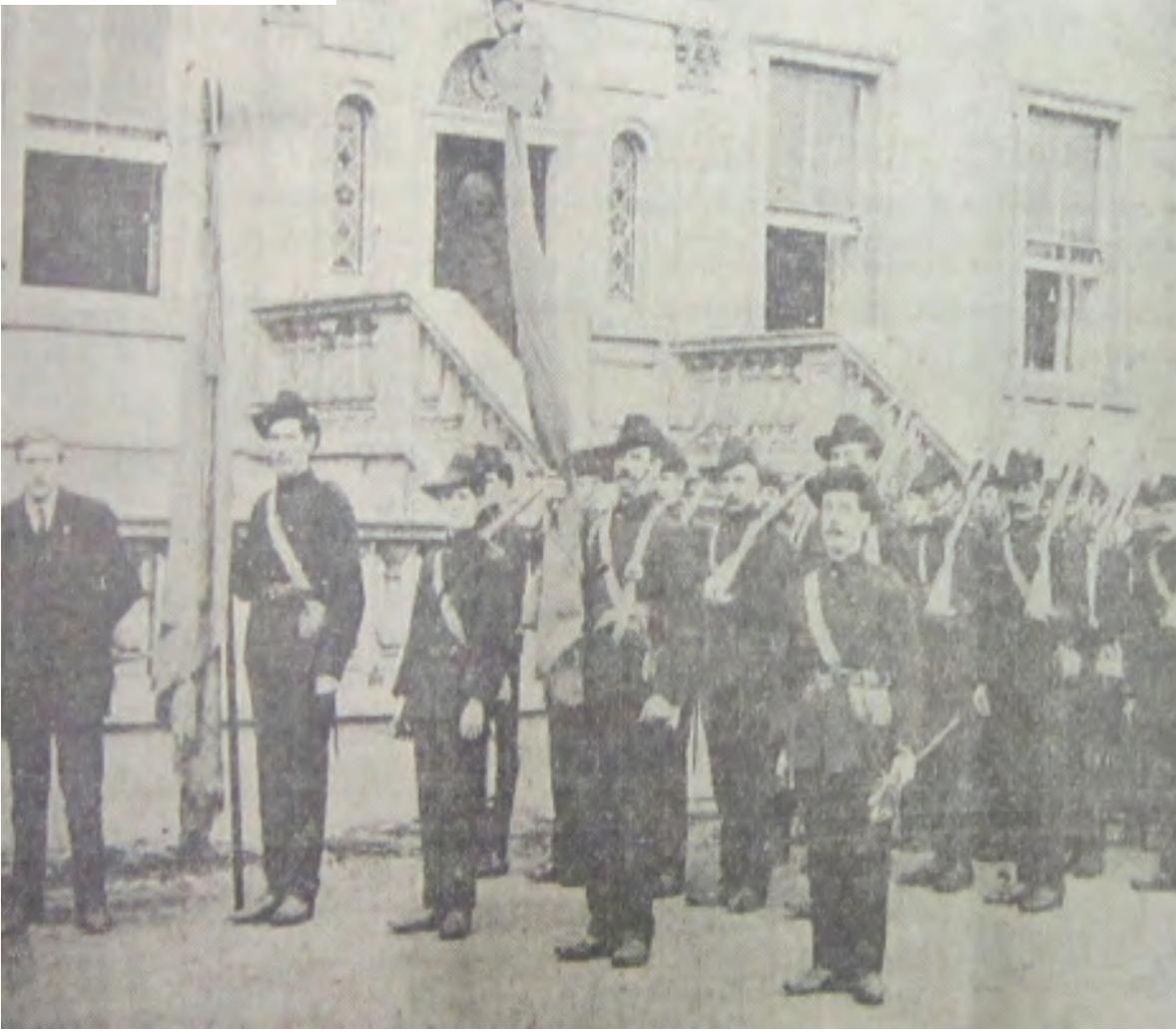
And now, with an economy destroyed by corruption, greed and abject incompetence, coupled with negligence, we bid farewell to thousands of our talented people who cannot afford to live in the country of their birth or assist in its recovery.

Equal rights and equal opportunities and cherishing all the children of the nation equally with the guarantee of religious and civil liberty, as proclaimed by Connolly in the Proclamation of the Republic, remains the challenge.

The trade union movement can lead a renewal or rebirth of our Republic – and in so doing capture the indomitable spirit of 1913 and its legacy.

As Connolly, writing in *Forward*

A detachment of the Irish Citizen Army with Jim Larkin (left)



in 1914, put it: "We ought, I think to learn that the first duty of the militant worker today is to work for industrial unionism in some form.

"To work for the abolition of or merging of all these unions that now divide our energies instead of concentrating them – and for the abolition of all those executives whose measure of success is the balance sheet of the union, instead of the power of their class."

And in an article in the same publication that echoes through history to us today, he pointed out: "The development of the power of the modern state should teach us that the mere right to vote will not protect the workers unless they have a strong economic organisation behind them; that the nationalisation of industries but changes the form of the workers' servitude whilst leaving its essence unimpaired; and that in the long run the class in control of the economic forces of the nation will be able to dominate and direct its political powers."

The challenge now is for today's trade union movement and workers to step up and create the force that will drive forward the struggle into the future and so fulfil the legacy of Connolly and Larkin.

*James Connolly Heron is the author of The Words of James Connolly, published by Mercier Press.*



1913 Timeline (continued from page 6)

Monday, 10 November, there are 600 strike-breakers in the port.

**12 NOVEMBER**

Connolly pulls all of the ITGWU dockers out of Dublin Port.

**13 NOVEMBER**

Larkin is released from Mountjoy and is furious to find Connolly has called out the dockers. He was holding them in reserve as a final bargaining card.

**14 NOVEMBER**

Sympathetic action resumes in some British ports, but the action does not spread.

**16 NOVEMBER**

Larkin tells a crowd in Manchester that 'Jails are nothing to horrors of the slums and the degradation going on in Dublin day by day'.

**18 NOVEMBER**

Larkin continues his tour in Britain attacking the TUC leadership, while Connolly urges ITGWU members in Dublin to attend a meeting of the Civic League to discuss the establishment of a 'Citizens' Army'. The idea is that of Captain Jack White DSO, who wants 'to keep unemployed men fit and self-respecting'.

**22 NOVEMBER**

There are now 900 strike-breakers in Dublin Port and the depot ships are no longer capable of accommodating all of them.

**23 NOVEMBER**

Larkin publishes attack on the TUC leadership in the Daily Herald in his opening salvo to win the vote at special delegate conference.

**24 NOVEMBER**

There is widespread outrage as shocking statistics show that the number of people in bad housing had now reached 118,461 and 13,800 people were living nine or more to a room. The Citizen Army begins drilling in Croydon Park.

**28 NOVEMBER**

Two strike-breakers with Tedcastle McCormick coal importers fire shots after being attacked by a crowd at Burgh Quay around 6.30 pm. Bridget Rowe, 50, of Waterford Street is shot in the face while watching the disturbance from the steps of the Tivoli Theatre. All the charges against strike-breakers who fired shots are subsequently struck out by Police Magistrates.

**4 DECEMBER**

New talks between TUC, employers and Dublin strike committee, but the employers insist on separate meeting with TUC. The employers refuse to give guarantees that all workers will be re-hired and want TUC guarantees that it will not assist unions that misbehave.

**7 DECEMBER**

Dublin union leaders offer to guarantee 'no form of sympathetic strike or other strike will be entered upon until the matter in dispute has been the subject of investigation by a local conference of employers and workers representatives'. But the employers will not guarantee strikers their jobs back.

**9 DECEMBER**

The special delegate conference of the TUC opens in London. Nearly 600 delegates representing 350 TUC-affiliated unions with 2.5 million members gather for debate on the Dublin Lockout. It quickly becomes a clash between Larkin and his TUC opponents.

**10 DECEMBER**

Connolly pens a furious article for the socialist magazine Forward. He says the help of the British workers over the previous four months represented the Labour movement's 'highest point of moral grandeur... But sectionalism, intrigues and old-time jealousies' had 'damned us in the hour of victory'.

# Remembering the women of 1913

Social historian

## IDA MILNE

discusses the changing view of the role of women in the history of the 1913 Lockout

**WHAT WOMEN'S voices do we hear from the Lockout narrative? Perhaps the best known, in 2013 terms, would be that of Rosie Hackett, the meek-looking and tiny Jacob's biscuit factory worker, trade unionist and protester.**

For long an unsung hero of the Dublin Lockout and the 1916 Rising, her place in history has now been assured by the successful campaign to name a Dublin bridge after her, even though some claim her actual involvement in the Lockout was relatively minor.

Long after her death in the 1970s, Rosie's campaign was helped by the fact that she is a female, working class hero at a time when labour and gender history is in an unusually popular phase, just as her achievements were not perhaps recognised in the past as they should have been because of her class and gender.

Constance Markievicz could be viewed as the counter to Rosie Hackett.

Born into a west of Ireland Anglo-Irish family, the Gore-Booths, Markievicz for many years was the female icon of 1913 and 1916 – a gun-toting hero who became the first woman elected to the British House of Commons, and was also elected to the Dáil serving as the first Minister for Labour.

Unlike Hackett, Markievicz's role was always emphasised; she was noteworthy because she had been a young lady of high society, making her debut to Queen Victoria in 1887. She was also part of the dominant narrative of 20th century Irish history – nationalist republican.

Perhaps the shine on Markievicz's star as an icon for Irish womanhood and nationalism is fading as we witness a welcome upsurge in the popularity of labour history; perhaps, too, in this upsurge, her class plays against her.

There were many women, prominent or otherwise, we could mention in connection with 1913. The hundreds of women directly involved, the thousands whose



Members of the IWWU at its Dublin headquarters.  
Picture: National Library

families were in crisis as a result, who had to struggle to make ends meet during a time of extreme hardship.

Some of their stories are being resurrected by the 1913 Alternative Visions oral history project researchers, who are collecting oral accounts of the legacy of the Lockout.

Suffragist and trade unionist Louie Bennett was among those who worked on the relief effort at Liberty Hall during the 1913 strike and Lockout in Dublin. She also called for financial support for strikers' families, through *the Irish Citizen*.

Bennett, an inspirational character, founded the Irish Women's Reform League, which investigated, among other issues, women's working conditions.

Or the republican trade union activist and actress Helena Molony, who was an official of the IWWU for more than 20 years.

During the Lockout, Molony employed her acting skills to disguise James Larkin as a clergyman, bringing him into the Imperial Hotel, while posing as his niece, for



An unidentified woman addresses a crowd of strikers during the 1913 Lockout: women played key roles in the early Irish trade union movement.

Picture: Terry Fagan North Inner City Folklore Project.

Larkin's famous balcony address to the crowd in Sackville Street, which resulted in the 'Bloody Sunday' police baton charge. She also addressed meetings about the Lockout.

Then there's Delia Larkin, the sister of Big Jim Larkin, herself a towering figure in the trade union movement, another general secretary of the Irish Women Workers' Union.

Larkin, who launched the IWWU, not only ran the food operation in Liberty Hall, but also was involved in trying to foster strikers' children to families in Liverpool.

As my colleague and lead on the 1913 Alternative Visions Oral History Project, Dr Mary Muldowney, pointed out during a talk on women and 1913 at a commemoration in Dún Laoghaire, Delia's

place in Irish history is assured, neatly behind her brother, James – as his tombstone in Glasnevin symbolises.

On the front of the tombstone James Larkin's attributes are mentioned, while the side bears the legend "and his sister Delia".

It says a lot about how society values a woman who was a wonderful organiser in her own right, and the leading woman trade unionist of her day.

Our schools history curriculums have paid scant attention to these women, even Markievicz.

One of the more valuable lessons we might learn from the current commemoration is that unless we make a conscious effort to document the achievements of our female trade unionists, past and present, we are losing opportunities to point to women activists as role models.

Ida Milne is a historian who uses oral testimony to explore her research interests. With Dr. Mary Muldowney, she organised the 1913 Lockout Alternative Visions oral history project, training trade unionists and community activists to collect oral histories in their workplace and communities.

# Rosie Hackett's tales of struggle

Last month Dublin City Councillors voted to name the newest bridge over the River Liffey in honour of trade unionist and Citizen Army member Rosie Hackett, who worked in Liberty Hall from the time of the Lockout until the 1960s.

The Rosie Hackett Bridge will carry the new Luas Cross City line, linking Burgh Quay to Eden Quay, just a few metres from Liberty Hall.

Below are extracts from Hackett's witness statement to the Bureau of Military History in 1951 concerning her activities with the Citizen Army.

## THE CITIZEN ARMY

"It was as a result of the big strike in 1913 that I first became attached to Liberty Hall. A workroom was opened to assist girls who had lost their employment as a result of the strike. Miss Delia Larkin had charge of the girls that were working there.

"When Miss Larkin left Liberty Hall, Miss Helena Molony came to take charge, and that is when the work of the women's section of the Irish Citizen Army started in earnest."

## THE RISING

"A week before Easter, I took part in the ceremony of hoisting the challenge flag over the Hall . . . [Following a route march on Easter Sunday] . . . we formed a circle, and Connolly spoke to us. He was very serious in that speech . . . I remember him saying that every man and woman, and every boy and girl, that had marched this day were now soldiers of Ireland and would be confined to barracks pointing to Liberty Hall.

"That night, I was sent in a lot of times with messages, to where Connolly was. I delivered some messages for him. He would beckon, and I would go in. It must have been in connection with the Proclamation, because the type was being fitted at the time . . . I just went in with messages to the men. I cannot say for whom exactly the messages were, but I was kept busy that night going back and forth with messages.

"We did not move into the College of Surgeons until [Easter] Tuesday morning. We were in [Stephen's Green] for the whole of Monday, until we could not stop there any longer. We were driven out by the fire from the Shelbourne Hotel . . .

"It was very exciting there. We were under very heavy fire from late on Monday evening. Even when we marked out the first-aid post with a red sign, they did not recognise it and kept firing on us . . .



Rosie Hackett pictured outside Liberty Hall with fellow trade unionists in the late 1950s. Below: the Citizen Army outside Liberty Hall in 1914. Below left: Hackett's 1951 statement to the Bureau of Military History. Picture: National Library

ROINN COSANTA  
BUREAU OF MILITARY HISTORY, 1913-21.  
STATEMENT BY WITNESS  
DOCUMENT NO. W.S. 546

Witness

Miss Rosie Hackett,  
115 Brian Road,  
Fairview,  
Dublin.

Historically, Liberty Hall is the most important building that we have in the city. Yet, it is not thought of at all by most people. More things happened there, in connection with the Rising, than in any other place. It really started from there.

When the police entered the shop, they asked for the papers. I said: "Wait till I get the head". I told the men in the printing office that the police were in the shop on a raid, and that Connolly was to be got. Connolly was in, and they had him down in a jiffy. The policeman was behind the counter. Connolly rushed down as quickly as he could. He just saw them with the papers and said: "Drop them, or I will drop you". Helena went and said: "Drop them, or I will drop you". Helena went and her weapon ready. In case Connolly was attacked. She always had a gun, and was always prepared. When Connolly said: "Drop them, or I will drop you", he said then covered from that on. The police went off, and came back later with a warrant. They searched around, but they got nothing. I had hidden the staff.



"On one occasion, I was lying down on one of the beds [in the College of Surgeons], resting myself. The men were trying out some rifles they had found in the College. The people upstairs sent for me to go for a cup of tea . . .

"I had only left the bed, when a man, named Murray, casually threw himself down on it and, whatever way it happened, this bullet hit him in the face. We attended him there for the whole week. He was then brought to Vincent's Hospital where he died after a week . . .

"After the Rising, Liberty Hall was closed for some time. After our release, we did our best to try and carry on. We started the Fianna Saoirse and other little organisations to try and keep things going."

## FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF CONNOLLY'S DEATH

"On the occasion of the first anniversary of Connolly's death, the transport people decided that he would be honoured. A big poster was put up on the hall, with the

'I always felt it was worth it, to see the trouble the police had getting [the banner] down. No one was arrested. If it took 400 policemen to take four women, what would the newspapers say?'

words:

'James Connolly Murdered, May 12th, 1916'. It was no length of time up on the Hall, when it was taken down by the police . . .

"Miss Molony called us together, Jinny Shanahan, Brigid Davis and myself. Miss Molony printed another script. Getting up on the roof, she put it high up, across the top parapet. We were on top of the roof for the rest of the time it was there. We barricaded the windows.

"Police were mobilised from everywhere, and more than 400 of them marched across from Store Street direction and made a square outside Liberty Hall. Thousands of people were watching from the quay on the far side of the river. It took the police a good hour or more before they got in, and the script was there until six in the evening, before they got it down.

"I always felt that it was worth it, to see all the trouble the police had, in getting it down. No one was arrested. Of course, if it took 400 policemen to take four women, what would the newspapers say?"

# Collective bargaining is the best way we can honour 1913

The arguments against collective bargaining make no sense. Its opponents simply fear that full union rights will lead to a fairer distribution of wealth and will hamper the ability of corporations to make themselves ever richer, writes **David Begg**

**W**hatever else we celebrate in this centenary year of 1913, we should be clear on one core fact: the central objective of those men and women was to win the right for workers to choose their own representatives and have them bargain collectively with employers on their behalf. Sounds simple, sensible and hardly earth-shattering. Yet that essential right – enjoyed by millions of workers across the developing world and in Europe's strongest economies – has never been secured in Ireland. Indeed it is actively opposed by a number of employers' organisations, by the IDA, by the Supreme Court – as seen in the Ryanair ruling in 2007 – and by legislators who claim that granting a legal right to collective bargaining would inhibit foreign direct investment. This is nonsense. There is not a single statistic or threadbare study



Strikers march along Dublin's North Circular Road from a rally in the Phoenix Park in 1913.  
Picture: Terry Fagan North Inner City Folklore Project

to back it up. Indeed, all the evidence is to the contrary.

Europe's most competitive and strongest economies also happen to be those in which trade unions enjoy full recognition and high levels of organisation. That these societies are also the most equal and have fared best in the current crisis is hardly a coincidence.

It seems that the unspoken fear of the opponents of full union rights in Ireland is that unions will do as they have done elsewhere and force a greater distribution of wealth across society, hampering the corporate capacity for ceaseless enrichment.

Indeed, the very right to union

recognition and representation is to be found enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, ILO (International Labor Organisation) Conventions 87 and 98 and the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. But thus far that has proved

insufficient to see that right enjoyed by workers in Ireland.

Of course Congress welcomes the commitment contained in the Programme for Government on this key issue – but we now need to see it made a reality.

Europe's most competitive and strongest economies also happen to be those in which trade unions enjoy full recognition and high levels of organisation

Indeed, the backdrop provided by the centenary makes this the appropriate time to see real movement on the commitment.

Because we can erect statues to the 1913 leaders; we can name bridges after them; we can hold national days of commemoration to salute their sacrifice, but as long as their great-grandchildren are deprived of the basic human right which they set out to achieve, then we are not really honouring their memory. If anything, we are denigrating their struggle.

The core mission of trade unionism is to organise workers and, thereby, to force a more equitable distribution of the wealth created by markets.

It is predicated on a belief that all human beings are morally equal; all have an equal entitlement to self-determination; all life chances should be as equal as possible and social justice is a condition of liberty.

The biggest challenge facing all of us today is to find ways to mitigate the social and economic risks to which people are exposed during their lives. The very rich may have the means to insulate themselves from some but not all of these risks. The rest of us need to band together for protection. That is the purpose of the welfare state.

But in recent years, high levels of public debt and an ageing demographic have undermined the sustainability of the welfare state. In the future it will only be possible to achieve and maintain this sustainability with high levels of social investment.

This in turn will require high labour force participation rates and jobs capable of sustaining the tax revenue base to fund social investment. In other words, decent work.

Decent work is – and will increasingly become – an imperative for all industrialised countries. The only way to achieve decent work is through collective bargaining. The need for workers to organise and bargain collectively is as relevant today as it was in the past.

In other words, the values which inspired the women and men of 1913 are timeless.

*David Begg is General Secretary of ICTU.*



Strikers in the Phoenix Park following a demonstration in 1913. Picture: Terry Fagan North Inner City Folklore Project.

**T**he past”, according to the famous opening line of LP Hartley’s novel *The Go-Between*, “is a foreign country: they do things differently there.” This is true of the distance between Ireland in 2013 and the Dublin of the 1913 Lockout. But not as true as we might think, and not as true as it ought to be.

There have been vast changes over the past century, most of them for the better and many of them as a direct result of the struggles of working people for a better life. Few people in Ireland now live in housing conditions as squalid as those of Dublin’s internationally infamous tenements. The almost absolute poverty of the unskilled labouring class is rare now. Access to education, health care and opportunity is vastly better.

There is at least some kind of safety net to prevent people from falling into the abyss if they lose their jobs or become sick or simply grow old. It is no longer generally true that, as James Connolly put it with such brilliantly succinct bitterness, “Man is a slave and woman is the slave of a slave.”

Can we conclude, then, that the Lockout happened in another world and that the issues that animated those who took part are mere historical abstractions? Unfortunately not. In different ways, and in a different context, many of them continue to haunt us. This is why the commemoration of the Lockout has to be more than an act of piety towards the past. It must also be a pledge for the future.

The most obvious way in which the underlying questions remain alive is, of course, the principle of the right to free collective bargaining. Unlike in 1913, Irish workers do

# The unfinished business of 1913



By  
Fintan  
O’Toole

The desire for human dignity drove people to endure huge sacrifices in 1913. Today we need a sense of the dignity that our ancestors won for themselves, writes **Fintan O’Toole**

have a right to join a trade union. But they still have no right to have their union recognised by their employer. As recently as this summer, the Government made it clear that it has no intention of marking the centenary of the Lockout by enshrining in law the thing the workers of 1913 starved for: the right to deal collectively with their bosses\*. That unfinished business is one of the reasons why 1913 cannot be regarded as an entirely foreign country.

But it’s not the only one. If we think about some of the broader things that were at stake in the Lockout, we can see that the same battles still need to be fought today. Con-

sider just four themes: inequality, housing, exploitation and dignity.

In the Dublin of 1913, gross inequalities were stark and obvious and many people believed that they were simply the way the world worked. Has this changed in any fundamental way? Even in times of supposed austerity, the gap between rich and poor has widened. Inequality is structural: the recent Growing Up in Ireland study shows that even by the age of three, children from poorer backgrounds are already showing signs of severe disadvantage compared to those from better-off households. While right-wingers continue to tell us, as they would

have done in 1913, that inequality arises simply because some people work harder and are more talented than others, the fate of little children gives the lie to this self-justification. Are we to believe that one set of toddlers is better off because it works harder?

The appalling conditions of the tenements may be a thing of the past, but the underlying attitudes that allowed those conditions to fester are not. The tenements existed because housing was regarded as a market commodity like any other: if you didn’t have the money to buy it, you could live in squalor. The development of social housing was one

of the responses to the degradation that flowed from this attitude. But in the 1990s, we returned to the idea of housing as primarily a market commodity. And we’re paying a terrible price for it – the property bubble was enabled by the belief that housing is a commercial asset, not a human right.

Exploitation hasn’t gone away either. We saw in the boom years that vulnerable workers – especially new migrants – would be subjected to wages and conditions not much better in relative terms than those that Larkin denounced as a kind of slavery. We see, too, that the current crisis is being used as an excuse to roll back the basic protections that working people gradually gained for themselves in the decades after the Lockout.

Finally, there is dignity. What made desperate people endure for so long and against such odds in 1913 was the desire for human dignity. They were tired of humiliation and squalor, of being treated as disposable people who did not deserve a voice. That sense of humiliation is with us in Ireland now, the feeling that decisions have been taken for us and that we must live with them whether we like them or not. We, too, need a sense of the dignity that our ancestors, even in defeat, won for themselves.

*(\*In June the Irish Examiner reported that Minister for Jobs and Enterprise Richard Bruton told the annual conference of the Small Firms Association that while an agreed system for working conditions reconciliation is needed among the small business community, mandatory trade union involvement is not being planned and collective bargaining would always be voluntary.*

*In the September edition of Liberty, junior minister Joe Costello wrote that he hoped the Government would legislate for collective bargaining this year. Editor.)*

While right-wingers still tell us that inequality arises because some people work harder, the fate of little children gives the lie to this self-justification . . . Are we to believe that one set of toddlers is better off because it works harder?

# The divine mission of discontent

TUC General Secretary **FRANCES O'GRADY** looks at what we can learn from the Lockout, especially in building solidarity among workers and grasping the promise of a better future for all

**F**EAR and cynicism has always been the Right's best weapon against working people.

How often have you heard it said that unions used to do a good job but have no chance in a modern world dominated by multinational corporations, forever on the scrounge for the cheapest labour and lowest tax regime?

When backs are up against the wall, isn't it easier to blame the poor, the unemployed or migrants for falling living standards rather than big business or bankers' greed?

And, as for politicians, why bother placing faith in them when the real decisions are taken in Brussels or Berlin, and few seem ready to stand up for ordinary families' rights?

But the Dublin Lockout reminds us that organised labour can cut through the pessimism, build cross border solidarity and offer the promise of a better future.

The genius of both Larkin and Connolly was not just in organising workers, but in politicising and mobilising them.

They convinced working people in their hundreds of thousands that organisation in its broadest sense – both industrial and political – was the route to a better life.

And that organisation will always be the best chance workers have of receiving a fair share of power and the wealth we create.

Big Jim knew there would always be setbacks along the way. But he didn't throw in the towel because one battle was lost.

The great convulsions that began in Dublin in the summer of 1913 took a long time to bear fruit. Larkin knew that solidarity was the difference between subjugation and liberation – an insight that helped drive the emergence of a vibrant labour movement here in Ireland.

However, arguably the most important lesson from the Dublin Lockout a century ago is that unions need to be at the heart of a popular social movement – something the Lockout leaders knew instinctively.

It's an approach that needs re-imagining for a new century. We cannot afford to retreat into our comfort zone of committees, composite mo-

tions and conferences. Instead we must rediscover that 'divine mission of discontent.'

After all, work unites us all, from the high-tech professional to the factory worker, and the young unpaid intern to the hard-pressed carer.

Unions can bind new communities together, both real and virtual, to build a new movement that promotes our enduring values of equality, dignity and justice.

These are profoundly tough times for working people everywhere. We are up against a system of global capitalism that fails the great majority and favours the rich few, that is not only attacking our living standards but is also destroying our planet.

But from Dublin to Delhi, ordi-

'The most important lesson from the Dublin Lockout of a century ago is that unions need to be at the heart of a popular social movement'

nary women and men can demand something better, something different, a global economy that genuinely puts people before profits.

If we build a new broad popular movement and pull together for a common cause, then we can lay the foundations for a union renaissance.

A century ago, working people in Dublin sacrificed everything for what they believed in – the right to work, the right to a decent standard of living, and the right to be in a union.

Building that same spirit of hope, optimism and gritty determination is within our grasp today. And then the modern day William Murphys will be quaking in their boots.



Rejecting cynicism: TUC General Secretary Frances O'Grady  
Picture: TUC



Frances O'Grady, second from right, with, from left, ICTU President John Douglas, ETUC chief Bernadette Ségol and ICTU Deputy General Secretary Peter Bunting at the recent 1913 commemoration in Dublin  
Picture: Congress



By **JACK O'CONNOR**  
SIPTU General President

# Liberty View

## Legacy of the Lockout

**This autumn, we mark the Centenary of the Great Dublin Lockout. It remains the seminal event in the history of the Irish working class. That epic struggle also ranks as one of the great battles in the history of the workers' movement internationally.**

Until recently, it was viewed as some kind of curtain raiser for the great decade of rebellion, insofar as it was acknowledged at all in establishment circles. This grossly understates its importance. True, that heroic resistance throughout the cruel winter of 1913 into 1914 did inform the character of the 1916 Rebellion through the leadership of James Connolly and the Irish Citizen Army. However, what happened in Dublin then was part of a wider mobilisation of the working class internationally across several countries in the western developed world. This saw the number of workers involved in strikes in Britain reach 515,000 in 1910, 960,000 in 1911 and 1.5 million in 1912.

It was not a General Strike either as some people like to represent it, although there were numerous heroic examples of sympathetic action. Far from signalling the onset of the nationalist rebellion, the entire project was entirely conceived, planned and executed in all its utter brutality by Irishmen against their fellow citizens, the poor of the city. Indeed, were it not for the solidarity displayed by workers in Britain, under the leadership of the Trade Union Congress, who sustained the people through shipments of food and basic necessities, they would not have been able to hold out as long as they did.

The real issue at stake was the character and nature of the Ireland that would follow Home Rule. The Irish ruling class in waiting, under the leadership of the city's foremost employer, William Martin Murphy, was determined to ensure that the working people and the poor would have no say in the direction of public policy in the new Ireland. To this end they set out to exterminate the vehicle by means of which the people might have exercised a say – the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. They set about the task with ruthless abandon even to the extent of demonstrating their readiness to starve thousands of innocent little children to death to achieve their objective.

Ultimately, due to a heroic display of solidarity which exemplified all that is best in the human spirit, they failed to smash the Union. It resulted, as Connolly described it, in a drawn battle. Within a short few years the Union was stronger than ever.

**It became an Ireland characterised by unemployment, emigration and misery, epitomised by the culture of the Industrial Schools and the Magdalene Laundries.**

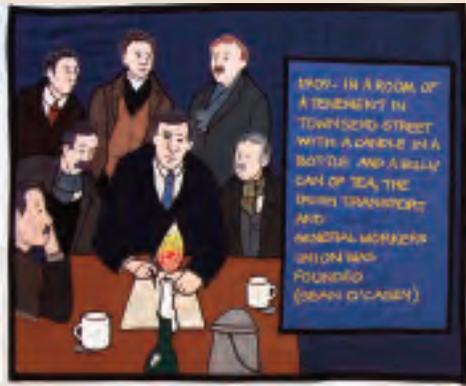
However, the subsequent decade of rebellion did not result in the evolution of a State informed by the values and ideals of those such as Jim Larkin and James Connolly who led the resistance. Instead of a new paradigm reflecting the core values of collective solidarity and community, both jurisdictions which emerged on the island were informed by the outlook of William Martin Murphy and his allies. Public policy reflected the imperatives of individual greed.

In the South, the Union Jack was replaced by the Tricolour over public buildings but the value system that emerged was actually worse. It became an Ireland characterised by unemployment, emigration and misery, epitomised by the culture of the Industrial Schools and the Magda-

**It all ended tragically on the 29th September 2008 when the then Government signed us all up for the recklessly incurred debts of those at the top of our banking system, mortgaging the futures of generations to come.**

lene Laundries. It has been a cold place for the working people and the poor. This is graphically reflected in the continuing denial of the legal right to Collective Bargaining without which the concept of Freedom of Association is meaningless, according to the European Court of Human Rights. (It is respected in virtually every other country in the EU). Eventually, the economic backwater gave way to the frothy days of the credit bubble.

It all ended tragically on the 29th September 2008 when the then Government signed us all up for the recklessly incurred debts of those at the top of our banking system, mortgaging the futures of generations to come. Now, five years later as we trudge through the mire isn't it time to abandon the Ireland informed by the William Martin Murphys and revisit again the culture of collective solidarity as the basis for building a new and sustainable future?



PANEL 1 - The Candle in the Bottle



PANEL 2 - Working Conditions



PANEL 3 - LIVING CONDITIONS



PANEL 4 - William Martin Murphy



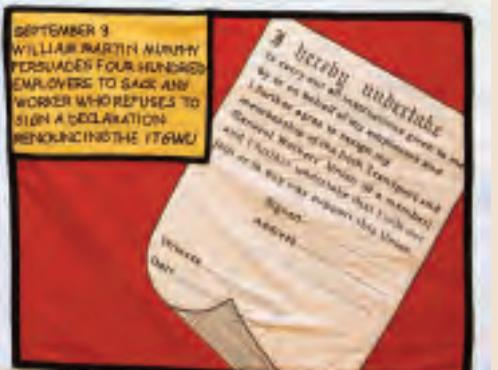
PANEL 8 - The Jacob's Strikers



PANEL 9 - The Funeral of James Nolan



PANEL 10 - The Church Street Disaster



PANEL 11 - The Yellow Dog Contract

# A Tapestry of Ho



PANEL 16 - LET US ARISE!

Forty-five feet long; 30 panels; miles of thread; yards of material; 250 adult and school student volunteers. The 1913 Lockout Tapestry was unveiled by President Michael D Higgins in Liberty Hall on 18th September last. It was described by him as "...an imaginative work of art that connects us to a crucial event in our past in a most meaningful way..." It will likely be the most enduring legacy of this centenary programme of events.

Inspired by a similar community-based tapestry project in Scotland, The Prestonpans Tapestry, the idea was first conceived by SIPTU member Michael Halpenny following a visit to Edinburgh in 2010, and was quickly also championed by retired SIPTU Organiser, Brendan Byrne and the co-ordinator of the 1913 Committee, historian Padraig Yeates. A proposal was put to the General Officers of SIPTU who decided to promote it as the lead project for the union's 1913 Centenary programme and it also received the blessing of Dublin City Council.

Early stage development saw the appointment of Brendan Byrne as the project manager and the development of a partnership with the National College of Art and Design (NCAD). Valuable advice at this stage was also received from community artist Andrew Crummie who had designed the Prestonpans Tapestry.

The key decision of the new SIPTU/NCAD partnership was to select artists Cathy Henderson and Robert Ballagh to jointly design the artwork and to liaise with the project volunteers, reflecting the collaborative nature of the this commemorative piece. It was also decided to execute the work with a mixture of techniques, including embroidery and applique, and this, in turn, fed into the design stage. The design concept was further based on the expectation that the volunteers themselves would bring not only their skill and experience, but their own ideas and reflec-

tion to influence the f

The next stage of d securing a central prem House near Liberty H cruitment of volunteer groups and individual Dublin and beyond, in Waterford - all of who and skill with extren came from all walks o tions such as the Irish the Irish Patchwork So nity-based art and cra other unions, schools, tation organisations. A committed to work claiming and reclaimin what evolved as one o



PANEL 17 - DORA MONTEFIORE



PANEL 18 - Larkin in Jail



PANEL 19 - GBS



PANEL 20 - Food D



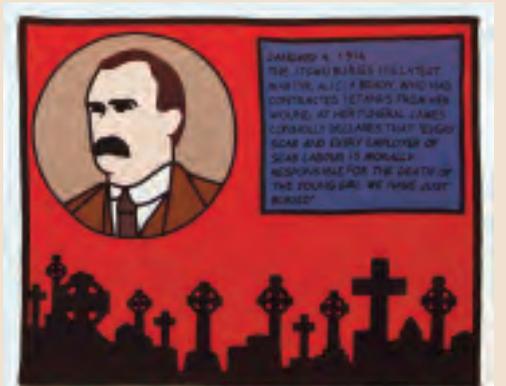
PANEL 24 - TUC Conference



PANEL 25 - Alicia Brady



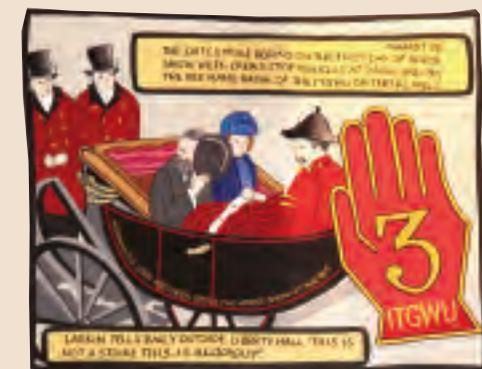
PANEL 26 - The Christmas Party



PANEL 27 - Connolly Graveyard



PANEL 28



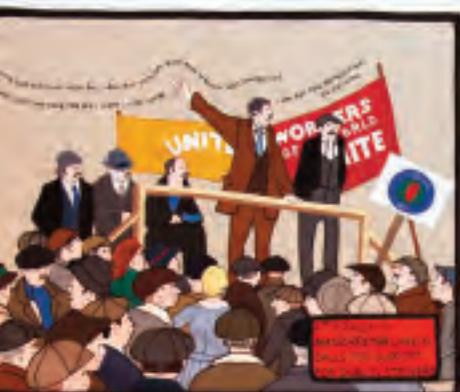
PANEL 5 – Lord Aberdeen at Horse Show



PANEL 6 – The Arrest of Jim Larkin



PANEL 7 - Bloody Sunday



PANEL 12 – Manchester Meeting



PANEL 13 – SS Hare



PANEL 14 – The Food Parcels



PANEL 15 – The Askwith Tribunal

# ope

inal work.  
development involved  
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all, as well as the re-  
ers. These came from  
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Galway, Limerick and  
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ne generosity. Adults  
f life – from organisa-  
Embroidery Guild and  
ociety, smaller commu-  
raft groups, SIPTU and  
prisons and rehabili-  
all were enthused and  
together as citizens  
ng their own history in  
of the largest commu-

nity art projects in years. A commit-tee including the artists and representatives of SIPTU, the 1913 Committee and NCAD was put in place to oversee the endeavour.

The artists' design features 30 separate linen panels of approximately two feet by two and a half feet (a number double-sized) illustrating various aspects of the Lockout story, based on a timeline devised by Padraig Yeates. They include the infamous "Bloody Sunday" police riot and the iconic central panel of Larkin with arms outstretched against the backdrop of Dublin tenements. However, perhaps the most imaginative panel is that depicting the torch flame handed on by the struggle of 1913 and which was (fittingly) executed by students from three Dublin schools.

Following the formal launch of the project by the President in

October 2012, work gathered pace, with nearly 30 groups and many individuals engaged in the task in progress. A series of workshops were in Liberty Hall to supplement the work being carried out in Tara Street and the various local centres, and also as a problem-solving exercise to share experiences.

As the last stage approached in the summer of 2013, an informal team was put in place to deal with the task of transferring the finished panels to frames for exhibition.

Finally, nearly three years after the first concept, and a year and seven months after the first stitch into the central panel by members of the Irish Embroidery Guild, the 1913 Lockout Tapestry was launched.

It is a unique work of art, which in its design and execution, in the words of SIPTU General President, Jack O'Connor, reflects "that essen-

tial spirit of social solidarity shown by the workers of the Lockout to refute the imperative of greed which governs Irish society".

It is also to be hoped that the tapestry will inspire workers and communities to organise for a better future in the way reflected on by President Higgins:

"The greatest moments in our history were always those where our people turned towards the future and a sense of what might be possible. It is the vision that sustained the workers of the Lockout. It is the same vision of a better future, of a future reclaimed as an arena of hope, which sustained the Irish people during every period of hardship..."



PANEL 18 – Defeat at the Polls



PANEL 21 - James Byrne's Funeral



PANEL 22 – The Citizen Army Band



PANEL 23 – Fireworks



PANEL 29 – Back To Work



PANEL 30 - The Torch

## The 1913 LOCKOUT TAPESTRY

Will be on display in  
The National Museum,  
Collins Baracks, Dublin  
9th Oct - 14th Nov

**LOCKOUT: THE MAIN FIGURES.****James Larkin**

Born in Liverpool in 1874, to Irish parents, Larkin left school at 11. From an early stage he embraced a strict moral vision: he did not drink or smoke, gamble or pilfer ship's cargo and his socialism was imbued with this ethos.

Sent to Belfast as an organiser for the National Union of Dock Labourers in 1907 Larkin led strikes involving both Protestant and Catholic workers. Clashing with the NUDL leadership, Larkin conceived of an Irish based union, catering for both skilled and unskilled and building itself through the use of sympathetic strike action. The ITGWU was founded in 1909.

In 1911 Larkin began publishing *The Irish Worker*, a radical weekly that regularly sold over 20,000 copies. The ITGWU also promoted a workers counter-culture, with carnivals, sports and drama classes.

**James Connolly**

Born in Edinburgh's Cowgate in 1868, Connolly left school at the age of 10 and worked in unskilled occupations until joining the British army in 1882. After leaving the army he worked again as a carter in Edinburgh and became active in socialist politics.

Moving to Dublin in 1896 he established the Irish Socialist Republican Party. Largely self-educated, he was a prolific writer and editor. After a period in the United States he was back in Dublin during the Lockout, Connolly took over as acting secretary of the ITGWU and commander of the Citizen Army after Larkin left for America in 1914. Connolly was Commandant General of the republican forces in Easter 1916.

**William Martin Murphy**

Born in Cork in 1845 to a middle-class family, Murphy became the most important business leader in nationalist Ireland. A former Home Rule MP, he refused a knighthood because Britain had not granted self-government to Ireland.

By 1913 he owned the Dublin United Tramway Company, the *Irish Independent*, *Sunday Independent*, *Evening Herald* and the *Irish Catholic* newspapers, the Imperial Hotel and Clerys Department Store. Murphy was prepared to negotiate with 'respectable' unions but spearheaded the Dublin employers effort to break the ITGWU because he saw 'Larkinism' as threatening the very basis of capitalist society.

Hungry for justice: the first load of relief food is rolled on to the quay in Dublin in 1913 *Picture: UCC History Dept Multitext project*



Justice denied: A section of the crowd dressed in period costume make their feelings clear at the 1913 commemoration on August 31st in Dublin *Picture: Congress*



**T**HE Lockout Centenary is important not just because it saw the birth of the modern labour movement and the defeat of the most determined attempt by employers ever undertaken in this country to crush mass trade unionism, but because it is a reminder of what we have failed to achieve since – the right to collective bargaining.

This is unfinished business and, until we learn the lessons of the Lockout and these rights are secured, a major democratic deficit will continue to fester at the heart of Irish society.

The Lockout was a general offensive by Dublin employers against the infant Irish Transport and General Workers Union led by William Mar-

tin Murphy, the first Catholic nationalist to be elected President of the Chamber of Commerce.

Murphy succeeded in uniting employers, Catholic and Protestant, Nationalist and Unionist to attempt to extirpate Larkinism from the city.

Jim Larkin, a Liverpool-Irish trade union leader did not merely seek better pay and conditions for the city's unskilled and semi-skilled workers, he preached a revolutionary socialist gospel based on the belief that by coming together in one big union, workers could overthrow capitalism and replace exploitation of man by man with a universal brotherhood.

It was this vision, articulated by his magnificent oratory, that mobilised thousands of workers who had been impervious to earlier attempts to do so.

Murphy, who had been an Irish Party MP during the Land League days and well understood the potential of social solidarity and mass mobilisation, was determined to nip Larkinism in the bud.

When the ITGWU recruited members in his Dublin United Tramway Company and Independent Newspaper enterprises he systematically purged them.

When the tramway workers then went on strike in pursuit of better pay and conditions he locked them out.

That was on 26th August, 1913. The city quickly became a cauldron of unrest fired by appalling housing conditions and the worst mortality rates in the United Kingdom, particularly for young children.

By 30th August, rioting had broken out in all the working class dis-

tricts of the inner city. The Dublin Metropolitan Police, reinforced by the Royal Irish Constabulary, restored order with a level of brutality that even shocked some employers.

It culminated in Bloody Sunday on 31st August, 1913, when hundreds of people were seriously injured.

The scale of the attacks shocked public opinion across Britain. The Lockout became a battle over basic democratic rights to free speech, freedom of association, freedom of assembly and freedom of conscience.

Undeterred by the bloodshed and violence, employers proceeded to demand that workers sign declarations that they were not members of the ITGWU, would immediately resign if they were and would not associate with ITGWU members if they were in other unions.

# The

By  
Padraig  
Yeates

**PADRAIG YEATES** outlines the main events of the 1913 Lockout and why the core issue of the great industrial dispute, recognition of workers' right to collective bargaining, is still unresolved

Heiton's coal being delivered under mounted police escort on Sackville Street, 1913 (Irish Life magazine)  
Picture: UCC History Dept Multitext project



# 100 year war

They rejected settlement proposals from the Government's special tribunal chaired by Sir George Askwith to end the dispute.

Employers isolated themselves briefly, but found a new weapon in the well-intended but poorly thought-out proposal from Dora Montefiore to take strikers' children to foster homes in Britain.

The Catholic Church condemned the scheme and put the trade union movement in the city on the defensive.

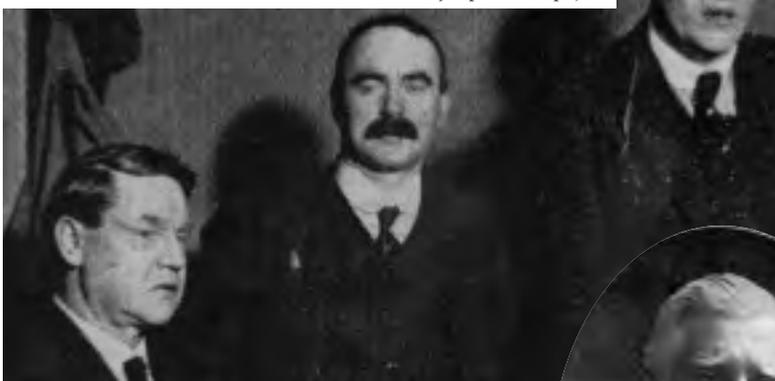
In the end, the Lockout became a war of attrition which could only end in one way. Larkin tried to recruit the big battalions of British trade unionism to his cause in 1913.

The British TUC lacked both the organisational power and the political capacity to win Dublin's battles for it. The unions were simply out-matched by the employers.

The figures speak for themselves. The TUC sent £93,000 in strike pay and provisions to Dublin in 1913-1914 and at least another £13,000 came from other sources.

But lost wages in Dublin are estimated at £400,000. Businesses suffered more in absolute financial terms with losses of approximately £2.3 million. But this was widely spread and, as Murphy constantly reminded workers, the employers could still afford three square meals a day. The revenue of the Dublin Port

Big Bill Haywood (IWW), James Connolly and James Larkin spoke at a meeting organised by the Liverpool Trades Council in support of Dublin workers. Inset: William Martin Murphy  
Picture: UCC History Dept Multitext project



and Docks Board, one of the enterprises most affected, only fell by 8.4%.

Murphy's Dublin United Tramway Company at the epicentre of the dispute saw profits fall by 16%, but the annual dividend was only cut by 0.5%.

The cost of subsidising the Lockout for allies of Dublin's employers was less than £20,000, with the largest amounts coming from the British Shipping Federation, the Engineering Federation and Lord Iveagh, head of the Guinness dynasty.

In other words, for every £5 spent by the TUC on class war in Dublin, the enemy was spending £1. (Some commentators calculate total British trade union aid at £150,000 or more

than £7 for every £1 of the enemy).

Facing defeat, unions turned increasingly on each other.

Larkin and James Connolly accused the TUC leadership of selling them out, while TUC leaders accused Larkin of destroying the unity of the movement.

The last straw came in the Dublin municipal elections of January 1914 when a slate of 10 'Larkinite' candidates secured 70% of the vote secured by nationalist councillors but won only one seat.

This was due in large part to a restrictive franchise which meant most working class men were not eligible to vote, and to a massive media campaign by the *Independent* group of newspapers, augmented by attacks from many of the Catholic clergy, but it was also down to tactical political errors by the labour movement itself and a belief that the justice of their cause was sufficient to secure victory.

At a more fundamental level the Lockout resulted in one of the paradoxes of modern Irish history in that defeat helped split the labour movement on national grounds.

As a result, Irish workers fought in the vanguard of the struggle for independence but found themselves a small minority in the Free State, which was overwhelmingly dominated by farming and property-owning interests.

Today the labour movement is much larger and has more potential than ever before, but it still lacks a coherent strategy and ideology to effectively challenge the status quo. Nor has it drawn all the lessons it needs from 1913.

*Padraig Yeates is a journalist and historian. His book Lockout: Dublin 1913 is the definitive account of the conflict and has been republished by Gill & Macmillan. He is the co-ordinator of the 1913 Committee.*

## Countess Markievicz

Born Constance Gore-Booth in 1868, a member of a wealthy Anglo-Irish landed family from Sligo. After the breakdown of her marriage to a Polish nobleman, she became interested in radical politics.

Markievicz was a strong supporter of the Irish Women Workers Union and approved of the ITGWU's militant tactics. During the Lockout she ran soup kitchens at Liberty Hall and in inner-city areas. In 1914 Markievicz became honorary treasurer of the Citizen Army (ICA), and as a member of the ICA took part in the Easter Rising. Sentenced to death but reprieved, Markievicz was elected to Westminster as a Sinn Féin MP in 1918 and became Minister for Labour in the first Dáil.

## Dora Montefiore

Born into an upper-class English family in 1851, Montefiore was a supporter of women's suffrage and a member of the Social Democratic Federation.

She spoke alongside Larkin at a rally in support of the Dublin workers in London during October 1913 and afterwards discussed with him the idea of giving refuge to strikers' children in homes in England. Larkin agreed and soon there were hundreds of offers of accommodation for the children.

The Catholic Church and the press denounced the 'kiddies scheme' amid claims Catholic children were being sent to Protestant homes to be converted. Mobs prevented children from leaving Dublin port. Montefiore was arrested and charged with kidnapping, though the case was later dropped. She remained active in labour and socialist politics until her death in 1933.

## Sean O'Casey

Born in 1880 to a Protestant family, O'Casey was raised in Dublin's north inner-city and worked as a labourer for the Great Northern Railway.

O'Casey became involved with the ITGWU in 1911 and was soon contributing articles to the Irish Worker. He was secretary of the Women and Children's Relief Fund during the Lockout and a member of the Citizen Army.

O'Casey resigned from the ICA in a dispute over its relationship with the Irish Volunteers. After 1918, O'Casey was best-known as a writer and dramatist, his most famous plays such as 'Juno and the Paycock' and 'The Plough and the Stars' dealing with life in inner-city tenement Dublin.

Compiled by Brian Hanley



Left: a group of mostly barefoot children stand with a woman in Summerhill, near Gardiner Street in Dublin, ca 1913. Above: a disinfecting van in Dublin in 1911. Below: Lady Aberdeen, who started a campaign against tuberculosis.

*Photos courtesy of RSAI: North Inner City Folklore Project*



By  
Caítriona  
Crowe

While Dublin may have been regarded as the "second city" of the British Empire in the 19th century, the Dublin of 1911 had the worst housing conditions of any city in the United Kingdom. And its extensive slums were not limited to the backstreets or to impoverished ghettos: they also incorporated great Georgian houses on the capital's previously fashionable streets and squares.

Overcrowding was rife, with 26,000 families living in tenement houses, and 20,000 of those living in single-room dwellings. One house in Henrietta Street was home to 104 people in 1911.

A housing inquiry in 1914 found that 16 members of Dublin Corporation owned tenements and it was clear that Corporation members intervened to foil the enforcement of regulations against their properties.

The Corporation did attempt a number of successful social housing projects, including one on Benburb Street and Corporation Buildings off the north quays. Other initiatives from the Dublin Artisans' Dwelling Company and the Iveagh Trust provided greatly improved housing for the working-class, but these were necessarily limited in scale.

Tuberculosis (TB) was the biggest health threat, killing more than 12,000 people a year nationally. Many of these were in Dublin, where the disease spread easily through overcrowded tenements, mainly among those in the 15-25 age group.

Lady Aberdeen, wife of the Lord Lieutenant, started a campaign against TB. Germ theory was still poorly understood, and people still believed that "the white plague" was hereditary. The National Asso-

# Dublin 100 years ago: death, disease and overcrowding

ciation for the Prevention of Tuberculosis and the Women's National Health Association launched a campaign of education and eradication, with travelling wagons that disseminated information.

Some unkind wags referred to Lady Aberdeen as "Lady Microbe", mocking her zeal for the eradication of germs. However, these initiatives had considerable success, bringing down the numbers dying from TB. Between 1905 and 1918, better economic and social conditions, improved standards of domestic hygiene and public recognition of the dangers of infection combined to reduce the death rate from TB by about a quarter.

Other threats included typhoid, dysentery and other diseases mainly caused by overcrowding, unsanitary living conditions, poor nutrition and lack of hygiene. Families were large: 36% of married women in 1911 had seven children or more.

The death rate in Dublin per

thousand was 22.3; in London it was just 15.6. In particular, childbirth was life-threatening for many mothers. Geographical location and social class were major determining factors in mortality. Babies born in urban areas were twice as vulnerable as those born in the countryside: the urban infant mortality rate was 150 per 1,000 live births, while in rural areas it was 74 per 1,000.

A baby born into the family of a labourer was 17 times more likely to die within a year than was the child of a professional.

Sufferers of mental illness often ended up in one of the city's asylums or in the workhouse. The 1911

census return for the Richmond Female Lunatic Asylum in Upper Grangegorman lists 900 patients, suffering from such illnesses as melancholia, paranoia, mania, dementia, imbecility and epilepsy, which was wrongly believed to be a mental illness.

Crime in Dublin was more associated with petty theft than with violence, and the city was notable for high levels of public drunkenness and disorder. In 1910 there were 2,462 charges of drunkenness in the Dublin Metropolitan police district, while a total of 3,758 people were drunk when they were taken into custody.

The nature of crime in the city was naturally reflected in the make-

up of the prison population.

The prisons of Dublin, including Mountjoy and Gloucester Street, were home to hundreds of petty criminals, invariably from the poorer areas of the city, but Dublin was not regarded as particularly crime-ridden. There was some serious crime, however, and the prison records document men in custody for indecent assault, conspiracy to extort money, shop-breaking, manslaughter and infanticide.

Typically for a city in which large numbers of men lived away from home and where female poverty was rampant, prostitution was a thriving business in Dublin. Religious organisations – both Protestant and Catholic – frequently attempted to close brothels in the city, while a number of the now infamous Magdalene asylums attempted to "save" or "reform" women who worked the streets.

Brothels, or "kip-houses" as they were known locally, were an established feature of life in tenement areas. The Monto district around Gloucester Street was the best known home to prostitutes in the city, but there were also well-known brothels around the docks and in the south inner city.

*Caítriona Crowe is editor of 'Dublin 1911', published by the Royal Irish Academy*

A housing inquiry in 1914 found that 16 members of Dublin Corporation owned tenements and it was clear that Corporation members intervened to foil the enforcement of regulations against their properties

# The Lockout and the Church



By  
Dr Diarmuid  
Martin

Archbishop of Dublin **Dr Diarmuid Martin** reflects on the role of the Catholic Church during the 1913 Lockout, and that of his predecessor William Walsh

**M**uch has been said and written about the role of the Church during the Lockout of 1913, especially concerning the relocation of children. There is no doubt that the available documentary evidence shows that many clergymen, including some bishops, did not support the workers or what they were trying to achieve.

A number of letters from priests to archbishops of the time refer to the strikers as "scum of the slums". The women and girls were described as "barbarian maniacs" while praise was given to the police for being 'so restrained'.

What should be remembered is that in the midst of all this there were Christian people who were not swayed by either side. One of these individuals was Archbishop William Walsh.

Walsh was Archbishop of Dublin from 1885 to 1921. Archives record him as having regularly sought the views and opinions of others, but he was not afraid to be an independent thinker, something which was obvious during the Lockout of 1913.

Archbishop Walsh had been abroad recovering from a long illness. His secretary, Fr Michael Curran, kept him up-to-date on all the activities of Jim Larkin and the trade unions. He received the newspapers daily and, while Fr Curran was very much against the workers and the strike, Walsh seems to have been a voice of reason.

On 27th October 1913, Walsh issued an address entitled, 'The Dublin Children's Distress Fund: the Society of St Vincent de Paul'. This was the date on which he established the fund to help feed and clothe the children. He donated £100 at the inauguration and handed in a further £22,800, which had been sent to him from people all over Ireland and the UK.

Walsh did acknowledge he was

not happy that Catholic children were being sent to Britain, where there was uncertainty as to the people they would stay with.

He quotes from a letter he received from a man in Lancashire who had enclosed a cheque for £5: "It seems to me that anyone who really desires to assist these children would do much more good by giving money to provide food and other

necessaries in their own homes, rather than by wasting it on shipping them backwards and forwards to England."

The Archbishop acknowledged the good work being carried out by religious and lay organisations throughout the city. Many misleading statements had been uttered from public platforms regarding this work. He said these had been listened to in "cowardly silence" by the people whose children had been fed and clothed by the charities.

He also challenged the city officials, asking what they were doing, especially in relation to the slum conditions prevailing throughout the city. He said the plight of the children was a problem for all of society and not one that solely had to be resolved by the Church.

The following Sunday, 2nd November, a church collection was taken up in the archdiocese, which yielded almost £2,436. A further £2,048 was contributed through a public appeal, while the National Pilgrimage to Lourdes gave its surplus fund of almost £2,000. Each parish set up a committee to channel these funds to the most needy.

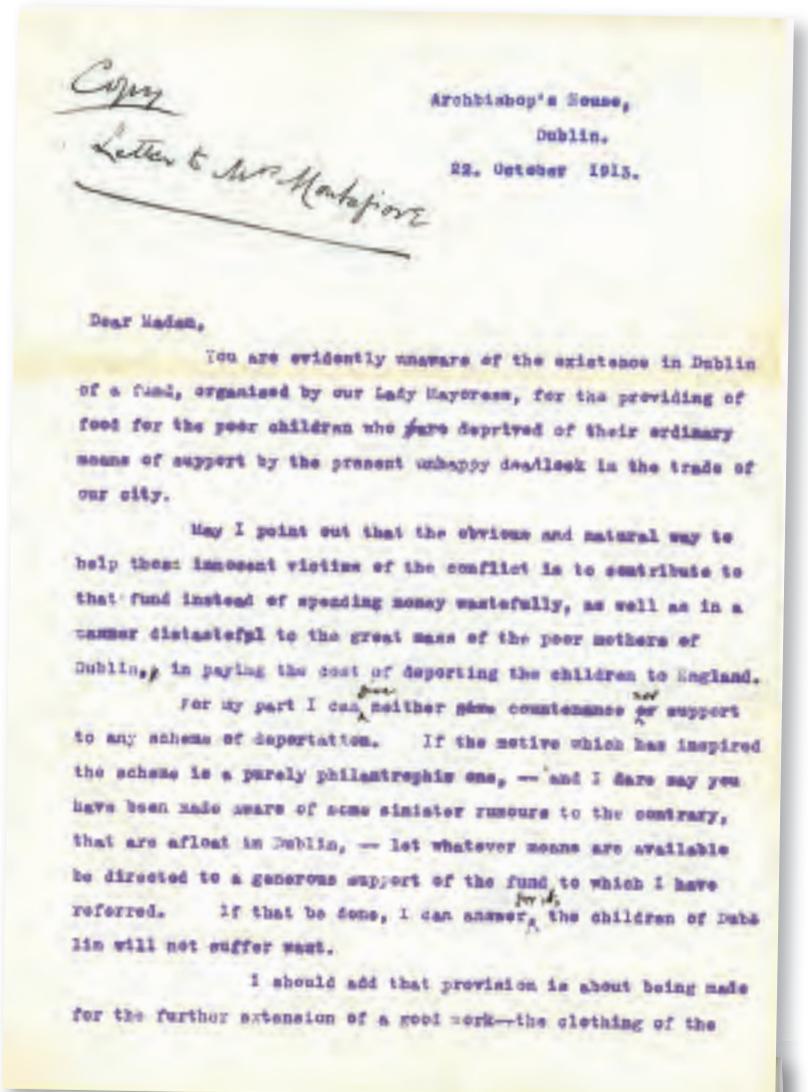
During the months of November, December, January and half of February, between 9,000 and 10,000 children were provided with a meal or meals each day. The total amount spent on food was £2,996. Children were also provided with clothes, with a total of £3,319 spent on clothing.

The Diocesan Archive recalls how people contributed money from across the world and from various Christian faiths. Others wrote to the Archbishop imploring him to intervene in the dispute and help find a resolution.

Others wrote to speak their mind about the inaction of some priests and voiced their bitterness. The workers, claimed one correspondent, "show a grander and nobler spirit, are more truly followers of the Lowly Nazarene than you or your black coated brethren".



People wrote to the Archbishop imploring him to intervene and help find a resolution. Others wrote to speak their mind about the inaction of some priests and voiced their bitterness



poor children-- in which not a few of our religious and charitable organisations have for years past been doing good work in Dublin. The long continuance of the present industrial deadlock has naturally increased the need of additional aid in this matter. That need <sup>is</sup> ~~will~~ be met, and those engaged in the work of meeting it, will, I doubt not, be helped, as those engaged in the work of providing food for the children, have already been helped, by the subscriptions of benevolent sympathisers in England.

Images above: Draft letter from Archbishop William Walsh to Dora Montefiore, regarding her efforts to organise refuge for Dublin children with families in the UK.



Locked out workers rally at Butt Bridge on the quays in 1913. Picture: National Library of Ireland

## 1913 Timeline (continued from page 9)

## 12 DECEMBER

Connolly phones Ernest Guinness and asks if he will take back boatmen dismissed in October for refusing to handle 'tainted' goods. Request rejected. Jacob's also rejects pleas by Connolly to take back strikers. Renewed violence erupts as strikers react angrily to developments and strike-breakers fire on them.

## 17 DECEMBER

A Joint Labour Board delegation arrives for a last attempt to resolve the dispute. It meets with all the unions at the Dublin Trades Council Hall in Capel St. The delegates demand full reinstatement.

## 18 DECEMBER

The meeting resumes and agreement is reached which represents considerable movement by the unions from their demand for immediate reinstatement of all union members. Talks resume with employers in the Shelbourne Hotel while a few streets away serious shooting incidents occur. In one of them a leading ship broker, John Holwey, is shot accidentally by a strike-breaker as he passes an affray on Poolbeg Street. In the other incident a strike-breaker fires his revolver into the roadway in front of a crowd as a warning and a ricochet hits 16-year-old Alicia Brady in the hand.

## 19 DECEMBER

The Daily Herald publishes an appeal from Larkin calling on 'rank and file' trade unionists to repudiate 'a black and foul conspiracy' by the TUC to betray Dublin.

## 22 DECEMBER

The TUC ships £9,009 8s 9d worth of food to Dublin for the Christmas holiday period. The shipment is accompanied by James Seddon, one of Larkin's principal targets in his attacks on the TUC.

## 23 DECEMBER

Bailiffs try to evict Larkin's family from their rented home at 27 Auburn Street. He is out on union business, but his wife Elizabeth barricades the doors and refuses to leave. Solicitors for the ITGWU obtain a stay of execution.

## 29 DECEMBER

Two hundred workers at the Morgan Mooney fertiliser plant in the Alexandra Basin become the first large contingent of ITGWU manufacturing workers to abandon the strike. Larkin managed to ensure they return on their old pay and conditions.

## 1914

## 4 JANUARY

The ITGWU buries its latest martyr, Alicia Brady. The teenage Jacob's factory worker had contracted tetanus from her gunshot wound received on 18 December and died on New Year's Day. Thousands follow her funeral cortege from her home to Glasnevin cemetery, where Connolly says 'Every scab and every employer of scab labour in Dublin is morally responsible for the death of the young girl we have just buried'.

## 5 JANUARY

The Commission into the Dublin Disturbances opens. Augustine Birrell reneges on a promise to appoint a working class representative and Larkin tells trade unionists not to testify before what he predicts will be a whitewashing exercise.

## 7 JANUARY

The Parliamentary Committee of the TUC finds there is only £1,500 in hand for the Dublin strike fund and writes to William O'Brien, treasurer of the Dublin strike committee, informing him that 'remittances for this week would be the only ones that could be forwarded to meet the strike pay of the Dublin workers unless the rank and file responded more generously'. Food shipments continue until February.

Continued on page 23

# Wexford's iron men faced down the foundry owners...



President Michael D. Higgins unveiling the commemorative sculpture by Wexford Artist Peter Hodnett on the commemoration of the 1911 Lockout in the Faythe Wexford on Saturday 12th May 2012. From left to right Pat Collins, Town clerk, Wexford Borough Council Sabina Higgins, President Higgins, Peter Hodnett, Artist and former ITGWU member, Mayor of Wexford Councillor David Hynes.

**W**EXFORD'S industrialised character was unique in southern Ireland and derived from the town's seafaring and trading links with Bristol.

The foundry industry had become well established in the town by the end of the nineteenth century.

In June 1911, dockworkers became the first members of the ITGWU in Wexford and soon after ironworkers in the foundries were joining the union.

The foundry disputes stemmed from the dismissal of a known union member by Pierce's foundry in August 1911. The recourse to a lockout on the part of foundry owners was a pre-emptive blow aimed at ensuring that the newly emergent ITGWU would not get itself established in

the industry in Wexford.

The result was that over 700 men were thrown out of their employment. In September 1911, Michael O'Leary, an innocent bystander, died from wounds sustained in a baton charge after police reinforcements were brought in to the town.

A bitter and prolonged dispute developed. The workers received support from friendly societies, local newspapers and shopkeepers upon whom they depended for credit through the winter months.

The local GAA also supported the workers, staging challenge matches to raise funds. However, the Catholic hierarchy condemned the ITGWU and its members. In December 1911, Richard Corish was convicted, along with another local activist, Richard Furlong, and the ITGWU's organiser P.T. Daly for actions taken in pursuit of the dispute.

Contemporary police reports reveal how the authorities in 1911 had barely come to terms with the relatively recent status of legality granted to trade unions by a series of enactments culminating in the *Trade Disputes Act* of 1906.

In February 1912, James Connolly brokered a settlement to the dispute. The foundry men were allowed to combine in the Irish Foundry Workers' Union (IFWU), an associate of the ITGWU. All the workers were allowed to return to work apart from Richard Corish, who instead became secretary of the IFWU.

Connolly told the workers that they were returning to work as: "A body united, joined together, realising what their position is... one solid body to act in unity for a common purpose."

## Cork's 1909 lockout foreshadowed 1913

■ By Lúcas Ó Duinnín

**THE 1909 lockout in Cork City was short-lived, but it was an event that influenced the actions of both unions and employers in the run-up to the Dublin Lockout four years later.**

On Thursday 10th June, 1909, several coal porters affiliated to the ITGWU at a company called Messrs Sutton walked off their jobs as a result of being forced to work alongside others from the British-based Workers' Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

What started as inter-union hostility led to a prolonged and vicious labour war across Cork city.

According to the Cork Constitution newspaper, some 500 policemen occupied Cork by 18th June to prevent the growing violence. By 22nd June thousands of workers

were locked out by employers across the city.

Workers marched through Cork on successive days from 23rd to 26th June. By 1st July 1909, some 6,000 men were either on strike or locked out and sacked from their jobs. The Cork Employers' Federation began to employ blacklegs or Workers' Union men, which led to serious animosity.

Strike pay for unionised labour was minimal, while many workers received no income at all. With workers' protests being met with violence from the RIC, the strike and lockout fell apart in the early days of July 1909. The lockout left Cork's labour movement in a shambolic state.

These events in Cork influenced the formation in 1911 of the Dublin Employers' Federation, with employers determined to re-

main united and well-organised under William Martin Murphy. It demonstrated that "organised ruthlessness" against the ITGWU was the road to victory.

The ITGWU also learned that it needed major financial resources to support its members on a prolonged strike or lockout.

During the Cork strike, James Fearon of the ITGWU organised a protective militia among the workers to protect them from the attacks of the RIC and imported blacklegs. This was possibly the first time the Irish working class had come together for the purpose of mutual self-defence.

The emergence of the Irish Citizen Army in Dublin in 1913 may have owed its gestation to the earlier organised efforts to protect workers from the baton charges in Cork.

# West's awake... how Sligo strike set scene for what followed

Months before the Dublin Lockout, the ITGWU staged a successful docks strike in Sligo. History lecturer **JOHN CUNNINGHAM** looks at a dispute where the use of scab labour became a significant factor

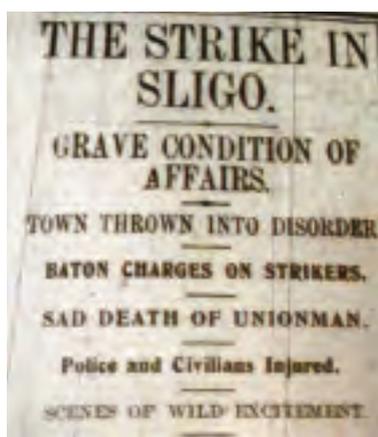
**I**N SEVERAL respects, the Sligo strike of March to June 1913 anticipated the Dublin lockout. Sligo was much smaller than Dublin – with a population of 11,000 in 1911 – but its dominant employer was as determined an opponent of trade unionism as William Martin Murphy.

Arthur Jackson operated the Pollexfen family enterprises, including the Sligo Steam Navigation Company.

By 1913, he was a veteran union buster, having driven out the National Union of Dock Labourers (NUDL) in 1891, and maintained a non-union regime for 20 years by favouring certain stevedores and work gangs, thereby preventing workers from making common cause.

Reaching Sligo in September 1911, the ITGWU organised local dockyard and mill labourers. Dockworker, John Lynch, was appointed organiser. The local bishop preached against the union and against James Larkin when he came to speak, but workers paid no heed.

In June 1912, employers were surprised by a strike and Jackson was obliged to concede a 'closed shop'



regime (unionised employees only) at the port.

Frustrated, he set about preparing to drive out the ITGWU, just as he had driven out the NUDL.

Like William Martin Murphy would do, Jackson liaised with the authorities, and arranged a supply of strikebreaking 'scab' labour.

Preparations made, he set about provoking a strike.

First he had unionised sailors sacked and prosecuted, and replaced them by local scab labour. He continued to act provocatively until most Sligo workers had gone on strike rather than handle 'tainted goods'. With up to a thousand workers and their families affected, the eight-week-long strike was comparable in

scale to the later Dublin conflict.

The introduction by Jackson of strike-breakers from Liverpool on 26th March would have tragic consequences.

Several hundred police could not prevent women and girls, armed with sticks, from boarding the SS Liverpool and assaulting the 29 scabs.

Nearby, ITGWU member, Patrick Dunbar, received a fatal blow to the head. Dunbar's local strikebreaking assailant was subsequently charged with murder but acquitted on grounds of self-defence.

The tragic death of Dunbar prompted outside intervention, but Jackson resisted the appeals of mayor, bishop, and the Board of Trade.

Then, suddenly, on 6th May 1913, he conceded completely, evidently accepting that he could not overcome the determination of the ITGWU members, a determination reinforced by the killing of Dunbar.

The 1913 union victory in Sligo was significant – among the major achievements of the ITGWU in the view of James Larkin.

*The writer is a history lecturer NUI Galway, joint editor of Saothar, journal of Irish Labour History, and a long-time workplace representative for the ITGWU and SIPTU.*

## Sligo strike martyr remembered



A plaque and gravestone in memory of ITGWU member Patrick Dunbar were unveiled in Sligo during August. Patrick was killed during a confrontation with strike-breakers in March 1913 during the Sligo Dock Strike and was buried in Sligo Cemetery without a gravestone.

At the dedication of the gravestone erected by the SIPTU Sligo District Committee, on Thursday, 29th August, SIPTU General President Jack O'Connor addressed a large crowd of local trade union and political activists. He said: "The right to organ-

ise, to freedom of association, to participate in collective bargaining, to respect and dignity at work, to be heard and listened to, is as relevant today as it was when Patrick Dunbar was laid to rest 100 years ago."

SIPTU Sligo District Committee secretary, John McCarrick, said: "The Sligo Dock Strike ended in a victory for the workers. This meant only trade union members could be employed on Sligo Docks, something that pertained until the last dockers were made redundant a few years ago."

### 1913 Timeline (continued from page 22)

#### 13 JANUARY

Larkinites hold a torch-lit procession through the city.

#### 14 JANUARY

Polling day in the municipal elections.

#### 15 JANUARY

When the votes are counted, the Larkinites secure 12,026 votes to 16,627 for the Nationalists (Irish Party), but only win one seat. The property franchise means a lot of workers do not have a vote. Nevertheless, the Larkinites came within 150 votes of winning four seats. The one successful candidate was Henry Donnelly of the Coach-builders' union, who won a seat in the Labour stronghold of New Kilmainham.

#### 16 JANUARY

A convoy of coal carts belonging to Heiton & Company is attacked by a mob on Abbey Street. Five free labourers are beaten 'unmercifully'.

#### 17 JANUARY

Two free labourers, Thomas Harten and George Maguire, leave the safety of the Employers' Federation House at 2 Beresford Place to go for a drink. They are attacked on the quays. Harten is kicked to death and Maguire badly beaten. Police charge Thomas Daly, an unemployed coal labourer, with Harten's murder. He is already facing assault charges over attacks on two other 'scabs'. The murder case against him quickly collapses, but he is given two years on assault charges.

#### 18 JANUARY

Strikers gather at Croydon Park where Larkin advises them to go back to work on the best terms available. His one injunction to them is not to sign the form renouncing the ITGWU. The next day 1,000 dockers try to return to work. Only half are taken back.

#### 19 JANUARY

The SS Hare brings one of the final food consignments to Dublin. Huge queues gather outside Liberty Hall next morning for food tickets.

#### 21 JANUARY

The TUC Parliamentary Committee tells Larkin and fellow Dublin strike leaders that no further material aid would be forthcoming. There are violent clashes in the city. One of the worst is when a group of strike-breakers arriving in a body for work at Tedcastle & McCormick's is attacked on Tara Street. They are subjected to a shower of bricks, bottles and stones. Shots are fired on both sides. Twelve strikers are arrested. Following this incident Tedcastle & McCormick reopen talks on a return to work, as do other companies.

#### 23 JANUARY

The collapse of the Lockout overshadows the mayoral election on Dublin Corporation. William Partridge launches a ferocious attack on the re-elected Mayor, Lorcan Sherlock, for his betrayal of workers.

#### 27 JANUARY

The annual general meeting of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce gives a vote of thanks to William Martin Murphy on his Presidency and commissions William Orpen to paint his portrait.

#### 31 JANUARY

The United Building Labourers' Union members return to work and agree to sign pledges renouncing the ITGWU.

#### 16 FEBRUARY

The report of the Commission on the Dublin Disturbances is published and is indeed a whitewash exercise.

#### 1 JUNE

Larkin is elected President of the Irish Trade Union Congress. He tells delegates, 'The employers know no sectionalism. The employers gave us the title of "the working class". Let us be proud of the term. . . . Let us be comrades in the true sense of the word and join with our brothers the world over to advance the cause of the class to which we belong'.



The mural on Merchant's Road was adapted by local artist Arthur Kavanagh from a photograph of the evictions. It includes a Starry Plough, a red hand union badge and lyrics from *The Day They Set Jim Larkin Free*. Picture: East Wall History Group



# Mural revives legacy of East Wall evictions

■ By Joe Mooney

**D**uring the 1913 Lockout more than 60 workers and their families were evicted from company-owned houses in Dublin's East Wall, and the houses were then handed over to scabs.

Up to 300 men, women and children were made homeless by their employer/landlord, the Merchants Warehousing Company on 4th December, 1913. On a wet and windy day they showed their defiance by singing union songs at the bailiffs and cheering for James Larkin.

The men had been locked out of their work since September 1913 but, despite the hardship, their loyalty to the ITGWU had remained. Among their number were members of the newly-formed Citizen Army, including Daniel Courtney, who lived at 1 Merchant's Road. The families had been fight-

ing company "ejection notices" since October with legal assistance supplied by the ITGWU but at the end of November the company got legal approval to evict them.

Despite being the largest single eviction in the city's history and despite the sheer scale of the suffering, it was virtually unrecorded for almost 100 years. That is, until 15th September, 2013 when a major community commemoration took place, with a mural and plaque unveiled to ensure that these families and their sacrifice would never be forgotten.

It was a very emotional event, with descendants of two of the evicted families, the Coombes and Dunnes, performing the unveilings. Members of the local Drama and Variety group sang lockout-era songs, just as the evictees had. A recently re-discovered 1913 ballad *The Bold Labour Men*, written by locked-out local Joe O'Grady was

also performed. James Connolly Heron, great-grandson of James Connolly, and the Fintan Lalor Pipe Band also participated.

The centrepiece of the commemoration was the spectacular mural, painted by local artist Arthur Kavanagh. The mural is based on a photograph of the evictions, with a top panel that includes a Starry Plough, a red hand union badge and lyrics from Black 47's *The Day They Set Jim Larkin Free*.

The houses on Merchant's Road look much as they did a century

ago, and artist Arthur Kavanagh has skilfully created the illusion of the eviction scene fitting in realistically between the existing houses.

Some of those evicted in December 1913 found temporary shelter in tents set up nearby, while others were taken into the already overcrowded homes of other workers. Many would eventually settle down nearby throughout the north docks. A century later, their descendants still live locally, including numerous members of the

Coombes family, who are justifiably proud of their family history.

While people still debate the "success" or "failure" of the Lockout, here is something worth considering: an ITGWU membership list of Merchants Carters, drawn up in 1915, includes the names of some of those evicted, and shows there was an influx of new union members in that year.

Less than two years after the evictions, some of the evicted workers had got their jobs back and remained in the union, which was still recruiting within the company. That is a victory, one of so many we owe to the workers of 1913.

Joe Mooney is a community activist and SIPTU shop steward. For more on the evictions see the history section of: [www.eastwallforall.ie](http://www.eastwallforall.ie) If you have any information on other evicted families contact: [eastwallhistory@gmail.com](mailto:eastwallhistory@gmail.com)

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# Victims of Church Street tenement collapse remembered at cemetery

■ By Padraig Yeates

The deaths of seven people in the Church Street tenement collapse in Dublin in September 1913 were marked at a commemoration at their graves in Glasnevin Cemetery on 2nd September last.

Speaking at the event, which was organised by ICTU's 1913 Committee, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Oisín Quinn, described the collapse as the single greatest tragedy of the Dublin Lockout. "Following on Bloody Sunday 1913, the starkest and most tragic event was the collapse of 66 and 67 Church Street less than 48 hours later.

"The death toll would have been much greater if it had happened at

The deaths of Eugene and Elizabeth Salmon were particularly tragic. Eugene had been locked out at Jacob's Biscuit factory and ran into the crumbling tenement in an unsuccessful attempt to save his sister

ICTU Assistant General Secretary Sally Anne Kinahan said: "There was a direct link between the appalling housing conditions in Dublin, some of the worst in Europe at the time, and the low-wage economy.

"Unskilled workers, who made up over a quarter of the adult male population, could not afford decent housing or adequate food and clothing for their families.

"The high infant mortality rates in particular, from preventable diseases, can be traced directly to the filthy, insanitary conditions in which at least 20,000 families were consigned to live.

"The fight by Jim Larkin and the ITGWU for the right to collective bargaining was a strategy of self-help to secure a greater share of the fruits of their labour. The issue is as alive today as it was then. Once more we are seeing those in vulnerable, low-paid occupations being locked out of decent employment and, consequently, a decent life for their families and themselves.

"The Government initiative to introduce new legislation on collective bargaining, as promised in the Programme for Government, is very much to be welcomed as the key that can unlock this strategy of exclusion to which so many of our citizens are subjected."

Dr Mary McAuliffe of UCD and the Stoneybatter and Smithfield People's History Project said the public outcry after the Church St disaster "focused attention on the dire living conditions of Dublin's working class and resulted in a British government inquiry into housing conditions in November of 1913.

"As the locked-out workers walked the picket lines, their families lived in some of the most unhygienic, overcrowded, disease-ridden tenements in Europe; the fabric of these tenements had been seriously neglected by their landlords, and many stood close to collapse.

"Several inquests into the appalling housing conditions in Dublin had been held prior to 1913, but it took a tragedy to force the issue to the attention of the powers that be".

Mark Toner, Pipe Major with Dublin Fire Brigade, played a lament at the gravesides.



Houses adjoining 66 and 67 Church St in Dublin following the tragic collapse on 2nd September 1913. Photo courtesy of RSAI



Lord Mayor of Dublin Oisín Quinn, and (left) Mark Toner, a piper with Dublin Fire Brigade, at the commemoration in Glasnevin Cemetery on 2nd September.

night, when nearly 100 people would have been present in the buildings.

"It would also have been much greater if the Capuchin Friars, who still do wonderful work in the community, had not organised a children's party that afternoon."

Those killed were Eugene Sammon (17), Elizabeth Sammon (4½), Nicholas Fitzpatrick (40), Elizabeth Fagan (50), John Shiels (3), Peter Crowley (6) and Margaret Rourke (55).

The deaths of Eugene and Elizabeth Sammon were particularly tragic. Eugene had been locked out at Jacob's Biscuit factory and ran into the crumbling tenement in an unsuccessful attempt to save his sister.

# Stunning theatre that brings history to life



Members of ANÚ theatre company perform scenes from *Living the Lockout* at No 14 Henrietta Street during the summer. Picture: Leon Farrell/Photocall

**A** LONG with the 1913 Tapestry project, one of the lead SIPTU-sponsored events in the Centenary programme has been the *Living the Lockout* experience. Devised by the award-winning ANÚ theatre company, it represented scenes from the Lockout as it affected people in an authentic tenement house of the period, No 14 Henrietta Street.

The experience originated with a proposal for a permanent tenement museum, inspired by a visit to the New York Lower East Side Tenement Museum, and put forward by the same SIPTU/1913 Committee team that devised the Tapestry project. That proposal still remains to be delivered upon.

However, with the involvement of Congress, Dublin City Council, the owners of No 14 and the Irish Heritage Trust, the idea was developed further into what turned out to be a sold-out programme of seven daily performances, six days a week for nine weeks of the summer.

Scripted in three scenes and staged on the ground floor of No 14, it told the story of the Lockout and its effect on four tenement-dwellers. The story was sometimes harrowing and always stunning.

The attention to period detail, the minimalist setting and a background soundscape of tenement life all complemented the outstanding dramatic skills of this socially-engaged group, led by Louise Lowe and Owen Boss.

No one who visited will be likely to forget it. Some said they learned more about the Lockout from their 45 minutes in Henrietta Street than in all their years in school.

Among the hundreds of visitors were former residents of No 14; film director Jim Sheridan; critics Fintan O'Toole and Martina Devlin; Ministers Leo Varadkar and Joe Costello; MEP Emer Costello; the Cuban ambassador Teresita Trujillo and President Michael D Higgins.

Building on the success of their earlier work in *Laundry* (about the Magdelene Laundries) and *The Boys of Foley Street*, as well as *Liv-*



No one who visited will be likely to forget it. Some said they learned more about the Lockout from their 45 minutes in Henrietta Street than in all their years in school

*ing the Lockout*, ANÚ (supported by ICTU/SIPTU among others) also staged an ambitious project, *Thirteen*, as one of the major productions of the Dublin Fringe Festival in September.

This involved putting on 13 different site-specific events reflecting the Lockout and related issues at various locations, including Liberty Hall, Dublin Castle, Collins Barracks, Temple Bar, Dublin

Docklands, the Luas and Markievicz Leisure Centre.

*Thirteen* involved a new performance each day from 9th to 21st September. Therefore you could go up to Dublin Castle to see *Inquiry*, a powerful drama based on the Askwith Tribunal into the 1913 Lockout. You could then proceed to Collins Barracks for *Incitement*, an innovative and engaging piece about contemporary life and youth emigration.

Over at the Markievicz Leisure Centre on Townsend Street, there was a re-enactment of the "Save the Kiddies" scheme which in turn led you to Liberty Hall for *Suasion*.

This was a tremendous experience of ensemble acting, set in the soup kitchen of the time and representing some of the major characters from the Lockout, including Jim Larkin, Rosie Hackett, Helena Moloney, PT Daly and Dora Montefiore.

This cutting-edge company was described by Fintan O'Toole in the *Irish Times* as "Ireland's best public theatre". That they should remain so is to the benefit of us all.

**Michael Halpenny**

# Tenements in Dublin: the people's history



**Dublin Tenements**  
By Terry Fagan  
and the North Inner City  
Folklore Project

**THE North Inner City Folklore project has recently published an important and unique book documenting local memories of life in Dublin's notorious tenements. Written by local historian Terry Fagan, Dublin Tenements includes the testimonies of more than 40 people who lived in the most appalling housing conditions from the early 1920s to the late 1970s.**

The interviews with some of the oldest residents in the north inner city were recorded by Fagan over the past 20 years and provide some of the most graphic and detailed descriptions of the hardships endured in raising large families, often in single-room tenement flats.

Despite the sometimes harrowing testimony, the sense of a shared experience and community solidarity shines through.

While the book effectively dismisses the "we were poor but we were happy" myth, it is impossible not to feel heartened by the sometimes humorous reminiscences of otherwise tragic circumstances.

Many of the tragic comic occurrences involved conflict with the forces of the law. Two such stories stand out.

One concerned the young man who got two months in Mountjoy Prison for breaking and entering after he smashed the locks on the

air raid shelter on Gardiner Street to allow some old women to get to safety on the night of the North Strand bombs.

The second is about a young fellow who was naive enough to trust an infamous Garda from Store Street who asked him to do gardaí a favour by lining up in an identity parade. He got six years in an industrial school when an old lady picked him out for stealing her handbag!

The diverse range of stories are gathered under chapter headings such as sickness, religion, money, food, school and the law. This provides a fluent and informative read that captures the lived experience of entire communities. The book is well-edited and includes numerous fine photographs.

*Dublin Tenements* by Terry Fagan and the North Inner city Folklore Project is being distributed by Easons nationwide and is also available at [easons.ie](http://easons.ie).

Dave Connolly

While the book effectively dismisses the 'we were poor but we were happy' myth, it is impossible not to feel heartened by the sometimes humorous reminiscences of otherwise tragic circumstances

# Askwith inquiry played out on screen

**THE Inquiry, a dramatic re-creation of the Askwith Inquiry into the 1913 Lockout, is Dublin Community Television's first foray into feature-length drama.**

The film recreates the dramatic events of the Board of Trade Inquiry chaired by Sir George Askwith at Dublin Castle during the autumn of 1913.

Convened in a forlorn attempt to resolve the dispute, the Askwith Inquiry brought Jim Larkin face-to-face with his nemesis William Martin Murphy, the city's leading and most hardline employer, for the first time.

The film balances fidelity to the existing (though incomplete) documentary record of the proceedings with a fast-paced narrative thrust. Stephen Murray's remarkable per-

formance encompasses both Larkin's fiery and abrasive rhetoric and his deep-seated sense of morality.

James Connolly (played by well-known stage actor Patrick O'Donnell) is highlighted as a steely, analytical foil to the passionate and demonstrative Larkin. Timothy Healy KC (screen veteran Gerry O'Brien) puts the case for the Employers' Federation with forceful relish.

The film climaxes with Larkin's famous and tense cross-examination of William Martin Murphy (Bosco Hogan, one of Ireland's foremost stage and screen actors), followed by a brilliant and impassioned rendition of Larkin's iconic final address to the tribunal.

Sharp, high-definition black-and-white visuals echo the stark and irreconcilable differences between the parties to the dispute which

shaped modern Dublin.

The BAI-funded production was directed by documentary-maker Brian Gray (*Meeting Room, Tapestry, Stailc 1913*), written by Turlough Kelly of DCTV's Dole TV and shot in three days at the offices of the Technical Engineering and Electrical Union in central Dublin.

The Inquiry is a co-production with theatre group Anú, and featured in their acclaimed *Thirteen* cycle during the Dublin Fringe Festival, which saw Murray reprising his role as Jim Larkin.

Further screenings of *The Inquiry* are planned over the autumn/winter period, and further details can be obtained by contacting DCTV, visiting <http://dctv.ie/>, or via *The Inquiry* page on Facebook.



Passionate performance:  
Stephen 'Jed' Murray as Jim Larkin



Face to face: Larkin squares up to William Martin Murphy in *The Inquiry*

# An Ghaeilge agus 1913

■ By Aindrias Ó Cathasaigh

Ní i mBéarla amháin a thit cúrsaí amach i 1913. Dúradh a lan i nGaeilge freisin faoin bhfrithdhúnadh agus na ceisteanna a d'eascair as.

Bhí go leor tuairiscí ar an stailc ar An Claidheamh Soluis, páipéar Chonradh na Gaeilge, chomh maith le díospóireacht faoin Lorcánachas.

Fiú an Daily Herald, páipéar na heite clé i Sasana, chuir sé póstaer i nGaeilge amach. A eagarthóir cúnta Liam P Ó Riain ba chúis leis sin, duine a chuir ar shon na n-oibríthe go láidir i rith an aighnis, i nGaeilge agus i mBéarla.

Bhí Micheál Ó Maoláin as Árainn ina thimire ag an ITGWU, agus chaith sé cupla mí i bpríosún i 1913 as ucht "imeaglú" a dhéanamh ar dhíoltóir nach bpléifeadh leis an gceardchumann.

Is beag aird atá tugtha ar thaobh na Gaeilge den fhrithdhúnadh, ach tá léargas breise le fáil ann. Is gné eile de scéal 1913 é atá ag teacht chun solais leis an gcomóradh.

Tá leabhar nua Aindrias Uí Chathasaigh, *An Diabhal in Uachtar in Áth Cliath: Frithdhúnadh 1913 trí shúile na nGael, foilsithe ag Coiscéim ar €10*



# Revealed: the face of 1913 martyr

■ By James Curry

**A** PLAQUE commemorating four "Lockout Martyrs" of 1913 can be found attached to a wall on the ground floor in Liberty Hall.

A small portrait drawing of the first of these martyrs, 33-year-old labourer James Nolan, appeared in the 3rd September 1913 issue of the *Irish Independent*. It does not appear to have been published since.

Rather than being a "Lockout Martyr", the North Strand man was described in the 1913 news report as "The Strike Victim" – hardly surprising considering that William Martin Murphy was the owner of the newspaper in question.

It is nice to finally put a (highly respectable looking) face to one of the fatalities of that bitter industrial dispute.

Nolan died from horrific head injuries received on 30th August 1913 during a baton charge in the Eden Quay area not far from Liberty Hall,

a building he regularly frequented as a member of the ITGWU.

Various eye-witness accounts of his death exist, some contradictory.

The most striking is perhaps that of military man Robert Monteith in his 1932 book *Case-ment's Last Adventure*.

He wrote: "I witnessed the murder of Nolan.

He was walking quietly down Eden Quay when he was met by a mixed patrol of Dublin Metropolitan Police and the Royal Irish Constabulary. The strength of the patrol was about thirty-five, all more or less drunk.

"One of the constabulary walked from the centre of the road on to the sidewalk and without the slightest provocation felled the poor man with a blow from his staff.

"The horrible crunching sound of the blow was clearly audible fifty yards away. This drunken scoundrel

was ably seconded by two of the Metropolitan police, who, as the unfortunate man attempted to rise, beat him about the head until his skull was smashed in, in several places.

"They then rejoined their patrol, leaving him in his blood. For saying, 'You damn cowards', I was instantly struck by two policemen and fell to the ground, where I had sense enough to lie until the patrol had passed on."

Somewhat inebriated himself, the unfortunate Nolan had just left a city centre public house only to get caught up in one of the many riots which engulfed Dublin that bloody weekend.

After being brutally struck down, he was left lying unconscious on the quayside for around 20 minutes until an ambulance finally arrived, before being brought to the nearby

Jervis Street Hospital.

Nolan never regained consciousness and was pronounced dead the following morning, a few hours before the infamous 'Bloody Sunday' riot on Sackville (now O'Connell) Street during which hundreds of people were injured.

More than 10,000 people attended his funeral at Glasnevin Cemetery on 3rd September – a terrific demonstration of strength by the beleaguered ITGWU.

A large banner reading 'In memory of our murdered brother James Nolan' was draped across the front of Liberty Hall at the time.

At an inquiry into his death two days later, a jury determined that Nolan had indeed died from a baton blow, but that "the evidence was so conflicting that they were unable to say by whom the blow was inflicted".

That same day, another ITGWU member caught up in the Dublin riots on 30th August, James Byrne of Lower Gloucester Street, also died

from serious head injuries shortly after his release from Jervis Street Hospital.

The two other martyrs of 1913 were teenagers Alice Brady and Eugene Salmon.

Brady was a 16-year-old Irish Women Workers' Union member shot in the wrist by a strike-breaker during a Great Brunswick (now Pearse) Street scuffle on 18th December 1913.

She died two weeks later from tetanus.

Salmon was a 17-year-old ITGWU member who was killed during the Church Street tenement disaster on 2nd September 1913 while trying in vain to save his four-year-old sister Elizabeth, having successfully saved his five other younger sisters from the crumbling four-storey building moments before.

At the bottom of the Liberty Hall commemorative plaque is the famous ITGWU slogan, "An injury to one is the concern of all".



Bludgeoned:  
James Nolan

## 1913 Lockout Martyrs



**JAMES NOLAN**, a labourer and ITGWU member from the North Strand, 33 years of age, died after being beaten by police at Eden Quay on 30th August 1913. 10,000 people attended his funeral on 3rd September.

**JOHN BYRNE**, a 50-year old labourer and ITGWU member, died after being attacked by police on 30th August.

**JOHN McDONAGH**, a paralysed former carter, died after being beaten in his bed during police raids on Corporation Buildings in Dublin's north inner-city on 31st August 1913.

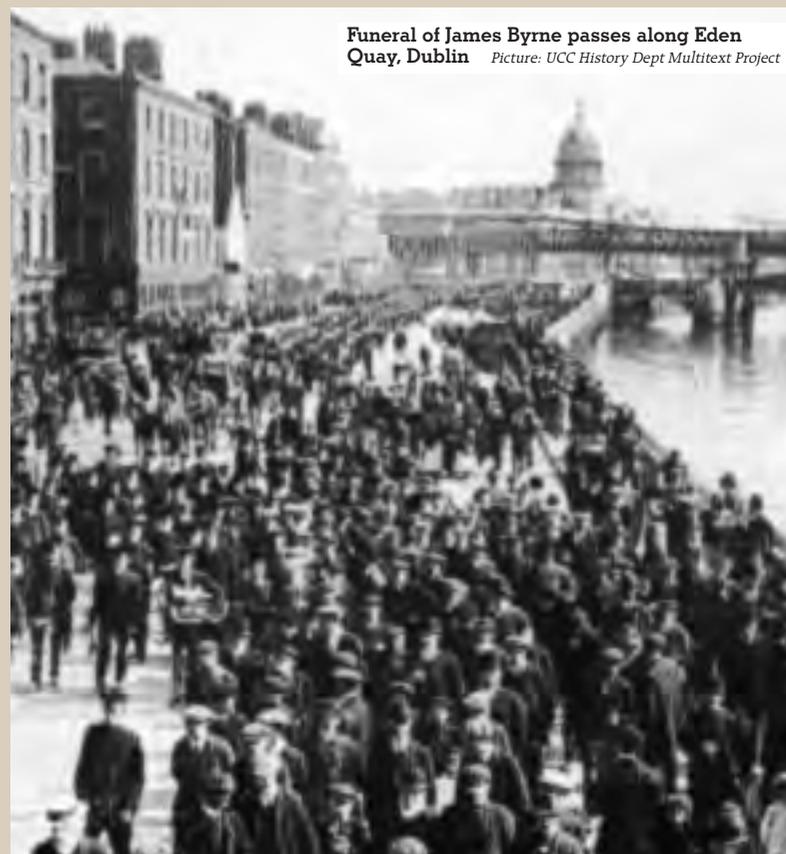


**JAMES BYRNE**, 32 years of age, was a coal-heaver. He was secretary of the ITGWU in Dun Laoghaire and of Bray and Kingstown Trades Council. Arrested on 20th October 1913, he died of pneumonia contracted during a hunger-strike on 1st November. 3,000 people attended his funeral, at which James Connolly gave the oration.

**EUGENE SALMON**, was a 17-year-old ITGWU member who was killed during the Church Street tenement disaster on 2nd September 1913 while trying in vain to save his four-year-old sister Elizabeth, having successfully saved his five other younger sisters from the crumbling four-storey building moments before.



**ALICIA BRADY**, was a 16-year-old locked out Jacob's worker and member of the Irish Women Workers' Union. She was shot and injured on 18th December when she and other women confronted scabs on Great Brunswick Street (Pearse Street). She died on 2nd January 1914. The strike-breaker who shot her was not prosecuted.



Funeral of James Byrne passes along Eden Quay, Dublin. Picture: UCC History Dept Multitext Project

## REMEMBERING 1913 May O'Brien

# How the Countess saved our lives...

**'I WORKED as a 15-year-old girl in the Clothing Branch of the ITGWU in 1947 in the old Liberty Hall which was on the same site as the current building.**

I worked till 6.00 p.m. each day. One of my tasks was to tend the two fires which kept the dampness at bay and to ensure they were quenched when I left.

A few men would sit in the office waiting for a later meeting and if I could I'd make a cup of tea for them before putting the fire out.

One man told this story several times to us and became emotional about it. I don't know his name – they all had nicknames – but I'm quite sure the story is true. He was 10 in the closing months of the Lockout. He lived in a tenement room with his family near Dominick Street.

His Dad told him he must go to Liberty Hall for the food parcel and the docket was so valuable it was pinned to his pocket.

He went barefoot since he'd outgrown his boots and the city was deserted. His docket inspected, he joined the queue and after his docket was inspected again got his food allocation.

Turning at a run for the door he collided with a woman carrying a tray of stuff and everything landed on the floor, including his own food.

The women around turned on him and thumped him and called him the stupidest of boys.

He was conscious he'd lost the food for the family and possibly the docket would be taken from him and that would be the end for all of them.

Then a hand behind his back pushed him into another room. A tall, thin woman faced him looking very stern.

He thought she'd take the docket and the tears ran down his cheeks. He was sure she'd send him away empty-handed.

The woman spoke. "Why were

you so intent on running away from us?" she asked.

Her accent was British and hard to understand but the question had to be answered. He tried so hard to explain but wasn't sure he could.

"Well," he said, "Me Ma is crying,

In a short time he found himself running alongside a tall man with a bag of coal over his shoulder and pockets stuffed with bags.

He himself had his food parcel again and his docket safe in his pocket. They went up the stairs,

banisters and steps missing, already burnt, and the man paused outside the door of their room.

"You go in first, son," he said. "And tell your Da that is with Madam's compliments and she'll call herself when things are a little easier."

And then he lit the fire, made tea, and they'd bread and jam to go

with it. And the man crumbled bread in a cup with warm milk for the little girl, and the baby was brought to the fire wrapped in a warm shawl and a rug provided for the girls' bed.

And that night, as the man always said, warmth, food, and hope had been given – it was Heaven!

And next morning a woman doctor and a nurse arrived and dealt with the health problems.

His mother had a breast infection and couldn't feed the baby who was fading away and the little girl had lost the will to live.

It was Countess Markievicz he had met that day in Liberty Hall and he reckoned she was the person who'd ensured his family's survival and the fact that he was now a grandfather was due to what she did for a family who had nothing – no possibility of survival and he'd willingly give up his life for her.

The man's friends would clap him on the back, and say, "Times were surely bad then" and offer him a cigarette and comfort him.'

*May O'Brien is a retired SIPTU official and worked in the old Liberty Hall. She was only the second woman to be appointed as a full-time Branch Secretary and in 1982 was appointed Women's Affairs officer, the first such appointment in the trade union movement in Ireland.*



Countess Markievicz's grave in Glasnevin Cemetery

and me Da is crying too, but the baby doesn't cry any more. And me two sisters, well, they have to stay

And that night,  
as the man  
always said,  
warmth, food  
and hope had  
been given – it  
was Heaven!

in bed all the time – their clothes, well... and the little one doesn't talk any more."

The woman indicated he should sit down at a table and she sat opposite.

"Can you light a fire?" she asked.

He thought for a moment. Everything around his home that could be was burned – there was nothing left. He nodded his head.

The woman looked at him for a moment in silence. "Yes," she said, "You need heat – a hot meal. We can give you that – and replace what went on the floor.

"But you need medical help too – we can do that but it'll be early tomorrow – a nurse and a doctor. Tell your mother that. Tomorrow morning early. Now come with me."

# The Red Hand of union solidarity

■ By Francis Devine

**TRADE union badges first became commonplace with the rise of the 'New Unionism' of the 1890s among the previously unorganised dockers, carters and general workers in Britain and Ireland.**

In order to ensure union members were given preferential treatment at the dock gate, a badge was issued to each member for a fixed period and then withdrawn in exchange for a different badge but only to those who cleared their contribution cards.

At the time of the Lockout, the four provincial emblems were being used in rotation by the ITGWU: the red hand of Ulster in 1913; the three crowns of Munster in 1915; the Connaught arms within a blue circle in 1917; and the harp of Leinster in 1918.

The most famous ITGWU badge was the red hand with the letters ITWU and the date of 1913. This was the emblem of resistance in the Lockout and was adopted as a cap badge by the Irish Citizen Army.

It also became immortalised in the



Replica of original ITGWU badge used by the Irish Citizen Army

song *Who Fears to Wear the Blood Red Badge* by the Scotsman Andrew Patrick Wilson that was published in the *Irish Worker* in October 1913.

In 1919, the ITGWU Executive decided to permanently use the red hand badge, which had become synonymous with the union in the public mind due to the events of the Lockout.

## Who Fears to Wear the Red Hand Badge?

**Who fears to wear the blood red badge  
Upon his manly breast?  
What scab obeys the vile command  
Of Murphy and the rest?  
He's all a knave and half a slave  
Who slights his Union thus,  
But true men, like you men,  
Will show the badge with us.**

**They dared to fling a manly brick,  
They wrecked a blackleg tram,  
They dared give Harvey Duff a kick,  
They didn't care a damn,  
They lie in gaol and can't get bail  
Who fought their corner thus,  
But you men, with sticks men,  
Must make the Peelers 'cuss'.**

**We rise in sad and weary days  
To fight the workers' cause,  
We found in Jim, a heart ablaze  
To break down unjust laws,  
But 'tis a sin to follow him,  
Says Murphy and his crew,  
Though true men, like you men,  
Will stick to him like glue.**

**Good luck be with him, He is here  
To win for us the fight,  
To suffer for us without fear  
To champion the right,  
So stick to Jim, let nothing dim  
Our ardour in the fray,  
And true Jim, our own Jim  
Will win our fight today.**

# Fury as scabs take to the pitch

**ONE OF the more peculiar incidents in the course of the 1913 Lockout was a football clash in Ringsend, when Bohemians and Shelbourne went head to head in a match that occurred early on in the dispute.**

There was physical confrontation at this clash between trade unionists and football supporters,

Shelbourne and Bohemians were already two well-established working class institutions in Dublin by the time of the 1913 Lockout.

Writing in his classic book *Dublin Made Me*, C.S Andrews noted that at the time of his youth "there were only two senior soccer clubs in Dublin – Bohemians and Shelbourne – and the people on the southside followed Shelbourne."

He went on to write that "the supporters and players of the game were exclusively of the lower middle and working classes".

In Padraig Yeates' classic account *Lockout: Dublin 1913*, it is noted that the game between the two sides on 30th August saw "about six thousand spectators" gather in Ringsend, where they were met by "a picket of about a hundred tramway men" who had gathered outside the ground and exchanged insults with the football crowd.

Yeates quotes *The Irish Times*, which noted that "the members of the Bohemian team, who pluckily drove to the scene of the match on outside cars through a hostile crowd of roughs, were assailed with coarse epithets."

Why was there a picket of striking tramway men in Ringsend that day? The answer is found in the pages of *the Irish Worker*, where Larkin's paper had denounced two players publicly as "scabs".

He had also allegedly attacked this match in a speech he had delivered the night previously, and called on workers not to attend the clash between the sides unless to picket it.

The two players named in the paper, were Bohs' Jack Millar and Jack Lowry of Shelbourne.

This game was actually a charity game to inaugurate the new Shels ground, but with tensions high in Dublin following the outbreak of the tram dispute, it didn't take much to spark trouble.

Trams carrying supporters to the game were attacked, following a failed attempt by protestors to rush the gates into the ground.

*The Irish Times* report on the incident claimed that some picketers had actually gained access to the ground, and "hurled vile language at the players."

It also claimed that the incident



DMP mounted constables keep a close eye on crowds in Dublin city centre. Trouble would later flare in Ringsend Picture: UCC History Dept Multitext project

**DONAL FALLON** recounts an incident during the Lockout when the beautiful game and industrial struggle clashed

involving a crowd attacking trams was only brought to an end when "one of the passengers jumped from the tram, produced a revolver, and effectively dispersed the crowd."

It is noted in *Lockout: Dublin 1913* that following this incident:

"A section of the crowd, which now numbered between five and six

hundred, decided to march on the nearby DUTC power station." At 4.30pm College Street DMP station received a call from an anxious sergeant at the plant appealing for help.

Inspector Bannon commandeered a passing tram, put his 10 men on board, and headed for Ringsend. By the time he arrived, the crowd had quietened and he began shepherd-

ing them back towards the centre of Ringsend. Further trouble escalated quickly, however, at Bridge Street, where one rioter even succeeded in liberating an inspector of the sword from his scabbard.

This led to a police horse falling, bringing its rider down with it. It was not until the pubs in the area were forcibly closed by police that the crowds began to disperse from the area, with the inaugural opening match of Shelbourne's new ground well and truly overshadowed.

In total, 16 arrests were made at Ringsend that day, with over 50 people treated in hospital for their injuries. The punishments were severe, with Thomas Deevey initially sentenced to "three months' imprisonment with hard labour for striking a policeman on the leg with a bottle at Bridge Street, Ringsend."

The newspapers blamed the influence of outside "hooligans" for the actions of the "usually peaceful and industrious inhabitants of Ringsend" on the day, but events on the following day would greatly overshadow what had happened at Ringsend.

An outlawed labour meeting on Sackville Street would provide the location for 'Bloody Sunday', leaving hundreds injured.

Donal Fallon is a historian who contributed a chapter to *Locked Out*. A version of this article originally appeared on the *Come Here to Me* blog.

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Trams carrying supporters to the game were attacked. Picture: UCC History Dept Multitext project

## 'Dublin Divided' exhibition at Hugh Lane Gallery

DUBLIN City Gallery The Hugh Lane is marking the centenary of the 1913 Lockout with a special exhibition, *Dublin Divided: September 1913*.

It provides an opportunity to reflect on the agendas of those involved in the dispute and explore how the history of the gallery was interwoven with the Lockout.

James Larkin appreciated art and beauty and sought the cultural as well as economic and social liberation of the manual labourer. Seán O'Casey noted that Larkin wanted the rose along with the loaf of bread on a worker's table.

A century later, the Hugh Lane

Gallery's collection contains many portraits of key figures of the Lockout as well as works by artists involved in the dispute, including William Orpen and George Russell (AE). The exhibition also provides a rich resource of evocative images that depict life in Dublin in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The exhibition features paintings, sculpture and drawings by artists including John Lavery, Sarah Purser, John and Jack B. Yeats, Casimir Markievicz, Auguste Rodin, Sarah Cecilia Harrison, Maurice MacGonigal and Louis le Brocqy.

The exhibition continues until 2nd February 2014.



## 1913 Lockout remembrance service in Dublin

6pm, Tuesday, 12th November 2013

Newman University Church, St Stephen's Green, Dublin 2

To mark the centenary of the 1913 Lockout, a Service of Remembrance for the Deceased will take place at Newman University Church on St Stephen's Green at 6pm on Tuesday, 12th November 2013.

The service will celebrate those who lived and died assisting in the growth of the trade union movement in Ireland and in doing so made this country a better place to live, in accordance with the 1913 Lockout motto, "an injury to one is the concern of all", and encompassing the more contemporary motto: "or-

ganising for fairness at work and justice in society".

We welcome all faiths, traditions and community organisations and the event will be addressed by representatives of these groupings throughout Ireland (North and South), including senior Church leaders.

The Lord Mayor, Oisín Quinn, will be in attendance along with general officers, staff and retired and current members of SIPTU, ICTU and other trade unions.

<https://www.facebook.com/JamesConnollySongsOfFreedom>

Sabina Higgins with singer Mary McPartland (left) and musician, Steve Cooney, at the 'September 1913' concert in Liberty Hall theatre on 22nd September.



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