The Annual Reports of the ITGWU, 1918-1930

The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union (ITGWU), founded in 1909, did not publish an *Annual Report* of its activities until 1918. Founding General Secretary James Larkin was not a man for rules, union or otherwise, and it was not until 24 May 1915, after he had left for the United States and been succeeded in an acting capacity by James Connolly, that the union first held a Conference and elected an Executive. Greaves observed that 'this was the first time' in the union's six-year history that 'the rules were implemented'.[1] From 1918, however, the ITGWU did publish *Annual Reports* and those until 1930 have been digitised and made available here on the Society's webpage.

Before discussing the value and potential of these reports, a brief contextual introduction follows, although this is not intended in any way as a history of the union in the period.[2]

The Coming of the ITGWU
In 1900, the Irish labour movement – such as it was – consisted primarily of unions catering for craft workers, many with headquarters in Britain. The movement was masculine, cautious and conservative, with a small c. Politically, trade union members supported either Unionist or Nationalist politicians, although they were not averse to enlisting all shades of political opinion in support of their memorials to employers, local authorities or Government. After James Larkin's arrival in Belfast as a representative of the Liverpool-based National Union of Dock Labourers (NUDL) in January 1907, matters quickly changed. The celebrated Belfast Dockers' and Carters' Strike of that summer led, inexorably, to Larkin's expulsion from the NUDL and Larkin became founding General Secretary of the ITGWU in December 1908.[3]

The ITGWU immediately transformed a supine labour movement informed by four principles which, while not in themselves new, were applied vigorously and consistently for the first time: an Irish Union for Irish workers; a policy of militant industrial unionism encapsulated in the phrase 'Each for All and All for Each'; a socialist perspective with a vision of an independent Workers' Republic [not just the then apparently promised Home Rule]; and, a key element, an internationalism. The ITGWU's impact is well known. After significant disputes in Cork (1909), Wexford (1912-1912), Sligo (1913), an employers' counter-offensive culminated in the titanic Dublin Lockout of 1913-1914. The capital's social tinder – poorly paid casual labour, unemployment, chronic housing conditions, poverty and desperate public health – was ignited by the new phenomenon of 'Larkinism' whose key ingredient was to bring hope and belief that things could be changed where before there was acceptance and despair.[4]

ITGWU membership peaked in 1913, however, and, although it survived the Lockout, its existence became precarious with a falling membership until, by Easter Week, membership was down to 5,000 and finances considerably strained, Table 1. Many waterfront and dockers' unions had been previously formed before the ITGWU only to collapse after a major strike, a downturn in trade or through simple administrative incompetence. The after-effect of the Lockout was key to the ITGWU's downward fortunes. ITGWU membership had, however, until then, become a significant force within the affiliated membership of the Irish Trades Union Congress (ITUC). That said, the ITGWU presence remained strong – if not numerically then in terms of its political leadership and personality.

Table 1: ITGWU & Irish Trade Union Congress Membership. 1909-1916

Year	ITGWU	ICTU	ITGWU as % of ICTU
1909	1,200	89,000	1.3
1910	5,000	75,000	6.7

1911	18,089	50,000	36.1
1912	22,000	70,000	31.4
1913	30,000	100,000	30.0
1914	15,000	110,000	13.6
1915	10,000	150,000	6.7
1916	5,000	120,000	4.1

Source: Francis Devine, *Organising History: A Centenary of SIPTU, 1909-2009*, (Dublin, 2009), pp. 1,004-1,005

The formation of the Irish Citizen Army (ICA) as a workers' defence force during the Lockout – there had been precursors in Cork and Wexford – and Larkin's departure for America in October 1914, paved the way for ITGWU Acting General Secretary James Connolly to transform the ICA into a body that would fight for the Workers' Republic. Liberty Hall was central to the Easter Rising. The Proclamation was printed there, the bulk of the insurgents' weaponry was held in the Hall, and Connolly led the Irish Citizen Army and Volunteers from the Hall to commence the insurgency on 24 April 1916. Whilst the ITGWU played no formal role in the Rising, in the union's first published *Annual Report for 1918*, it stated unequivocally,

> 'Easter Week saved the Union. It cancelled out the reaction from 1913 and removed bitter prejudices which had blocked its progress. It linked up the Labour Movement with the age-long aspirations of the Irish people for emancipation from political and social thraldom and formed a natural moratorium under cover of which it was able to make a fresh start on better terms with increased membership.'[5]

The expansion of the ITGWU after 1917 was extraordinary. Driven by wage militancy – and Government policy was to encourage the granting of wage increases to meet rising wartime inflation rather than risk strikes – members flooded into the union, Table 2. In addition, there is no doubt that the ITGWU was, broadly, identified with the 'national cause', encouraging many to join, whether by abandoning their affiliation with British-based unions, merging their local organisations into the ITGWU, or as first-time trade unionists. From its east coast origins, the ITGWU became, and was to remain, a truly national union with branches in every county, albeit it few in some north-eastern areas. That many independent local unions or branches of other unions chose to surrender their autonomy to Liberty Hall was testimony to their belief that the ITGWU could achieve their objectives of improving their wages and conditions. The ITGWU became a juggernaut with the union's Executive surfing a wave of incoming members and branches.

Table 2: ITGWU & Irish Trade Union Congress Membership. 1917-1930

Year	ITGWU	ITUC	ITGWU as % of ITUC
1917	14,920	150,000	9.9
1918	67,827	250,000	27.1
1919	102,823	270,000	38.0
1920	101,970	229,000	44.5
1921	100,000	196,000	51.0
1922	82,243	189,000	43.5
1923	89,000	183,000	48.6
1924	67,000	175,000	38.2
1925	50,984	149,000	34.2
1926	40,000	123,000	32.5
1927	22,000	113,000	19.4
1928	18,857	103,000	18.3
1929	15,453	92,000	16.7
1930	14,608	102,000	14.2

Source: Francis Devine, *Organising History: A Centenary of SIPTU, 1909-2009*, (Dublin, 2009), pp. 1,004-1,005.

The pinnacle of ITGWU membership came in 1920 with some sources citing 130,000 as the peak figure. After that the union was the subject of extreme physical assault during the Black & Tan Terror, battles over wage cuts replaced the charge for wage increases, and the creation of Saorstát Éireann brought economic downturn. Adding to the ITGWU's woes was Larkin's return from America in April 1923, an event that led to his expulsion from the ITGWU and, in June 1924, the creation of the Workers' Union of Ireland (WUI).[6] This split the ITGWU with an estimated 15,000, mainly Dublin members, leaving to form the WUI. Depression saw ITGWU numbers fall as low as 14,608 in 1930, ITUC membership simultaneously declined to 102,000. The nadir for the ITGWU was 1932 when recorded membership was 14,123. After this, the union began to regather its strength and membership.

The Value of the ITGWU Annual Reports
ITGWU first published an annual report in 1918. The opening section of each publication was a short record of the union's activities in the year under review. It should be borne in mind when reading these reports that they were not published until well into the following year and, when Conferences began to be held, this could be as late as May or June of the year following. To follow ITGWU events more immediately, researchers can inspect the union's newspapers, now all available in the Radical Newspapers section of the Irish Newspaper Archives. The ITGWU published the *Irish Worker*, 1911-1914; *Workers' Republic*, 1915-116; *Watchword of Labour*, 1919-1920; and *Irish Opinion/Voice of Labour*, 1921-1927. Most are also available in original form in the ILHS Archives.

Being the first *Annual Report*, the 1918 volume begins with a brief history of the union, noting that the 'economic conditions created by the War combined with the growth of a more self-reliant spirit in the country to stimulate a general zeal for Trade Unionism, of which the … Union got full advantage'. Gaining successful wage increases, it became practice 'to levy the first week's payment of any increase off each Dublin member' towards 'rebuilding' union headquarters: 'In this way. Liberty Hall frontage has actually been rebuilt by the employers of Dublin', a remarkable commitment from the members.

The reports depict broad trends with constant exhortations to the membership to be disciplined in their actions and to be well-organised. In 1919, the impact of the influenza epidemic was reflected in £3,281 being disbursed in Mortality Benefit, the figure being £321 in 1918. The union was keen to stress its financial strength and sound management and girded members by reminding them that, in 1919-1920, they had received £78,653 15s 1d in Dispute Benefit or 44% of total income, a 'record in Irish trade union history'. Before the British terror in the autumn of 1920, there had been 1,191 'sanctioned demands' resulting in a gain of over £1,250,000 in wages, roughly eight-shilling increases per member. The ITGWU was effective and this drew in further members.

The language of the reports remained aspirational, the hopes for a Workers' Republic still foremost, but there was no doubting the members sense of solidarity as recorded in 1921 when 'a glowing tribute to the morale, the manliness, and the class-consciousness of our members' was paid. This fundamental class consciousness held

> 'despite the almost intolerable privations experienced by them and their dependents from unemployment, scarcely a single man could be found with the slightest inclination to scab during strikes or lock-outs in which others of our members were engaged. This spirit, which impels our members to mock at virtual starvation and to laugh in the teeth of famine rather than act dishonourably towards a fellow-worker is one of the most inspiring evidences of the glorious possibilities which the Ireland of the future holds for us when we have advanced from what must be regarded as the mere skirmishing of this

> wage-battling into the bolder and wider and nobler assault which, le conghnamh Dé, will lead us on to our ultimate ideal, the smashing of wage-chains and the unfettered Freedom of the Workers.'

Particular campaigns are averted to, such as those among seafarers and rail workers in 1921. By 1922, the pride was in resisting wage cuts rather than gaining wage increases. The number of branches was falling as many smaller, rural branches were being reorganised into 'Big Branches' based in larger centres. In 1923, matters worsened and the union was engaged in defensive industrial action across the country throughout the year. The amount spent on Dispute Pay – £128,724 – dwarfed that of 1919-1920. That the union, 'out of its own resources' could 'spend such a sum in one year, and not only survive, but show a credit balance of £58,462' spoke 'eloquently for its strength and power of resistance'. From 1918-1923, the ITGWU had 'expended out of its own funds' £260,000 in Dispute Benefit, 'an average of £1,000 a week continuously for five years!' These were remarkable figures.

In 1923, James Larkin – who until this point had hardly been mentioned in the reports – returned to Ireland and immediately challenged the new Rules adopted that year beginning a chain of events that led to his expulsion and the creation of the WUI in 1924. The industrial report in 1923 was a depressing catalogue of defeats, particularly for farm labourers in Kildare, Tipperary and Waterford. The report – which still makes for tough reading – concluded with 'a confident hope may be expressed that 1923 saw the rock-bottom of wages depression'. The year's 'violent campaign … tore itself out with noise and fury, and the net result has been to demonstrate once and for all that this great democratic Union of Irish workers, solid and secure in its principles, cannot be overthrown, no matter by what enemy'. Such optimism would not prove to be well-placed.

In 1924, phrases like the 'bullying, terrorism, physical violence, lying, libelling, and intimidation by large bodies of men' were part of the attack on 'Larkinism', the term acquiring – in ITGWU-speak – a new, negative meaning far removed from that of 1913. Costly legal actions involving the union and Larkin and, separately, P.T. Daly, were consuming of time, energy and resources while unemployment began to impact harshly on workers' lives, incomes and prospects. The confidence of, say 1920, was ebbing in the face of a new negative reality not all of which was a function of Larkin but none of which was helped by the internecine bitterness. While the *Annual Reports* contain some detail on the split with Larkin, huge column inches were devoted to it in the *Voice of Labour* – including verbatim court transcripts – and the union got everything off its chest by publishing *The Attempt To Smash the Irish Transport & General Workers' Union* (1924).[7] This 170-page statement of matters relating to the Larkin split from the ITGWU's perspective has also been digitised by Gerry Watt and is also available on the ILHS website. The ITGWU noted that one of the side effects of the conflict was the 're-establishment of smaller unions', something that jarred with the concept and ambition for One Big Union but also reversed the trend where significant numbers within the ITGWU expansion had come from the absorption of smaller unions or the transfer of branches from British-based unions.[8]

The 'disruptionist campaigns' of Larkin faded from *Annual Reports* after 1925, their content concentrating on the effects of unemployment, resistance to wage cuts – sometimes successful, major disputes like that on the Shannon Scheme, and declining membership and income. Branch details and their financial returns were dropped after 1928 as their continued publication was looking sorrier each year. In 1927, the purchase of the Marine Hotel in Wicklow as a holiday resort for members was a gesture of optimism in the future despite the light at the end of the economic and industrial tunnel being barely visible. The 1930 *Annual Report*, the last in this collection, having explained the separation of the Labour Party and

ITUC, concluded with sentiments that could be just as relevant for the trade union movement in 2022

> 'On both the industrial and the political fields there remains the need of persistent and well-directed propaganda and educational work. Our members must be taught the first principles of the working-class movement; the young people must be attracted to active work in the general movement; and our whole membership must be shown not only their rights as workers, but their duties to one another and to their class. This may well provide the great task to be undertaken by the Union and its branches in the immediate future.'

The slope would continue downwards until 1932 after which matters for the ITGWU began to improve.

Annual Conference Reports & Rules

With publication of a *Report of Special Delegate Conference* held in Connolly Hall, Cork, from 8-9 August 1924, proceedings of each year's Annual Conference were included in the *Annual Reports*. The Special Conference was attended by sixty-seven delegates plus the National Executive Council and was exclusively concerned with adopting new rules. The new rules were partly to comply with provisions of the Trade Union Act, 1913, and the requirements of the National Health Insurance Commissioners with regard to the ITGWU Approved Society. They were also, as Larkinites no doubt saw things, designed to further ensconce the power of his successor, William O'Brien. The matters discussed, including adoption of lengthy new Standing Orders, are complex, technical and easily overlooked by historians but they reveal much about the governance of a trade union and its internal politics, the tensions between Executive Officers and some branches.

Constant concerns in 'rules revision' were defining members' entitlement to benefits and the value of those awards; what constituted arrears, lapsed or terminated membership; and mechanisms to propose and adopt business. The Conferences – from that held in Newry in 1925 – were addressed by the General President – often quite briefly as lengthy addresses were not Tom Foran's forte – and by Organisers. The Annual Report and Balance Sheet were discussed and adopted, the National Executive Council elected by delegates [full results were included in the reports], further rule changes discussed, and motions debated. Subscription rates were adjusted, the scale of benefits increased and motions proposed regarding the application of rules relating to a member's benefit status. The preoccupation with rules bordered on the obsessional. The fact that many branch proposals were withdrawn before a vote provides insight into the internal power balance in the union. Local historians might note that ITGWU Conferences, after Newry, were held in Galway, 1926; Dublin, 1927 and 1930; Belfast, 1928; and Limerick, 1929. The impact of these events, if any, locally could be traced in local newspapers.

Motions on broader matters were infrequent. In 1925, there were complaints about 'police interference with pickets' but it was not until 1929 that resolutions were adopted demanding that 'Members of Parliament' [sic] who were union members provide a written report of their activities and that Government introduce measures to assist the tourist industry. In Dublin in 1939, Conference agreed a proposal that a Superannuation Scheme be introduced for staff and that the union adopt 'a political programme in keeping with the history of the union to which all members seeking public office must subscribe'.

The conference reports are not verbatim, however, and little sense of debate or the mood of the hall can be gauged. Conference attendance was small, however, and its intimacy suggests

little dissent. The Conferences certainly cannot be judged with the image of week-long contemporary events with hundreds of delegates in mind.

Branch Details

Until 1928, the *Annual Reports* listed all branches and their Secretaries and addresses, and provided financial information regarding those branches.[9] By 1928, membership had dwindled to the extent that the union discontinued what was becoming a depressing picture and published only the union's annual audited accounts. The detail provided nevertheless allows historians to trace the growth – spatially and numerically – of the ITGWU.

These branch details facilitate local studies for the ITGWU and one such for Clare is included here below. In Clare, for example, the first branch listed is Clonlara preceded by the number 365. This is the branch registration number given by the ITGWU Head Office, thus Clonlara was the 365th branch recorded. The first branch in the county was Newmarker-on-Fergus, 76; followed by Kilrush, 105, and Killaloe, 159. These numbers were not recorded in the reports after 1920 when the highest registration number was 573 for Tullyvin in Cavan, suggesting that the maximum number of ITGWU branches might have reached nearly six hundred. The names and addresses of Branch Secretaries are provided. In some cases no address is given or simply 'ITGWU' listed, this in some cases indicating some sort of hall or premises. In Ennis, the Branch Secretaries were listed at Patrick Hogan, 5 Steele's Terrace; Thomas Tuttle, Old Military Barracks, Kilrush Road; Michael Glynn, Doora; James Whelan, Peafield Fountain; and James Fitzgerald, Island Avana, Tiermaclane. Such detail allows researchers to trace these names through the Census and their possible activities in Labour, Republican or cultural activities locally.

When trying to trace the growth and indeed decline of the ITGWU in a particular location, these lists – with or without their branch numbers – allow historians to roughly follow the sequence of branch foundations and collapses.

Membership

Trade unions measure their membership in a variety of ways. There is 'book membership' or the number of members recorded in branch ledgers. These members are not necessarily 'benefit members' – that is those whose subscriptions are paid up-to-date or whose arrears are within an acceptable limit to still qualify for entitlement to the financial benefits offered by the union. In the ITGWU in this period, the financial benefits offered were Dispute Pay or Mortality Benefit. Finally, there is the membership a union registers for affiliation to other bodies such as the ITUC. This number depended on a variety of factors – what the union could afford to pay, the trade-off between declaring a larger number and the number of delegates that would entitle the union to – it made little sense to affiliate a number above one category but short of the next, and perhaps strategic considerations of what other competing union affiliation numbers were. In addition to all of these factors, there is another membership figure, the number declared to the Registrar of Friendly Societies (RFS) on the Annual Return, Form AR31.

In the Table 3 below, there are thus three figures given: that cited in ITGWU *Annual Reports* or printed papers, that declared to the RFS and the ITUC affiliation figure, although this was not recorded until 1922. The three figures are often quite similar although equally obviously 'guestimates' as the rounded sums suggest.

Table3: ITGWU Membership, 1909-1932

	ITGWU	RFS	ITUC
1909	1,200	5,000	-

1910	5,000	5,000	-
1911	18,089	18,000	-
1912	22,000	24,135	-
1913	30,000	22,935	-
1914	15,000	15,000	-
1915	10,000	10,000	-
1916	5,000	5,000	-
1917	15,000	14,920	-
1918	67,827	67,827	-
1919	102,823	101,917	-
1920	120,000	101,970	-
1921	100,000	100,000	-
1922	82,243	100,000	100,000
1923	89,000	89,000	100,000
1924	67,000	67,000	70,000
1925	50,984	42,000	50,000
1926	40,000	42,000	40,000
1927	22,000	37,500	20,000
1928	18,857	35,000	20,000
1929	15,453	35,000	20,000
1930	14,608	33,400	20,000
1931	14,500	32,580	20,000
1932	14,123	32,400	20,000

Notes: In ITGWU figures - 1910, 3,000 May; 1911, 5,000 January; 1912 18,009 January; 1916, 5,000 at Easter, some figures show higher numbers at between 7,000-8,000; 1917, 14,500 January; 1918, 25,000 February; 43,788 June; 1919, 66,000 May and August; 1920, 102,823 January, 120,000 May; 1923, April, 82,243; 1924, April 72,00

The ITGWU regularly conducted an internal census of members, such as that of 30 June 1918 and published in the *Annual Report* for that year. It recorded 43,788 members divided between different categories as follows

Transport	7,059
docks, railways, tramways, canals, carters & porters	
Fuel	1,694
coal and turf workers	
Food	16,888
agriculture creameries, egg and poultry trade, bacon factories, hatcheries, bakeries, distilleries, corn & flour milling, groceries, hotels & restaurants, breweries & fishing	
Industries	15,339
building, timber mills, brickyards, textile mills, laundries, munitions, gas, chemicals, general labourers	
Public Services	2,808
public board employees, theatres, clerks, shop assistants, trade agents	

The data demonstrates that the union was far more a 'general' union than a 'transport' union. Greaves, who provides significant details on membership at national and branch – albeit data that has to be winkled out from his text – breaks the membership down geographically.[10] He indicates that there were 13,960 members in Dublin

Dublin	13,960
No 1 Branch, 8,350; No 3, 3,500; Inchicore, 854; Theatre Branch, 436; Catering, 820	
Cork	4,042
No 1 Connolly Memorial, 3,490	
Limerick	1,718

Women Workers' Branch, 1,000

Waterford	1,103
Wexford	1,018
Sligo	508
Belfast	500
Drogheda	350

In addition, Greaves lists all other branches with over 500 members with the number of agricultural labourers given in parenthesis – Lucan 688 (450), Newbridge [Droichead Nua] 590 (200), Baldoyle 583 (528), Dungarvan 582 (281), Carlow 554 (176), Balbriggan 547 (187), Kilmacthomas 544 (453), Ballina 510 (50) and Tullamore 500 (8). Some of the internal ITGWU census records are now available online from the National Library of Ireland collections.[11] The *1919 Annual Report* provides a detailed membership census for 31 January 1920 when 102,823 members were recorded divided, sectorally, between

Lands, mines, fisheries	40,329
Food	16,063
Transport & distribution	15,169
Manufacture	12,126
Construction	8,527
Public service & utilities	10,609

Some interesting job categories appear below the broad category heads. Under the heading of Land, there were ploughmen, 3,076; herds, 994; grooms, 717; drovers, 450; migratory labourers, 446; and small farmers, 959. The total, inexplicably, was then cited as 38,644 rather than the 40,329 given earlier. Some interesting categories that follow included artificial limb making, 38; calcium carbide, 28; lithographer,1; boiler scaling, 25; and thatcher, 1. The union appeared to organise anyone. The largest category, however, was [agricultural] labourers 30,292 and their rising number would be a central feature of ITGWU expansion until its defeat on the land in 1923. The number was qualified, however, with the union adding the comment

> 'The« figures represent the totals of membership as inscribed on the re-written roll books for 1920, and are exclusive of all lapsed members and members in arrears. These latter include about 20,000 farm labourers who are out of employment during the winter months, but have since resumed their membership.'

From an organising perspective, many members had to be constantly re-recruited and, in addition, as subscriptions were collected in cash on a weekly basis, many were regularly in significant arrears.

The citing of a 1,000 strong Women's Branch in Limerick above is something of an exception to the rule as those recorded in the reports are almost exclusively men. Kathleen Cleary, 6 Emmet Street, a glove maker, was Tipperary Branch Secretary in 1918 and appears to have been the only woman to have held such a position. As mentioned elsewhere here, the union at one point employed two women Organisers but no women was selected as a Conference delegate. Some of the occupations listed suggest a significant female presence – dress and lace making, 185; shop assistants, 837; and theatres and cinemas, 737 – but women were not an acknowledged presence within the union.

The lists of branches allow an understanding of the spatial distribution of the ITGWU, a distribution previously analysed and provided in map form by Bob Kenny.[12] What, by contemporary standards, is surprising is the number of rural locations. In 1918, branches listed under A make the point, the numbers again the branch registration number.

191 Abbeyfeale, Limerick – Patrick Mann
177 Abbeyleix, Laois – Patrick Quinn
 73 Achill, Mayo – Owen Ó Maille, Achill Sound
 55 Adara, Limerick – M.J. Stokes
213 Ardagh, Longford – P. Skelly
 51 Arigna, Leitrim/Roscommon – T. Cullen, Glen Cottage, Glenkillanny via Drumshambo
 81 Arklow, Wicklow – J. Davis
291 Armagh, Armagh – D. MacGiobain, Banbrook Hill
281 Ashbourne, Meath – James Brunton
108 Askeaton, Limerick – Patrick Fitzgerald
183 Athboy, Meath – Wiliam Geraghty
280 Athea, Limerick – Maurice Woulfe, Lower Athea
227 Athenry, Galway – M. Barrett
146 Athy, Kildare – C.J. Supple, Hibernian Hall, Athy

The ITGWU had not at this point reached its peak membership, numerically or spatially, and yet – albeit governed by the branches beginning with A – eleven counties are represented. The inclusion of Armagh is interesting given that the ITGWU was weakly represented in a line above Dundalk to Sligo. The existence of competing British-based unions like the National Amalgamated Union of Labour and the reluctance of Unionist workers to join the ITGWU as it was identified with Sinn Féinism and Bolshevism made for stony ground for the union in Ulster.

Financial Data

The *Annual Reports* do not include branch membership numbers but much can be gleaned from the extensive financial data provided. Each year's report includes the Book of Accounts audited by D. O'Connor, accountants. These included a Receipts & Disbursement Account and a Balance Sheet. Inspection of these documents provides details of branch remittances – essentially membership subscriptions, staff salaries and organising expenses, affiliation fees, benefits, administrative expenses, cash in hand and an annual balance. Purchase of rental of staff premises can be followed. In 1918, outlay is recorded for premises in Beresford Place (Liberty Hall), Edin Quay, Ballybough, Thomas Street and Inchicore in Dublin and Camden Quay in Cork.

Analysis of union income and expenditure for the period up to 1932 – the union's lowest ebb – is provided in Table 4. What it indicates is the careful management of union finances, even after 1924 when membership sharply declines. This is mainly explained by the fact that the union showed a surplus of income over expenditure for every year except 1923 – when a deficit of £76,305 was recorded – and 1925, the shortfall being £4,003. The 1923 figure – as will be seen – was almost totally explained by the union's huge outlay on Dispute Benefit. There were – both at the time and in subsequent analysis – criticisms that the union was overly parsimonious to the members' detriment and slow to pay out benefit entitlements. Figures shown below indicate that this criticism does not really hold as the union was ever ready to support members industrially and even when economies were necessary after 1924 – which involved releasing staff and disposing of premises - Dispute Pay was always paid. Analysis of the Provident Fund also indicates a readiness to pay out Mortality Benefit or make grants to worthy recipients.

The union invested in branch property but also in public institutions. In 1930, for example, £30,000 was recorded as being invested in the Agricultural Credit Corporation, Dublin Corporation and Cork Corporation. These investments reflected the union's commitment to the new State and, in the case of local authorities, the trade-off of members being strongly

considered when local authority houses were being allocated. The net result of the union's financial management was that its Credit Balance – after dropping sharply in 1923 – grew throughout the period and stood at £76,393 in 1930 and £87,956 in 1932. This provided a solid financial base for the union and generated a self-confidence that it could withstand a large-scale industrial battle. Employers were certainly aware of the fact that the ITGWU had significant reserves if required. The *Annual Reports*, in addition to publishing full accounts, tabulated financial data over five year periods enabling simple identification of trends in income, expenditure and under specific headings, as shown here in 1923.

A further factor when considering the ITGWU's finances is that their management indicated discipline and good governance. The union was unique in having a Head Office staff, its members working exclusively on record maintenance and financial management. Branches – especially those run by full-time Officials – were expected to maintain high standards of administration. When becoming Acting General Secretary in 1914, the record shows that James Connolly was quick to remind Branch Secretaries – like John Lynch in Sligo – of their financial obligations in terms of members arrears and branch financial returns. Such rigour was undoubtedly crucial in the union's ability to withstand the fall in membership after 1924 and sustain itself to take advantage of the upturn after 1930.

Table 4: ITGWU Income, Expenditure & Credit Balance, 1918-1932

Year	Income	Expenditure	Surplus [Deficit]	Credit Balance
1918	27,699	18,986	8,713	17,929
1919	74,726	63,379	11,346	29,038
1920	101,011	62,848	37,163	66,202
1921	81,584	45,596	35,997	102,199
1922	96,007	64,506	31,501	133,700
1923	84,122	160,427	[76,305]	58,462
1924	50,137	40,417	9,270	68,183
1925	32,880	36,833	[4,003]	64,180
1926	27,182	24,617	2,565	66,745
1927	21,292	19,231	2,062	66,052
1928	17,866	14,783	3,083	69,135
1929	17,368	14,506	2,826	71,997
1930	16,091	12,505	4,396	76,393
1931	16,994	14,653	2,341	78,734
1932	17,380	10,158	7,222	87,956

Financial data – particularly branch remittances – can be a more accurate measurement of union health than declared membership figures. For that reason, scrutiny of such data is a useful and informative addition to reading union statements as to its actual fortunes.

A final element in the reports, particularly those after 1924, are the accounts and discussion of the National Health Insurance section of the union. It is not an aspect of trade union activity that has received much attention and these reports facilitate a view of one union's management of its affairs. Many of the union's endless discussion of rule changes appeared to be at the behest of the National Health Insurance Commissioners. Approved Societies were incorporated into a State scheme in 1930.

Branch Financial Data & Membership
Each *Annual Report* records the amounts remitted to ITGWU Head Office. Sometimes these amounts are listed in descending order of value but in most years the amounts are listed alphabetically. Excluding the six Dublin city branches which always remitted large amounts, especially No 1 Branch, Table 5 indicates the top ten branch returns for selected years as indication of the changing shape of the union nationwide. The amounts are rounded up or down to the nearest ten shillings. As might be expected, Cork, Belfast and Limerick feature prominently but branches like Baldoyle, Balbriggan or Rathfarnham have disappeared from the list – in Baldoyle's case completely – by 1928.

Table 5: Top Ten Branches by Remittances to Head Office, Select Years

1918		1922		1928	
Cork	1,392	Cork	7,101	Cork	2,732
Lucan	504	Limerick	2,972	Belfast	1,026
Wexford	435	Belfast	2,093	Limerick	870
Waterford No 1	415	Droichead Nua	1,817	Newry	583
Newbridge	396	Drogheda	1,383	Sligo	470
Baldoyle	383	Waterford	846	Kilrush	348
Limerick No 3	358	Baldoyle	812	Galway	315
Balbriggan	338	Carlow	688	Tralee	298
Dungarvan	337	Rathfarnham	670	Drogheda	292
Drogheda	320	Wexford	665	Waterford	245

These remittances to Head Office allow a rough calculation to be made in order to estimate branch membership, as for Clare, Table 6. Annual Ennistymon income was thus: 1919, £63; 1920, £143; 1921, £60; 1922, £84; 1923, £79; 1924, £46 and 1925, £12. Allowing for the four-penny weekly subscription and assuming members paid every week, this indicates the following membership: 1919, 129; 1920, 294; 1921, 123; 1922, 172; 1923, 162; 1924, 94; and 1925, 25. In fact, few members paid every week and arrears were a constant problem for all trade unions, especially as members' were often employed seasonally. So, the resultant figures perhaps understate the numbers 'on the books'. Equally, some paid at lower rates of threepence. All things considered, however, the figures indicate the relative state of the branch, whether membership was rising or falling. If Ennistymon did have a membership that reached nearly 300, it is a remarkable figure.

Table 6: ITGWU Clare Branch Membership, 1918-1928

	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928
Clarecastle	-	-	-	-	105	83	-	-	-	-	-
Clonlara	-	65	74	12	60	-	-	-	-	-	-
Corofin	-	-	86	18	-	-	17	15	-	-	-
Cratloe	-	143	122	60	-	-		-	-	-	-
Doolin	-	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ennis	-	146	278	151	185	129	65	20	46	5	-

Ennis Mental Hosp	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	26	-	-
Ennistymon	-	129	294	123	172	162	94	25	-	-	-
Kildysart	-	-	57	25	-		-	-	-	-	-
Kilfintiaane	-	-	-	-	94	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kilkee	-	-	152	6	-	11	6	-	-	-	-
Killaloe	-	-	40	40	112	54	20	-	-	-	-
Kilrush	129	642	865	514	685	688	708	628	508	714	518
Liscannor	-	-	63	55	42	29	29	31	11	-	-
Miltown Malbay	-	-	151	43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Newmarket-on-Fergus	12	3	383	251	192	145	-	-	-	-	-
O'Brien's Bridge	-	-	29	-	55		-	-	-	-	-
Quilty	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Scariff	-	106	66	-	72	43	25	-	-	-	-
Thraderee	-	-	-	-	166	260	63	-			
Tulla	-	-		-	63	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	141	1,234	2,685	1,298	2,003	1,600	1,027	719	591	719	518

The figures show the membership trends within individual branches and the fortunes of the union at county level. Membership in 1918 was 141 and had risen to 518 in 1928. It peaked at 2,685 in 1920 with another peak of 2,003 in 1922. A number of similar studies have been published but so far a provincial analysis has appeared only for Connacht.[13] Historians of the union in various counties or regions can use the data to observe the union's fortunes as indicated by financial returns and membership. The calculations are, of course, indicative but tally closely to available official membership details.

Dispute Pay

The accounts publish monies disbursed as Dispute Pay, Table 7. What the data shows is that for many years, the amount paid out by the ITGWU – both as an amount in itself and as a percentage of total income – was high. In 1919, whilst it was a relatively low amount of £20,409, this represented 44.1% of union income. In 1919, at £40,571, it was 54.3% of income. Even in 1931, at £4,450 it represented 26.2% of income. Indeed, in nine of the fifteen years included in Table 7, outlay on Dispute Pay was over 20% of total income.

In 1923, when the union was involved in strikes in every week of the year and in locations across the country, a remarkable £128,724 was distributed as Dispute Pay, a staggering 153% of entire income. These figures are even more remarkable given that no national levy of members was made – although there were constant appeals and collections for particular strikes – and most of the disputes did not have satisfactory outcomes for the members involved. The battle with the returning James Larkin was beginning and one of the central allegations made against the ITGWU was that it denied members legitimate claims to benefits and had abandoned industrial militancy. Certainly, Dispute Pay figures questions such charges.

Table 7: ITGWU Income & Dispute Pay, 1918-1932

Year	Income	Dispute Pay	Dispute Pay as % of Income
1918	27,699	8,407	30.4
1919	74,726	40,571	54.3
1920	100,011	36,847	37.1
1921	81,593	20,409	44.1
1922	96,007	33,139	32.8
1923	84,122	128,724	153.0
1924	50,137	10,906	21.8
1925	32,880	7,117	21.7
1926	27,182	3,042	12.3

1927	21,292	2,445	11.5
1928	17,866	989	5.5
1929	17,386	1,276	7.3
1930	16,901	983	5.8
1931	16,994	4,450	26.2
1932	17,380	425	2.5

In addition to relying on standard income sources from which to pay Dispute Pay, in 1919 the ITGWU created a 'War Chest' to 'meet all emergencies'. Despite the union's undoubted success in winning wage claims at the time, the War Chest met with a lukewarm response and the cataclysmic events of 1923 put paid to the concept. The *Annual Reports* indicate that the War Chest accumulated only £8,684 between 1919-1923.[14] Perhaps there was an expectation – created by the union itself which constantly promoted its strength and financial security – that a War Chest was unnecessary.

An indication of monies paid out to branches as Dispute Pay can be gleaned from the amounts recorded as Cash Received From Head Office. This figure might have included Mortality Pay – the only other cash benefit to members – or sundry other items but the largest amount would certainly be Dispute Pay. Analysis of branch financial data thus often indicates a significant local strike and allows historians to at least know the year in which disputes occurred. In 1923, an analysis of all those branches receiving over £1,000 in cash from head Office certainly indicates those in receipt of Dispute Pay, Table 8.

The stark contrast between the amounts remitted to Head Office – Fenor in County Waterford for example returned £57 3s 3d – and the amounts received by the branch – Fenor received £2,636 2s 8d – is pronounced. For the large, established branches – such as Belfast, Cork, Dublin, Limerick, Sligo and Waterford – large payments reflected the branch's significance in terms of size and, therefore, likely future returns. For the rural branches composed primarily of agricultural labourers, the imbalance between income and expenditure was unlikely ever to be recovered. Yet, the ITGWU supported its members financially even paying a Christmas payment when the defeat in places like Waterford, Athy in Kildare and Ballingarry in Tipperary was total. Internal ITGWU papers on the Waterford, Athy & Ballingarry disputes, indicate that the ITGWU understood that the majority of those on strike were not fully-paid up members but supported them anyway. Most were seasonally employed and therefore their subscriptions reflected their seasonal income. While it is true that the ITGWU – having been badly burned on the land in 1923 – decided not to organise farm labourers in the future, the evidence of their financial commitment was such that they cannot be accused of entirely abandoning them in 1923 itself.[15]

Table 8: Dispute Over £1,000 Paid to Particular Branches, 1923

	Cash Remitted To HO			Cash Received From HO		
Athy	356	17	7	6,078	4	0
Ballingarry	239	6	6	5,663	1	11
Ballyduff*	147	15	5	2,622	18	9
Belfast	1,677	7	0	2,409	1	0
Butlerstown*	80	0	6	1,485	1	8
Carrick-on-Suir	161	14	4	1,423	0	9
Cork	7,019	6	3	23,901	12	10
Dublin No 1	14,529	15	1	27,069	7	10
Dublin No 3	7,743	4	4	2,924	1	0
Dungarvan*	463	15	10	5,322	4	2
Dunhill*	116	13	9	2,546	0	10
Fenor*	57	3	3	2,636	2	8

Kill*	123	4	0	1,627	2	6
Knockboy*	296	17	9	5,954	6	2
Limerick	3,116	9	1	5,357	8	8
Mid-Waterford*	543	1	2	12,845	1	0
Sligo	528	15	1	1,550	18	9
Waterford	752	4	7	4,503	15	0

* Waterford farm labourers' branches

Aggregating Dispute Pay from 1909-1917 and 1918-1928, shows a total of £494,855 dispensed, an annual average of £24,743, a substantial figure by any standard and one that underlined a central characteristic of the ITGWU throughout the period: it put its money where its industrial mouth was.[16]

One thing that emerged quite clearly when comparing Dispute Pay with Branch Remittances, is the number of branches that collapse or simply disappear after a major strike. This is most evident after the union's defeat on the land in 1923 when most of the beleaguered rural Waterford branches collapsed. The impact was long-term. In modern times, the only significant area of little or no presence for the ITGWU or SIPTU is in a triangle drawn between West Waterford north to Carrick-on-Suir and south again to Youghal.

Staff Wages
The ITGWU always employed a Head Office staff. They are pictured in the *1918 Annual Report* showing a staff of twenty, fourteen men and six women. A second picture shows Norah Connolly with General President Tom Foran, General Treasurer William O'Brien, Cathal O'Shannon and three other men. In 1922, in addition to ten Organisers, there were fifty full-time Branch Secretaries, Table 9, marked in the *Reports* by an asterisk thus *. In 1918, there had been twenty-one Organisers including two women, Helen Hoyne in Dublin and Mary Mullen, Cork.

<div align="center">

Table 9: Full-Time Branches, 1922

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Aklow	Clonmel	Dublin No 6	Macroom	Tipperary
Athlone	Cork	Dundalk	Mallow	Tralee
Athy	Croom	Dungarvan	Naas	Tullamore
Balbriggan	The Decies	Dunmanway	Nenagh	Waterford
Baldoyle	Droichead Atha	Dún Laoghaire	Newcastlewest	Waterford Mid
Ballina	Drocihead Nua	Edenderry	Newry	Waterford West
Belfast	Dublin No 1	Enniscorthy	Rathfarnham	Wexford
Birr	Dublin No 3	Galway	Sligo	Wexford South
Bray	Dublin No 4	Kilmallock	Swords	Wexford S.W.
Carlow	Dublin No 5	Limerick	Tinahely	Wicklow

The reports tabulate the union's outlay on salaries and wages, the amount peaking at £12,331 in 1924 when it was also at its highest as a percentage of total expenditure, 30.5%, Table 10. The figure had dropped dramatically to £2,771 in 1930 whilst still representing 22.1% of expenditure. Many full-time branches had reverted to part-time status and the Organisers had been dispensed with. A second industrially-related outlay was on 'Organisation & Travel', that is expenses incurred by staff and Shop Stewards when required to travel to attend conferences with employers or others and to compensate for loss of earnings incurred. These amounts remain relatively constant in percentage terms, peaking at £5,814 in 1923 but falling to £1,020 as industrial activity fell in the teeth of recession and falling membership.

<div align="center">

Table 10: Salaries & Wages, Organisation & Travel Expenses, 1918-1989

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	Salaries & Wages	As % of Expenditure	Organisation & Travel	As % of Expenditure
1918	2,378	12.5	1,225	6.4
1919	7,795	12.2	3,761	5.9
1920	10,712	17.0	3,613	5.7

1921	10,731	23.5	2,407	5.2
1922	11,048	17.1	2,763	4.2
1923	11,918	7.4	5,814	3.6
1924	12,331	30.5	4,747	11.7
1925	7,692	20.8	3,404	9.2
1926	6,950	28.2	2,344	9.5
1927	5,220	27.1	1,469	7.7
1928	3,305	22.3	1,239	8.3
1929	2,991	20.6	1,247	8.5
1930	2,771	22.1	1,020	8.1

Officers & National Executive Council

The reports record the National Executive Council members and the General Officers. Table 11 lists the NEC members, their branch and their term of office. Some significant names are among those listed and all provide clues for historians to track individuals in their locality.

Table 11: ITGWU National Executive Council Members, 1918-1930

John Breen (Tipperary), 1924-1925
John Brown (Belfast), 1926-1928
Thomas Carroll (Limerick), 1926
Daniel Clancy (Limerick), 1922-1924
Michael Connor (Drogheda), 1926-1930
Patrick Doran (Dublin), 1924-1930
Michael Duffy (Meath), 1919-1930
Peter Farrell (Dublin 3), 1930
James Fennell (Belfast), 1929-1930
Patrick Gaffney (Carlow), 1919-1923
Michael Hill (Cork), 1919-1925
J. Kelly (Dublin 1), 1918
P. Kelly (Belfast), 1918
Thomas Kennedy (Dublin 3), 1918-1922

William Kinneally (Cork), 1918
Arthur J. Lyons (Limerick), 1927-1930
Mick McCarthy (Dublin 5), 1918-1922
Henry Meaney (Limerick), 1921
J. O'Connor (Tullamore), 1918
George O'Driscoll (Blanchardstown), 1924-1930
Dominick O'Sullivan (Cork), 1924-1930
Charles F. Ridgway (Dublin 4), 1930
Michael Ryan (Limerick), 1918-1919
Thomas Ryan (Waterford), 1919-1930
Paddy Stafford (Dublin 1), 1918-1923
William Stone (Dublin 1), 1924-1930

Among the nationally significant figures were Michael Duffy who served as a Senator, 1922-1936, and as President, ITUC, 1935; Thomas Kennedy who served as a Labour Senator and would become ITGWU General President, 1939-1946, and General Secretary, 1946-1947; and Patrick Gaffney, also known as Pádraig Mac Gamhna, who was a Labour TD in Carlow, 1922-1923, and an active local Republican. All were involved in their local branches and Trades Councils and some elected to County or Urban District Councils.

The ITGWU, ITUC & Political Labour

In addition to the ITGWU *Annual Reports*, the contribution of the union to the broader labour movement and its influence within it can be accessed through the annual reports of the Irish Labour Party & Trades Union Congress. These reports, from 1900-1925, are now online – but they and all others are available for inspection in hard copy in the ILHS Archives Library in Beggar's Bush.[17] The ITGWU made a significant contribution to Congress affairs, most notably in moving the motion that created the Labour Party in 1912, during the 1913 Lockout and in leading opposition to the war after 1914. Arguably, the ITGWU began to create a definite 'Irish' labour movement and shape the nature of trade union responses. In 1923, it represented 54.6% of affiliated ITUC membership, a remarkable proportion or, as some might have seen it, disproportion, Table 12. That figure declined throughout the period under review to 19.6% in 1930.

Table 12: ITUC & ITGWU Membership, 1918-1930

	ITUC	ITGWU	ITGWU as % of ITUC
1918	250,000	67,000	26.8
1919	270,000	66,000	24.4
1920	229,000	100,000	43.6
1921	196,000	100,000	51.0
1922	189,000	100,000	52.9
1923	183,000	100,00	54.6
1924	175,000	89,000	50.8
1925	149,000	61,000	40.9
1926	123,000	40,000	32.5
1927	113,000	35,000	30.9
1928	103,000	30,000	29.1
1929	92,000	20,000	21.7
1930	102,000	20,000	19.6

ITGWU influence was not simply measurable in numbers, however. The ITGWU's dominant personality after 1918 was William O'Brien. He had served as ITUC Secretary in 1918 and as President in 1913 and 1925. Other ITGWU figures who served as President were Larkin, 1914; Thomas Farren, 1920 [although technically for the Stonecutters' Union); Thomas Foran, 1921; Cathal O'Shannon, 1922; and William McMullen, 1928. Attitudes to the ITUC can be found in the ITGWU *Annual Reports* but – other than a desire to ostracise Larkin and P.T. Daly – the ITGWU publicly played a straight bat on such matters.

The ITGWU regularly acknowledged its 'Oireachtas members' and the attendance of Labour TDs – like Richard Corish (Wexford) and Daniel Morrissey (Tipperary) – union conferences was commonplace.[18] The *Annual Reports* shed some light – although not particular bright light – on union support for Labour Party decisions such as not contesting the 1918 General Election or limiting Labour candidates in 1922. Union views on such matters are better observed through their contributions to ITUC Congresses. It is clear from its own reports, however, that the union unequivocally supported the Labour Party throughout.

Conclusion
The ITGWU *Annual Reports* for 1918-1930 are here offered by the ILHS as an archival source of national importance to historians of social, economic, political and local history as well as labour historians. They provide important insights into one of Ireland's largest, democratically-governed voluntary bodies and its main working class organisation. After 1922, the economic, industrial and political circumstances confronting the union and its members were challenging in the extreme. The union survived – where many other general workers' unions had failed before it – through good administration and financial management without losing its capacity and willingness to defend members' interests, through strike action if necessary.

In surviving, it was able to recover when economic conditions improved and, in subsequent generations like the 1950s or when branch plants of multinationals arrived in the 1970s, the fungal spores of trade union organisation planted in the years after 1917 when union membership exploded, numerically and spatially, were reactivated. Many members of the 1970s were the sons and daughters of those that had battled through the lean years after 1924. They had imbibed and willingly expressed the fundamental collective values of trade unionism.

[1] C. Desmond Greaves, *The ITGWU: The Formative Years, 19090-1923*, (Gill & Macmillan, Dublin, 1982), pp. 145-146. The first Executive Council represented Leinster – Dubliners John Bohan, Michael Cunningham, John O'Neill, Patrick Stafford; Connacht, John Lynch (Sligo); Munster, Denis O'Riordan (Cork); and Ulster, James Flanagan (Belfast). The ITGWU Annual Report for 1918 refers to the financial struggles after the Lockout 'despite rigid economy and Connolly's genius', recognition of Connolly's attempt to effectively administer things.

[2] See Greaves, *The ITGWU, op. cit.*, and Francis Devine, *Organising History: A Centenary of SIPTU, 1909-2009,* (Gill & Macmillan, Dublin, 2009).

[3] John Gray, *City in Revolt: Jim Larkin & the Belfast Dock Strike of 1907*, (SIPTU/Linenhall Library, Dublin & Belfast, 2007).

[4] Pádraig Yeates, *Lockout: Dublin 1913*, (Gill & Macmillan, Dublin, 2001); Francis Devine (ed), *A Capital in Conflict: Dublin City & the 1913 Lockout*, (Four Courts Press, Dublin City Council, Dublin, 2013).

[5] *ITGWU, Annual Report for 1918*, p. 6. For the ITGWU and 1916 see Devine, *Organising History*, *op. cit*., pp. 82-90 and Francis Devine & Manus O'Riordan, *James Connolly, Liberty Hall & the 1916 Rising*, (ILHS, Dublin, 2006).

[6] See Devine, *Organising History, op. cit.,* pp. 130-142, 176-224; Donal Nevin, *James Larkin, Lion of the Fold*, (Gill & Macmillan, Dublin, 1998), especially 'Titan at bay', pp. 74-83, and 'Larkin & the Workers' Union of Ireland', p, 4342-352.

7 For fuller discussion of the split see Gerry Watts, 'The battle for Liberty Hall', *Saothar 40*, 2015, pp. 32-42 and 'Mobilisation upon the return of James Larkin to Dublin in 1923' in John Cunningham & Terry Dunne, *Spirit of Revolution: Ireland From Below, 1917-1923*, (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2022).

[8] Those unions absorbed into the ITGWU are listed in Devine, Organising History, op. cit., pp. 898-930 and in Francis Devine & John B. Smethurst, *Historical Directory of Trade Unions in Ireland*, (ILHS/Working Class Movement Library, Dublin/Salford, 2017), pp. 75-82.

[9] For comparative studies see Bob Kenny, 'The growth of the ITGWUI: a geographer's view', *Saothar 12*, 1987, pp. 78-85; and those by Francis Devine see, 'Irish Transport & General Workers' Union: organisation in Dublin city and county, 1918-1928', *Saothar 34*, 2009, pp. 85-98; 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in County Longford, 1918-1990, *Teathbha, Journal of County Longford Historical Society*, vol. iv, no. 3, 2016, pp. 308-313; 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in County Louth, 1909-1930', *Journal of the Old Drogheda Society*, no. 22, 2016, pp. 103-126; 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Galway, 1918-1930', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological & Historical Society*, vol. 69, 2017, pp. 130-149; 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Carlow & Kilkenny, 1918-1930', *Old Kilkenny Review*, 2017, pp. 147-171; Francis Devine, 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Laois and Offaly, 1918-1930', http://laoisheritagesociety.org/irish-transport-general-workers-union-laois-offaly-1918-1930-francis-devine [retrieved 319 August 2022]; 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Meath, 1918-1930', *Ríocht na Midhe: Records of the Meath Archaeological & Historical Society*, vol. xxix, 2018, pp. 200-233; 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Waterford, 1918-1930', *Decies, Journal of the Waterford Archaeological & Historical Society*, no. 74, 2018, pp. 109-131; 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Cork, 1918-1930', *Journal of the Cork Archaeological & Historical Society*, vol. 124, 2019, pp. 123-156; 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Mayo, 1918-1930', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological & Historical Society*, vol. 71, 2019, pp. 91-108; *The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Limerick, 1918-1930*, (SIPTU Limerick District Council, Limerick, 2019); 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Kerry, 1918-1930', *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological & Historical Society*, series 2, vol.20, 2020, pp. 91-115; 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Leitrim, Sligo & Roscommon, 1918-1930' and 'Postscript: the ITGWU in Connacht, 1918-1928, aggregated data', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological & Historical Society*, vol. 72, 2020, pp. 95-117, 119-124; 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Kerry, 1918-1930', *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological & Historical Society*, series 2, vol. 20, 2020, pp. 91-115; 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Kildare, 1918-1930', *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, vol. xxiii, 2020-2021, pp. 136-151; 'Irish Transport & General Workers' Union membership & finance in Dublin city and county, 1918-1928', *Dublin Historical Record*, vol. 75, 2022, pp. 60-73 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Wicklow, 1918-1930', *Wicklow Historical Journal*, vol. 6, June 2022, pp. 97-113.and 'The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union in Tipperary, 1918-1930', *Tipperary Historical Journal*, 2022, pp. 166-189.

[10] Greaves, *The Formative Years, op. cit*., pp. 207-208.

[11] Such as this for Dublin, https://catalogue.nli.ie/record/vtlsp. 1,012000628502/holdingsils [retrieved 16 August 2022].

[12] Bob Kenny, 'The growth of the ITGWU: a geographer's view', *Saothar 12*, 1987, pp. 78-85. Kenny's maps are included in Devine, *Organising the Union: A Centenary of SIPTU*, (SIPTU, Dublin, 2009), pp. 18-19.

¹³ Francis Devine, 'Postscript: the ITGWU in Connacht, 1918-1928, aggregated data', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological & Historical Society*, vol. 72, 2020, pp. xx-xxx.

¹⁴ Devine, *Organising History, op. cit*., p. 112. Amounts were – 1919, £1,322; 1920, £6,884; 1921, £433; 1922, £39; and 1923, £6.

¹⁵ For full accounts of the strike see Emmet O'Connor, 'Agrarian unrest and the labour movement in County Waterford, 1917-1923', *Saothar 6*, 1980, pp. 40-58; Joe Supple & Frank Taaffe, 'Finding an 'unsung hero' in the evidence of oppression: Christopher Supple of Athy, 1897-1967' in Francis Devine & Fearghal mac Bhloscaidh, *Bread Not Profits: Provincial Working Class Politics During the Irish Revolution*, (Umiskin Press, Dublin, 2022), pp. 45-63. Supple & Taaffe present a week-by-week list of strike pay received by Athy, Ballingarry and County Waterford throughout the strike.

¹⁶ Devine, *Organising History, op. cit*., p.1,012. The total for the union's entire history was £7,078,376 or £88,480 a year.

¹⁷ https://centenaries-ituc.nationalarchives.ie/annual-reports/ [retrieved 16 August 2022].

¹⁸ Corish, 1886-1945, a fitter, was a central figure in the Wexford Lockout in 1911, was Labour TD for the town, 1923-1945 having been first elected in 1922 as Sinn Féin. He was Mayor of Wexford from 1920 until his death. Morrissey, 1895-1981, from Nenagh, was Labour TD in Tipperary, 1923-1931, after which he represented Fine Gael and served as Minister for Justice, 1951, and Minister for Industry & Commerce, 1948-1951.