### THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL

Irish Trades &

W Union Congress

WILL BE HELD IN

DUBLIN,

Whit-Monday and following days,

1914.



## REPORT

OF THE

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL

Irish Trades Union Congress,

HELD IN THE

COUNCIL CHAMBER, CITY HALL DUBLIN,

ON

June 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 1914.

Published by Authority of the National Executive.

## REPORT

OF THE TWENTY-FIRST

## Irish Grades Union Congress

(With which has been incorporated the Irish Labour Party)

HELD IN THE

### CITY HALL, DUBLIN,

\_\_\_ ON \_\_\_

MONDAY, TUESDAY & WEDNESDAY,

1st, 2nd and 3rd June, 1914.



Published by Authority of the National Executive.

DUBLIN:

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Irish Paper].

[Trade Union Labour.

## NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

CHAIRMAN:
THOMAS JOHNSON.

VICE-CHAIRMAN: JAMES LARKIN:

### TREASURER:

D. R. CAMPBELL, II KIMBERLEY STREET, BELFAST.

M. J. O'LEHANE, Dublin.
THOMAS CASSIDY, Derry.
JAMES CONNOLLY, Belfast
R. P. O'CARROLL, T.C., Dublin

M. J. Egan, T.C., J.P., Cork. WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Dublin. W. E. HILL, London. Thos. McPartlin, Dublin.

### SECRETARY:

P. T. Daly, Trades Hall, Capel Street, Dublin.

## Report of the Twenty-first Annual

# Irish Trades Union Congress,

DUBLIN, 1914.

The following is the Report of the Parliamentary Committee presented to Congress, the discussion upon which will be found in the proceedings infra:—

Feellow Delegates.—In presenting their Report for the year just passed your Committee have again to express their regret that Labour Legislation is not advanced during the period under review to any appreciable extent, and to record a succession of serious disappointments is but to place before you the absolute truth. We have again failed in our efforts to have the National Health Insurance Act amended as demanded by Congress and but little attempt has been made to meet our demands in other respects. The resolutions adopted at the Congress of 1913 were forwarded, as in previous years, to the various parties, Ministers, Government Departments and Local Bodies, but we have little to record beyond the formal acknowledgments of the receipt of our communications.

Conferences with the Labour Party.—As directed by last year's Congress in Cork, your Committee sought an interview with the Labour Party immediately after the closing session. The interview took place on July 15th in the House of Commons, and your Committee were represented by the Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretary; Councillor Egan, J.P., being unable to travel. The Conference was held under the Chairmanship of Councillor Fox. Amongst those present were—Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., Chairman of the Parliamentary Party; Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P.; Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P.; Mr. G. H. Roberts, M.P.; Mr. W. C. Anderson, etc.

Councillor Tom Fox, on behalf of the Labour Party, expressed their pleasure in receiving the representatives of the Irish Labour Movement, and said they would be very pleased to hear what they had to say, and that he could assure them their views would receive the earnest consideration of the Party.

Mr. James Larkin said they had been directed to draw the attention of the Party to the position the workers in Ireland were in with regard to representation under the Government of Ireland Bill. The effect of the Schedule of the Bill as drafted was that the industrial workers were to all intents and purposes excluded from representation in the Home Parliament. They had already brought this matter under the notice of the Labour Party, but nothing had been

done and their communications had been received with but scant courtesy. He protested against the Party taking counsel with the Irish National Party on Labour matters or on questions affecting the workers in Ireland over the heads of the representatives of the Irish Trades Congress, and he had to tell them that these very ment whom he accused the Party of consulting were the same men whom in Ireland they had to fight as amongst their bitterest enemies. In elections to the local bodies the aims of the Labour Party were held up to public odium and the objects of the Party were branded with the bitterest hostility to Ireland and her claims. demanded the extension to Ireland of the Feeding of Necessitous School Children Act, from which their country had been cut off in direct opposition to the expressed wish of the workers of the · country, and they further claimed that any Amending Act introduced and applying to Great Britain should also apply to Ireland. They had children who were ill-fed and ill-clad, and he claimed that their children had as good a right to consideration as the children of any other country. He had to bring under their notice the manner in which the Trades Disputes Act was worked in Ireland, and from his experience with regard to them it might as well never have been passed. He cited cases where men who were imprisoned for picketing in a perfectly legal and lawful manner, and said that a police official had laid it down that not more than two men would be allowed on a picket and Courts in Ireland had convicted men because the picket exceeded that number. Prosecutions followed by imprisonment had been promoted against men in the Labour movement on hypothetical offences, as had the Secretary of the Irish Trades Congress in Wexford, and when they requested the Labour Party to raise the question in the House of Commons it was not raised, and they never had the courtesy of a reply to their communication from the officials of the Party. He thought there should be closer relations between them than this state of affairs would tend to show, and he desired to draw their attention to the fact that whilst their men were prosecuted and imprisoned, men who were ex-members of the Government, members of the Privy Council and others who were members of the House of Commons were allowed to preach revolution and openly prepare for rebellion and were not even threatened with prosecution, whilst all the time a course of Government espionage was carried out with reference to men engaged in and meeting in connexion with the Irish Labour Movement. In reference to the working of the National Health Insurance Act, the speaker made several grave allegations. He stated that instances had come to his knowledge where men were paid for signing the form of membership of approved societies in Ireland connected with political parties, and said he had been informed that this had been done openly by the Land and Labour Association in Cork. The workers of Ireland were unanimous in demanding the extension of the Medical Benefits and he asked them to press this matter on with all the power at their command.

Mr. D. R. Campbell said that they in Ireland were engaged at present in formulating a scheme for the establishment of a Labour Party to promote Labour representation on local boards in the immediate future and to secure that the workers would have direct representation in the Irish Parliament and in the Imperial Parliament. They were in grave difficulty with regard to funds, and his Committee had instructed him to request that monies paid in Ireland by members of International Unions should be handed over to the Irish Labour Party. He wished to support the views put forward by Mr. Larkin with reference to the Government of Ireland Bill and the National Health Insurance Act, and joined with him in protesting against the manner in which the Labour Party had dealt with the communications of the Irish Trades Congress. In reference to the Government of Ireland Bill, he drew their attention to the fact that proportional representation had been introduced. Personally he was in favour of proportional representation, but the manner in which it had been introduced into the Bill would work out against the interests of the workers of the country. In the constituencies where Labour had a chance of winning proportional representation was introduced, but in the other constituencies where proportional representation would benefit Labour it was excluded. He dealt with the questions of the Trades Boards Act, the lack of Factory Inspection in Ireland, and the Nationalisation of Irish Railways. He stated the resolutions which had already been forwarded to the Labour Party outlined their views upon these important subjects, and he asked them to press forward the carrying out of the recommendations of the Majority Report of the Viceregal Commission on Irish Railways in 1910. The Report recommended the Nationalisation of the Irish Railways, and he thought portion of the money could be found by the economies introduced in connexion with the working of the Home Rule Bill. They were also desirous of securing the co-operation of : the Labour Party in connexion with Government Supplies in Ireland, and instanced a case where one of the Government Departments had been directed by the Treasury to obtain certain supplies in England to the detriment of the Irish worker. He said there had been grave violation of the Fair Wages Clause in Government Contracts, and he asked them to secure more stringent inspection of factories, workshops, railways, and other offices in Ireland.

Mr. P. T. Daly said that he, too, objected to the Labour Party acting on the advice of any other Party but the Irish Labour Party. In Ireland they had to meet the hostility of the very men whom the Labour Party were alleged to have consulted, and in elections which had been held in the City of Dublin quotations from the speeches of Messrs. Ramsay MacDonald and Arthur Henderson in praise of the Irish Parliamentary Party had been used as a reason why their corrupt nominees should be supported as against the Labour men.

Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., said Ithe remarks of the Irish Delegation surprised him very much. He had never received a communication from them that did not receive every consideration. The result of their visit showed him the urgent necessity there was for closer relations between them. They should be kept informed with regard to the Irish Movement, and if they were he promised that their views would always receive consideration and, where advisable, support.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., said to his knowledge there was no justification for the statements that the views of their Irish brethren had not received every consideration. He drew the attention of the Conference to the fact that the Irish Body had arranged to send on copies of Amended Schedule to the Government of Ireland Bill, but they had never received them.

Mr. Daly said that was quite so, but they should remember that the Chief Secretary had announced that no further changes could be made in the Bill, and they had considered there was very littleuse in preparing amendments which would not be accepted. The Labour Party knew, however, the views of the Irish Trades Union Congress on the matter.

Mr. J. Keir-Hardie said it was quite evident they were not in such close relationship to each other as they should be. That Conference would go a good way towards bringing that about, and he thought they would be better employed than in recrimination.

Mr. W. C. Anderson said he hoped their being brought together would have beneficial results, and he felt sure they would go away from that meeting satisfied that better relations would prevail in future.

Mr. Fox said that the views put forward by the deputation would receive the best consideration of the Party. It was evident there were faults on both sides, and he hoped now that they had threshed the matter out that they understood one another, and these misunderstandings would not occur again.

Mr. Henderson said he could not see how the Labour Party could interfere in reference to the payment of levies, and

It was arranged that a further Conference would be held in Dublin in reference to the financial arrangements.

The deputation then withdrew, Mr. Larkin having thanked them for their courteons reception.

The Second Conference was held in the Library, Trades Hall, Dublin, on Saturday, September 6th, 1913, Messrs. G. H. Roberts, M.P., and Arthur Henderson, M.P. (Secretary of the Labour Party), representing the latter body, and Messrs. T. Johnston, W. E. Hill, T. MacPartland, M. O'Lehane, D. R. Campbell, J. O'Sullivan, R. O'Carroll, and W. O'Brien, representing the Irish Trade Union Congress.

Mr. T. Johnson was appointed to the chair, and in opening stated that the representatives would all be aware that the Irish Congress both in 1912 and in 1913 had made it part of their duties to build up a Labour Party in Ireland. Different ideas had been put forward as to what was desirable, and certain suggestions had already been made to the Labour Party in England. The relations between the British Parliamentary Labour Party and the Irish Committee had been amicable, but the question had arisen as to whether the Parliamentary Labour Party in England were fairly representing their desires as representatives of the workers in Ireland. The Party had met with their criticism in the past because in the opinion of the Irish Committee they had been too much inclined to listen to the voice of the Irish Nationalists. The Nationalist Party claimed to be a Labour Party in England, but on many occasions it had to be denounced as a capitalist Party by the Trade Union Movement in Ireland. He hoped all the representatives would try and understand the different points of view, and that some satisfactory basis would be arrived at. The practical question they had to consider was the possibility of securing to the Irish Movement some proportion of the Parliamentary levy paid by Irish Members to Affiliated Societies.

Mr. Campbell stated that he had already put forward his view before the English Congress and the Executive of the Labour Party that they in Ireland were certainly entitled to some part of the 1s. per year contributed by the Irish membership of the various Societies. A majority of the members of the Amalgamated Societies believe that if practical propaganda is to be done it must be done locally and under local control. There was a considerable membership of the Societies throughout Ireland, but there would be very few dissentients so far as the payment of the levy was concerned. They wanted to have a clear understanding as to the proportion of the finances coming to the Irish Movement; and at the present moment they could not altogether rely upon that being done.

Mr. Roberts pointed out that his Organisation, the Typographical Association, allowed 25 per cent. of the Parliamentary Levy to be retained by Branches for Local Labour Representation purposes, but that was rather a different proposal to that put forward by Mr. Campbell.

Mr. Henderson considered the question of finance was coming up for discussion at the wrong place. Finance would be governed by the relationships that exist between the Irish and the English Movements. He and Mr. Roberts were representing the Executive of the English Party and not the Parliamentary Labour Party, so that any criticism the Irish Movement may have to make against the latter body would not be dealt with by them officially, though both he and Mr. Roberts would be prepared to discuss them apart from the immediate business they had in hand. Once the question of relationship between the two bodies was fixed up it would be

quite easy to find a solution to the money question. They had the precedent referred to by Mr. Roberts whereby Branches were permitted to retain 25 per cent. of their political funds for local purposes. In all the Trade Union Conferences he had recently attended for the purpose of explaining the Trade Union Act he had always endeavoured to bring out most clearly the power the Act, gave to the Unions for any part of the political fund that the Executive or the rules declare to be used for local purposes. With these precedents before them the question of finance would be a matter of very easy arrangement. What they did want to know, and what must govern the whole of the Constitution that was going to be set up, was whether the Irish Trades Congress passed a resolution or set up any Standing Order, and that the Irish representatives acting as the Parliamentary Committee intended to set up in business on their own from a political labour point of view; whether the new Party was to be formed exclusively of Irish Unions, financed exclusively by Irish money, with everything else Irish? Were they going to set up a distinct firm, so to speak, with no connection with the firm over the way? This embodied a fundamental and vital principle so far as the English Movement was concerned. He did not think that he and Mr. Roberts could be parties to laying it down that of the money that went to the headquarters of the Party some of it should be returned for Irish. purposes in addition to the 25 per cent, they retained for local purposes. They had to realise that the British Movement had still the interests of the Movement throughout the United Kingdom to keep in mind, and that while the Irish Party in the Irish Parliament and the Irish Movement would be concerned with purely Irish affairs there would still remain matters of common importance to all of them that would require to be dealt with at Westminster, and which would form the work of the British Movement. It appeared that under Home Rule the Irish Party wished to be quite separate and distinct from the British Movement : to be based on broad and general lines of an Irish character. They must determine what was to be the relations between the Irish Labour Party and the English Party, and what attitude the Irish Labour Members remaining at Westminster would assume to the Parliamentary Labour Partythen the question of finance would be more easily settled.

Mr. O'Brien said it was proposed to set up an Irish Labour Party as a separate and distinct Party from the National Labour Party, but that in matters concerning the workers of the United Kingdom as a whole they would co-operate with the National Labour Party. They proposed as an Irish Party to set up business on their own.

Mr. Campbell said it was generally understood that outside Belfast and surroundings to attempt to do any organising in connection with the Labour Party would be a failure as matters were at the moment. The only thing to be done was to set up an Irish Organisation controlled wholly in Ireland, but in no way antagonistic to the National Labour Party. The idea was to have an Irish Party attending purely to Irish affairs, acting in consonance with the National Labour Party on broader matters, while retaining local autonomy.

In reply to Mr. Roberts, Mr. Campbell stated there was no connection between the Irish Trades Congress and the British Congress; but he admitted that the same idea animated the minds of Irish Labour supporters in making the new political departure as animated them in setting up their own Irish Congress: they had received scant courtesy from the British Movement, and their resolutions, often of considerable importance to Irish workers, were always relegated to the end of the agendas at British Congresses and Conferences.

Mr. Henderson, instancing the distinction between the constitution of the British Trades Union Congress and the Labour Party one being a purely Trade Unionist body, while the latter included Socialist organisations—asked whether the proposed Irish Labour Party was to include Socialist organisations?

Mr. Hill replying, said it was intended to set up a purely Trade Unionist body. The idea was that the Irish Labour Party should be responsible to the Irish Congress. If a strong Socialist sentiment should grow up and require political expression the position would require to be reconsidered. At present the intention was that the new Party should be controlled by the Irish Congress acting through the present Parliamentary Committee.

Mr. Campbell added that the first idea was to set up a Party on the English lines; but subsequently the idea of gradually evolving a Party through the Congress and in connection with the Congress was adopted.

Mr. Henderson then read Clause I. of the Labour Party Constitution, and asked if it was contemplated that such a clause would be applicable to the new Irish Party, to which an unanimous reply in the negative was given. There was no idea of bringing in Socialist bodies.

Mr. Henderson then pointed out the difficulty that would arise in the Labour Party having direct connection with the Irish Party or the Irish Congress if straightway the Irish branches of the I.L.P. were to be to excluded.

Mr. Johnson said that for the present and for some considerable time their Constitution would not be framed to admit Socialist organisations. They had to build up a movement in Ireland that would be conditioned by Irish circumstances—a Party that would grow out of Irish conditions and not simply be a replica of the Party in England.

Mr. Roberts noted that the same circumstances had applied in the setting up of the Irish Trade Union Congress. The whole tendency of the Labour Movement was towards internationalism as opposed to sectionalism. If sectionalism on political lines was recognised how could it be resisted if applied to Trade Union matters?

The question of the fees of Irish members of Trade Unions being paid to the Labour Party again arising, Mr. Henderson pointed out that the contributions were made for definite purposes. Taking the branches of the Ironfounders as examples, he pointed out that contributions were made at present by both the Dublin and Belfast branches-payments were made by members who were Home Rulers and Anti-Home Rulers, Socialists and Anti-Socialists, because of work that was being done by himself and his colleagues of the British Labour Party-work affecting their own industrial conditions, particulars clause, inspection of foundries, fair wages contracts, and so on. With reference to the proposal to retain a proportion of the ls, levy for Irish purposes, that was a matter that the Irish representatives would have to arrange with the respective societies. The Is, did not go to the Labour Party : only 1d. per year was received by the Party for its own purposes, and 25 per cent, of the Irish contributions, accepting the membership figures of the Congress, would not amount to more than £30 per annum.

Mr. Hill explained that his own Union, the Railway Clerks, by its political fund would raise something like £550 per annum. A certain proportion of that would undoubtedly go to the Labour Party, but there was no reason in the world why the Conference of the Union should not agree to 3d, per member per annum of the Irish contributions being given from the political fund to the funds of the Irish Labour Party. He agreed, however, that that was a matter of arrangement with the Union itself and not one for the Labour Party to be concerned with.

Mr. Campbell, however, claimed that a certain proportion of the Id. per annum contributed to the Labour Party funds should also go back to the Irish Party's funds.

Mr. Johnson said they had to face the fact that the new Irish Parliament would take all the attention of the Irish workers for a considerable time.

Mr. Henderson urged that the proposal to have a distinct and separate Irish Labour Party was out of harmony with the general political circumstances which were put forward to justify it. It must be remembered that while there was to be a separate Irish Parliament for Irish affairs of a local character—domestic legislation—nevertheless connection with Westminster and the National Parliament had still to be retained. However, they had preferred to endeavour to initiate a purely Irish Party on their own. In their attempt to secure the retention of part of Irish contributions to political funds for Irish purposes none of the British Labour Party would stand in their way. In setting out on a purely Trade Unionist basis they were running on lines different to the British Party, and he personally was anxious that they should start on the

lines their experience in England had demonstrated as successful. If they had commenced on the narrow line adopted by the Irish Party they would have had to exclude some of their best and most earnest men, including Mr. MacDonald, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Party.

Mr. Johnson said it appeared there could be no organic connection between the two organisations. The constitutions of the two bodies would require to be similar and that would mean that the control of the business of the Irish Labour Party would rest with the Annual Conference of the Labour Party in England—

Mr. Henderson here protested against that interpretation. If by any alteration of the Irish Constitution they would bring in the Irish Socialist organisations, Conference arrangements could be fixed up. They could then have their own Irish Conference and also attend the British Conference when purely legislative matters of common interest to all sections were under discussion. The chief point was that all Irish sections of the movement should be entitled to representation at the Irish Conference and take part in the work of the Irish Party. Until the Irish Constitution and the composition of the Irish Party were similar to the British there could be no claim on the fees paid to the British Party or any connection with it.

Mr. Roberts inquired whether it was the desire of the Irish Party to have any claim on the Labour Party in the British House of Commons.

Mr. Johnson replied that when they had an Irish Party built up in Ireland and were able to send Labour members to the British Parliament they hoped those members would work with the British Parliamentary Labour Party.

Mr. Roberts then asked if it was clearly understood that the new Party was to have nothing to do with the British Labour Party,

Mr. Campbell said it was to have no connection.

Mr. Hill said it was not to be under the control of the British.

Labour Party in any way.

Mr. O'Lehane said it was to be perfectly free in its action so far

as dealing with Irish questions was concerned.

Mr. Henderson then put the two alternative proposals—(1) the Irish scheme to build up a purely Irish Party, primarily for the purpose of sending members to the Irish Parliament, proceeding on Irish lines and leaving the British Movement alone, claiming none of the British Party's money; (2) the formation of a Party that was going to work with the British Labour Party on the same lines as the British Party, working through the Parliamentary Committee of the Irish Congress, but embracing all sections of the Irish movement, having its own Irish Conference and also sending representatives to the British Conference. In his opinion their success would lie in the second direction he had indicated.

In reply to a question from the Chairman, Mr. Henderson then explained the scheme that was under consideration, whereby a subsidiary Scottish Council was to be set up.

Mr. Hill contended that the Labour Movement in England was already suffering considerably from the system of dual control, and they in Ireland wished to start out on the lines their own particular circumstances warranted. Defining the position, he said the Irish Movement was to have its own Irish Party, controlled by that present Parliamentary Committee, working under such Constitution as shall be determined by the Irish Movement without any interference or dictation of any Party, national or international, outside Ireland; that that Party shall go to its own constituent Unions and that funds shall come from them in such a way as they and the Parliamentary Committee shall determine; at the same time, the Irish Party would work with the British Labour Party when and if Irish Labour Members be elected to Westminster; and generally their work will be carried on in the utmost fraternity and with the best of good wishes of all concerned.

Mr. Johnson urged that it was desirable that the Labour Farty in Parliament should consult the Irish Labour Movement as to the possible results of voting one way or another in the House of Commons. Such a course would be of great advantage to the Irish Movement and would enhance the good feeling towards the Party on the other side.

Mr. Henderson replied that that was a matter for consideration—the position in Parliament was frequently a difficult one, particularly when they had to interpret the wishes of the Irish democracy. He would urge them to get their Irish Party set up; let it develop, and although they were not starting out on similar lines, no doubt there would be ample opportunity of giving each other "a friendly nod." They may find as they went along that something more than that would be necessary in the interests of both Parties.

Mr. Hill said it could not be too clearly understood that the only body that represented Labour in Ireland was the Irish Trade Union Congress. It certainly appeared that they had got to the conclusion of their discussion. They as an Irish Party would have to go on in their own way, hoping at the same time that as occasion offered they would receive the friendly help and recognition of the British Movement.

General discussion then took place up in the policy of the Parliamentary Party in Irish affairs, after which the Conference concluded.

After a lengthened correspondence with the Labour Party and in consequence of the reply of Mr. Duncan to the letters of your Committee, we considered it essential to the maintenance of our position that a further Conference should be held with the Labour Party. This Conference took place in the Labour Party's Room in the

House of Commons under the Chairmanship of Mr. J. R. McDonald, M.P. There were also present :- Messrs. James Parker, M.P.; F. W. Goldstone, M.P.; A. Wilkie, M.P.; and H. S. Lindsay. Your Committee were represented by Messrs. Tom Johnson, D. R. Campbell, W. E. Hill, and P. T. Daly. The following Memorandum was submitted on our behalf :-

### IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS. PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE. Trades Hall, 9th May, 1914.

Gentlemen-On behalf of the Irish Trade Union Movement we beg to reiterate our resolution forwarded you on March 18th, in relation to the exclusion of Ulster from the provisions of the Government of Ireland Bill. As I have info med you in my former communications this question is not alone important but is vitally

important to the workers of this country.

I have already drawn your attention to the answer of Mr. Birrell, in reference to Amendments to the Bill in 1912. At that period in answer to our Resolution claiming Amendments to the Schedule of the Bill, he answered that alteration of any kind was then impossible. Since then the Premier and other Ministers have notified their willingness to accept Amendments or in fact have suggested Amendments excluding portions of the counties scheduled in the Bill. I have asked and I again ask on behalf of my colleagues and myself: Is it not possible to get the Bill amended in favour of the workers of the cities and towns of Ireland, when it is possible to get it done in favour of men who are hostile? I have already pointed out in my letters to the Secretary of the Labour Party, and to Mr. Birrell, the manner in which the workers are being "jockeyed." I have stated that in the Province of Connaught there is not even a possibility of the organised workers returning one Representative. In Leinster, constituencies which at present return members from industrial areas-and which would return Labour men, but for their absorption in the Home Rule Movement—are deprived under the provisions of the Home Rule Bill from representation, being absorbed in two-member constituencies, and the same thing applies to Munster. My Committee strongly resent any compromise agreeing to the Exclusion of Ulster, and I am instructed to impress upon you their view, viz.: that the whole of Ireland, North, South, East and West must be included.

Even in the case of the exclusion of Ulster being conceded, a larger representation of Urban interests for the remainder of Ireland

in the Irish House of Commons is necessary.

In reference to the "Insurance Act," I have already notified you of our views upon this matter. We claim the extension of the Medical Benefits and we complain that Sanatoria are not being provided as they ought. Cases have been brought to our notice where malingering is practically encouraged owing to the looseness of the system of "Medical Examination." With regard to the question of Medical Referees, we have already discussed that matter

Whilst, as you say, it may not be necessary to discuss the "Fair Wages Resolution." I think it advisable to draw your attention to the War Office Contracts. The Military Authorities all over the country in their enforcement of the clause are very lax.

I am glad to be able to inform you, that your action in reference to the Bread Contract in Dublin has secured it to a fair firm, and had it taken away from the one objected to. I regret, how, ever, that the Brush Contract is still held by Messrs. Varian, who are not paying the standard wage, nor observing fair conditions.

I have already raised the question of wages at Haulbowline, but I have been informed that wages paid there in different grades are not as high as are paid in other Governmental Dock Yards. I brought the matter under the notice of the Admiralty already, but as far as I can learn without result.

P. T. DALY, Secretary.

THOMAS JOHNSON, Vice-Chairman, D. R. CAMPBELL, Treasurer. W. E. Hu,L.

Mr. T. Johnson said of the several matters which the deputation desired to speak about the item uppermost in their minds at the present moment was the proposal to separate Ulster or part of Ulster from the other Provinces of Ireland under the Home Rule As Trade Unionists they looked at the matter from the practical aspect. Whatever sentimental considerations might weigh with some, they for the moment wished to deal with the subject as it affected the working-class movement. Their demand was that in any legislation affecting Ireland-whether Home Rule or any other scheme—the country must be treated as a unit, and they appealed to the Labour Party to resist any attempt to divide up the country. What were the probable effects of the exclusion of Ulster? All their hopes of uniting the workers of North and South would be destroyed. Organisation on sectarian lines would be extended and "tightened up." Employers would continue to use sectarian and political issues to keep the workers apart. Under any exclusion of Ulster scheme-even temporary-the effect on proposals for industrial legislation of a remedial character would be fatal for both North and South-the included and the excluded area. The included area would be predominantly rural and agricultural-its representatives in the Irish Parliament would hesitate to pass any measures of a beneficial character for the industrial worker for fear of repelling the Ulster farmer and capitalist. The cue of the Irish Parliament would be to be conservative in legislation and administration with a view to inducing the Ulster party to come in. On the other hand the Ulster worker would be left outside the pale of either Irish or British Parliament. Remedial measures brought before the Parliament at Westminster would be left to apply only to Britain-Ulster being in a state of suspension-a good excuse would be available for restricting these measures to Britain and making them not applicable to Ulster. He hoped that whatever amendments were to be made to the Home Rule Bill to conciliate the Ulster opposition other lines than exclusion would be followed. If any amendments were to be made the Irish Trades Union Congress urged that the scheme of representation should be altered to enable Urban interests to secure a larger representation in the Irish House of Commons. The population of Ireland comprises about one-third Urban and two-thirds Rural, Under the schedule of the Bill only one-fifth of the members will represent Urban interests. We propose a scheme of grouped Urban constituencies [which has since been forwarded to Mr. MacDonald], under which the Urban representation would be increased by sixteen and the Rural representation proportionately decreased.

Mr. Campbell said that Mr. Johnson and he were from Belfast and they knew the position there from daily experience. If Ulster were excluded it would be against the interests of the workers in that province, and he believed that the Commercial Party were as much opposed to it as they were. In regard to the other matters, he pressed on them the necessity of actively co-operating with the Irish Labour movement in securing the extension of the Medical Benefits under the National Health Insurance Act. He drew their attention to the lack of inspection of factories in Ireland.

Mr. Hill supported Messrs. Johnson and Campbell in regard to the exclusion of any portion of Ireland from the provisions of the Home Rule Bill. Of the four representatives from Ireland three of them were of the Protestant religion. He had been for seven years an Orangeman and had held high office in that Order. Mr. Campbell was the son of an Orangeman. They had all come together in the Labour movement and they all protested against any attempt being made to divide any portion of Ireland from the rest of Ireland for six days much less six years. They had seen the prosecutions which had been entered against seven Irish Labour men for holding a meeting in a thoroughfare in which meetings had been held in his recollection for thirty years without anything of the like occurring. He was interested, as they were, in the question of the Nationalisation of Railways. How could they nationalise a railway if one portion of it was under the control of an Irish Parliament and the other portion was legislated for out of the country?

Mr. Daly supported the views of his colleagues with regard to the exclusion policy. He was of the opinion that if any portion of Ulster was excluded in order to allay the hostility of Sir Edward Carson that they would have to include it in order to allay the hostility of men whose creed it was to fight for the freedom of their country, but not to go on the housetops to proclaim it. He raised the question of the Feeding of Necessitous School Children, and said they in Ireland demanded for their people the extension of any measure, and the amendments to any measure, which conferred upon the community the right to feed and provide for the children of school-going age of the necessitous poor of the country. He endorsed the demand re medical benefits, and claimed for Ireland the appointment of Factory Inspectors, which would remove them from the operations of the policy of farce which was being enacted in regard to the provisions of the Factory Acts as well as of the Shops Act. He referred to the position of the War Office Contracts in Ireland, and whilst thanking the Party with reference to

the removal of Galbraith from the list of Government Contractors for Bread, demanded that the same thing should be done with regard to Varian for Brushes.

Mr. J. R. McDonald, M.P., said the views of the deputation would be considered by his Party, of which they were the officers. He regretted that Messrs. Henderson, Duncan, and Poynter were absent on business of the Party. In reference to the Feeding of the Necessitous School Children, the Party were faced with the difficulty that the rating system in Ireland created a difficulty which did not exist in Great Britain. Their Bill had gone to Committee, and he understood that one of the members of the Irish Party would have moved an "instruction" to the Committee in relation to But the member in question refused to move the instruction. This would create a further difficulty, and he was afraid that a hostility which he was assured by two Irish ladies had been removed was as bitter at present as when it secured the exclusion of Ireland from the permissive measure. In reference to the Fair Wages Clause, they could "advertise" the Party by publicly drawing attention to breaches, but they believed that private negotiation with heads of departments was more effective, and they did that as far and as often as they could. The other matters would be pressed on.

Messrs. Goldstone and Wilkie, M.P's., endorsed Mr. McDonald's remarks. Your representatives thanked the officers of the Labour Party and withdrew.

The deputation interviewed several private members in the Lobby in furtherance of the claims of the Irish Labour movement, and on Wednesday, May 13th, secured an

### INTERVIEW WITH MR. JOHN E. REDMOND, M.P.

Mr. Johnson repeated the views expressed at the interview with the Labour Party. He impressed upon Mr. Redmond, who was accompanied by Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., the necessity there was for him to point out to the Executive that whilst they were willing to exclude portion of Ulster to allay the hostility of the Covenanters they failed to realise the probability of the active opposition of the Physical Force Party to the exclusion of any portion of the country, and claimed that Labour should be represented on the Senate.

Mr. Campbell, in addition to what he stated at the Conference with the Labour Party, dealt with the position of Belfast and other cities and towns in Ireland with regard to the operation of the Factory Acts.

Mr. Devlin said that with regard to Belfast he was paying attention to the matter of Factory Inspection, and he thought extra Inspectors would be immediately appointed.

Mr. Hill dealt with the question of the Nationalisation of Railways and the Inspection of Railway and other Offices and Factories in Ireland.

Mr. Daly dealt with the policy of exclusion and the feeding of necessitous school children, and pointed out the absolute lack of inspection of factories in Ireland. He said that outside of Belfast and Dublin he did not think there was any inspection to speak of, and in some places they had never seen an Inspector, and he thought when legislation was enacted machinery should be put in operation to prevent it becoming a dead letter.

Mr. Redmond, M.P., said that all the points that had been made-would be considered by the Party. They had to consider in regard to the question of the Feeding of Necessitous School Children the different systems which obtained in Ireland to what obtained in Great Britain, and they had a Bill at present before the House dealing with the matter. As the deputation had stated that Bill was unsatisfactory, he would endeavour to graft on such provisions of the Amending Bill as would be suitable to the special needs of Ireland. In reference to the Medical Benefits they had to remember their Poor Law Medical System, and they were for some time doing what they could to evolve a scheme that would be satisfactory to all parties. He felt as deeply as any man in the world the exclusion of one rood of Irish soil, but he had to make the best provision he could in the light of the circumstances which he would not discuss, but which were ever present in the negotiations.

Mr. Devlin said that in regard to Medical Benefits, Mr. Lardner and himself had already raised the question. There was a majority report, but there was also a minority report, and they could be satisfied that the matter was not being lost sight of. He endorsed Mr. Redmond's remarks with regard to the exclusion of any portion of Ireland. In reference to Factory Inspection his duty to Belfast had not been overlooked. They were glad to be strengthened with the views of the Irish Trades Union Congress, and he hoped in future that when anything occurred like the prosecutions in Dublin they would be immediately informed of it.

Mr. Johnson, on behalf of your deputation, thanked Messrs. Redmond and Devlin, and your deputation withdrew.

### INTERVIEW WITH MR. BIRRELL.

Your Committee endeavoured to secure an interview with the Chief Secretary for Ireland on many occasions during the year, but were invariably informed by him that no good purpose would be served. They sought the intervention of the Labour Party, and were informed that the Labour Party never interfered in matters of this kind. In the interview which your representatives secured with Messrs. Redmond and Devlin they mentioned the matter, and Mr. Redmond said that the Chief Secretary ought to hear their views, and on the following day, Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., introduced your deputation to Mr. Birrell in the Chief Secretary's room.

Messrs. Johnson, Hill, Campbell and Daly addressed the Chief Secretary on points already discussed with the Labour Party and the Irish Party.

Mr. Birrell said he was very glad that he had the opportunity of meeting your deputation. With regard to the exclusion of Ulster he did not like to close a door if closing meant bloodshed. He was glad, however, to hear the opinions of the representatives of Irish Labour, more especially as they spoke with authority of the conditions in Ulster. He recognised their position, and realised that whilst as a Trades Congress they had never proclaimed themselves Home Rulers as had been stated by them, still they stood for a United Ireland in the Labour World. But he was haunted by the spectre called up in Ulster, and he had to try to prevent bloodshed if it were possible. When the workers realised that the exclusion was only of a tentative character, he did not believe that the men to whom the Deputation referred as loving Ireland would plunge their country into Civil War for the sake of the few years covered by the proposals. The question of the Inspection of Factories was not in his Department, but he recognised the point made by the Deputation, and admitted that to some extent he was responsible for seeing the law carried out. He referred humorously to the request for representation on the Senate, and said that it would not be overlooked. It was the first application that he had received for an unpaid job. In reference to the Medical Benefits, that, too, would be considered as well as the points in reference to the Railways and the Feeding of Necessitous School Children. regard to the Schedule of the Home Rule Bill, they were wrong in thinking that the Government had not considered it from all points of view, as Sir H. Verney, who accompanied him, could tell them. He was glad to meet them, however, and they could rely that whatever could be done would be done.

A discussion ensued, in which Mr. Birrell, Sir H. Verney, and your Deputation took part, and it was eventually agreed to submit

amendments to the Schedule for consideration.

The Deputation, having returned thanks, withdrew.

Government of Ireland Bill.—During the year your Committee have been engaged in trying to secure that the demands of the Irish Trades Union Congress in reference to representation of the Irish industrial workers should be given effect to. Early in the year we were met with the reply of the Chief Secretary—that no amendments to the schedule of the Bill could be entertained. Prior to this on several occasions they pointed out the unfairness of the scheme of representation, as it had been rumoured that changes were likely to be suggested, until the following reply seemed to close the matter:—

Irish Office, Old Queen's St., S W., 28th February, 1914.

Sir—With reference to vour letter of the 24th instant. 1 am desired by Mr. Birrell to say that, in his opinion, there is no necessity for any alteration of the Schedule of the Government of Ireland Bill relating to representation such as you suggest.

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,
A. P. MAGILL.

The Secretary, Irish Trades Union Congress, Dublin.

In March of the present year, however, the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith, Prime Minister, announced his intention, if it was agreeable to the Opposition, of excluding, under certain conditions, several counties in Ulster. Your Committee immediately communicated with the Prime Minister, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Labour Party, pressing on them your claims anew.

The following letter was forwarded to the Chief Secretary, and letters on the same lines were sent to the Labour Party and to Mr. J. E. Redmond, M.P.:—

### IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS, PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE,

DUBLIN, 21st March, 1914.

Right Hon. Augustine Birrell, K.C., M.P., Chief Secretary for Ireland, Irish Office,

Old Queen Street, London, S.W.

DEAR SIR.

Mr. A. P. Magill's letter of 28th ult., in response to my letter to you under date February 24th, in which he states that he was directed by you to inform us that in your opinion "there is no necessity for any alteration of the Schedule of the Government of Ireland Bill,"

was before my Committee at their recent meeting.

I am directed to say that they quite appreciate your statement in reference to your opinion, but I am further directed to draw your attention to the fact that in public pronouncements made by you my Committee gather that in your opinion there is no necessity for any change whatever in the Bill or the Schedule thereto. And notwithstanding that, a considerable portion of the time given to the recent debate showed us that the Government agreed to suggest, and you acquiesced in amendments to or alterations in this very Schedule.

My Committee feel that if you had consented to receive a deputation when we requested you to do so that we would have shown you that there is a very urgent need "relating to representation" such as I suggested, and they feel assured that you would have been convinced of its necessity yourself. Take, for instance, the case of Newry, which at present sends a representative to the Imperial Parliament, and which is an industrial, as differing from an agricultural, population. This constituency is cut in two, one portion allocated to the agricultural area of Co. Down and the other to the agricultural area of South Armagh. And again, take the case of Kilkenny, which also returns a member to Westminster—this is swallowed up in North Kilkenny. Wexford, formerly a borough constituency, and Galway at present a single-member constituency, are treated in like manner. And so on. In the whole province of Connaught there is not one constituency in which the industrial workers have the slightest chance of securing representation. The Schedule as drafted, and which in your opinion, does not need alteration, gives to the rural areas a representation of 128 as against 34 to the Urban areas.

Trusting the views of my Committee, representing the organised workers of Ireland, shall receive the consideration to which I feel

they are entitled.

Your Committee gave their earnest attention to the question of the proposed exclusion of Ulster. A resolution was adopted and sent to the Prime Minister, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Leaders of the Labour Party and of the different Irish Parties, and they endeavoured to secure interviews in order to enter their protest against the course suggested. They issued a Manifesta and convened a Public Demonstration at which the following resolution was carried with acclamation :-

That this Mass Meeting of Irish Workers places on record its emphatic protest against the suggested exclusion of any portion of Ireland, whether temporary or permanent, from the provisions of the Home Rule Bill, as we consider such exclusion would be a national disgrace, and, in addition, we feel that the separation of the democracy of Ulster from those of the other Provinces would be a dire calamity. That in strongly and emphatically protesting against the recent attempt of certain military officers to utilise the armed forces in this country for the purpose of furthering the interests of their class, we desire to impress upon the workers the necessity for learning aright and fully digesting the full signifiance of this action, and to in future apply it in a similar manner in the interests of their own clas

Your Committee opened up communication with the Labour Party through Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., and received a reply from Mr. Charles Duncan, M.P., Secretary of the Parliamentary Group, as follows :-

> House of Commons, 23rd March, 1914.

Dear Sir—Your letters to Mr Henderson have been considered by the officers of the Party.

They agree with what your resolution states as to the exclusion of Ulster, and anything the Party may ultimately agree to by way of amendment to the present Home Rule Bill will be agreed to in order to make any measure of Home Rule possible and with a view to creating circumstances that will eventually lead to complete Home

With regard to your suggested amendments to the Schedules, the officers will be very glad to consider them and raise them if at all possible, but at the present moment it looks as though there will be no opportunity for suggesting amendments. In any event whatever amendments might be made must be agreed amendments, and that

is the difficulty.

In connection with the extension of the Feeding of School Children to Ireland, you will perhaps be aware that we have a Bill this Session making the present Act compulsory where the necessity exists We understand that when this Bill reaches Committee amendments are to be moved to extend the 1906 Act—the Permissive Act-to Ireland. We shall be glad to know whether your Committee would agree to such amendments, and we should also be glad to have a statement of their views as to how the Act should be administered in Ireland, for, as you know, the machinery of the English Act could not be made applicable to the conditions prevailing in your country.

The other point to which you draw attention is the extension of Medical Benefits to Ireland We did hope that this matter would have been dealt with this Session, and we have not entirely lost hope

yet, but the present unsettled state of affairs here makes it very doubtful whether there will be any chance of getting through much more than the routine financial business and the Bills that are under the operation of the Parliament Act. However, you may rely on us not to forget the anciety of your Committee on this matter, and have it dealt with if we can.

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES DUNCAN.

Mr. P. T. Daly, Irish Parliamentary Committee.

Your Committee considered this letter unsatisfactory, inasmuch as it suggested the probability of the Labour Party considering the advisability of adopting the counsels of some other Party as against the demand of the Irish Labour Movement. The Secretary was instructed to reply as follows:—

C. Duncan, Esq., M.P., House of Commons.

# IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS, PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE, TRADES HALL.

Dublin, 30th March 1914.

DEAR SIR-Your letter of the 23rd inst., was before my Com-

mittee on Saturday.

In reference to your statement that: "They agree . . . . . may ultimatety agree to by way of amendment to the present Home Rule Bill, will be agreed to in order to make any measure of Home Rule possible, and with a view to creating circumstances that will eventually lead to complete Home Rule," my Committee, speaking on behalf of the organised workers of Ireland, think that the views of their constituents should have first consideration from the Labour Party for all legislation affecting Ireland. I may add that the reason my Committee adopted the resolution forwarded to the Chairman, and which he has not yet acknowledged, was because they are convinced that it would not be so easy to secure that "complete Home Rule," which your colleagues so earnestly desire, after the partition of the country and the division of the workers as before it takes place.

In reference to the Feeding of Necessitous School Children Act, we are desirous of securing the extension to Ireland of the provisions of Mr. Jowett's Bill, if at all possible: but, failing that, we would be glad to secure the extension to 'reland of the Act of 1906. With regard to your query as to administration, my Committee favour the local authorities administering it, Borough Councils, in the borough areas and Urban Councils and Rural District Councils in the other areas

In reference to Medical Benefits, my Committee are very desirous that this matter should be pressed on immediately. They have been agitating this matter since before the Act was passed. In our various interviews with the Labour Party we explained all this. A Commission sat in Ireland, and presented a Report advocating the extension to the Urban Areas of the Medical Benefits, and we would be glad if you would elicit by means of questions what are the intentions of the Government with regard to it.

Yours faithfully,

Arising out of the Public Meeting held to protest against the attempt to divide the workers of Ireland, the Dublin Metropolitan Police Authorities issued summonses on a charge of obstruction against Mr. Walsh, President of the Cork United Trades Council; Alderman Lynch, Vice-President Sligo Trades Council; Councillors Partridge and Lawlor, and three of the members of the Parliamentary Committee—Messrs. O'Brien, Campbell and Daly. Fines were imposed in each case. But inasmuch as for a period of over thirty years public meetings had been held in the same thoroughfare the defendants refused to pay any fines. Mr. O'Brien was arrested on the evening of May 14th, but was released on the 15th. Two questions were asked in the House of Commons, of which the following is one:—

Mr. William Thorne—To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whether, with regard to the police proceedings that were instituted against persons who spoke at a meeting organised by the Trades Union Congress and held in Dublin on the 5th of April last, he is aware that other meetings, addressed by honourable Members of this House, have been held on the same spot without interference, notably in April, 1912, and September, 1913; and if he will state why such action was taken in connection with this meeting to protest against the exclusion of Ulster from the provisions of the Government of Ireland Bill. (18th May, 1914.)

Mr. Birrell—I am aware that public meetings have been held in Sackville Street, Dublin, on at least two occasions without interference, arrangements having been previously made for the holding of such meetings. The proceedings in the present case were taken to obtain a legal decision as to the right of holding meetings on a main thoroughfare and obstructing the traffic, to the great inconvenience of the public. There are several open spaces near Sackville Street where a meeting could be held without inconvenience to the public, and the promoters of this meeting were warned beforehand against holding it in Sackville Street. (18th May, 1914.).

Formation of Irish Labour Party—As instructed by Congress your Committee had the question of preparing the Standing Orders and Constitution for the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party under consideration, and after considerable discussion adopted the following for presentation to Congress:—

### THE IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY.

ROUGH DRAFT OF PROPOSED CONSTITUTION.

- (1) TITLE—The Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party.
- (2) OBJECTS—To organise and unite the workers of Ireland in order to improve their status and conditions generally, and to take such action in the Industrial and Political fields, with that end in view, as may be decided upon at its Annual Meetings.
- (3) Affiliation—The Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party is to be composed of Delegates from Trades Unions and Trades Councils.

(4) Finance—All Affiliated Bodies shall pay such fees as are laid down in the Standing Orders together with a fee for each Delegate sent to the Annual Meeting.

The National Executive shall be authorized to issue a Special Appeal for Funds for Political and other purposes from time to

time as may seem desirable.

(5) NATIONAL EXECUTIVE—The National Executive shall consist of eight members together with Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Treasurer, and Secretary; all of whom shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting.

(6) DUTIES OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE—The National Executive

shall:

(1) Endeavour to give effect to the decisions of the Annual Meetings.

(2) Watch all Legislative Measures affecting Labour

in Ireland.

(3) Initiate such legislative and other action as may be necessary and as the Annual Meeting may direct.

(4) Endeavour to secure the independent representation of Irish Labour in Parliament and upon all Public Boards.

(5) Generally to co-operate with the organised workers in other countries towards the common advancement of labour.

(7) NATIONAL EXECUTIVE SUB-COMMITTEE—The National Executive shall appoint a Sub-Committee of four, together with the Secretary, which shall meet at least once a month and transact all routine and urgent business. Matters of importance to be submitted to all the members of the National Executive.

(8) CANDIDATES-

 A candidate for Parliament must be nominated by the National Executive or by one or more of the Affiliated Bodies.

(2) A candidate must be selected at a Conference convened by the local Trades Council. Where no Trades Council exists, the National Executive shall

arrange to have a Conference convened.

(3) Before any action towards the selection of a candididate is taken, the National Executive should in the first instance be consulted, and no candidature can be promoted until endorsed by the National Executive.

(4) The expenses of candidates for election to local bodies shall be borne by the local organisation or organisations promoting such candidature, and in the case of Parliamentary elections, the expenditure shall be borne by the body or bodies nominating a candidate with such financial assistance as the Central Funds can afford.

In addition to the foregoing objects, it shall be the duty of the National Executive to assist in adjusting all differences, on the request of the trade affected, between employers and employees and to aid affiliated bodies in their efforts to improve the conditions of employment.

#### DRAFT STANDING ORDERS.

1. OPENING PROCEEDINGS.—The Congress shall assemble at 9.30 a.m (except the first day, when the proceedings shall commence at 11 a.m.), prompt, adjourn at 1 p.m., reassemble at 2 p.m.,

and adjourn at 5 p.m. each day.

2. Delegates' Qualifications.—The Congress shall consist of (1) Delegated members or officials from bona-fide trade and labour unions who are or have been practical workers at the trade or calling they represent; (2) delegated members or officials from recognised trades councils or similar bodies; and (3) any person qualified to represent a trade or labour union on any Irish trade or labour council duly affiliated to Congress, shall be eligible to represent such trade or labour union at Congress. The Delegates' fees (£1 each), affiliation fees (as per Rule 3), and all personal expenses allowed such Delegates must be defrayed by the union or council they represent.

3. Financial Support.—The minimum Annual Contribution payable not later than fourteen days previous to the Annual Meeting shall be from societies or branches of societies at the rate of one penny per member on their full certified membership to date, and in the case of amalgamated unions it shall be assessed on their full Irish membership similarly. And it shall be the duty of the Secretary to have these figures verified where necessary. Trades Councils shall pay £1 for each 5,000 members or part thereof represented. The minimum Annual Contribution from all affiliated

bodies shall be 10s.

4. STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.—A Standing Orders Committee of five shall be elected from the Members of Congress, whose duties shall be to verify and report upon the credentials of the Delegates, see to the proper conduct of the business of Congress, and have control of the distribution of all literature, introduction of deputations, and other special business not provided for in these Orders. The Standing Orders Committee shall meet not later than half an hour previous to each sitting of Congress for the purpose

of the despatch of business.

5. Mode of Voting.—Tellers.—The voting upon all matters shall be by show of hands. Tellers shall be appointed at the opening of Congress, whose ruling as to numbers shall be final. In cases where the Tellers disagree, the Chairman shall order a recount. Scrutineers (3) shall be appointed before the distribution of the ballot papers for the election of the National Executive Committee and shall hand in a signed report to the Chairman of Congress as early as possible after vouching for the accuracy of the returns.

- 6. RESOLUTIONS.—Resolutions intended for the Congress, with the name of the proposer, shall be in the hands of the Secretary of the National Executive Committee at least SIX WEEKS before the meeting of Congress in Whit Week, and shall be at once printed and sent out by the Secretary of the National Executive Committee to the various trades and labour societies and trades councils in Ireland.
- 7. AMENDMENTS TO RESOLUTIONS.—Amendments to the propositions on the Agenda, written and signed in the following manner, viz: "Amendment to Resolution No. 3, to be proposed by Mr. John Smith, Belfast," must be sent to the Secretary of the National Executive Committee at least ONE CLEAR WEEK before the meeting of Congress, and shall be printed and in the hands of the Delegates along with the National Executive Committee's Report, on the assembling of Congress, before the commencement of business.
- 8 RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS.—All Resolutions and Amendments must be endorsed by and sent through the authorised officials of trade or labour organisations or trades councils sending Delegates to Congress. The names, addresses and societies represented by the Delegates shall be printed and ready for distribution at the commencement of Congress.
- 9. LIMITATION OF SPEECHES.—The mover of a resolution or amendment shall be allowed ten minutes and each succeeding speaker five minutes each. No one shall speak more than once upon each resolution or amendment except the mover of the original motion, who shall be given an opportunity to reply. No second amendment or rider to an original proposition shall be put to a vote until the first amendment is disposed of.
- elected on the last day of the Annual Meeting, and Delegates only shall be eligible for election. More than one member of the same trade or occupation shall not be entitled to sit; but this condition shall not apply to the officers. The Secretary shall attend the Annual Meeting by virtue of his office and be eligible for re-election. The National Executive shall fix his salary. At least two meetings of the National Executive, or of a Sub-Committee, shall be held in the locality selected for the next year's Congress, such meetings to be arranged in conjunction with the local trades council or organised trade unions.
- 11. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE REPORT.—The Report of the National Executive, which shall have been transmitted to the Delegates at least three days before the assembly of Congress, shall be the business next following that of the election of Congress officers. And after the disposal of same the tenure of office of the National Executive shall cease. A printed balance-sheet duly audited and certified by the auditors to be presented to each delegate on the second day of the meeting.

- 12. LABOUR MEETING.—At least one General Labour Meeting shall be held, under the auspices of the National Executive Committee, in each town during the sittings of the Annual Congress, the local trades council to render such assistance in arranging for halls, advertising, etc., as shall be requisite.
- 13. Suspension of Standing Obders.—Standing Orders shall not be suspended unless previous intimation shall have been given to Standing Orders Committee, and the motion agreed to by a two-thirds vote of the Delegates present.
- 14. NEXT PLACE OF MEETING.—Nominations for the next place of meeting shall be forwarded to the Secretary for inclusion on the Agenda of Congress, and only places so reminated shall be eligible or consideration.

This document was circulated amongst the different Unions and amendments were asked to be sent in for consideration by Congress, some of which have been received.

Dublin Dispute.—Your Committee were busily engaged during the year in connection with the dispute in Dublin. We desire to record our appreciation of the magnificent and spontaneous demonstration of support displayed by the workers of Great Britain and Ireland. We have already conveyed this thanks to the British Trades Congress, whilst to the Scottish Trades Congress our thanks are due for the spirited response they made from their own funds in aid of the appeal, to which your Committee contributed the sum of twenty pounds. In Ireland we have to record instances of self-denial and generosity on behalf of the workers unequalled in any struggle heretofore. Whilst we do not feel justified in specially mentioning a number of Societies, we feel that our thanks are particularly due to the Limerick Pork Butchers and the Limerick Carters and Storemen for their munificent contributions continued throughout the whole fight, and we hope that the gratitude of the workers of Ireland will be given practical expression in the case of the latter Union, which is at present engaged in a struggle for the maintenance of their Union and the betterment of their class. Your Committee took occasion to place on record their condemnation of the police authorities for their brutality and the Government for their partiality during the fight and in their appointment of the Commission of Inquiry into the police outrages, and desire to record our appreciation of the action of the Bristol Trades Council in trying to influence the Member for Bristol North, who is Chief Secretary for Ireland, to place a workers' representative on the Commission. We regret, however, that the promise made by the Chief Secretary was not carried out, and as a consequence the Inquiry degenerated into a farce. In this connection we protest against the action and speech of Mr. P. J. Brady, M.P., and the voting of the Irish Party on the question.

Your Committee desire to acknowledge with grateful thanks the great assistance derived from the Co-operative Movement in Great

Britain and Ireland. They desire to emphasise the importance of closer relations existing between the Trades Union Movement and the Co-operative Movement, and hope that the object-lesson derived from the late dispute will not be lost sight of by the Labour Movement in Ireland.

Inter-Trade Union Dispute in Waterford .- Your Committee regret the continuance of this dispute in Waterford They considered the report of their delegation to Waterford reported at last Congress, and endeavoured to have the breach healed. The report from Waterford goes to show that the men who took the places of the men on strike continue to hold them. These men were, and it is alleged are, members of the Belfast Society. Your Committee cannot vouch for the accuracy of this statement, inasmuch as Mr. Thomas M'Connell, who was elected last year, has resigned his seat upon the Parliamentary Committee. On the other hand, our deputation reported that the Secretary of the Waterford Branch of the Irish Amalgamated Union of Bakers told them that his men would not work with any man who was not a member of the Irish Amalgamated Union Your Committee reiterate the hope that something may be done in the immediate future to bring the bakers of Ireland into closer union and to prevent this intercine warfare.

Fair Wages Resolution.—Your Committee have again to express their regret that local Councils in Ireland do not observe to the full Trade Union Conditions with regard to their employment or their contracts, and notwithstanding the fact that the Local Government Board has circularized them in connection with it, the Fair Wages Resolution remains more honoured in the breach than the observance. We have had correspondence with the War Department in connection with their contracts in Ireland, and we are glad to report that, mainly through the action of the Labour Party, the complaint made by the Delegate of the Dublin Bakers last year has been attended to, and the contract given to a Trade Union firm. In connection with the supply of brushes we have had further correspondence, but, we regret to say, without satisfactory results.

Obituary.—Your Committee regret to chronicle the death of Mr. Patrick Healy, who for a number of years represented the Irish Glass Rottlemakers at our Annual Congress, and they desire to extend their sympathy to his widow and family as well as to the members of the Irish Glass Bottlemakers' Union, of which he was an old and valued member. They also regret to chronicle the death of one of our sisters and two of our brothers who were brutally done to death in the streets of Dublin during the dispute in Dublin in the month of August of last year, Alice Brady, James Nolan and John Byrne. Your Committee have already conveyed to their bereaved relatives their sympathy in their terrible bereavement.

Resignation of Mr. McConnell.—At the concluding Session of last year's Congress an arrangement was arrived at in connection with the Waterford Bakers' Dispute, and early in the year your Committee endeavoured to give it effect as stated in the earlier portion of this report. Mr. McConnell resigned before the first meeting in Dublin of the Committee elected in Cork. Your Committee decided unanimously that Mr. McConnell's resignation be received but not accepted, and that he be requested to forward a report as to what steps had been taken to carry out the underdertaking given to Congress that the Belfast Bakers would be withdrawn from Waterford. This decision was forwarded to Mr. McConnell under date September 9th, 1913. Your Committee obtained no reply to their communication, and at their next meeting decided to accept Mr. McConnell's resignation, but not to fill the vacancy.

Labour Legislation.—Of the Bills which the Labour Party introduced they were unable to make progress with any of them, although the Premier pledged the Government to allow facilities for their education (Provision of Meals) Act Amendment Bill to become law this Session.

Signed,-

James Larkin, Chairman.
Thomas Johnson, Vice Chairman.
D. R. Campbell, Treasurer.
M. J. Egan, J.P., T.C.
Thomas MacPartlin.
R. P. O'Carroll, T.C., P.L.G.
M. J. O'Lehane.
John O'Sullivan.
William O'Brien.
W. E. Hill.
P. T. Daly, Secretary.

The following Amended Schedule has been forwarded at his request to Mr. J. R. MacDonald, M.P., Chairman of the Labour Party. It has also been forwarded to Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, as well as to the leaders of the other Parties in the House of Commons:—

AMENDMENT OF THE FIRST SCHEDULE TO THE GOVERN-MENT OF IRELAND BILL SUGGESTED BY THE PARLIA-MENTARY COMMITTEE OF THE IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

Constituencies	No. of	Constituencies	No. of
named in	Mem-	Proposed by Irish	Mem-
Bill.	bers.	Trades Union Congress	bers.
THE RESERVE AND THE PARTY NAMED IN		- Committee of the Comm	
ULSTER.		The second state of the second	
ANTRIM Co. North	2	ANTRIM COUNTY	6
,, Mid	2	North Antrim Boroughs	
" East	2	(including Coleraine)	I
" South	2	South Antrim Boroughs	I
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### PROPOSED NEW CONSTITUENCIES—ONE MEMBER EACH.

#### ULSTER.

North Antrim Boroughs (including Coleraine)—Ballymena, population 11,381; Ballymoney, 3,100; Portrush, 2,107; Ballycastle, 1,485; Coleraine, 7,785. Total, 25,858.

South Antrim Boroughs, comprising Lisburn, population 12,388; Larne, 8,036; Ballyclare, 3,369; Carrickfergus, 4,608. Total, 28,401.

Tyrone Boroughs (and Enniskillen) comprising Omagh, population 4,836; Cookstown, 3,685; Dungannon, 3,830; Strabane, 5,107; Enniskillen, 4,847. Total, 22,305.

Armagh Boroughs, comprising Armagh, population 7,356; Portadown, 11,727; Lurgan, 12,553. Total, 31,636.

North Down Boroughs, comprising Newtownards, population 9,587; Bangor, 7,776; Holywood, 4,035; Donaghadee, 2,215; Comber, 2,589. Total, 26,202.

South Down Boroughs, comprising Newry, population 11,963; Banbridge, 5,101; Dromore, 2,364; Downpatrick, 3,199. Total, 22,627.

#### LEINSTER.

Wexford Boroughs, comprising Wexford, population, 11,531; New Ross, 5,547; Enniscorthy, 5,495. Total, 22,573.

Louth Boroughs, comprising Dundalk, population, 13,128; Drogheda, 12,501. Total, 25,629.

#### MUNSTER.

West Cork Boroughs, comprising Bantry, population 3,159; Skibbereen, 3,021; Bandon, 3,122; Kinsale, 4,020; Clonakilty, 2,961; Macroom, 2,717. Total, 19,000.

East Cork Boroughs, comprising Fermoy, population 6,863; Midleton, 3,182; Mallow, 4,452; Queenstown, 8,209; Youghal, 5,648. Total, 28,354.

Tipperary Boroughs, comprising Clonmel, population 10,209; Tipperary, 6,645; Carrick-on-Suir, 5,235; Thurles, 4,549. Total, 26,638.

Kerry Boroughs, comprising Tralee, population 10,300; Killarney, 5,796; Listowel, 3,409; Dingle, 1,884; Caherciveen, 1,896. Total, 23,285.

#### CONNAUGHT.

Sligo and Mayo Boroughs, comprising Sligo, population, 11,164; Castlebar, 3,698; Ballina, 4,662; Westport, 3,674. Total, 23,198.

Galway Boroughs, comprising Galway City population 13,255: Tuam, 2,980; Ballinasloe, 5,169; Loughrea, 2,338. Total, 23,742.

### FIRST DAY-MONDAY, JUNE 1st, 1914.

The Twenty-first Annual Irish Trades Union Congress was opened in the Council Chamber, City Hall, Dublin, on June 1st, 1914.

Mr. Thomas Johnson, Vice-Chairman Parliamentary Committee, took the chair at the opening, welcomed the delegates, and expressed the hope that the Congress would be the beginning of a new movement. He asked Councillor Richard O'Carroll, as the leader of the Labour Party in the Dublin Corporation, to welcome the delegates on behalf of the Corporation and the Labour citizens.

Councillor O'Carroll, in extending to the delegates a hearty welcome to the metropolis, hoped the proceedings would be gratifying to themselves, beneficial to their Unions, and stimulating to the whole Labour movement. There were some there who had been present at the birth of the Congress, they had watched it through the perils of childhood, and were now celebrating its coming of age. The next stage to be celebrated in the life of the Congress would be its Golden Jubilee; and when that came about he trusted many of them would be there to see it; and he hoped that it would be celebrated in this city, and that Dublin would then be the Capital of a free, independent, and prosperous Nation.

Mr. John Simmons, Secretary Dublin Trades Council, also welcomed the delegates on behalf of the industrial movement. He recalled the circumstances in which the First Congress had been established, and declared that they were such that there was nothing left for the Irish unions but to start their own Congress. During these twenty-one years they had brought the cause of Labour prominently not only before Ireland, but before the world. Many beneficial Acts of Parliament had been passed for the workers through the agency of that and the English and Scottish Trades Congresses—the latter of which has been founded on the same This Congress would bear favourable grounds as their own. comparison with its predecessors. He hoped its deliberations would bear fruit and lead to good results. Standing almost on the same spot as twenty-one years ago, he could congratulate himself and them on the manuer in which the Congress had proceeded.

Mr. Johnson expressed the gratitude of the Congress for the

welcome accorded to them.

On the motion of Mr. O'Lehane, seconded by Councillor-O'Carroll, Mr. John Simmons was elected Assistant Secretary to the Congress.

Mr. Arthur Murphy, P.L.G., and Mr. H. T. Whitley were

appointed Tellers.

The election of Standing Orders Committee was then taken up. Six nominations were received, and, on a ballot being taken, the voting was as follows:—Councillor T. Lawlor, P.L.G., 53; Mr. John Farren, 50; Mr. Patrick Lynch, 48; Mr. Arthur Doran, 41; Mr. T. Cassidy, 33; Mr. Dawson Gordon, 24. The first five were declared elected as Standing Orders Committee.

Three nominations were received for two Auditors, and, on a vote being taken, the figures were:—A. Breslan, 44; T. Hegarty, 45; F. Hall, 17. The first two were declared elected.

On the motion of Mr. William O'Brien, seconded by Mr. T. Farren, Mr. James Larkin was elected President by acclamation, and received a great ovation on taking the chair.

### PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Larkin then delivered his Presidential Address. He said:—Compades—We are living in momentous times, but we who have been elected to take up and carry still further the banner which was hoisted by the pioneers twenty-one years ago in this city cannot afford to make mistakes. The knowledge gained in the bitter days of the past should strengthen us in our deliberations and work in the future (hear, hear). We are now on

### THE THRESHOLD OF A NEWER MOVEMENT,

with a newer hope and new inspiration (cheers). The best thanks we could offer those who went before and who raised the Irish working class from their knees was to press forward with determination and enthusiasm towards the ultimate goal of their efforts, viz., a "Co-operative Commonwealth for Ireland." In the meantime, the immediate work to hand was the establishment of a New Party-a Labour Party-an industrial army; a political party, whose politics would be the assurance of bread and butter for all (hear, hear). We have been told in every mood and tense, throughout the long weary past, that no common denominator could govern the actions of the workers' activities-North and South. The question of Home Rule—the question of what some people call religion-had been used to divide them in the past. Now that the Government of Ireland Bill, which was alleged to be a Home Rule Bill, was on the Statute Book, and would be law in the immediate future, that question was settled once and for all (cheers). The question of religion was a matter for each individual's conscience, and in a great many cases was the outcome of birth or residence in a certain geographical area. Claiming for ourselves liberty of conscience, liberty to worship, we shall see to it

### THAT EVERY OTHER INDIVIDUAL ENJOYS THE SAME RIGHT.

Intolerance has been the curse of our country. It is for us to preach the gospel of toleration and comradeship for all women and men. The day has arrived for us of the Irish working class to-

reconsider our position. Whatever other classes in Ireland might do, we must march forward to the complete conquest of Ireland, not as representing sections, sects or parties, but as representative of the organised working class as a whole (cheers). There must be freedom for all to live, to think, to worship (cheers). No book, no avenue must be closed (applause). By God's help and the intelligent use of their own strong right arms they could accomplish great things. The Irish working class were now rising from their knees and attaining full stature. The

NEW IRISH LABOUR PARTY HAD COME OF AGE,

entered into its inheritance, and would stand erect upon its feet from this day forward (loud cheers). Looking back over the immediate past—more particularly the long months of 1913 and the early months of 1914—we saw there the attempt of an organised, unscrupulous capitalist class composed of men of different political parties and holding different sectarian views who had combined together for the purpose of destroying organised labour in Ireland. The lock-out in 1913 was a deliberate atten pt to starve them into submission, and met with well-deserved failure. The workers

EMERGED FROM THE STRUGGLE PURIFIED AND STRENGTHENED,

with a fierce determination and a fixed purpose. The employers' attitude was a direct attack upon the essential principles of trades unionism (applause). The outcome of the attack had been the initiating of a new principle of solidarity inside the unions, and for the first time in the history of the world of labour the beautiful and more human principle had received universal recognition, viz.,

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS THE CONCERN OF ALL"

(cheers). That motto would be emblazoned on the banner of labour the world over in the future. We have established a great human principle. Once again the Dublin workers stood as pioneers in the upward and onward march of Labour (applause). The men and women engaged in the struggle had shown magnificent courage, loyalty, and endurance. The history of their bitter sufferings and fortitude had rung like a clarion call throughout all the countries of the world (loud applause). In this morning's papers I read with pain and disquietude the report of the utterances of an eminent churchman-a most learned man-a man who claims to be a great educationalist and Christian-who had been speaking foolish words on the industrial question. He would find it necessary to go back to school and learn the A.B.C. of economics. This learned gentleman said unthinkingly (we will charitably suppose) that capital must be supplied by the employers-meaning by that the present controllers of capital. That statement had only to be made to prove his absurdity.

ALL CAPITAL IS SUPPLIED BY THE WORKING CLASS;

but to our undoing and to our shame it was controlled by the capitalist class (applause). A statement such as this churchman

made should open the eyes of the working class to the want of knowledge of men who claim to be guides and leaders. And as much as I respect the Church to which I belong and the views of those who are interpreters of the dogmas of that Church, and as much as I respect the opinions of members of any and every church, I make this claim—That as long as the working class allow any churchman to abuse his trust and interfere in our affairs in the industrial world so long would they have to submit to hunger, privation, and wage-slavery (hear, hear). In matters spiritual they would obey them, but on the economic and industrial field they would be guided by knowledge gained by long and hard servitude (applause). I submit that the working class have as much right as any section or class in the community

#### TO ENJOY ALL THE ADVANTAGES

of science, art and literature. No field of knowledge, no outlook in life, and no book should be closed against the workers. They should demand their share in the effulgence of life and all that was created for the enjoyment of mankind. And here do I appeal to those who cannot see eye to eye with us—who feel they cannot come all the way—to come with us as far as their knowledge will permit. Come at least to the bottom of the boreen, and then if we must part, the pioneers will continue on and up the mountain

# TO MEET THE DAWNING OF THE NEW TO-MORROW

(loud cheers). The working class must be free, not only economically, but intellectually. Speaking to a priest some time ago he said, "I agree with some of your views and believe that improvement and alteration is necessary in the world; but," said he, "we are determined to build a wall round Ireland and keep out the advanced ideas of Western Europe." I replied, "as much as I respect your views, Father, there is no power on earth can build a wall to keep out thought" (cheers). The men in this movement are determined to enjoy the fulness of life and of the knowledge and power that the Creator ordained them for. I desire to bring you back for the moment, and would speak with you on one or two points of the struggle in Dublin last year. We saw too plainly then that

#### SECTIONALISM CARRIED WITH IT DEFEAT

amongst the working class (applause). We had thirty-seven unions engaged in the struggle, each acting upon its own line of defence and attack and according to its own methods. Those who were engaged had shown magnificent courage—women and men, aye, and little children—had proven their heroism. Hunger, the gaol, and death itself did not deter them. Let us not forget our comrades, Brady, Nolan, and Byrne, who were murdered in the streets of this city by the hired hooligans of the capitalist class—the police. We found that no political party, no church, made a protest against the abuse of the laws by the capitalist class (hear, hear).

During that period it was shown clearly then that there was

NEITHER UNIONIST NOR NATIONALIST AMONGST THE EMPLOYING CLASS:

and but two camps-employers and workers. We found no Redmondites, Carsonites, or O'Brienites then. The enemy were all employers, and every weapon they could wield-political, social and administrative—they used unsparingly. Let us not talk of wooden guns or tin guns. What the working class wanted was the gun of intelligence. Let "solidarity" be the watchword, and a few years will broaden out the liberties curtailed by the most unscrupulous and most vindictive capitalist class that any country was ever cursed with (hear, hear). Police, politicians, the Press, and the judges on the bench were simply the tools of the employing class. No city in the world had a more useless or vicious capitalist class than that of Dublin. Think of the treatment meted out to the soldiers in the industrial army by judges appointed for their political views (hear, hear). One of these judges gave two years' hard labour to our comrade, Tom Daly, for a common assault on a scab; and the same judge in the same court gave a degenerate who ruined a child of seven years old a sentence of three months. That was the class war they had to submit to. The foul, putrid Press who told of the alleged outrageous attack by Daly published not a word about the foul creature who

#### RUINED A BEAUTIFUL FLOWER OF WOMANHOOD

in this Christian city ("shame"). Condemnation and calumny had been poured out upon the heads of the leaders of the working class. I, too, received more than my share. The agitator had been denounced by Press and pulpit, but thank God, the agitator was the salt of the earth (cheers). The employers claim a victory, but the employers did not beat back organised labour in this city. I admit we had to retreat to our base, but that was owing to the treachery of leaders in affiliated unions and betraval in our own ranks (hear, hear). Two of the most influential unions who had undertaken to see the struggle through deliberately sold the pass, made arrangements behind their comrades' backs with the employers, and ordered their members to take other men's jobs ("shame"). Two unions were guilty of this foul treachery, one of which was represented at the Congress, the other was ashamed to face the music. I will mention no names, in the interest of unity, but we must see to it that such happenings shall never take place in the future (hear, hear). One union is the only way out-one union for all industry. One might say when they hear this suggestion that it is the term of a madman-that it is Larkin again. It is, however, the only sound, logical method and the only way that makes for success.

THE EMPLOYERS KNEW NO SECTIONALISM.

The employers gave us the title of "the working class." Let us be proud of the term (applause). Let us have, then, the one union,

and not, as now, 1,100 separate unions each acting upon its own. When one union was locked out or on strike other unions or sections were either apa hetic or scabbed on those in dispute. A stop must be put to this organised blacklegging (cheers). We saw, too, the workers in Belfast, who in 1907 put up one of the greatest industrial fights in history, owing to the fact that sectarian bigotry had been roused to such a pitch by the organised capitalistic class in that great city, that they who appealed for help to Dublin and other cities in 1907, with a few honourable exceptions, had refused to send ammunition to Dublin during the late struggle. These

#### CURSED LINES OF SECTARIAN AND POLITICAL DEMARCATION

must be wiped away. They must hunt the fomentors of such bigotry and intolerance out of the Trade Union Movement. No employer ever asked a man whether he was a Nationalist or a Catholic, Unionist or Protestant. If a worker entered Queen's Island shipbuilding yard and stated that he would not work with an Orange lathe, a Protestant pneumatic rivetter, or a Catholic anvil (laughter) he would be fired out at once. They must drop these party distinctions (hear, hear). One union is the way out. That union should embrace all departments of industry-engineers, shipbuilders, distributive trades and transport-each of these sections looking particularly after its own work, but all of them bound up together and working for the betterment of all men and women (applause). Those who would not assist in this one-union movement were on the side of the capitalist; they must either be with us or against us. We have no time to argue further with these men and women who stand for sectionalism; we must simply march over them to the conquest and control of industry and our own destiny. Another side of their lives which had been too long neglected-a line of advance which had not been taken seriously into consideration-the safest line of advance I speak of now-viz...

#### THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

(applause). In this city, at the present moment, the Annual Congress of the British Co-operative Movement is being held. It is attended by women and men from all parts of the earth. It would be news to many to know that we here in Ireland had been pioneers in co-operation long before the Rochdale pioneers. There had been a communistic colony down at Usher's Quay, but it was crushed out by jealous and restrictive laws. Like every good thing Ireland ever started.

## ENGLAND MADE IT ITS BUSINESS TO PUT A STOP TO IT.

The working class of Ireland would be compelled to understand the worth of co-operation. Through its agents we could supply all that life needs by themselves and for themselves (applause). It needed no further argument to favour it. Life itself was

co-operation in its truest sense. Man himself was a social animal and lived by co-operation. We had a great opportunity this week to see in the Co-operative Exhibition in the Rotunda what could be done by co-operative methods. The hard-headed Northerner had apppreciated the benefits of co-operation (hear, hear). The Northern missed some of the advantages of the Southern atmosphere in which man lives for a day like a flower of the field. That was a beautiful and inspiring thing; yet the flowers closed up at night to preserve the dew again for the appearance of the morrow's sun. They could start right away to develop Co-operation in the shop and in the home, and eventually they would have no need for an employer as he is to-day; but they themselves would become their own employers: produce, distribute, and consume their own products; and then in that day they would be able to give the employers well-deserved punishment. They would give him a job and he would have to work for his living (laughter and applause). Thanks to the last two Congresses and the resolutions therein carried, to-day we see

#### THE BIRTH OF AN IRISH LABOUR PARTY

in which there would be no room for the old lines of cleavage; no sectional politics, no disagreements, no misunderstandings; cemented by their common needs, a working-class party, that would concern themselves with seeing to it that sufficient food, clothing, and shelter were enjoyed by women, men, and children (cheers). We saw, too, during the last few months that the law-breakers in Ulster were allowed to break every law in the land, and, on the other hand, when Labour held a constitutional meeting,

# THE LEADERS WERE ARRESTED

and cast into prison. That should be a lesson to the workers (hear, hear). The question of Redmondites, O'Brienites, or Carsonites should be a thing of the foolish past. We must unite as Labourites in the three-leaved shamrock of Fellowship; have Faith in our Cause, Hope of its realisation, and Charity to all men (applause). I have deliberately refrained from writing anything in the shape of an address to this Congress, believing the spoken word coming from the heart is of more value than the written word; and all that I have said I have put my soul into. I recall that only a short time ago I was expelled by those who were opposed to the newer movement; expelled by methods which were a disgrace to the Trade Union Movement (hear, hear). As you all know, I have been in prison on a charge such as no man of my class would be guilty of. I was released, thanks to the efforts of my friends in the Trade Union Movement. I had the honour to sit in this Council Chamber as a member of the City Corporation. My opponents took good care to have me expelled. All of these things strengthened the organisation which I have

the honour to be a member of. Some day I hope that I will have the pleasure of returning as an administrator to this Corporation. However, eight good comrades of mine sit here as members, led by our good friend, Councillor O'Carroll, of the Bricklayers' Society. Dublin Labour members now have a strong voice in the administratration of local affairs. In Ulster we have our comrade, James Connolly, fighting against forces that few realise the strength of (hear, hear). We undertake the transport work of Sligo port, and are active in other towns and cities. Throughout this country we have made a name we need never be ashamed of. I hope we will see the day when we will take full advantage of our opportunities, cry "finis" to our differences, and obliterate all jealousies from our ranks. Be truly Irish of the Irish. Give ear to all men who do worthy work (applause). Ireland must no longer

## BE NIOBE BUT MERCURY

amongst the Nations. 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. On that day we will put upon our escutcheon a mark worthy of the trust reposed upon us twenty-one years ago. We are entering upon a new era to do work worthy of the cause to which we are attached (hear, hear). Cathlin ni Houlihan calls upon us to abolish old jealousies, old intolerances that she may sit enthroned in the midst of the Western Sea (applause). I claim we have an opportunity given us of achieving much in the future in our beloved country, towork and live for, and if needs be die, to win back, in the words of Erin's greatest living poet, for Cathlin ni Houlihan her four beautiful fields (loud and prolonged cheering).

Mr. Michael Egan (Cork) moved "That the best thanks of the Congress be accorded to Mr. Larkin for his Presidential Address." He said the congratulations of the workers of Ireland were due to Mr. Larkin. It was the first time on record such an address was unwritten, and there was not another man who would have attempted it.

Mr. Rimmer seconded. He had attended a few Congresses, both in England and Ireland, and that was the most remarkable address he had ever heard; it came from a remarkable man. It struck the right keynote for their proceedings and gave the right lead. They often regretted the absence of idealism in the Labour and Trade Union Movement; he hoped this day would be the birth of better things in Ireland and that a new effort would be made to

draw the lines closer.

Mr. Johnson, Vice-Chairman, said the address would mark the Congress as historic. They had all been inspired by the idealistic fervour and the sound common sense combined of the address. He then put the vote of thanks, which was carried by acclamation.

The Chairman said the best thanks was to get on with the work, and called on the Congress to begin the discussion of the Parliamentary Committee's Report. Mr. T. Murphy having formally moved, and 'Mr. Rimmer seconded, the adoption of the Report, the Congress proceeded to discuss it section by section.

The adoption of the first 14 pages, dealing with Conference with the Labour Party, was moved by Mr. O'Brien.

On page 4, paragraph 2, Mr. Connolly called attention to Mr. Henderson's statement as a sample of the general attitude of the Labour Party in dealing with Irish questions. In conjunction with this he called attention to Mr. Barnes' statement that the Labour Party on the Home Rule Bill would "take their cue" from the Home Rule Party in the House of Commons, not from the organised Labour Movement in Ireland. This did not square with Mr. Henderson's assurance. The Congress should put on record its objection to the manner in which the Labour Party consistently flouted every expression of opinion from organised labour in Ireland, if it was opposed by the Home Rule Party in the House of Commons. If they were going to have Home Rule-and he was not so sanguine as the Chairman-Labour representation would be crippled by the want of payment of members and by the swamping of borough representation in an overwhelming rural vote. The interests of the Irish working class had been systematically ignored; so also on the questions of Feeding of School Children, Medical Benefits, and Ulster. They were treated as outlaws. Mr. Henderson's statement should be noted and the Committee's attitude of protest endorsed.

Mr. Johnson invited the opinion of the Congress on the attitude taken up by the Parliamentary Committee with regard to the formation of a separate Labour Party in Ireland. The representatives of the British Labour Party at these conferences had urged the formation of a branch of the Labour Party in Ireland as in Scotland. The Parliamentary Committee held that the Irish Labour Party should not form an organic part of the British Labour Party, but a separate organism; that it should work in fraternal friendship with the British Labour Party, but should not form a section or branch of it.

The Chairman said the feeling of the English Party appeared to be that we should be a sort of footstool. The Irish Labour movement was big enough to shoulder its own responsibilities; there must be a new government industrially as well as politically. Without using any hard words, he might say one did not look for inspiration to the Labour members. They had flouted Irish working-class opinion with regard to electoral areas. With regard to the feeding of school children, Mr. P. J. Brady had brought in a Bill without consulting or informing the Irish workers; it was the Labour Party they had asked to bring in the Bill to give Irish children the same advantages as in England. They would work in harmony with the great world-movement of Labour but they would not kow-tow to apyone; they would work with them and

show them new lines of advance. The Labour Party's action in ignoring Irish claims had been brought home to them in the Engineers' Society. He had told all his friends to vote against the political levy and against the "Daily Citizen" levy.

Mr. H. T. Whitley said the Chairman was inconsistent. He had advocated one Union, but apparently wanted three or four Labour Parties. Would it not be better to have one Labour Party for the four countries under one Executive? Solidarity was wanted on the part of the leaders as well as the workers. They in Belfast found fault with the Labour Party for not heeding the workers of Ulster; and no one would say the Labour Party was all that it should be, but it was what the workers of Ireland had made it.

Mr. John Mercer said the best way to influence the English Labour Party would have been to send members to it, as they could have done if Cork and Limerick and Waterford and Dublin had done their duty; but the three southern provinces had never fought a labour fight. Belfast had almost succeeded where the others never tried. Where could Barnes and the Labour Party look to for the voice of the Irish working class? Only deputations and correspondence.

Mr. Hill said Mr. Whitley's proposal was ruled out by the fact that you couldn't have one Labour Party in two Parliaments. If Mr. Whitley had been present at the conferences he would know that the only possible solution was that reached at the last two Congresses, namely, a separate Irish Labour Party. The attitude of the representatives of the British Labour Party showed that they could not preserve their self-respect or get their business done in their own way if they had any organic connection with that Party. All the Scottish candidates had to be approved by the Labour Party Executive, that is, by Mr. Henderson and his colleagues. It was suggested that this right of vote was merely a matter of form. If so it should not be there at all; it must be for use. They in Ireland could not give that right of vote to any body outside Ireland. They must have a separate Labour Party, working in comradeship and fraternity with Labour everywhere.

#### STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE REPORT.

Mr. John Farren (Chairman) presented the first report of the Standing Orders Committee: "That Resolutions 1 and 1B on the Agenda be grouped. That the Congress adjourn from 1 p.m. to 2.30 p.m. that day, and sit from 2.30 to 5 p.m."

Mr. Mercer moved as an amendment; "That Congress adjourn from 1 p.m. till 9.30 next morning."

Mr. O'Brien and Mr. A: Murphy, P.L.G., protested that this amendment could not be accepted, as contrary to the Standing Orders.

The Chairman allowed the amendment, but spoke against it, hoping the Congress would agree to work till five.

The Amendment was lost, only three voting for it. The Standing Order Committee recommendations, amended by the substituting of 2 for 2.30 p.m., were then adopted.

The Chairman moved a vote of condolence with the relatives of those who had suffered in the "Empress of Ireland" disaster and the Yorkshire Colliery Disaster. This was seconded by Mr. J. P. Dunne, and adopted in silence.

Mr. D. R. Campbell, continuing discussion on Parliamentary Committee's Report, said the formation of a separate Irish Labour Party had been decided on two years ago, and last year the only question that remained was as to its constitution. The British Labour Party saw that the Irish Labour Party could not be affiliated because it was to have a different constitution, being composed only of trade union bodies, whereas the British Labour Party admitted Socialist and Co-operative bodies to affiliation. The critical point was the claim of the Irish Labour Party to the Irish portion of the Parliamentary levy raised by amalgamated societies.

Mr. Whitley said that in his union they already retained 4d. of

the 1d. for local and Municipal purposes.

The Chairman said they should retain the penny.

The Congress adjourned.

On resuming at 2 p.m. the discussion on the Parliamentary Committee's Report was continued.

Mr. Campbell said the Labour Party was most impressed by the demand for the money raised in Ireland. They thought this a "tall order." It was pointed out to them that the members of amalgamated unions resident in Ireland did not wish to pay for English representatives only. The Labour Party representatives tried at first to rebut the charge of ignoring Irish labour, but finally admitted that "there were faults on both sides." Mr. Clynes said it was for want of proper channels of communication; and they promised, if kept posted as to the views of Irish labour, that they would put that view. But Mr. Barnes' statement, referred to by Mr. Connolly, directly contradicted this. The Labour Party had come to look on the Irish Parliamentary Party as the representatives of democracy and the exponents of the wishes of this country. They themselves were partly to blame; yet the Belfast Trades Council had always been affiliated to the Labour Party and represented at its Congresses; so the plea of complete ignorance was not justified. Whatever view might be taken as to the constitution of the Irish Labour Party-whether it was to be purely a Trade Union body or to include Socialist bodies-the English Labour Party would have to realise that they in Ireland intended to control it entirely, to have no masters, and to please themselves as to candidates.

Mr. Drummond said the Irish Trades Union Congress had taken a wise and judicious step in confining the new Irish Labour Party to trade union bodies only, and for two reasons. In Great Britain the Labour Party was neither Socialist nor Labour, neither milk nor water. Its lack of success was due to its lack of a declaration of principles, either Trade Union or Socialist. Ulster was not very enthusiastic about Socialism; neither was the rest of Ireland; therefore, in adopting a purely Trade Union basis, a step was being taken to bring them both together. Socialism would have made much greater advance had it been kept separate from Trade Unionism.

The Chairman asked Mr. Drummond to keep to the point.

Mr. Drummond said he was criticising the Labour Party from his own point of view. A second advantage of a purely Trade Union organisation was that it would prevent bounders on the hop from coming in as M.P.'s; the men selected would have to have the confidence of their unions for years; he did not believe in reputations made in five minutes. It would be a wise step if the resolutions of this Congress were sent by the Secretary to the Trades Congress of Great Britain, then they would be dealt with, and the Labour Party would no longer be able to ignore them.

The Chairman said he hoped advantage would be taken of Mr. Drummond's suggestion.

There being no further discussion relative to the conferences with the Labour Party, pages 1 to 14 of the Parliamentary Committee's Report were adopted, and the Congress proceeded to consider pages 14, 15, "Interview with Mr. John Redmond." This was adopted without discussion, the Chairman saying the Irish Party had failed to carry out any of their promises. The portion dealing with the Interview with Mr. Birrell (pp. 15-16) was also adopted without discussion.

On pp. 16-20 (Correspondence with reference to Government of Ireland Bill and O'Connell Street prosecutions),

Mr. Campbell said Mr. Birrell's alleged reason for bringing the prosecution, namely, to have a case stated and establish the right of the Government to the thoroughfare, was not the real one, as it was only when the defendants' solicitor applied that the magistrate said he would state a case. The prosecution was really brought to prevent the workers from using that thoroughfare, which was used as a meeting place by all other classes of the community. At first they were warned the meeting was "illegal"; and when these warnings had no effect, a State trial was brought.

Mr. Partridge pointed out that the police, who had allowed previous large demonstrations to be held there without objection, were acting as the willing implements of the employers. One officer was prominent whom he blamed for all that had taken place in Dublin. He himself was not billed as a speaker, but the police

came to him and warned him not to go to the meeting, and that was an invitation he couldn't resist. He thought the police wanted to get particular men into their net; prosecutions were taken only against those in the first waggonette at the meeting, though both waggonettes were causing an obstruction. The prosecutions had fallen through, the fines had not been paid, and never would be paid.

This portion of the Report was adopted. Before proceeding to what the Chairman described as the most important matter on the Agenda—the Constitution of the Irish Labour Party—a further Report of the Standing Orders Committee, recommending the grouping of resolutions 5 and 8, and of resolutions 6 and 7 on the Agenda was presented and adopted.

On paragraph (1) Title of the Draft Constitution being taken up,

Mr. Gordon said they ought to bring in all progressive forces in Ireland. They had Socialist bodies in Ireland; they would be able to do good work once the Home Rule question was settled; if they were not inside the Labour Party, they might start a Party of their own outside it. The title should be wide enough to include Socialist and Co-operative and all other progressive bodies.

Mr. Walsh moved to delete the words "Trades Union Congress and," so that the title would read "The Irish Labour Party."

Mr. Smith (Cork) seconded.

Mr. A. Murphy asked what reason was there for departing from the carefully considered recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee.

Mr. Walsh said they should not confine the Party to narrow limits.

Mr. A. Murphy said the important question was, who were to control the new Party in the event of its establishment—the Parliamentary Committee or the men in the House of Commons?

Mr. Drummond suggested that the words "Union Congress" should be left out, so that the title might read: "Irish Trades and Labour Party."

Mr. Connolly supported the original wording. They had to make allowances for people who did not agree with them. There was a danger of warning off people who were not prepared to accept political action as the Congress saw it. There was also a danger that if the words "Trades Union Congress" were dropped secessionist or other bodies might organise a Trade Union Congress of their own as a rival body. There was already a move on foot to get "trade unions," on sectarian or other grounds, to tear up the Trade Union movement; they must not play into the hands of these people. Let them keep both names, and let the Trade Union Congress run as such, and the Labour Party run as such. Let them always keep a place for those who were not as far advanced as themselves, but whose interests would bring them into line.

The amendment was beaten, as was a further amendment moved by Mr. Drummond and seconded by Mr. McClure, to omit the words "Union Congress." The Title clause was then adopted unamended.

Clause (2), Objects, was adopted without discussion, on the motion of Mr. Thomas Clarke, seconded by Mr. Breslan.

On Clause (3), Affiliation,

Mr. Mercer moved to add the words "co-operative societies and branches of the I.L.P."

The Chairman asked did he mean the English or Irish I.L.P.

Mr. Mercer said any branch of the I.L.P. in Ireland. They were on the eve of a new era in Ireland. The Trade Union and Socialist movements were twin movements, and should make them one working unit in the Irish Labour Party. There were men who could not join Trade Unions or Trade Councils; and they should draw their constitution wide enough to admit all who wished to join.

Mr. Gordon seconded, but said he would prefer the wording "Socialist organisation"; they had two in Belfast. Why should they keep out any party? The Labour party in Great Britain had been blamed for slowness and indifference; this was because it was run by the Trade Union Party. If they were going to be only a Trade Union Party, they might as well be Nationalist or Unionist. They wanted something to force them forward, and that the Socialist bodies only could give, for they were the progressive people. If they were kept outside, the Labour Party would do no good. Let them start right. The co-operative societies were not very progressive; they were under the control of the Tory Party in Belfast; but they should go into them and make them progressive.

Mr. McBride said they should not try to do too much.

Mr. Rimmer called attention to the fact that they were first a Trade Union Congress. Many Socialists and Co-operators were not Trades Unionists; and these non-unionists might be elected as delegates; they could not pick and choose. He called attention to Standing Order 2.

The Chairman said a man who was not a Trade Unionist was not a Socialist.

Mr. A. Murphy said the matter required to be deeply thought out and should be referred back to the Parliamentary Committee.

Mr. Johnson said that it had been very thoroughly considered by the Parliamentary Committee, and the draft was the conclusion they came to. This was not a detail; it was vital. He had some sympathy with those who desired to follow the English lines; but in view of the circumstances of Ireland, he thought it better not, for the beginning, at any rate. It was desirable simply to extend

the functions of the Trades Union Congress to include political action. If they went beyond this, there might be an influx of Socialist bodies; there were two or three in Ireland. If they admitted co-operatives, they must include the farmers' co-operatives; they might be swamped by combinations of farmers under the name of co-operative societies. The true function of the Socialist bodies was propagandist merely-to educate, not to form a political party. Therefore, the Parliamentary Committee had decided after consideration to confine the Irish Labour Party to delegates from trade unions and trades councils. But if any trades council liked to open its doors to the local Labour Party it could do so, and could send its members as representatives to Congress; if a man had thus proved his worth, he would be eligible; but they would prevent an influx of men who might wish to lead and capture them. The Irish Labour Party should be based on the industrial working class in its organised capacity. Therefore he supported the present wording of the clause.

At this point the Standing Orders were suspended to enable Mr. Ben Purse, of the National League of the Blind, to address the Congress.

Mr. Purse said the blind were profoundly dissatisfied with the present system of voluntary charity, which presupposed that the sightless were to be for all time the recipients of this promiscuous form of aid, and undermined independence. Every man should justify his existence by the exercise of his hands and brains, and blindness should not preclude him from doing a necessary and useful share of the world's work (hear, hear). The limit of the resources of the voluntary agencies had been reached; they provided for 2,310 blind people, and there were 26,000 in the country. The system was wasteful and the funds were not reaching the people for whom they were intended (applause). The State should consolidate the funds and appropriate them for the aged and infirm blind poor. For the physically and mentally fit the State and Municipalities should provide work. There was now no guarantee that the funds were not being utilised for undesirables. In the administration of the charities all sorts of disabilities were attached which shut out those most in need of aid; many excluded such categories as "son of a common labouring man," "son of a common street vendor," "son of a common artisan." Charity was good for charity organisations; fifty distinct organisations had been called into existence to administer the funds, and the money was useful to keep them going. The case for State administration was proven (hear, hear). The Departmental Committee on the Social and Industrial Conditions of the Blind (of which he was a member) had only a very small representation of the blind on it, and was virtually controlled by people associated with what was called the "Charity Organisation Society" and to the institutions for the blind. But the data at their disposal would compel the State to take steps (applause). The social and industrial condition of the

blind in every large centre of industry was a disgrace to commonsense and humanity. They wanted to ensure that no sightless man or woman should be obliged to stand in the streets making an exhibition of their affliction in order to live. Sir J. D. Rees, the apologist for every autocracy, had said it was no disgrace for a blind person to beg. It might be good enough for him, as he had been begging all his life at the other end of the scale with his Civil Service pension and £400 Parliamentary grant, but it was not good enough for the blind, and their intelligence revolted against this humiliating condition of life (loud applause).

The Chairman said he wished those who had sight had as much insight as Mr. Purse; it was they who had been blind (hear, hear). If ever a system was condemned, the social system stood condemned to-day by the words of Mr. Purse. All the churchmen in the

world could not answer him (hear, hear).

#### STATE AID FOR THE BLIND.

Mr. MacPartlin moved :-

"That this Trades Congress, fully realising the great necessity which exists for improving the unhappy condition of our sightless brethren, call on the Government to give facilities for the introduction and passing into law of a Bill, with amongst other objects, the procuring of a living wage, at the handicrafts, a knowledge of which they have acquired, and which would enable them to maintain themselves in decency and comfort. And we call on the Irish Representatives to give their strenuous and undivided support to such a measure. That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Chief Secretary, and the Labour and Irish Parties."

He said there were nearly 30,000 blind, 10,000 of them were paupers, and less than 3,000 were employed. The charitable institutions were a failure; the money was devoted to the upkeep of officials who might be engaged in more useful work. The pressure of the Labour bodies had secured for the blind some representation on the Departmental Committee; but he had no belief in Commissions; they were meant to shelve the question (hear, hear). If the organised workers supported the blind, the Government could be forced to introduce a Bill to provide for them. Those who were young and able-bodied should be properly cared for and trained to perform the duties of life. Their spirit was much better and more determined than those of us who have sight (applause).

Mr. Thomas Lawlor seconded the resolution. He said they were all deeply touched by Mr. Purse's speech. He hoped it would be an inspiration to some of them who were mentally blind to see

their own conditions and mend them (applause).

The resolution was carried unanimously, and the discussion of the Draft Constitution of the Irish Labour Party (Clause 3) was resumed. Mr. Lumley said many co-operative societies were controlled by dividend-hunters who were nothing better than capitalists. If they admitted societies, they could not refuse any elected delegate. That would let in employers of labour, and it was no place for them (hear, hear).

Mr. O'Lehane said that if Co-operative and Socialist bodies were to be admitted they could not keep out other labour organisations; and some organisations of agricultural labourers might come in as a political element. The question had been very fully debated by the Parliamentary Committee, and they decided that, taking all the circumstances into consideration it would be inadvisable at the moment (hear, hear).

Mr. Campbell, reminded the Congress that a resolution to call a conference of various bodies to form a Labour Party was defeated, and subsequently the P.C. was instructed to draft a constitution exclusively confined to those eligible for Congress. It would be courting disaster to broaden the base. He dreaded frontal or flank attacks from farmers' agricultural societies or "Land and Labour" associations. Until the co-operative societies were further permeated with the real co-operative spirit, it would be disastrous to admit them. There were some people in the socialist and co-operative movements who had a hereditary opposition to Trade Unionism. He regretted to have to counsel caution; he had rather it were otherwise; but till the other organisations made a forward move, and they had sufficient safeguards against trade unionism being overshadowed, it would be disastrous (applause).

Councillor McCarron said that in Derry the co-operators were opposed to the workers. They were dividend-makers, and one has to be careful how one touches them (hear, hear).

Councillor T. Lawlor said that at present co-operators in Ireland were mainly middle-class and employers. If the co-operative societies were allowed to affiliate it would offer an opening for their enemies, the politicians, to enter and capture the movement under the cloak of co-operation. The time was not ripe for broadening out (hear, hear).

Mr. Whitley moved, Mr. A. Murphy, P.L.G., seconded, and it was carried unanimously "that the question be now put."

The Chairman said that any co-operator or Socialist could join the Trade Union movement; there was no man or woman who could not be in a trade union if they wished. The workers could control the co-operative movement if they wished. The co-operators brought McGuffin, a box-maker and sweater from Belfast, to welcome their Congress; and the only co-operative shop selling Jacob's and the Savoy goods was in Dublin. They were not voting against Socialism, but that propaganda should go on outside the movement.

On a division being taken, 6 voted for Mr. Mercer's amendment and 75 for the original wording of the clause, which was accordingly retained.

Mr. Gordon desired to moved a further amendment, to add the words "Socialist bodies" only, excluding co-operative societies.

Mr. Walsh moved that the Congress proceed to the next business, which was carried, and Clause 3 adopted as it stood.

Clause 4—" Finance"—was agreed to without discussion.

Clause 5 was agreed to without discussion, Mr. Johnson calling the attention of Congress to the change of title from "Parliamentary Committee" to "National Executive."

Clause 6 was agreed to without discussion.

On Clause 7, Mr. Drummond proposed to add the words "oftener if necessary" with regard to the meetings of the Sub-Committee. The Chairman said the Sub-Committee sometimes met twice a week; the phrase "at least once a month" was merely a minimum.

Mr. Drummond expressed the fear that there might some time be a reactionary committee.

The Chairman said there never would be again in Ireland.

The Clause was adopted without alteration.

On Clause 8-" Candidates,"

Mr. McCarron, T.C., asked were the Executive to have power to override the wishes of local workers with regard to candidates.

The Chairman said they must have confidence in the Executive. If it did wrong let it be dealt with.

Councillor McCarron said the Executive was mainly drawn from two towns, Dublin and Belfast. The country districts had no chance. It was dangerous to leave too much power to eight or ten men. If the Chairman, or the speaker himself, were selected as a candidate, opposition to them might be made for personal reasons, and their candidatures vetoed. They should not put a tyrannous power into the hands of the Executive, or coerce the constituencies to accept men endorsed by it.

Mr. Houston (Belfast Trades Council) said this discussion was unnecessary. No Executive could reject a candidate without giving a reason.

The Chairman said a new spirit and new ideas were abroad, and he did not think Mr. McCarron need fear any use of tyranny by the Executive. Nobody had better abilities than Mr. McCarron, and he was sure the Executive would endorse him for Derry. Of course the power of vote might be abused; it had been in the English Labour Party. But they must take it that their Executive was going to be honest.

Mr. O'Flanagan suggested the insertion in sub-section 2 of the words "and endorsed" after "selected."

The Chairman said it was the same thing.

Mr. Whitley said it was not. If the Belfast Trades Council nominated an individual they could not proceed until he was endorsed. He corrected Mr. McCarron's statement re the Parliamentary Committee; it was not altogether from Dublin and Belfast. There was only one Belfast man on it (a voice "And two from Cork").

Mr. Johnson asked how could they have a central Executive without giving it some say as to the candidates who vere to be run under the name of that Executive? The "selection" mentioned in sub-section 3, which was not to take place until the Executive had been consulted, should be the "final selection." To say that, because there was a possibility of overriding local wishes, therefore no such power should exist, was to say that that sort of organisation was impossible in trade unionism. How then could they give a National Executive any authority in a strike? (hear, hear).

Mr. McCarron suggested that sub-section 1 should be amended by taking away from the Executive the right to nominate a candidate so as to reserve his right to the affiliated bodies.

The Chairman said they abrogated all the functions of the Executive if they took away initiative.

Mr. Whitley moved the re-arrangement of sub-sections 2 and 3 so as to place in proper order the various steps in the selection of a candidate.

Mr. Lumley suggested a further alteration of "should" to "shall," as more specifically imperative, in sub-section 3.

The re-drafted sub-sections were then put to the Congress in the following form, and adopted unanimously:—

- A candidate for Parliament must be nominated by the National Executive or by one or more of the Affiliated Bodies.
- (2) Before any action towards the selection of a candidate is taken, the National Executive shall in the first instance be consulted. A candidate must be selected at a Conference convened by the local Trades Council. Where no Trades Council exists, the National Executive shall arrange to have a Conference convened. And no candidature can be promoted until endorsed by the National Executive.

Sub-section 4 now became sub-section 3, and was adopted without discussion. This completed the consideration of the Draft Constitution,

Mr. Drummond said two points had been overlooked. First, the qualification of the candidates, whether they must be members of trade unions or not; secondly, the independence of the party and its candidates. He desired to move an additional clause covering these points. First, that the candidate should be a member of a trade union.

The Chairman, intervening, said they couldn't help being members of trade unions. No man or woman—and he hoped they would have women in the new Parliament—could be appointed who was not

Mr. Drummond said they might get a seat, and then drop the union. His resolution would lay it down that they must remain members of their unions. Steps should also be taken to mark out an independent line for the Party.

The Chairman said it was unnecessary; they were free and independent from this hour. Let it be understood that the new Party went forth as apostles.

Mr. Drummond said there should be a pledge.

The Chairman said it would be sufficient if the man elected took a pledge to observe the constitution of the Party.

Mr. Johnson said the Chairman was overriding speakers too severely. Mr. Drummond's suggestions were deserving of consideration. He hoped Mr. Drummond would make a definite suggestion with regard to safeguards for candidates.

The Chairman said Mr. Drummond had not been closured, but he was not going to allow time to be taken up with frivolous arguments; let Mr. Drummond put his proposal in writing.

Mr. O'Flanagan thought it should be left to the National Executive to deal with candidates.

Councillor McCarron said that any men elected as a Labour Party would surely be true to the Party without statement or pledge. It was not right to suggest in advance that they would be traitors.

The Chairman said something ought to be laid down with regard to status—that a candidate must be a fully-paid member of a union and must agree to work with the Party.

Mr. Gordon said they must, like the Labour Party in England, prevent their candidates and members from appearing on the platforms of other parties.

The Chairman said the clause would cover that. None of their men in Dublin dare go on any other platform.

The Standing Orders Committee now presented a further report, recommending that deputations from the Irish Builders' Cooperative Society, and from the Co-operative Congress, be received at noon on Tuesday, and allowed ten minutes each; and that a

deputation from the Citizens' Housing League be received at 2.15 on Tuesday, and the Housing Resolution on the Agenda be taken immediately afterwards. The report was agreed to.

Mr. Drummond presented a written draft of his proposed additional clause, but the wording being considered unsatisfactory, it was agreed that the matter be adjourned till the following morning.

The consideration of the Draft Standing Orders was then taken up. Standing Order 1 was agreed to without discussion.

On Standing Order 2, Mr. Longmore raised a question re the proposed fee of £1.

Mr. Daly said the scheme had been circulated five months ago, and only one society had sent in an amendment to it.

Mr. McCarron said no credentials had been sent to individual delegates.

Mr. Daly said that in communicating with the secretaries of societies he had followed the practice usual since he had been secretary.

Mr. Johnson pointed out that the new Standing Order 2 was an exact copy of the old one except in regard to fees.

Standing Order 2 was agreed to without alteration.

On Standing Order 3, some delegates wished to discuss the assessment on amalgamated unions. Mr. Johnson said the delegates were not getting time to grasp the points.

The Chairman said the Standing Order had been agreed to.

Mr. Johnson disputed this. The Congress was not realising the difference between the new and the old Standing Orders.

The Chairman said the Standing Order was passed; if Mr. Johnson was not watching that was his own fault.

Standing Order 4 was agreed to without discussion.

On Standing Order 5, Mr. Rimmer moved:-

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO P.C. DRAFT STANDING ORDERS,

Strike out the first three lines of Standing Orders No. 5 and insert:-

"Mode of voting. Tellers:—The method of voting shall be by card which must be issued to the Delegates by the Secretary of the National Executive Committee on the first day of Congress, and shall be on the basis of one card for every 100 members or fractional part thereof, in accordance with Standing Orders No. 3. Tellers shall be appointed at the opening of Congress, whose decision as to the numbers voting on any matter shall be final, unless challenged. A recount shall only be made when demanded by a majority of Delegates."

He said his was the only organisation which had complied with the Standing Orders and sent in amendments to the Draft Standing Orders for insertionn on the Agenda. It was not democratic if individuals moved amendments at the Congress without having troubled to consult their societies. The method of voting by show of hands gave a society with 500 members more votes than one which paid on six or seven times that number. Small societies could swamp the Congress by spending money on delegates' expenses. The large societies should have a proportionate voice in the management. If a society had 500 members it need only, if the card system were adopted, send one delegate, who could cast five votes. The delegates of a society with 3,000 members would cast 30 votes. The National Union of Railwaymen had already paid more than £12 in affiliation fees to the Labour Party and the Congress. Was it fair that it should have only three votes when, if it chose, it could send 100 delegates?

Mr. Orr seconded the amendment. They ought to begin the new Party on democratic lines. It was undemocratic that small societies should outvote large.

Mr. McBride said societies with small membership were apt to rush in and swamp the Congress.

Mr. O'Lehane said the proposed system was not workable. The Tailors, for example, were represented here as an organisation, and separate branches were also represented. If they adopted the card system, they would have to change their whole basis of representation.

Mr. Johnson said he would like to support the motion if it were confined to any vote necessarily involving financial responsibility. But there was grave risk of duplicating the situation which caused all the trouble in England, where cotton and coal gave all their cards to one man who voted as he wished. It was better to run the risk of a small society wasting money on numerous delegates than to run the risk of large societies sending, not many delegates, but one delegate with large voting powers. He hoped the smaller and perhaps more active societies would not be overrun. The strength of Mr. Rimmer's argument lay on the financial side. Under the new scheme the large societies would pay largely increased fees, and he thought they ought to have proportionate voting power as regards voting money.

Mr. Connol y supported the Standing Order as it stood. They seemed to have forgotten the business and purpose of this gathering. Mr. Rimmer had injected a note of suspicion and hostility into the proceedings, as if the larger societies had something to fear from the smaller ores. If the smaller societies were foolish enough—as Mr. Rimmer would say—or if they had sufficient comradeship and working class patriotism, as he would say—to send large numbers of delegates, the larger societies had it in their own hands to protect themselves by sending many delegates. He had sat at a con-

ference in London on December 9th, and had heard a delegate asking the teller "to put him down for 137,000 votes." To call that "democratic" was playing with terms. Let them not presuppose treachery. He knew many of the smaller societies had a high sense of public spirit and working class solidarity. If they did tend to dominate, he hoped they would retain their power and their aggressive spirit, would send more delegates, and shame the big societies into sending delegates also.

Mr. Houston (Belfast Trades Council) asked how trades councils would be represented under the card system.

At this stage the debate was adjourned till the following morning.

The Chairman, speaking with reference to entertainments, said that never again would they accept contributions from any but the working class. He invited the delegates to tea and a dramatic entertainment at Croydon Park.

The Congress then adjourned till the next morning at 9.30.

# SECOND DAY-TUESDAY, 2nd JUNE, 1914.

Congress opened at 9.40 a.m. The minutes of the previous day's proceedings were read, and, on the motion of Mr. Gordon, seconded by Mr. Hill, confirmed.

Mr. Drummond brought forward a draft of his proposed addition to the Draft Constitution re candidates, in the following form:—Candidates who are selected to contest constituencies shall be members of an affiliated union of the Trade Union Movement, and shall remain members so long as they continue to be candidates or members of public bodies. They shall also give an assurance to the National Executive that they shall not appear on any other Party's platform, or do anything likely to destroy the independent position of the Labour Party." He called attention to the phrase "of the Trade Union Movement," as empowering the selection of candidates from unions not necessarily affiliated to this Congress. They might get some useful men from outside.

Mr. Breen (Rosslare) seconded.

The Chairman suggested that the proposal be remitted to the Executive, who would send it out to all the branches for consideration.

Mr. Drummond declared his readiness to accept this suggestion.

The Chairman said this would mean that they would proceed slowly and surely; the clause would not come into operation for two years after ratification by the next Congress. Mr. A. Murphy said this was a new departure and they had no opportunity of going really deep into the question. It would be unfair to pass a resolution of such importance without referring it to the Executive to consider how far it ought to bind the Trade Union Movement as a whole.

The Chairman suggested as an alternative that they might deal with it on Wednesday morning.

Mr. MacPartlin moved that the matter be referred to the Executive.

Mr. Drummond said if this were done the Executive must be given full power to draft the clause. He was not prepared to wait two years for the decision.

The Chairman said the Executive had no right to deal with such a fundamental matter; It was for the Congress. He suggested that they should deal with it as first business on Wednesday morning, and meantime a copy of the draft should be typed and put in the hands of every member of the Congress.

This was agreed to, and on the Chairman's suggestion Messrs. Hall, Drumond, McCarron and Connolly were added to the committee for the special puropse of preparing the draft for submission to Congress on Wednesday morning.

The discussion on Mr. Rimmer's amendment to Draft Standing Order 5 was then resumed.

Mr. McCarron supported the amendment. According to the present system one society must pay £12 10s. on 3,000 members, another might pay only 3s. 4d. or 10d; there was no equity or justice in giving them equal votes. Why should not the big societies cast big votes, as it had been said "cotton and coal" did? The majority had the greater wisdom. Mr. Connolly had said all the clever men were in the smaller societies; but sometimes there were clever men in the bigger societies, too. Connolly had suggested that the large societies might get powers by sending a large number of delegates. He must have great influence with his society to think such a thing possible. If such a thing were suggested in the speaker's society the members would tear him limb from limb and say they wanted "excursions." In any case, ten societies at 10s. could combine and outvote £20 a year. Let them have some regulation based on equity and justice. If Congress were held in Derry he could get all the tailors in Derry to attend and dominate the Congress. They must give extra voting power to the big societies giving big subscriptions, and these would not submit to be outvoted by the "intellectuals."

Mr. Connolly said he never stated that the smaller societies had all the clever men.

Mr. Campbell said the existing system of representation was obsolete and required change. But it had obtained for many years. The Parliamentary Committee recommended no change except a

slight change as regards affiliation fees. The old scale of fees was never observed by the big societies; not even by the tailors.

Mr. McCarron said it was.

Mr. Campbell said the penny-a-head rule was "more honoured in the breach than the observance." No society should be snowed under, no interest obliterated. Mr. Rimmer's remedy would be worse than the disease. It would give one or two delegates great voting power. The duty of a society was not confined to paying fees; they wanted time and energy as well as money. At the British Labour Party meetings one or two members could render nugatory all discussion. Whose fault was it if the small societies were more influential? It was the fault of the large societies, who should send representatives. Some amendment might be necessary; they might allow the larger societies a larger proportion of delegates; but they should require the delegates to be present and to vote in person.

Mr. Lumley suggested as a compromise that a card vote should be allowed only if sanctioned by a majority of the delegates actually present.

Mr. Kelly said that in the Postmen's Congress he had seen 50 or 100 votes left by one man to another to cast for him while he was out of the room. This Congress had worked successfully for 21 years on the present system. But he was not opposed to some alteration in future.

Mr. MacPartlin said the amendment would not make for a better standard of democracy. He had seen a man casting 137,000 votes while the branches of his organisation had passed resolutions in the opposite sense; he was voting for his own opinion only. In Ireland unskilled labour had been badly organised till lately; now there was a wave of organisation among the unskilled; and if the card system were adopted the Transport Union might soon be able to swamp all others. Moreover, some Executives sent delegates without consulting their unions. The Trade Union movement in Ireland was in a transition stage; therefore any alteration should be postponed. Let them examine the question and not rush into card voting, which he believed would ruin the Congress as it had ruined the English Labour Movement.

Mr. Houston repeated his question about the place of Trades Councils in the proposed scheme.

Mr. Rimmer replied on the debate. He said the previous night's arguments were immaterial, and that morning's he had not heard. The idea that the rights of the majority should be subordinated to the minority appeared to be spreading from North to South. He claimed simply that societies ought to be given their proper voting strength on questions of finance. He had overlooked the difficulty about Trades Councils; but Trades Councils should not be represented there. The argument against representation of co-operative

societies applied equally to Trades Councils. They were making a fundamental change this year, introducing labour representation; difficulties would arise in politics in regard to the selection of candidates and other details; let them alter their rules now before the difficulties arose. He agreed largely with Connolly's speech, but he was not there to voice his own opinions but those of his society. They were there as delegates and had no right to voice individual opinions other than those of their societies. If he was sent there by a Socialist organisation he would take the same line as Connolly. He thought his proposal might have been considered more sympathetically, as even its opponents agreed that some change was needed.

The Chairman said minorities were always right; that was the law of life. The large societies could do now what Mr. Rimmer wanted. Nothing prevented them from bringing their full strength to bear except that feeling of disquietude about excursions. On December 9th he heard Robert Smillie say he had a million votes with no instructions how to cast them; but he east them against Dublin.

Mr. Rimmer said that was the fault of the members of his Union.

The Chairman said the National Union of Railwaymen drainedmoney out of Ireland.

Mr. Rimmer protested. The National Union of Railwaymen gave more than it took.

The Chairman said that might be so in time of need, when they were fighting the battle for English Trade Unionism. In supporting the smaller societies he was arguing against his own position. The Transport Union had only one agricultural labourer there; they could have flooded the Congress. Let them get above money values. The Tailors brought eight delegates to Limerick,

Mr. McCarron denied this.

Mr. Campbell said they brought ten.

The Chairman said they could bring a delegate for each of their 100 branches.

Mr. McCarron-Who would pay for them?

The Chairman-Who pays for you?

Mr. McCarron-I'm an important person (laughter).

A delegate suggested that perhaps some agreement might be reached if the matter were sent back to the Executive. He was opposed to both the present system and the new proposal.

The Chairman said if they kept sending matters back they would never get through. It could be made an instruction to the new National Executive to consider the matter and bring forward a recommendation next year.

Mr. Rimmer's amendment was then put, when there voted:—For 6; Against 85. It was agreed that the Standing Order should be the subject of consideration by the new National Executive.

Draft Standing Orders 6, 7, 8 and 9 were agreed to without discussion.

On Standing Order 10, Mr. Rimmer moved :-

Strike out all words up to and including "election" on line 3 of Standing Order No. 10 and insert:—

"The National Executive Committee shall be elected by ballot on the last day of Congress on the same basis as is provided for in Standing Order No. 5. Delegates only shall be eligible for election who are employed at their trade or calling, or, who are permanent Officers of their Union being resident in Ireland." This would correct the anomaly which made it possible for members resident in Great Britain to be elected on the National Executive. He did not say this because Mr. Hill had been elected to the Executive and he (Mr. Rimmer) had not. He and Mr. Hill were good friends, but an official of an English union resident in England could not faithfully represent the views of Irish workers.

Mr. Dowling seconded.

Mr. Drummond suggested that the amendment should be divided into two parts.

The Chairman said the first part had been already disposed of by the rejection of Mr. Rimmer's previous amendment, and was out of order. Mr. Drummond's amendment to the second part was also out of order, as it amounted to a simple negative.

Mr. Hill said he was not an Englishman. Pehaps Mr. Rimmer's personal sympathies were against this amendment, like the last; perhaps he was only voicing the ideas of those who sent him. If a great amalgamated union with 30,000 members asked an Irishman to come over and help them, why should he be shut out from the opportunity of working for Ireland? He was frequently in Ireland and had a permanent residence in Drumcondra. He had not been untrue to his duties on the Parliamentary Committee; he was at times in a peculiarly favourable position for helping them; why should they debar him from helping? Every Congress could settle the matter by its votes, if they did not want a particular man's services; but why should they debar themselves from choice? Mr. Rimmer was resident in Ireland, but he might be called away at any time; and then perhaps he would take very little interest in Irish affairs, like Mr. Hudson, who did not even put in an appearance when the Parliamentary Committee was interviewing the Labour Party. He asked the Congress to decline to restrict its powers.

Mr. Longmore said there was no one fitter to understand men's grievances than those who lived amongst them. A man in England could not do it. Mr. Hill had made the question a personal one.

Mr. Turner (Glasgow) said the two important points were—What were the administrative expenses involved in electing a man resident in England or Scotland? They must be more than in the case of a resident in Ireland. Secondly, what were the attendances of a man resident at a distance likely to be? It was not a good principle to elect a non-resident. They would have the support of the men in Great Britain just the same.

Mr. Connolly agreed with Mr. Turner in principle. But it should be left open to the voters, bearing Mr. Turner's arguments in mind, to decide whether they wanted a man resident in Great Britain on the Executive or not. He would prefer an Englishman resident in England who would serve the working class to an Irishman resident in Ireland who would sell his class.

Mr. Campbell said the question of expense had been raised. In Mr. Hill's case there was no extra expense; his expenses were less than the speaker's own coming from Belfast. Mr. Hill had done good service.

The Chairman asked Mr. Campbell to keep away from the personal note.

Mr. Campbell said no man could avoid the personal implication after the way the subject had been introduced by Mr. Rimmer.

Mr. Connolly rose to a point of order to protest against personalities.

The Chairman said Mr. Campbell was abusing his position,

Mr. Campbell apologised.

Mr. McCarron supported Mr. Rimmer's amendment. If all the members of the amalgamated unions voted, that Congress might be swamped with Englishmen.

Mr. Whitley said it would be well if members of the Parliamentary Committee talked less when they were only repeating previous arguments. He moved the closure.

Mr. Hanlon seconded.

Mr. Rimmer claimed the right of reply.

The Chairman said he had no right of reply once the closure was put.

Mr. Rimmer said in that case the Chairman had no right to speak either.

The Chairman assented, and asked Mr. Rimmer to sit down.

Mr. Rimmer asked how could he question the Chairman's ruling.

The Chairman said he could move to disagree with it,

Mr. Rimmer said it was contrary to the Standing Orders.

The Chairman said he must either move or sit down.

Mr. Rimmer moved "That the Chairman's ruling was wrong, and in abrogation of the Standing Orders and Congress disagrees with said ruling."

Mr. Drummond seconded.

On being put to the vote, the motion was defeated.

Mr. Rimmer's amendment was then put, when there voted—For 10; against 47.

Mr. Johnson called attention to the change in Standing Order 10, that the condition debarring two members from the same trade or occupation from sitting on the Executive was no longer to apply to the officers.

Draft Standing Order 10 was agreed to without alteration.

The Standing Orders Committee presented a further ad interim report, recommending that nominations for the Executive should be in before noon that day; that the National Union of Bakers be allowed to move a resolution immediately after the conclusion of the Agenda; that the Irish Linen Lappers be allowed to move a resolution after the Bakers; that Resolutions 15 and 15a be incorporated in an omnibus resolution; that Resolutions 19, 20, and 21 be grouped, and also 31 and 32; that the Scottish Fraternal Delegates be allowed fifteen minutes each at 3.30 p.m. The Report was adopted, with the deletion of the portion referring to the Scottish delegates, which was postponed till next day.

Draft Standing Orders 11, 12, 13 and 14 were adopted without discussion. The paragraph in the Parliamentary Committee's Report dealing with the Dublin Dispute was then taken up.

The Chairman said that as Secretary of the Transport Union and a member of the Dublin Trades Council he desired to tender their best thanks to the rank and file of the Trade Union Movement for the support accorded to them during this dispute. He wished to record special thanks to the Limerick Pork Butchers—a Union he never heard of before; they showed a real grip of the situation, and sent more every week in proportion to their strength than any other union. Many people were claiming to have initiated the sending of foodstuffs; it was first suggested by the delegates of the Transport Union. Co-operation was the life and soul of the movement; and they should do service to co-operation in return.

The paragraph was agreed to.

On the paragraph relating to the Waterford dispute,

Mr. O'Brien recalled the hot debate on this matter last year.
Mr. McConnell had failed to carry out his undertaking, and had sent in his resignation at the first meeting of the Committee. They declined to accept his resignation at that time, and asked for

information as to what steps he had taken to carry out his undertaking. As there was no reply, they were obliged to accept his resignation. He suggested that they should prevent Mr. McConnell's Union from being represented at that Congress until Mr. McConnell's undertaking was carried out.

The Chairman said there was no straighter man in the country than Mr. McConnell.

Mr. Whitley said Mr. McConnell went to his Executive; his Executive called out the men in Waterford in accordance with the undertaking; the men refused to come out. Could members dictate to their Executive in this manner and not be expelled?

The Chairman said this was more of that cursed sectionalism—three bakers' societies in Ireland,

Mr. Moran (Amalgamated Bakers of Ireland) said his Union had done their part for unity. The men were still in Waterford in the place of local men; they were sent there by Mr. McConnell, and others were continually sent to replace any who left.

Mr. Campbell said that Mr. McConnell had done his best. He had stated that if he could not fetch the men out he would resign his seat on the Parliamentary Committee; and he had kept his word. He got his executive to call the men out, but could not get them to go further and insist that the men must come out. They thought they had been unfairly dealt with because only a particular incident was taken up, whereas the trouble went farther back. Other people had taken the places of members of their Union in Belfast; this had been proved to the hilt. But they did wrong in retaliating.

Mr. McCarron said the Belfast Bakers had sent fourteen men to Derry under similar circumstances.

The Chairman hoped there would be no blackguarding of people behind their backs. The matter should be sent to the new Executive to go into, from the point of view of principle, not personalities. The union that did not agree to a settlement, let them go shead and smash that union up.

Mr. McCarron said he objected to Mr. Campbell's innuendo that Mr. McConnell was justified in his action.

The matter was referred to the new Executive.

The paragraph in the Report dealing with the Fair Wages Resolution was agreed to without discussion.

On the paragraph "Obituary," the Chairman paid a tribute to the late Mr. Patrick Healy, and also to Nolan and Byrne, the two victims of the lock-out, martyrs to the cause of Labour. In the days to come, when real and not sham monuments were raised in Ireland, real monuments would be raised to the memory of Nolan and Byrne. Mr. Connolly called attention to the omission of the name of Alice Brady from the paragraph.

The Chairman said Alice Brady had been killed by a scab with a revolver given him by his employer, a contractor to the Corporation.

It was unanimously agreed to insert the name of Alice Brady in the paragraph, which was then adopted.

The paragraph dealing with "Resignation of Mr. McConnell" was agreed to without discussion,

On the paragraph dealing with "Labour Legislation," the Chairman asked were there no defenders of the old Parties. Every suggestion for Bill or amendment that they had sent in had been thrown into the waste-paper basket by Redmond, O'Brien, and Carson. When they went to their comrades of the Labour Party they had no time to deal with the matter.

Mr. Johnson said that Mr. Brady's Bill for the Provision of Meals for School Children had been blocked by Sir Frederick Banbury. It had been predicted that it would be, and no doubt the Irish Party were aware it would be. Now, however, the Irish Party, agreeing with their arguments, were trying to get Jowett's Bill amended so as to include Ireland. Jowett was willing to do what he could in this direction.

The Report as a whole was adopted, on the motion of Mr. Thomas Murphy, seconded by Mr. O'Flanagan.

The suggested Amended Schedule of Constituencies under the Home Rule Bill was next considered.

The Chairman said, now that there was going to be an Amending Bill, perhaps their suggestions would be considered even at the eleventh hour. In the Home Rule Bill, the rural districts, which were less in touch with intellectual life, were to have 128 representatives out of 164, while the urban districts were to have only 34 seats. The Bill brought in unintelligent voters to swamp urban voters. A still more serious defect was that it left out half the nation. Women should be incorporated in the Bill as well as men.

Mr. Mallin moved and Mr. Corish seconded the adoption of the Schedule.

Mr. O'Brien suggested that the Schedule should be discussed in connection with resolutions on the Agenda bearing on the same subject. There might be some contradiction between them.

The Chairman said no sane man would have anything to do with Proportional Representation.

Mr. Whitley said, voicing the opinions of the majority of his trade in the North, he would move that all reference to Ulster constituencies be omitted from the Schedule.

Mr. F. Hall, of the same society, rose to second the motion.

The Chairman said it was out of order. They were in Ireland, and they were not going to divide Ulster from the rest of Ireland.

A delegate of the Dublin Typographical Society said these delegates represented the Manchester Typographical Association.

The Chairman said Mr. Whitley knew that there was a strong minority in his trade took a different view. That showed the danger of majority rule.

Mr. McCarron asked did Mr. Whitley represent the Typographical Association for all Ireland.

Mr. Whitley said he spoke for the majority of his Association in all Ireland. The membership in Belfast outnumbered the membership in all the rest of Ireland. He was not giving a personal opinion, but opposing any waste of time in making preparations for a Parliament to sit in Dublin, which Ulster would not have.

The Chairman-Who said Ulstermen had no sense of humour?

Mr. Egan said the whole discussion was out of order. The Chairman had told them Home Rule was on the Statute Book.

Mr. Cassidy asked did Mr. Whitley say Ulster would not have-Home Rule?

The Chairman—No; he said the Typographical Union would not have Home Rule.

Mr. Cassidy, speaking for Derry, said Ulster did want Home Rule Their opponents should use some other term than "Ulster."

Mr. Whitley said his remarks were confined to the majority of his own trade.

Mr. McCarron asked what proof had they of that. If a vote were taken, perhaps they would be for Home Rule. This would be all in the Tory papers next day.

The Chairman said he was sorry to see Mr. McCarron had not got rid of the old political feeling. What did they care what the Press said? There were more Ulstermen in that Congress than men of any other province, and they were all Home Rulers; some of them more than ordinary Home Rulers. Whitley was a good Irishman. His union was now ultra-Conservative; but some who were formerly ultra-Conservative were now revolutionaries in this Congress.

Mr. Johnson said they had hitherto been told any change in the Bill was impossible; but now that there were going to be changes their proposals must also be pressed forward. The most important was, that the urban districts should have representation proportional to numbers. The scheme in the Bill would only give one-third of the population one-fifth of the representation; their proposal was, that this one-third, the urban population, should have one-third of

the representation. This would enable the Labour Party to get a fair proportion of seats, which otherwise would be difficult, if not impossible. Following the line of least resistance, they proposed to group together the towns in each county, leaving the rural districts the remainder of the representation. Proportional Representation would then apply, according to the scheme now in the Bill, to those rural districts. This would add greatly to the possible success of the Labour movement in Ireland.

Mr. Campbell suggested that the Schedule should be taken separately, after the resolutions on the Agenda dealing with the same subject.

It was agreed that the discussion on the Schedule should continue, but that the vote should not be taken till after the resolutions had been disposed of.

The Chairman said Mr. Johnson was wrong in stating that the rural areas had a majority; the real majority was in the urban areas.

The consideration of the Agenda was then taken up. Resolutions 1 and 1s were moved by Mr. William O'Brien, viz.:—

REPRESENTATION OF URBAN WORKERS UNDER HOME RULE.

"That this Trades Congress, representing the workers of Ireland, regrets that effect was not given to the resolution of Congress in 1912, urging that under the Government of Ireland Bill the constituencies should be arranged so that the industrial workers in the towns would have an opportunity of securing adequate representation; and we are of opinion that the alternative vote should prevail in all constituencies in Ireland.

"That in our opinion any Bill introduced purporting to give Home Rule to this country falls far short of what the measure should be if it does not make ample provision for the representation fo the workers in the Boroughs and Urban areas of Ireland. And this Congress reiterates the demand put forward by Congress in 1912 for the amendment of the Government of Ireland Bill"

He said that since these resolutions were grouped no arrangement had been made to re-draft them. Resolution 1 was the same as last year except for the last clause, where the alternative vote was inserted instead of proportional representation. This change did not represent his personal opinion, but had been made by a majority of the Dublin Trades Council. It was necessary to secure adequate representation for urban workers. They had now 33 seats only as compared with 129 rural constituencies. Kilkenny, Newry and Galway were wiped out altogether, while Dundalk and other large towns had no representation. They were all anxious for some method of remedying this. When Mr. Johnson said the urban workers were one-third of the whole he was referring to the towns

of one thousand inhabitants and upwards. He himself believed it would be simpler to adopt proportional representation. He thought there would be enough "insane men" to vote for it.

Councillor Bohan seconded.

Mr. Campbell moved the amendment standing in his name, namely, to delete the word "alternative" on line 6 and substitute the words "single transferable." Mr. Campbell said that proportional representation was known and applied all over the world. The alternative vote was in the clouds. The alternative vote was merely the second ballot without the trouble of going to the poll a second time. It enabled a second preference to be shown when the votes were cast. But proportional representation showed more than a second preference. It enabled the voter to show his preferences up to the number of seats or even the number of candidates. The alternative vote had never been tried. The second ballot, wherever it was tried, was universally condemned, particularly by Labour and Socialist parties. Proportional representation had been accepted in the Home Rule Bill, which was now law.

Mr. Johnson said there was many a slip.

Mr. Campbell said he pinned his faith to the Parliament Act. Proportional representation was adopted for the Senate and for constituencies returning more than two members. That would give Labour a chance in Belfast; they had no earthly chance on the block system. At present Belfast had four members returned by single-member constituencies, but henceforth it was to send representatives to Westminster by the block system. Therefore, West Belfast would go; Nationalists, Labour men, Liberals had no hope of getting even one representative, because if they got one then they could get four. But by proportional representation the quota could elect its men. The alternative vote was the same as the second ballot in principle, but it presupposed an arrangement between parties. Under proportional representation no combination of opponents can keep you out. In a five-member constituency one man could be returned for even one-sixth of the voters plus There were only two parties—the workers and the capitalists. Any arrangement was likely to be to the detriment of Labour; they were not likely to make any arrangement with other parties. By proportional representation in every case the members returned were an absolute reflex of the votes cast and therefore were truly independent. Branting, the Socialist leader in Sweden, bore testimony to the success of proportional representation there, and said they wanted it extended. In France a large amount of the success of Socialists was due to their advocacy of proportional representation. We have stood by it because it secures representation according to voting strength without manipulation by

Mr. McCarron asked where proportional representation was in force,

Mr. Campbell replied it was in force in Switzerland, Sweden, South Africa and Belgium. It would be unwise to go back on their previous decision in favour of proportional representation.

Mr. Walsh (Dublin) seconded.

The Chairman said Mr. Campbell had not been advocating proportional representation, but the single transferable vote, which was not generally accepted.

Mr. Campbell said the single transferable vote was the most favoured form of proportional representation.

The Chairman said if the single transferable vote was the same as proportional representation Mr. Campbell was out of order. They already had proportional representation dealt with in Resolution 2. They could not waste time over it twice.

Mr. Campbell pointed out that Resolution 1 dealt with the Government of Ireland Bill, while Resolution 2 referred to any electoral reform act.

The Chairman said the single transferable vote was either proportional representation or it was not. He thought the Standing Orders Committee should have ruled out this amendment.

Councillor Lawlor said the amendment had already been admitted by allowing it to be proposed and seconded. The Chairman should not further waste time.

Mr. Johnson said the words describing the schemes were short titles merely. Every party claimed to desire proportional representation. But the Proportional Representation Society had adopted the method of the single transferable vote. Would the desires of the workers be better attained by proportional representation or the alternative vote? In the present position in Ireland they were more likely to get due representation by the single transferable vote than by the alternative vote.

The Chairman said they ought to know their terms. The English language was very inadequate. He used it badly himself, but not as badly as others. Mr. Campbell never mentioned the single transferable vote. Proportional representation presupposed the quota, and quota meant a fixed quantity.

Mr. Campbell denied this.

The Chairman said the quota was fixed by law, and those who fixed it were no fools. Proportional representation was only applied to three-member constituencies. That was because the Government wanted to keep down the working class. Branting had been quoted as wanting more and improved proportional representation. Why should he want that if it were perfect? Proportional representation was one of the tricks of the capitalist class. Who was financing it? Not the men of our class. In

Dublin the register was packed and thus the quota was fixed. "Tranferable" was the same as "alternative." The voter should be able to put down his first nominee, and to carry on to a second choice and so on.

Mr. Campbell said that was exactly what proportional representation was.

The Chairman said it was the Sir Horace Plunketts and the Astons and other respectable people who were running this system. Why did they not take the opinion of the people of Dublin? Proportional representation was not in force in Belgium. There they had a unique system of plural voting. With universal suffrage he would, agree with proportional representation but not now. They should be cautious and be careful that their allies were not using them as tools.

Mr. O'Brien said proportional representation was adopted by the last Congress, and the Chairman had not opposed it.

The Chairman said they gave no authority to anyone to go with an outside body to the Premier. They should be guarded against any alliance with the Citizens' Housing League or the Proportional Representation Society without instructions. These alliances might be used against their own class. He was sorry for Mr. Campbell's political youth. He thought this matter might be left over for twelve months as the delegates had not followed it. Perhaps they might send Mr. Campbell back to his books to learn the terms of his own amendment.

Mr. Daly then read out the nominations for the Parliamentary Committee as follows:—

President, Mr. T. R. Johnson; Vice-President Mr. James Larkin; Treasurer, Mr. D. Campbell; Secretary, Mr. P. T. Daly. These were the only nominations received for these positions. For the Executive the following were nominated:—

Messrs. M. J. O'Lehane, T. McPartlin, T. Johnson, R. O'Carroll, W. O'Brien, W. E. Hill, D. R. Campbell, H. T. Whitley, J. McCarron, M. J. Egan, T. Cassidy, James Connolly, P. Lynch, W. J. McNulty, J. Mercer. Of these Messrs. Johnson and Campbell were disqualified by having been unanimously elected to Executive position.

Messrs. Whitley, McCarron and Lynch withdrew their names from nomination.

A delegate asked Mr. McCarron to consent to be nominated. At this crisis they should have Derry represented on the Executive.

Mr. Drummond asked could two members of one union be elected.

The Chairman said no, but they could be nominated.

Mr. Campbell pointed out that the rule against two members of one union did not now apply to the officers,

Councillor Partridge appealed to Mr. McCarron not to withdraw.

Mr. McCarron persisted in withdrawing. He had not time to come to meetings.

At this point a deputation was received from the Co-operative Building Society, Dublin.

Councillor R. O'Carroll, as spokesman of the deputation, said they wished to lay their aims before the Congress and to ask for support. They had seen how the employers could dislocate the building industry to assist other employers. It would be well to weaken that power. The co-operative scheme had been successfully applied elsewhere. They had the help of experts in co-operation. They had a scheme drafted and would soon put it into practice. There were 6,000 men in the building industry in Dublin. If they got a thousand into this society they could get into competition with the building bosses. The Brick and Stonelayers were enthusiastic about the project, but their enthusiasm might cool unless others joined it. The Provisional Committee felt they had done the work of organisation. They now asked the organised workers to come in and take over the society. He hoped every trade union in the city would form a sub-committee and appoint a secretary and collect shares. The secretary was to be seen at the Antient Concert Buildings on Fridays.

A deputation was also received from the Co-operative Congress.

Mr. Wilson, first spokesman, thanked the Congress for their kind invitation. He brought them greetings and best wishes for their success. This interchange of delegates would cement the friendship between them. The Co-operative movement was twin to the trade union movement. Their aims were similar,—namely, to secure better conditions for the general workers. Scotland had kept a close eye on Dublin, recognising that they were fighting a battle for liberty. It was only the beginning of greater things! Last year was a foretaste of what co-operation would seek to do.

The Chairman, introducing the other delegates, said Mr. Langley was an Englishman; some of them might never have seen an Englishman.

Mr. Langley said their discussion showed great earnestness. He spoke of the importance of the productive side of co-operation; he was pleased to hear of the building co-operation. In England they had many productive societies based on the principle of control by the workers. Their object was to get hold of the means of production as far as possible. If the workers were to rise industrially and obtain their share they must get hold of the means of production. He spoke of the principle of labour co-partnership—that is to say, partnership between all factors in production.

The Chairman ruled any discussion of co-partnership out of order; Mr. Langley was to speak on co-operation.

Mr. Langley, in conclusion, said he hoped the workers would get a greater share of the produce of their labour, and that the Congress would make even greater strides in the future than in

the past.

The Chairman said they tendered their best thanks to the co-operative movement for what it had already done for them. Co-partnership was not co-operative. He hoped advantage would be taken of the presence of the Co-operative Congress in Dublin. They could always do with this type of Englishman and Scotchman who brought them encouragement, and sometimes knowledge. Ireland, however, was before England and Scotland in co-operation. "We are one with you," he declared, "in spirit and in action."

The discussions on Resolutions 1 and 18 was then resumed.

Mr. O'Brien said the Chairman's statements would not bear examination. The politicians did not fix the quota in the proportional representation system. It was fixed by the numbers of the electors. In a five-member constituency of 6,000 electors 1,001 would form the quota. No opposition had been offered at the last Congress. If Mr. Larkin had been a live delegate he ought to have opposed it then.

The Chairman said he had lived and learned.

Mr. O'Brien said so far as he knew the only thing that had happened since last Congress was that Mr. Larkin had paid a visit to Glasgow where he had heard Mr. Ramsay MacDonald opposing proportional representation. Mr. MacDonald's honeyed words had won over Mr. Larkin. The Chairman had asked why was it not extended all over Ireland, and said that we were deprived of it in the parts where it would be of most use. Mr. Larkin had defeated in the Dublin Trades Council a proposal to have it extended all over Ireland. The I.L.P. was in favour of it.

The Chairman said they could leave that out; they were in Ireland.

Mr. O'Brien said Mr. Larkin had often boasted that he was a member of the I[L.P. and would be till he died. He read a quotation on the merits of the single transferable vote.

The Chairman asked what was he quoting from.

Mr. O'Brien said from the Report of the Proportional Representation Society of Ireland.

The Chairman said he would not take that as an authority.

Mr. O'Brien said of course not; it was bound to be wrong if it was against the Chairman. The second ballot was little use for Labour, because Liberal and Tory would combine at the second battle against Labour.

The Chairman said that Mr. Devlin had fixed the electoral areas for proportional representation. Would they take their definition of Socialism from capitalist papers? Mr. O'Brien said if it was correct he would take it from a dictionary compiled by a capitalist.

Mr. Johnson said they were both in agreement if they understood each other.

The Chairman said the quota was a fixed quantity (cries of "No") then; they were not voting for proportional representation.

Mr. O'Brien said the Chairman was not fair in his way of putting the matter.

Mr. Connolly suggested that they should meet and discuss the matter during the adjournment.

The Congress then adjourned.

On resuming at 2 o'clock, Mr. T. Murphy asked for a definition of proportional representation.

The Chairman said the Dublin Corporation appeared to have no dictionary.

Mr. O'Brien said the Chairman would have to compile a new dictionary. He accepted Mr. Campbell's amendment.

Mr. T. Murphy asked was this in order.

The Chairman said they must have confidence in the delegates.

Mr. Rimmer said the Agenda had been sent to allow time for consideration. Could the delegates by agreement alter the resolutions?

The Chairman said the Standing Orders Committee could.

Mr. Rimmer said it was a question of the powers of two individuals.

Mr. Campbell said it was always within the power of the moves of a resolution to accept the amendment.

Mr. A. Murphy suggested that Mr. O'Brien and Mr. Campbell should go outside and draft a resolution. It was merely a question of words.

The Chairman said they had talked till they were sick. He would accept the decision of Congress.

A division was then taken on Mr. Campbell's amendment, when there voted—for the amendment, 41; against, 6. The amendment was declared carried.

The Chairman was about to pass on to the next resolution when Mr. Connolly pointed out that there was another amendment to Resolution IB.

Mrs. Gordon (Irish Women Workers' Union, Belfast) moved the amendment standing in her name, namely, to add after the words "areas of Ireland" on line 4 and before the word "and" on same line, the words "and provide for the Parliamentary representation of the women of Ireland." Mrs. Gordon said there was no reason why the women of Ireland should not come in along with the men. She believed the amendment represented the wishes of Congress.

Mr. Connolly seconded, and said there was no need to labour the point. They were all in agreement upon it. In every struggle agrarian, political, or the recent industrial, women had to bear the brunt of the battle. If they were now going forward women should be their comrades and equals in what is coming.

The Chairman said he was sure the amendment would be carried unanimously.

The amendment was carried unanimously and resolutions 1 and 18 as amended was agreed to unanimously.

Mr. Connolly moved :-

"That in the opinion of this Congress any attempt to exclude any portion of Ireland from the provisions of the Home Rule Bill is undesirable; that this Congress heartily endorses the Manifesto issued by our Parliamentary Committee, and directs the various Trades Councils in Ireland to press the matter on the Parliamentary representatives of their districts."

He referred to Mr. Whitley's statement that a certain section would not have Home Rule. An attempt was being made to conciliate a certain bigoted section by mutiliating Ireland. This was unprecedented. They were to do voluntarily what was considered a crime when done by outsiders in the case of Poland. This had been manœuvred without any attempt to consult the people. It was false to say that Nationalists would accept it. Every attempt had been made to prevent the Nationalist opinion of Ulster from expressing itself. Every coterie that would declare for tentative acceptance had its resolution spread all over the Press. This ought to be opposed from every standpoint, but particularly from the Labour standpoint. He regarded the Home Rule Bill with contempt as an emasculation of the Irish National demand. But he wished it passed because bigotry had been used to weaken the working class. The Orange capitalist class had stirred up the fiercest fires of religious bigotry to prevent the working class from uniting for its emancipation. Ulster wanted this union of the working class most of all. He referred to the demarcation of different religious districts in Belfast streets. Till recently York Street had been barred. For eighteen years no band but an Orange band could go down it, till the Irish Transport Workers' Union came. They had no spirit of hostility, but they stood for Ireland united on another basis. They wished to blend North and South, Protestant and Catholic, in one holy bond. They were now told that exclusion would only be for six years. But the English Solicitor-General had said that there would be two general elections in that period and that it would be a miracle if the Tories were not returned, when they would make exclusion permanent. The workers, therefore, would not be allowed to unite on labour issues. They would be told that they must unite with their employers on the question of inclusion or permanent exclusion. The position would be a thousand times worse in the North than now. They in the North would resist to the death the attempt to exclude them. It was the admission for the first time in history that the English conquest had succeeded and that they had the right to divide Ireland and treat it as a province. They would be doing a good turn to Ulster by opposing exclusion. They valued Ulster too much to let it be cut off; it was in Ireland now and they meant it to grow part of Ireland. The frontiers of Ireland were fixed by Nature not by the bigotry, malevolence, or class-creed of any party.

Councillor Corish seconded.

Mr. MacBride said that he was here by the unanimous vote of Cork, Sligo and Limerick. He thought he was justified in using his judgment to support this resolution. But he wanted no reference to rampant bigotry. He had to face his branches and there should be no two camps. They could express any opinion on trade union question, but politics were kept out.

Mr. Hall said he came from the section referred to. It was their will that he should only speak and vote on trade union matters. This resolution was considered as political and religious, He said the bands had gone down York Street. They were met as trade unionists. He would vote against this resolution. United Ireland should not be.

The Chairman said every man was entitled to his own opinion.

Mr. Whitley said he denied the right of any party to cut up Ireland, and in saying that he was speaking for large numbers of those who signed the Covenant. This morning they had discussed Home Rule and he had said Ulster would not have it, but there were many who would oppose Home Rule to the point of giving their lives who would just as obstinately refuse to have Ireland cut up. He refused as a printer in Ulster to be separated from his fellow-printers in the South. There were some political questions which could not be kept out of the trade union movement. Ireland was theirs, and Ireland they were going to keep. He might be called to account for saying this, but he had more love for his country than for any class. There was a surprising majority in the North against cutting off. He was not speaking on the merits of Home Rule.

Mr. Campbell said the question was, should one portion of Ireland govern itself and the other be doctored from abroad? The Belfast Trades Council never voted on Home Rule, but had emphatically protested against partition. A great number of people who were opposed to Home Rule would, as a choice, be dead against exclusion. He would oppose any Home Rule Bill if even an acre were left out. There had been talk about wooing Ulster; this meant wooing the capitalists of Ulster. The Irish Parliament would not dare to promote labour legislation; they would be told

that there must be no interference with labour lest they might frighten off the capitalists of Ulster. Labour in Ulster would be nobody's child; it would be very hard to get Westminster legislation to apply to Ulster.

Mr. Mercer said Ireland must not be divided; he had made this a paramount question on the Council, in his union, &c. An amendment had been proposed to the Home Rule Bill that the Dublin Parliament should have no control over labour legislation. This was drafted by the capitalists of Ulster: the linen sweaters, tobacco manufacturers, the Coombe Barbours, the ropemakers, who all dreaded the power of an Irish Labour Party. If Home Rule is an accomplished fact we want to participate in its legislative advantages. Home Rule without Ulster should be refused. It was in Ulster that the workers were; it was there they would be crushed. Old cries would be kept up to persuade them to send the capitalists of Ulster to Westminster. He did not care much about the merits of Home Rule, but they could not have it without Ireland as a whole.

Councillor Egan (Cork) said this was not a political resolution. Partition would reduce the Labour vote in the Home Rule Parliament. He denied the right of any man or set of men to upset the geography of Ireland. The Cork Trades Council had adopted a resolution against partition unanimously; the Cork members were pledged against exclusion. If it took place Belfast capitalists would be hit by commercial boycott.

Councillor Partridge said the boycott had now begun, and the North would tell Nationalists to look South for employment; therefore bitter divisions would arise.

Mr. Drummond said Asquith was responsible. As a railwayman he knew what Asquith thought of the working class. He would use the whole forces of the Crown against them if on strike. Exclusion was one of the eleverest moves to destroy the chances of an Irish Labour Party in the first Home Rule Parliament. The strongest and richest unions were in the North; if Ireland was united Labour would make more headway in Belfast than elsewhere. Why did the Liberal Government hand over a monoply of North-east Ulster seats to Tories?

Mr. F. Hall said he was no Home Ruler. He was not in favour of exclusion from the point of view of the interests of the Irish worker. He was as good an Irishman as any man in the room, but he could not support the resolution, because of the men who sent him there. The mover of the resolution had given them a one-sided story as to bigotry. There were portions of Belfast he would be afraid to go within two-hundred yards of. It was his duty to vote against the resolution.

Councillor Lawlor said Irishmen had been fighting through the ages for their inheritance and they must get it in its integrity. He protested against any man speaking for the Irish people and accepting exclusion. Every revolutionary movement had been cradled in Ulster. From that parliament of labour let them declare with one voice that there should be no division.

Mr. Connolly. replying on the debate, said he wished to correct a wrong impression. He had given an instance of bigotry where a rule was in force when mob law ruled in certain streets. He had been told that other districts were as bad. He was quite prepared to believe that this was true of the Falls Road, &c., but York Street was a main artery of the city. He had done his part to break down bigotry both in Dublin and Belfast. They would never get it broken down by cringing. He would rather see someone of another religion take up the question in Belfast. The only places in Ireland where religious riots took place were not the places where Catholics were in a majority. There was bigotry on both sides, and the average Belfast Home Ruler did not know any Nationalism but anti-Orangeism. They were out to abolish that.

The Chairman said that in 1907 there was no more united city in the Three Kingdoms than Belfast. But since then the Protestant and Catholic Orangemen, the Orange Order and the Hibernian Orders had been responsible for disturbances, both alike. Everyone respected their Northern comrades.

A division was then taken, when there voted—for the resolution, 84; against, 2.

Mr. Mercer asked that the names of the two delegates who opposed the resolution should be put on record.

The Chairman refused to do this.

A delegate who had not voted said the question of civil war had been ignored. Might they not buy the unity of Ireland at too high a price namely, civil war?

The Chairman said it was the law of the world, that those in power should carry out the law, and that those who suffer should break it. The cowardliness of the Government was responsible for the trouble in Ulster. He was an Ulsterman, and he would put down civil war in an hour. They were determined that Ireland should not be dismembered.

The deputation was then received from the Citizens' Housing League.

Miss Chenevix thanked the Congress for receiving the deputation and asked them to appoint two delegates to accompany the Citizens' Housing League on the deputation to the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, urging the necessity of a loan in order to put in operation the Report of the Departmental Committee on Dublin Housing. There were people in Dublin now living under conditions which they would be sorry to inflict on animals. She asked the Congress to use their power to get this state of affairs remedied. Many experiments had been made by

the Corporation and by private bodies, and these were often useful to individual people. But their chief value was that they proved the futility of any partial and spasmodic way of dealing with housing, it must be dealt with on a big scale as suggested in the Report. Many schemes were now being talked about, and was Labour to be silent? The Dublin Trades Council was not silent; it had declared for the Report and was represented on the Citizens' Housing League. They were united in their desire to build up a new Dublin. This was principally a Dublin question, but not entirely; it concerned the workers everywhere. She appealed to Congress, which represented all Ireland, to appoint representative delegates to speak with the whole force of Ireland. This was especially a woman's question; with a woman's feeling for home she could imagine what it was like to live in a dwelling that cannot be made home-like. She appealed to the men, in the name of the women of Dublin who could not speak for themselves, to work strenuously for the building up of a new capital for the new Ireland.

Mr. Aston, the second member of the deputation, reminded them of what the Report contained. It was a Departmental Committee composed of officials; it sat in that room and it came to the conclusion that the housing conditions of Dublin were not to be equalled in western Europe. If this was tolerated, the ideals of Trades Unionism were impossible. They should not be merely unanimous, but insistent; they should demand, not request, a loan of £3,500,000 and a sum by way of annual grant from the Budget to bridge the gap between what the poorest can pay and what is needed to supply a decent house. This grant should be temporary and must not be used to permanently depress wages. No abstract principle should stand in the way of a solution.

The Chairman asked should they instruct the National Executive

to deal with this question.

Mr. A. Murphy said they should decide now to send a deputation.

HOUSING OF WORKERS.

Mr. William O'Brien moved :-

"That this Congress, representing the workers of Ireland, approve generally of the recommendation contained in the recently issued Departmental Committee's Housing Report, and we urge that a Bill be passed into law this Session giving effect to its financial recommendations."

He said that millions had been spent in solving the land question, and later in building labourers' cottages. Now the State must come to the assistance of the urban worker also. If pressure was applied now something might be done. This affected all Ireland, and if they got the principle of State aid adopted it could be applied to all Ireland. The case of Dublin was more urgent than elsewhere for historical reasons.

Mr. MacPartlin seconded the motion. He said they should also appoint a deputation and strive to get money. The workers had not as good houses as the horses belonging to the capitalist class. If they did not work hard the report would be dropped.

Mr. T. Murphy proposed, as an addendum to the resolution, that Congress appoint two delegates on the joint deputation to the Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. O'Brien accepted the addendum.

Councillor Egan said £670,000 were ear-marked for housing by the Budget. If Ireland's share got into the hands of the Irish Parliament then God help the workers of Ireland. This was the time to press forward. In his ward in Cork unskilled workers were dwelling in lanes which were a disgrace.

Mr. Hanlon said he wished to propose two names.

The Chairman said the principle must be first adopted.

Mr. Hanlon said that no one could see the horrors of the slums as he could going through them daily.

Mr. P. T. Daly said all parties had been united on behalf of the tenant farmers and the workers had to foot the bill for them. They demanded the same rights for their own class. They wanted money on the same terms as it was given for the farmers.

Mr. Houston (Belfast Trades Council) said they expected support

from the tenant farmers.

The Chairman said they got some of it last winter.

Mr. Houston said the town workers won for the farmers the best laws in the British Isles. They expected support from the representatives of the farmers at Westminster. The school accommodation was also not fit for animals.

Mr. Rimmer said if the money was got what would the result be? Rows of brick boxes with slate lids. It would be better to stay as they were. There was finer-built property in Dublin than in any other city. They might have a remedy worse than the evil. The Corporation schemes and the Artisans' Dwellings showed the danger.

Mr. T. Farren said he spoke as a member of the Citizens' Housing League. They wanted to have self-contained dwellings, no block tenements. The tenement system in Dublin was worse than in any European country. The report was not confined to Dublin, but Dublin's need was the more desperate. They should join the deputation and make a universal demand.

Mr. Drummond said he objected to Mr. Houston's statement as to the land laws. They had only made six small landlords instead of one big one. If they were going to subsidise everybody he did not want it to be at his expense as a British taxpayer. Let them do it at their own expense. Dublin was rich enough and powerful enough to do what Glasgow did. They could have better tenements than Glasgow. In Glasgow they took the tramway surplus, £250,000. Thus they paid no interest. The landlord was not the enemy, but interest. Let them wipe out interest and put a tax on land values.

The Chairman said this was a disquisition on the universal

affairs of the earth, especially in Scotland.

Mr. Drummond said it was wrong to clear out the slums and put houses there. They should have spaces in the city and put the workers out in the suburbs, and then demand shorter hours to enable them to live out there.

Mr. Doran (Belfast) said he had taken an interest in the housing of the working classes in Belfast. A capitalist Corporation was buying out slums at 5 per cent. above their original value.

The Chairman said they could beat that hollow in Dublin.

Mr. Doran said the incoming tenants were charged for all this. Sometimes out of 11s. a week they had to pay 3s. 3d. in rent.

The Chairman said no man would take 11s.

Mr. Doran said they called themselves men.

Mr. McCarron said every penny of the price of the land was paid by the tenant farmer, or would be. There was no comparison between Dublin and Glasgow. Ireland was governed by an alien Parliament. Industry had been hunted out of the country and there were 3½ millions Imperial overtaxation. Mr. Drummond had much to learn. His eye was turned to Glasgow and he knew no other place. They wanted Home Rule to remove bitterness, and Ireland would unite to better her own condition. They did not want anything like the Town Tenants' League for house jobbers, but a house league with a "no rent" policy. When they started that in Derry the politicians told them they were traitors who wanted to disfranchise the voters.

Councillor Lawlor said they were not begging any subsidy. There was now a surplus of £700,000 in the Irish Budget. They should ask at least £200,000 of this for housing. He would like to have an addendum to the resolution including all Irish urban centres.

The Chairman said this was not acceptable.

Councillor Lawlor said the condition of Dublin was well understood by every political and religious party, but no effort had been made to remedy it till the last dispute. The Irish Transport Workers' Union were the pioneers of the change in regard to the housing of Dublin.

The Chairman said they could discuss this for a week. He was not going to swallow any document, which in some points was most reactionary, but only the general principles. The suggestion of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent interest was a scandal. They could learn something from even a Scotchman who knew what he did know because we

frish taught him. They must not be side-tracked by any Housing League. We could do the work ourselves. People were getting round the problem to obscure it. Why should they borrow? It was their own money. There were idle men, idle bricks, idle land; what they wanted was to put them together. There was talk of houses being good enough. There was nothing too good for the workingman. Mr. Rimmer wanted beauty in the houses, but the workmen had lost their soul for beauty. They wanted to demand the best houses in Dublin. Guinness had a house with 360 rooms, one for every day in the year. They ought to say, "give us the right to live, or we take it." There were 51 acres at Clontarf which could be had for £2,000, and those Christians who walk hand in glove with the Creator could not give the £2,000. Lady Aberdeen had a housing exhibition in which her colleague was William Martin Murphy. What they ought to do was to tear the damned houses down.

Councillor R. O'Carroll said he wished to know did Mr. Aston, before the Committee of Inquiry, refer to the small return for their wages given by Dublin bricklayers; and on what ground did he make the statement.

The Chairman said that statement ought to be withdrawn; otherwise they could not be associated with Mr. Aston.

Mr. Aston said he was arguing generally that men cannot live in the slums without having their working power and their earning power reduced. He wished to state that the Citizens' Housing League was not associated with either of the names mentioned by the Chairman.

Councillor O'Carroll said he accepted the explanation, but the printed report should be corrected.

The Chairman said all minutes of evidence were sent to the witness to correct. The Dublin bricklayers could work with any men. They should build their houses with the co-operative builders, without a contractor.

Resolutions 16 and 17, with an addendum appointing two delegates on the joint deputation, were then unanimously passed. The names of the two delegates were next considered. After some discussion, Messrs. Connolly and O'Brien were appointed.

The Chairman said the delegates had full power to work and vote on their behalf, but they were confined to their resolution and were not to go as supporters of the Citizens' Housing League, except as laid down in the resolution.

Mr. J. Farren presented a report from the Standing Orders Committee recommending that non-contentious resolutions should be spoken to by the proposer and seconder only, and that on contentious resolutions speeches should be limited to five minutes each. They also recommended that a deputation from the Irish Women's Reform League should be received at 3 o'clock, and that the elections of the Executive should take place between 1 and 1.30 on Wednesday.

Mr. Johnson said it was not necessary to receive the deputation from the Irish Women's Reform League, because the resolution on Women's Suffrage had already been passed.

The Chairman said he wanted to know who they were. None of them would object to a militant suffragette, but they didn't want those humbugs who were not out for work.

Mr. O'Brien said the Irish Women's Reform League had done good work in regard to the feeding of school children.

The Chairman said he wanted to know who the Irish Women's Reform League were. He never heard of them.

Mr. O'Brien said the lady who had spoken so ably on the housing question was a member of it.

Mr. Daly read the letter from the Irish Women's Reform League signed by Miss Chenevix asking permission to address the Congress for ten minutes on Women's Suffrage.

The Chairman said one of the officials of the Irish Women's Reform League named at the head of the letter was Miss Moser. She was a Poor Law candidate in Pembroke and was asked would she vote for trade union principles. She refused, saying that she had no politics and would have nothing to do with trade unionism.

Mr. O'Brien asked would the Chairman condemn an organisation for one member.

The Chairman said yes, if she stood as a candidate of the Irish Women's Reform League.

Mr. Longmore said the Chairman's statement was not correct. Miss Moser was asked to sign an agreement that she would support the use of trade union labour only, and that she would remain neutral as regards the religion of foundlings. She would not sign anything but would agree verbally.

The Chairman said he had listened to Mr. Longmore's evidence in a court of law and he did not tell the truth. Why should they deal with the religious question? That was not the duty of a trade union leader. There were other men for that.

Mr. Longmore wished to reply to the Chairman's statement with regard to his evidence.

Councillor Lawlor said they had nothing to do with the Court proceedings.

The Chairman said Mr. Longmore contradicted the delegate of the Transport Union, who stated that Miss Moser declared she would support no trade unionist principle.

Mr. Longmore said Miss Moser's position was that her candidature was non-political and non-sectarian, and that they wanted to bind her to a party.

Mr. Johnson moved the acceptance of the Standing Orders Committee's recommendation deleting the reference to the Irish Women's Reform League, because the resolution on Women's Suffrage had been unanimously passed.

Mr. O'Brien said that if this was deleted on the grounds given by Mr. Johnson he would agree, but if it was on the ground put forward by the Chairman he would oppose it. They had received the Citizens' Housing League, the president of which was Mr. Shanks, who was a colleague of Murphy in the Chamber of Commerce. Why did not the Chairman object to that?

The Chairman said the Trades Council had thought it wise to join the Citizens' Housing League. The suffrage could be used for or against their class. If Miss Moser was going to use it against our principles they must look into her bonafides.

Mr. Connolly moved the adoption of the Standing Orders Committee's recommendation in its entirety. He did so because of the attacks on the Irish Women's Reform League. All his sympathies were with the rival organisation, the Irish Women's Franchise League, because he believed that it was militancy only which had brought the cause to the front.

The Chairman said instructions had been given to the Irish Transport Workers' Union to oppose Miss Mos.r.

Mr. Connolly said he had heard no such order. When the instruction was given he would obey. When one is out to gain a certain measure, one must join with all. He was out to give women the vote, even if they used it against him as a human right.

Mr. O'Brien seconded Mr. Connolly's motion.

A division was then taken, when there voted—For Mr. Connolly's motion 51; against 29. The motion was therefore carried.

On the motion of Mr. O'Lehane, seconded by Mr. Johnson, the proposed amendment schedule of constituencies was unanimously adopted.

WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT.

Mr. Dawson Gordon moved :-

"That this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to take immediate steps to have the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1906, so amended

- (a) "That Phthisis shall be one of the diseases scheduled under the Act;
- (b) "The fixing of a minimum weekly payment of 12s. per week during the incapacity of a person over 21 years of age;
- (c) "That the liability incurred and payable under the Act shall be a charge upon and payable from the Imperial Exchequer."

He asked why should one class of workers be compensated and another not. Bad as the Insurance Act was, it brought out facts. A boy who was earning 8s. 6d. might get 8s. 6d. compensation, while a man might get 5s, 6d. perhaps. This was a great injustice. Moreover the worker should be protected by the State. They should do away with compensation by the employer. Often the employer had all his workers insured.

Mr. Breslan seconded.

Mr. Rimmer opposed the motion. A serious principle was involved. The motion meant that the State should re-imburse the employer. Where then was safety control? The employer was not going to protect machinery if compensation was not a cost on production.

Mr. Campbell said the present system did not prevent accidents. It had failed of its purpose, because the employer shifted the responsibility to the Insurance Company. If the onus was east on the Government they would make due provision to save the Exchequer. The employers had not taken precautions because it was cheaper to insure.

Mr. Drummond said compensation had replaced the term "employers' liability" of twenty years ago. Phthisis was infectious; how were they to get at the facts as to whether it was contracted inside or outside the factory? They should demand hygienic conditions in factories.

Mr. Houston (Belfast Trades Council) said there was a new medical term, "Hackler's lung," in Gordon's trade. They must tackle this also.

Mr. Lumley said one in three of his trade died of Phthisis brought about in shops.

The Resolution was then put and carried, Mr. Rimmer voting against it.

NATIONALISATION OF IRISH RAILWAYS.

Mr. Hill moved :-

"That having regard to the unsatisfactory results of the present company system under which the Irish Railways are worked, this Congress hereby re-affirms its conviction that there should be no further delay in carrying out the recommendations of the Majority Report of the Viceregal Commission on Irish Railways, dated 4th July, 1910, and thus nationalising the said railways under a system of public control.

"The Congress further re-affirms that any Act introduced for this purpose must contain provisions to secure the following:—

1. "That the Railway Clerical and Operative Staffs shall have the right to elect representatives to be members of the Irish Railway Authority, such representatives not to be necessarily servants of the Authority;

- 2. "The adequate protection of the Clerical and Operative Staffs against reduction, dismissal or other detrimental changes in their conditions of service arising from such nationalisation, and that in cases where reduction of staff is absolutely necessary, adequate compensation shall be given to the displaced servants;
- 3. "That the salaries, wages, and other conditions of service of the Clerical and Operative Staffs shall be approximated to those in existence in the Postal Service; and
- 4. "That they shall retain all the civil rights and privileges of the ordinary citizen, and these shall not be curtailed or interfered with in any way whatsoever by reason of their becoming servants of the Irish Railway Authority.

"That copies of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Leaders of the Irish Parties."

He said this resolution had been passed in its present form at two previous Congresses. It needed re-affirming in view of the proximity of their own Parliament. Nationalisation was in serious jeopardy owing to the proposed exclusion of Ulster. This was another practical reason against exclusion. They could not nationalise the railways if one portion of a great trunk line and many branch lines were excluded. The octopus of private management was gathering closer about the vitals of the people and their business. There was no hope of improvement till the railways were nationalised.

Mr. Orr, seconding the motion, said if the railways were not nationalised they would be trustified. Let them see to it that the workers were represented on the new railway authority. They had the example of the Post Office and of the Port of London Authority to show the absolute necessity that the workers should have such representation.

Mr. Kelly said he objected to Sub-section 3 (asking that the salaries, wages and other conditions of service of the railway clerical and operative classes should be approximated to those in existence in the postal service). As a postal servant he knew that if this were done they would have nothing but turmoil and attempted strikes. Nationalisation would only mean the beginning of the problem.

Mr. Doran said they must not have "nationalisation at any price" Nationalisation on the lines of the majority report would make it impossible to carry out the sub-section. Light railways which were paying no dividend could not realise the workers' wishes out of the profits. They must first educate the workers to return worke s' representatives to make the bargain, Till then nationalisation would be a curse.

Mr. Rimmer said he agreed with the last speaker. There had been a great change in public opinion on this question. There were greater possibilities of electrical, aerial and motor traffic. There was not the same objection to nationalisation by the railway magnates. They found it harder to compete in transport. For example, the Dublin and South Eastern Railway had been compelled by the tramways to close three stations. Owing to the decline in shares they might only get scrap iron at a high price. He supported this resolution at Cork, but he had changed his opinion and would hesitate to vote for it now.

Mr. Irvine said he did not get the Agenda. He wished to move an amendment.

The Chairman said the societies must send in amendments.

The Secretary said he had to send out the Agenda when he had very few addresses of delegates. Sometimes he got the delegates' names on the morning of the Congress.

Mr. Campbell said they should not hesitate; it would pay better to do it now.

The Chairman asked did the National Union of Railwaymen vote for nationalisation.

Mr. Rimmer said yes, but he had received no instructions.

Mr. Gordon said the new flying train might do away with rail-

ways

Mr. Hill said if he had had any idea the resolution would be opposed he could have developed his argument. Whatever might be invented there must be something like the present railways for long hauls. Civic rights for railway servants were vital.

The resolution was then put and carried with one dissentient.

The Chairman reminded them that the dinner was to take place at 7 in the Dolphin. He apologised for the disturbance of the previous night's entertainment by the weather.

Mr. O'Brien asked if the weather was the only thing the Transport Union could not control.

Congress then adjourned.

# THIRD DAY-WEDNESDAY, 3rd JUNE, 1914.

The minutes of the previous day's proceedings were read and adopted.

Arising out of the minutes, Mr. Longmore said he had been charged with being a perjurer and a liar. He challenged the Chair-

man to prove it.

The Chairman said Commissioner Fleming had decided that Mr. Longmore and his friends were wrong and perjured. He had paid him (Mr. Larkin) his expenses and he had mulcted Mr. Longmore's side in costs. Mr. Longmore could seek his remedy in court or elsewhere.

The Chairman asked for the definition of a non-contentious resolution. He held there should be no speech unless the resolution was opposed. He said they could get through quickly if the delegates were fair. If no principle was involved they should let things pass without discussion.

#### NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE ACT.

Mr. Dawson Gordon moved :-

"That in the opinion of this Congress the present panel system of obtaining medical certificates by insured persons in Ireland under the National Health Insurance Act has proven a complete failure both in regards to the interest of the insured person and the approved society. And that this Congress call upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Irish Insurance Commission to institute a State Medical Service for all insured persons, failing that, a State medical scheme be initiated for the purpose of issuing medical certificates to insured persons when ill. And that copies of this Resolution be forwarded to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Irish Insurance Commission."

"This Congress disagrees with the present system of panel doctors certifying for sickness benefit under the Health Insurance Acts; that it encourages malingering, deals unfairly with the approved societies, and increases enormously the cost of administration; and that the panel doctors should be replaced by Statepaid medical men whose whole time should be devoted to the examination and certification of persons claiming sickness and disablement benefits."

He wished them to know how the panel system wrought havor in Belfast. A certificate was not given free unless medicine was purchased from the doctor. His society employed a doctor to check the other's certificates. That was a degrading position for doctors. Men out of work sometimes got certificates when not ill. The doctors were not to blame for the position. They would lose the trade of the families if they refused the certificates. Poor people could not afford to buy medicine from private doctors, and therefore if really ill they could not get certificates or relief. Therefore a State medical service was necessary, if not for everything, then at least for the issue of certificates.

Mr. Houston (Belfast Trades Council) seconded. The present system encouraged malingering. More attention should be paid to sanatorium benefits. There should have been a resolution on that point. He knew two large families that died out in one house from consumption, and that house was let stand in the centre of a village for the germs to go abroad. The dispensary system was not the equivalent of State medical service.

The Chairman said the Medical Council of Ireland was pledged to supply certificates free.

The resolutions were carried unanimously.

Mr. T. Cassidy moved :-

"That in the opinion of this Congress, medical benefits under the Insurance Act, 1911, should be extended to the whole of Ireland, as, we believe, without such extension the Act is practically worthless to our country."

"This Congress again affirms its belief that Medical Benefits under the Insurance Act should at once be extended to Ireland; that the Dispensary System in this country is totally unsuited to deal with the requirements of insured persons; that if the Health Insurance Act is to be made anything but a costly farce, immediate action should be taken to confer these benefits without waiting for any alteration in the Poor Law or the abolition of dispensaries."

Without medical benefits the Insurance Act was a waste of time and money. He knew many cases of sick people unfairly dealt with, and of undeserving people getting benefits. He gave instances, including one woman pronounced fit by the medical referee but proved afterwards to need an operation.

Mr. Campbell seconded, and said they were still waiting for the promised one-clause Bill. They had resolutions at all Labour Conferences and deputations, etc., for two years and they were no nearer success. They must take some further action and devise some scheme that would put the Nationalist or Labour Party in a fix. Absence of medical benefits was the chief drawback to the successful working of the Act in Ireland. A man had got to pay for a doctor to attend him before he could get benefits.

Mr. Dawson Gordon moved amendment (a) standing in his name on the Agenda substituting State medical service for medical benefits. They did not want medical benefits as in England and Scotland; they wanted an independent service. The medical profession had taken a decided course, so should the workers. He also moved amendment (b) to make the Act non-contributory for persons earning less than 30s. per week. He said the Act should be non-contributory all round, but he liked to get what he could at a time.

Mr. McCarron seconded. He said the panel system in England had not worked well and would be a complete failure if conditions

were so bad as in Ireland.

Mr. Lumley said he held no brief for Lloyd George, but the cost of medical benefits could not be met.

The Chairman asked why was there a large surplus in London given over to the doctors.

Mr. McCann, for the Belfast carters, supported the amendment.

Mr. Turner said very incorrect statements were made about medical benefits. In Scotland they were working well. The only

solution of malingering was to appoint medical referees, or better, a free State medical service. The dispensary system was the cause of the omission of medical benefits on the recommendation of the Nationalists.

Mr. Johnson-Also of some Unionists.

Mr. Campbell said he was not opposed to a State medical service; he would accept both amendments.

Mr. Whitley asked was it intended to make the Act voluntary under 30s, a week. He would oppose it if it were voluntary.

The amendments were incorporated in the resolutions, which were then passed unanimously and ordered to be sent on at once to the proper authorities.

#### ORGANISATION BY INDUSTRY.

Mr. Rimmer moved :-

"This Congress recognises the increased power the capitalist and employing class have secured by the amalgamation and working agreements that have been entered into which has enabled them to practise greater economy and power, deplores the lack of cohesion and closer relations amongst the officers and members catering for sections of men employed in one and the same industry. It therefore urges the National Executive Committee to take steps to try and bring about the amalgamation of Trade Unions connected with each industry."

He said that the National Union of Railwaymen since it was formed by amalgamating three societies had grown to 300,000 members. They were not federated, but controlled by the members and executive. This was an example to be followed by other organisations, especially in Dublin. There were many small societies in Dublin who were helpless to assist themselves after a few weeks. They must realise what the other side was doing in trustification, corners in food, etc. They must follow that example. Craft and sectional unions were of no avail; they led to a class war within the movement. There were three organisations concerned in 1911. They proved then that militant methods appealed to non-unionists and would break down old barriers.

Mr. Dowling seconded the resolution.

Mr. Drummond moved amendment standing in his name to delete the word "amalgamation" and insert "federation." He said this resolution meant absorption, the big union wiping out the small. Mr. Rimmer's own organisation did not desire this industrial unionism. If they took in all on the railways they would disintegrate the Labour movement. Railways had docks and steamers and hotels, and they had workshops in Inchicore with skilled craftsmen. Were all these to be absorbed? Mr. Rimmer would not break the cohesion of the engineers or boiler makers. What they wanted was to get good feeling in the workshops.

Mr. Breen (Rosslare) seconded. He said the federation scheme of the Locomotive Engineers and Firemen still stood for acceptance. They would help other railway unions. He said sectional unions were the best means of advancing railwaymen in the United States where they had railway brotherhoods.

Mr. Walshe (Dublin) said the spirit of good feeling should break down class-barriers which were the curse of trade unionism in Ireland. There was war between the officials of different organisations, who were class officials. He was against class distinction of any sort. It was a great misfortune, when the tone of Congress should be mutual co-operation.

Mr. Mallin (Silk Weavers) supported the amendment. There was jealousy among officials, and they should approach quietly, so as to get over the nervousness of societies. Sectional unionism was not a success.

Mr. Good (Cork) asked had Mr. Drummond the authority of his society.

Mr. Drummond—Yes. All dangers and weakness were due to sectionalism.

Mr. Redmond (Dublin) supported the resolution. 1913 had taught them the meaning of sectionalism. The great trouble in labour wars was that they had one union scabbing on another. Mr. Rimmer's resolution would abolish this. The kernel of the situation was officialdom in the trade union movement.

Mr. Hill said this matter was engaging the attention of the railway clerks. The officials of the Railway Clerks' Union would not stand in the way.

The Chairman said no new matter had been introduced this last half hour.

Mr. MacPartlin said the rank and file must educate the officials or get others. Mr. Rimmer had expressed the view of the great majority of the working classes. What they wanted was amalgamation by industry and federation of the different industries.

Conneillor Partridge welcomed even now Mr. Rimmer's expression of regret on the lack of cohesion.

The closure was moved and accepted by the Chairman.

Mr. Rimmer desired to reply on the debate but was not allowed. As a protest he moved that the Chairman was abusing the power of the chair.

Mr. Drummond seconded.

The motion was put to the Congress and defeated.

The Chairman then asked were they all agreed that amalgamation versus federation was the question before them.

Mr. Rimmer-No.

The Chairman said Mr. Rimmer was like a dog in the manger.

Mr. Rimmer said the Chairman was the greatest autocrat in Dublin.

The Chairman withdrew the expression "dog in the manger" with reference to Mr. Rimmer. He only wanted to make clear what was the question at issue.

Mr. Rimmer said the resolution spoke for itself.

The Chairman then put the amendment, when there voted—For, 11; against, 56. Mr. Rimmer's resolution was then agreed to without a division.

The Standing Orders Committee presented their report recommending that non-contentious resolutions should be formally moved and seconded without speeches; that fifteen minutes should be allotted to the Scottish fraternal delegates at 12 o'clock; that Resolutions 14s and 14c should be grouped; that Mr. Connolly should be allowed to move an emergency resolution dealing with the document issued by a Belfast firm immediately after the reception of the Scottish delegates. The recommendations were adopted, Mr. O'Lehane dissenting.

The Chairman pointed out that no time had been allotted for the reception of the Irish Women's Reform League.

Mr. Lynch said the Standing Orders Committee had fixed it for 10 o'clock.

The Balance Sheet was then presented. The auditors, Mr. Breslan and Mr. Hegarty, reported that they had gone through it carefully and found it correct. They moved and seconded its adoption.

Mr. Doran asked a question with regard to the affiliation fee of the Municipal Employees' Association. This was down as 15s. which was wrong according to Clause 3 of the new Standing Order. The Municipal Employees' Association had over 500 members.

The Chairman said they must trust the honour of their associations.

Mr. Turner and Mr. Houston pointed out that the Municipal Employees' Association had a membership of 660. They had paid on that and if there was any mistake it was the Secretary's.

Mr. McCarron recalled the attack at Cork on the Tailors for not paying full affiliation fees. Why were other organisations not thus kept to the mark? He also asked a question as to the Engineers

The Chairman said the Engineers' Union was not affiliated to that Congress. The big unions were taking Irish money and not giving any return.

Mr. Rimmer said these general statements were impolitic.

Mr. McCarron said Mr. Lynch and himself had been appointed to deal with the question. Mr. Larkin had insisted the Tailors should pay, yet he would defend others in the same case. He

wished to move to add the words "that unions be compelled to pay on all their Irish members."

The Chairman said the motion was not necessary.

Mr. Redmond, as a delegate of the Engineers, said Mr. McCarron did not understand the position of the Engineers. The Engineers had withdrawn from the English Trades Union Congress. They could not send delegates here with the funds of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. It was done by local effort. He was sent by 200 men at their own expense.

At this point the doors were closed to allow the ballot for Executive to be taken.

Mr. Campbell, continuing the debate, asked Mr. McCarron what was his interpretation of the Standing Orders? Was it that they must pay on the full Irish membership? (Mr. McCarron—Yes). Then he was wrong. Mr. Campbell then read Clause 3 of the new Standing Orders and pointed out that any branch need pay only Id. per member on the branch membership. If the Union was affiliated direct to the Congress it must pay for the whole of Ireland.

Mr. Whitley said he thought his society could make 30s. out of this. At present the Union and the branches both paid.

The Chairman said the societies could rule themselves, and they would not stop them from being generous.

Mr. Lynch (Cork) said the Tailors were paying on their full Irish membership and every other union should do the same.

The Chairman said that was the Executive's order.

Mr. Breslan said, as his society had been mentioned, that only one branch was affiliated. Last year Mr. McCarron was in the same position. Next year they would pay on their full membership.

Mr. Rimmer said the only question was—was the Balance Sheet correct?

Mr. Hanlon said Mr. Campbell's interpretation of the Standing Order raised a new danger to the finances of Congress. If the Executive of any amalgamated society ignored Congress they could evade the rule by sending one branch to be affiliated.

Mr. Egan said his society sent two delegates elected by their Irish members, not by the Executive, but their expenses were paid by the Executive.

The Balance Sheet was unanimously adopted.

The election of Scrutineers for the ballot was then made. Messrs. T. Farren, Hegarty and Thornton were unanimously appointed, and the ballot was taken. After the scrutineers had retired, it was announced that the deputation from the Irish Women's Reform League would next be heard.

Miss Moser said she was there as a member of the deputation from the Irish Women's Reform League and principally to contradict Mr. Larkin's statement about her on the previous day that she was against trade unionism. This was an untruth. She was asked would she uphold the principles of trade unionism and she rep ied that she would not sign anything, as she was an independent candidate, but that she was in sympathy. Mr. Larkin's statement was quite untrue. Miss Chenevix would be the other speaker for the deputation.

The Chairman said he must have the confidence of Congress or he would leave the chair. Miss Moser had taken advantage of the kindness of Congress and abused her position. He asked the Congress to sustain his ruling that the deputation had been already received, and that they were finished with them.

Mr. Lynch said he understood Miss Chenevix was to be the deputation. It was not fair to make a personal statement. He withdrew the motion that the Irish Women's Reform League be heard and apologised to the Chairman.

Mr. O'Brien moved that Congress sustain the Chairman's ruling and that the Irish Women's Reform League be not further heard.

Mr. Connolly added that he regretted the Irish Women's Reform League had not seen fit to address the Congress on Women's Suffrage but had brought another question in under cover of Congress's permission. Had Miss Moser asked permission to raise this other question he had no doubt the Chairman and the Congress would have given it.

The Chairman said Miss Moser had been asked would she vote for a trade union clause in all contracts, and would she try to get the victimised men back. She said she would not. She was now taking advantage of Congress's confidence. This was all part of the machinery for carrying on the campaign against the Labour movement.

Miss Moser said that was a lie.

Miss Moser was asked to withdraw, and Congress proceeded to the next business.

The Chairman said that Mr. George Barnes, M.P., was present and he invited him to address the Congress. He and Mr. Barnes were old enemies and they might fight later on.

Mr. Barnes said he was heartily in sympathy with them in all their work. He was an old trade unionist and he believed also in political action. Therefore he was a member of the Labour Party. The two movements should go hand-in-hand. He said they should paddle their own canoe and put no faith in political or other promises.

The Chairman said however much they might differ inside the trade union movement, when one section was attacked they would all rally to its support.

#### SECTIONAL UNIONS.

Mr. Johnson moved :-

"That this Conference declares that any method of organisation which seeks to divide persons employed by Co-operative Societies from their fellow-workers in the same occupation in competitive employment is detrimental to the best interests of Trade Unionism."

He said the Shop Assistants' Union asked them to declare that it was not in accordance with trade union principles to organise according to the choice of employers. He was not attacking any other union, but asking a direction from Congress as to lines of organisation. Shop assistants, whether inside or outside the select circle of co-operative employees, should be in one union. He understood that the Co-operatives' Union made their members, who were skilled workmen, be members also of the skilled trade unions. But they were extending their activities among many who were not skilled. Their ideal was to have all co-operative employees in this one union. He had no objection to that, but where there was a union for the whole trade a man should belong to that first,

Mr. O'Lehane seconded.

Mr. Lumley said the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees had 43,000 members. They had abolished local unions for one strong union within the co-operative movement and to fight the co-operative movement when necessary. Mr. Johnson's own union was sectional. It took in clerks. So was the Railway Clerks' Union. Their objective was to have three big unions, one for all in State or municipal employment; one for those in co-operative employment; and one for those in private employment; but that was far ahead. He asked them to leave this resolution for next Congress. They should deal with the question of sectional unions, but he objected to have his union singled out.

Mr. Whitley asked did the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees ask its members to leave their own union?

Mr. Lumley said no, but they could transfer from it by agreement. They did not take skilled men unless they were members of their own union.

Mr. Lynch (Cork) said the tailors, bakers, etc., had brought the Co-operative Society to book for taking their members.

At this point the debate was adjourned to receive the delegates from the Scottish Trades Union Congress.

Mr. Lewis apologised for Bailie Clinie who had been called away. In Scotland the rank and file were enthusiastic about Dublin and did their utmost for Dublin. The Scottish Congress had demanded Home Rule; if it was good for Ireland it was good for Scotland. He bore them fraternal greetings. "One union" was not near at hand. It would be a matter of years and years owing to mutual

jealousy. But they had made a start in the working arrangement between the transport workers, railwaymen and miners.

The Chairman said they reciprocated Mr. Lewis' greetings. All workers and nations should unite. All the unions within the transport industry should be together. The rank and file should call the tune. Scottish trade unionism was a credit to them. It followed the Irish lead every time.

The new Draft Standing Order drawn up by the special committee with regard to Parliamentary and other candidates was then read as follows:—"Candidates for public bodies must be and remain members in good standing of a labour organisation eligible for affiliation to this Congress, and must continue to be members thereof so long as they retain their seats. They shall also pledge themselves to accept this Constitution, agree to abide by the decisions of the Annual Meetings and National Executive in carrying out the aim of this Constitution; appear before their constituency under the title of labour candidates only, and abstain strictly from identifying themselves with or promoting the interests of any candidature not endorsed by the National Executive."

This was moved by Mr. Drummond and seconded by Mr. Breen. On the suggestion of Mr. Johnson the words "if elected" were inserted in the first sentence between "must" and "continue."

Mr. Campbell suggested that candidates should pledge themselves against attending meetings of other parties.

The Chairman said they must accept the pledge in the spirit. Meetings were of course barred.

Mr. Campbell said it would be well to leave no loophole. Candidates might attend meetings of other political parties not in connection with candidates.

Mr. Johnson suggested they might add the words "political party."

The Chairman said words did not bind; they must trust the spirit and honesty of their candidates:

Mr. Turner said some candidates might want to run as Labour and Socialist candidates.

The Chairman said they had disposed of that. They must stand as labour candidates only. Whether they agreed to it or not, after to-day they would all be described as Atheists and Socialists, free lovers and breakers up of happy homes.

Mr. Campbell moved to insert in the resolution the words "otherpolitical party or" between "any" and "candidature."

Mr. Drummond said he was prepared to accept this.

Mr. Johnson opposed it. It would tie them up in an unnecessary way. The Independent Labour Party of Ireland—a propagandist body—had run candidates for local bodies and might again. Its propaganda was on our lines and it would be undesirable to prevent any member associating himself with the propagandist work of such organisations on such points as nationalisation of railways for example.

Mr. Connolly supported Mr. Johnson's view. He had been a member of Socialist organisations for twenty-five years and he thought that their insistent and consistent propaganda had been largely responsible for the change in the Irish Trades Union Congress. They must not be debarred from going on with such activities.

The Chairman said Mr. Campbell's amendment would prevent a candidate from being identified even with the Dublin Labour Party. Perhaps the words "any party not pledged against present system" would be better.

Mr. Campbell withdrew his amendment.

The Draft Standing Order as originally presented with the words "if elected" inserted was carried unanimously.

The Chairman said they should have a great feeling of thankfulness that they were alive in 1914. In days to come Ireland would be proud of the men in this Congress.

The debate on Resolution 10 was then resumed.

Mr. Campbell supported the resolution. It would be disastrous to approve of shop unions.

Mr. McCarron said this matter had been settled by the English Trades Union Congress.

The Chairman said that was out of order. This was an Jrish Trades Union Congress, and they were not going to take infallibility from England, but to deal with it here and now.

Mr. McCarron said the Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees had taken in tailors and other skilled workers.

Mr. Lumley said they did not now since the decision of the English Trades Union Congress.

Mr. McCarron said they wanted to continue to poach on the skilled unions of Ireland.

Mr. Turner supported the proposal to refer this matter to the Executive. It was impossible to reach a just decision to-day. Other unions were also poaching. The Railway Clerks were a sectional union. All sectional unions were bad. There should be only one union. This was kept back by the idea that the craftsman was superior to the scavenger. They would have to give and take and bury the past.

Mr. Doran supported the amendment. He could not vote for or against to-day.

Mr. Kelly also supported the amendment. This was a serious problem, and there were many present not concerned in it.

The Chairman said they were all concerned in it.

A vote was then taken on the proposal to refer the whole question to the National Executive for consideration, when there voted— For, 58; against, 13. The matter was accordingly referred to the Executive.

SECTIONAL AND SPASMODIC STRIKES.

Mr. Rimmer proposed, Mr. Dowling seconded, and it was carried unanimously:-

"Having given careful consideration to the many and varied circumstances in which members of Unions that are affiliated with this Congress have been involved in strikes without first being consulted, and the consequent danger that follows local and sectional outbursts, this Congress hereby instructs the National Executive Committee to consider this question with a view to a uniform policy and concerted action being taken."

Mr. Connolly then moved a resolution condemning a document issued by a firm in Belfast. A similar document had been employed in Dublin and had had to be abandoned. It had evoked the bitterest passion and had caused loss of life. Yet a similar form was now being issued by Messrs. Davidson & Company in Belfast. It ran: "I—, am not a member of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, or of any similar unskilled labour organisation or union, and so long as I am in the employment of Messrs. Davidson & Company I will not join, or become associated with, any such union." This document re-inforced their debates at many points. This firm of Davidson's held many Government contracts and their action was a contravention of the rules governing such contracts. Moreover it showed what was the zeal for civil and religious liberty of the men who wanted to divide the workers of Ulster from the rest of Ireland. Messrs. Davidson had drill going on on their premises every night and this was their conception of liberty. He desired to move :- "That this Congress condemns the attempt of certain Belfast employers to introduce a veto on the Irish Transport Union and other unions of unskilled labour, and calls upon all unions to take action, and demands that such firms should be struck off the list of fair firms for Government contracts." The employers were fomenting strife and using it to enforce this document on the very men whom they were asking to shoulder guns for liberty.

Mr. Campbell seconded.

Mr. Johnson said this action was not new on the part of the Sirrocco Works. The excuse in Dublin was that this document was aimed against one particular anarchic union. No doubt the Sirrocco would say the same. But he had in his hand a similar form issued by the same firm and dated 29th April, 1906, in which they asked their employees to undertake to cancel their membership

of any union. Davidson was perhaps the most virulent of the antagonists of Home Rule. He brought labour deputations from England to his works and crammed them with what he called "the industrial case against Home Rule."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Scrutineers then presented their report on the result of the ballot for the National Executive as follows:—

M. J. O'Lehane				75
James Connolly	111	***		69
R. O'Carroll, T.C.	***	***		69 68
W. E. Hill T. MacPartlin	100	-	patient 6	68
Wm. O'Brien		ted bed	Short Bish	65
M. J. Egan, T.C., J	I.P.		10,000,01	63
T. Cassidy		***		63

Messrs. W. J. McNulty (21) and J. Mercer (15) were not elected.

#### SAVINGS BANK ACT AND DEATH CERTIFICATES.

Moved by Mr. Dawson Gordon, seconded by Mr. Mercer, and adopted uranimously:—

"That the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to take such steps as may be necessary to secure the amendent of the law, so that Trade Unions may have the same privileges as Friendly Societies.

"(a) In the depositing of their funds in Saving Banks; and "(b) In the obtaining of death certificates."

#### GOVERNMENT INSPECTION OF RAILWAY OFFICES.

Moved by Mr. Orr, seconded by Mr. Hill, and agreed :

"That this Congress hereby expresses its disappointment and dissatisfaction with the negative reply given by the Home Secretary to the deputation which interviewed him on February 9th last upon the question of Government Inspection and Regulation of Railway Offices, and in view of the excessive lung disease and the other illnesses arising from the unhealthy conditions under which many railway clerks are compelled to work, urges the Home Secretary to initiate during the present Session of Parliament thorough-going legislation on this subject on the lines of the Bill introduced by Mr. C. J. Wardle, M.P.

"That copies of this resolution be sent to the Home Secretary, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Leaders of the Irish Parties."

#### LABOUR UNREST.

Moved by Mr. O'Brien, seconded by Mr. McPartlin, and adopted unanimously:—

"That this Congress regards the general Labour unrest, with constantly-renewed conflicts between Capital and Labour, as the outward sign of deep-rooted social disease, and protests that the symptoms cannot be got rid of by attempted suppression of Trade Unionism and public meetings, or by police brutality, or by hugh funds to assist blacklegs. The Congress urges that Labour unrest can only be ended by the abolition of the capitalist system of wealth-production with its inherent injustice and poverty, and among first steps to that end demands legislation to secure to every person a national minimum of civilised life by measures providing for a legal minimum wage in agricultural and all industries, the reduction of the hours of labour to a maximum of 48 hours per week, complete provision against sickness, the guarantee of a national minimum of child nurture, the prevention of unemployment, the building of healthy homes for all, and the abolition of the Pcor Law."

#### PUBLIC BOARDS AND GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS.

Moved by Mr. O Flanagan, seconded by Mr. Dunne, and adopted unanimously:—

"That the Irish Trades Union Congress demands that the printing required by all the Public Boards and Government Departments in Ireland should be executed by trades union labour, and hereby recommends the appointment of a Sub-Committee consisting of representatives of the Dublin Typographical Society and the Typographical Association to inquire minutely into the conditions of labour which employees on all Public Boards and Government printing contracts work under in Ireland, such Sub-Committee to report without delay the result of their investigations to the Parliamentary Committee of the Irish Trades Union Congress in order that the fair wage conditions of such contracts be put into full effect and secure for the workers in the Irish printing industry the remuneration which by law they are entitled to."

Moved by Mr. Dunne and seconded by Mr. O'Flanagan :-

"That (as the Government should hold rank in all its Departments as a good employer) it is inadvisable in the placing of Government contracts for printing and other specialised industries that tenders should be sought, or contracts given in non-industrial districts where a low wage standard prevails; as, by so doing, large industrial centres where a fair rate of wages is paid are placed at a disadvantage, thus causing unemployment with its attendant loss to large ratepaying centres solely dependent on their industrial activities"

Mr. Cassidy objected; this resolution was unnecessary. It would confine Government printing to certain districts, while it should be spread over all the country, if done by trades union labour. This resolution would effect one of the branches of his society.

Mr. Dunne said since the first meeting of the Irish Trades Congress they had always insisted on having Government work done in Ireland, so as to get back their share of the taxation. But private capitalists took advantage of this. He did not seek to confine the printing to Dublin, but Athlone printers at 28s. a week should not compete with Belfast at 35s., Cork at 36s. and Dublin at 37s. 6d. He did not care whether the work was done in Dublin, Belfast or Cork, so long as the standard wage prevailed.

On the suggestion of the Chairman the matter was referred to the Executive, with the understanding that the representatives of the two typographical societies should meet and come to an agreement on the matter.

Moved by Mr. Casey (Limerick), seconded by Councillor Lawlor, and adopted:—

"That it be an instruction from this Congress to the Parliamentary Committee to demand an immediate inquiry into the working of the Fair Wages Resolution of the House of Commons as applying to barrack contracts in Ireland.

"That this Irish Trades Union Congress is of opinion that the clothing required by all Government departments in Ireland should be made in this country by Trades Union labour; and we enter our protest against the action of the Treasury in directing the Irish Land Commission to obtain the uniforms of their porters and messengers in England; and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the First Lord of the Treasury, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Chairman of the Labour and Irish Parties."

### THE SHOPS ACT.

Moved by Mr. O'Lehane, seconded by Mr. Johnson, and adopted without discussion:—

"We demand that the provisions of the Shops Act be extended so as to apply to all persons employed in or about any retail or wholesale distributive trades; that the hours be limited to 48 per week; that the weekly half-holiday be at one o'clock each week independent of Bank Holidays; that one hour be allowed for dinner whether partaken on or off the business premises, and that the administration of the Act should be placed in hands other than local Councils, the members of which are directly interested."

#### HALF-TIME SYSTEM.

Moved by Mr. Doran, seconded by Mr. Houston and agreed :-

"That this Congress desires to place on record its emphatic condemnation of the half-time system in the employment of children under fourteen, and calls upon the Government to abolish it throughout the United Kingdom."

#### FEEDING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.

Moved by Mr. Kennedy, seconded by Mr. Redmond, and adopted:—

"That this Congress demands the extension to Ireland of the Feeding of Necessitous School Children Act together with the application and enactments of such amendments as have been or may be given effect to from the passing of the Act, and the administration body shall be the Urban authorities in Ireland.

"That we strongly urge the Government to extend to Ireland the operation of the Acts of Parliament making provision for the feeding of necessitous school children, and emphatically condemn the attitude of the majority of the Irish Members of Parliament in allowing Ireland to be excluded from beneficent legislation in recent years in order to please the farming class.

"That we, the members of the Irish Trades Congress, demand the Irish M.P.'s. to use their best endeavours to have the Act for the Feeding of Necessitous School Children extended to Ireland."

## COMPULSORY AFFIXING OF PRINTERS' IMPRINTS.

Moved by Mr. Dunne, seconded by Mr. Cassidy, and adopted :-

"That in the opinion of this Congress, the time has arrived when all printing should, by Act of Parliament, bear the imprint of the printer; and that it be an instruction to the Parliamentary Committee to take steps with this view."

#### MINIMUM WAGE.

Moved by Mr. O'Lehane, seconded by Mr. Breslan, and adopted :

"That the establishment of a fair minimum wage for those who work in Shops is a matter of urgent necessity, the present miserable rates of pay being an injustice crying out for immediate remedy, and we demand that in the proposed Minimum Wage Bill all Shop Assistants and Clerks be included."

### MISLEADING ADVERTISEMENTS IN TAILORING TRADE.

Moved by Mr. A. Murphy, seconded by Mr. Gorman, and adopted :

"That we call upon the Parliamentary Committee to press the Government to introduce legislation on the following:—

"(a) That it be illegal to advertise factory-made clothing as

bona-fide bespoke tailoring.

- "(b.) That where a customer asks to have his or her clothes made by Trades Union bespoke labour, and same having been proved to be made otherwise, a fine of the purchasing price of the clothes be inflicted for the first offence and for every subsequent offence imprisonment.
- "(c) And in order to give effect to the foregoing, that the Government appoint practical tailors as inspectors with power to visit workshops and factories, whose duty it shall be to prosecute for any infringement against the law.
- "(d) And, further, that it be not illegal for Trades Unions to publish the names of employers who do not pay the Trade Union rate of wages of the city or town in which they trade."

#### TRADES BOARD ACT.

Moved by Mr. Johnson, seconded by Mr. O'Connor, and adopted :

"This Congress is of opinion that the extremely low rate of wages prevailing amongst those employed in the retail and wholesale distributive trades makes it urgently desirable that the Trades Board Act should be so amended that the Board of Trade could make a provisional order applying that Act to all such workers."

Moved by Mr. A. Murphy, seconded by Mr. T. Farren, and adopted :

"That this Irish Trades Congress call upon the Irish and Labour Members of Parliament to urge upon the present Government the necessity of so extending the scope of the Trades Board Act so as to fix a minimum rate of wages for bespoke tailoring which shall not be less than the present Trade Union rate, which has been mutually agreed to by employers and employes. And in order to ensure that the rates paid shall be the Trade Union standard, the Labour Exchange Act be so amended as to make it compulsory upon each employer within the area covered by each Exchange to make to the manager thereof a return showing the wages of time workers and prices for piecework of each section of the workpeople in their employ; and every alteration of same should, within seven days of its coming into operation, be reported to the manager, who should provide a register, and enter thereon the information received; and every worker replying to requests of employers should have access to such portion of the register as deals with the particular trade or calling that the employer belongs to."

## "LIVING-IN" SYSTEM.

Moved by Mr. O'Lehane, seconded by Councillor Partridge, and adopted:—

"That this Trades Congress is of opinion that the abolition of the 'living in' system in Shops is a matter of importance and urgency, and we request an amendent of the Truck Acts so as to declare its continuance illegal."

#### CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT ON RAILWAYS.

Moved by Mr. Hill, seconded by Mr. Orr, and adopted:-

"That, in view of the inadequacy of the information at present supplied in regard to the actual conditions on the various railways in Ireland, and bearing in mind the public necessity for up-to-date statistics upon this subject, this Congress urges upon the Government the necessity of obtaining, either by legislation or an inquiry, full information regarding the rates of pay, hours of labour, and all other conditions of employment of all grades of employes in the Irish Railway Service; also to ascertain the amount of additional revenue received annually by Irish Railway Companies as a result of all increased charges to the public and the amount of expenses saved by reductions in staff, train service, and other facilities; further to gather definite information as to the proportion of such revenue allocated to the improvement of staff conditions as compared with the proportion utilised for other purposes.

"That copies of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Leaders of the Irish

Parties."

### PAYMENT OF ELECTION EXPENSES.

Moved by Mr. O'Brien, seconded by Mr. Dunne, and adopted :-

"That this Congress of Irish Trades Unionists re-affirms its demand for the payment by the State of election expenses; asks, in the event of the passing into law of the Government of Ireland Bill, that financial provision be made by Parliament to secure that this principle shall apply in the first election of members to the Irish Parliament; and instructs the Parliamentary Committee to take all possible steps to have the above given effect to."

#### HOME INDUSTRIES

Moved by Mr. Longmore, seconded by Mr. Sharkey, and adopted:—

"That this Congress, representing the Trade and Labour element of Ireland, view with deep concern and regret the continued importation of foreign-manufactured bottles, more particularly into the Northern and Southern Counties, while factories are lying derelict and bottlemakers kept idle in Dublin. And this Congress calls on all licensed traders and merchants to support home manufacture, as by so doing they will be helping themselves through keeping the people at home to support other Irish industries."

COMPULSORY CERTIFICATE OF COMPETENCY FOR ENGINE DRIVERS.

Moved by Mr. Coffey, seconded by Mr. McClure, and adopted:—

"That this Trades Union Congress, assembled in the City of Dublin, demand that the Engine Drivers and Firemen of Ireland be issued certificates of competency by the Board of Trade, seeing the responsible positions they hold, being entrusted with life and property; and, further, seeing that when an accident occurs, that those men are held firmly to a Board of Trade Inquiry, the decision of which is of such public importance.

"We consider that the time has arrived when the Board of Trade, should take the necessary steps to issue those certificates; that Engine Drivers and Firemen from three to five years in charge, be eligible for certificates without examination; and for others that the Board of Trade decide the necessary qualification and examination which must be passed by candidates for such work before they are allowed to take charge.

"That copies of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister, the President of the Board of Trade, the Leaders of the Opposition, Labour, and Irish Parties."

"That this Congress again calls upon the Government to prepare a Bill for the greater safeguarding of human life and property from accidents caused by explosions of locomotive boilers or fireboxes—1st, by providing for the proper inspection of locomotive boilers by the Board of Trade; 2nd, by providing for certificates of competency by the Board of Trade for drivers in charge of boilers and engines, and insisting that all such shall be in possession of such certificates, and that where attendants (firemen) are left solely in charge of steam, rail, or motor carriages, that such men be in possession of a certificate of competency, and be senior attendants; 3rd, that it be embodied in this Bill that no man receive a certificate who has not served five years on the footplate as fireman, and that applicants must pass through the various stages of locomotive work as at present—cleaner, fireman, then driver."

#### MOTOR SPEED LIMIT.

Moved by Councillor Bohan, seconded by Mr. Brophy, and adopted :-

"That owing to the alarming increase in the number of accidents caused by motor traffic, especially in the more densely-populated

quarters of the city, and the more or less general relaxation of the laws governing such traffic, we call upon the responsible authorities—1st, to enforce whatever existing laws there are; 2nd, to introduce laws to regulate more stringently the speed limit, or to reduce it so as to bring it more in conformity with the needs and conditions of the present time; 3rd, that the nuisance created by the splashing of mud from these vehicles warrants special legislation, making it compulsory under penalty to provide mudguards for all such vehicles and thus lessen what is becoming an eyesore in some parts of the city; 4th, that owing to the large number of motor vehicles at present being used daily, we respectfully suggest immediate legislation of some such nature as specified above."

#### CO-OPERATION.

Moved by Mr. O'Lehane and seconded by Mr. O'Brien :--

"That this Congress recognising the importance of the co-operative movement for the working classes and owing to the growth of fierce commercial competition, more especially in the Distributive Trades, we hereby instruct the incoming Parliamentary Committee to take steps so as to place before the workers of the country the advantages of co-operation, and that a small Committee to co-operate with the Parliamentary Committee, consisting of two representatives from each of the four Provinces, be appointed so as to give practical effect to this Resolution."

Mr. J. O'Neill had an amendment on the Paper, and it was agreed to refer both resolution and amendment to the new Executive.

#### PUBLIC BODIES AND WATER INSPECTORS.

Moved by Mr. Keogh, seconded by Mr. Lynch (Cork), and adopted:-

"That in the appointment of Water and Sanitary Inspectors for the services of Municipal Authorities, preference be given to qualified plumbers."

### OUTWORKING IN TAILORING TRADE.

Moved by Mr. A. Murphy, seconded by Councillor Lawlor, and adopted:—

"That this Congress urges upon the Parliamentary Committee the necessity of having the Factory and Workshops Act so amended as to make it imperative on all employers in the tailoring trade to provide sufficient and suitable workshops for all those in their employment, as, in our opinion, home-working is the chief cause of the sweating system. Further, so long as employers are allowed to send their work to people's homes, complete and efficient workshop inspection is impossible without an enormous and absurd increase in the number of inspectors. It is also our opinion that where bedrooms or living rooms are used as workshops they become a danger to the public health, and tend to demoralise those engaged therein."

MOTOR LORRY TRAFFIC.

Moved by Councillor Bohan, seconded by Mr. Dunne, and adopted with an addendum inserting the name of Belfast as well as Dublin:

"That this Congress of Irish Trades Unionists enters its protest against the preferential treatment meted out to motor lorvies in the City of Dublin by the police authorities whereby they are almost immune from prosecution for breaches of the Traffic Acts, whilst persecuting drivers of heavy vehicles which are horse-drawn.

"That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan

Police and the Chairman of the Labour and Irish Parties."

Resolution 39 was not moved, having been covered by the new Draft Standing Order on the same subject.

DEPORTATION OF LABOUR LEADERS IN SOUTH AFRICA. Moved by Mr. A. Murphy, seconded by Mr. Houston, and adopted:

"That this Congress condemns the unconstitutional action of the South African Government in deporting Trade Union Leaders and Citizens without previous trial, or conviction of any offences and against the law and any Statute of the country; and insists that justice be immediately effected by entirely withdrawing the order of deportation, and demands the unconditional rehabilitation of the deported leaders; and, further demands that the Royal Assent be withheld from the Indemnity Act in the South African Parliament until the opinion of the whole of the electorate of South Africa be obtained on the matter."

METHODS OF EMPLOYERS DURING LOCK-OUTS AND STRIKES. Moved by Mr. Houston, seconded by Mr. Doran, and adopted :-

"This Congress protests against the methods of several employers of labour in victimising and locking out their employees, and, through the medium of the Capitalist Press, misrepresenting the workers' position, by stating that the trouble was due to Syndicalism, whereas the cause of all the trouble was due to the tyrannical attitude of those employers towards Trades Unionism. Further, we respect and admire the fighting spirit of the Trades Unions involved, and affirm that if any of the other Unions not affected had been treated in the same manner, they would have retaliated."

Moved by Mr. Moran, seconded by Mr. Farren, and agreed to

unanimously :-

"That this Congress, representing the workers of Ireland, calls upon the Irish members of Parliament to support the Hours of Labour (Bakehouses) Bill introduced by Mr. Wilkie proposing to restrict the Hours of Labour in Bakehouses to 48 hour per week; and that copies of the resolution be forwarded to the leaders of the Irish Parties in the Honse of Commons."

It was announced that every delegate would be presented by Mr. Connolly with a copy of his book "Labour in Irish History."

The place of next year's meeting was next discussed.

Mr. H. J. Houston moved, and Mr. Flanagan seconded, "That Congress meet in Belfast next year."

A delegate having asked would Belfast be in Ireland, the Chairman replied that it would and that they could not go to a better

place.

Mr. Keely conveyed an invitation from the Trades Council of Sligo and from the Transport Union there that the Congress should meet in that town next year.

Mr. Coffey suggested that Waterford should be the place of the

next meeting.

The Chairman and the Secretary stated that there was a letter from the Waterford Trades Council which made that impossible. There was trouble in Waterford and the Council was not in a position to invite Congress.

Mr. Lynch moved "that the next meeting be held in Derry."

Mr. Egan seconded. Belfast might not be in Ireland, but there was no doubt Derry would. They met in Sligo in 1900 and it was

17 years since they met in Derry.

Mr. McCarron said there would be trouble in Derry. The last time the Congress was held in Derry it was a success, but this time they would need to come with knapsacks on. There were in Derry 2,500 Irish Volunteers ready to take their place in the line of battle. He thought the Congress should not meet under the mouth of the cannon.

Mr. Thornton said they ought to keep out of the zone of fire.

The Chairman said they ought to go into it; that was why he proposed Belfast

Mr. Houston, Belfast Trades Council, said they met in Belfast

six years ago; it would not be congenial next year.

The Chairman said that perhaps Newry, as the frontier town, would please both sections.

Mr. A. Murphy said the Congress should get into some town

where organisation was bad and stir it up.

Mr. Johnson said they had twelve months to consider, and their differences might be bridged in that time. He suggested the matter should be left to the Executive. Personally he would recommend Drogheda.

Mr. Connolly moved that the Congress accept the Invitation

from Sligo, the only one officially tendered to them.

This was carried unanimously, and Mr. Keely returned thanks on behalf of Sligo to Congress for accepting the invitation.

The Chairman said they must tender their thanks to the citizens of Dublin for the use of their Hall. The Congress had been flouted by the Lord Mayor, and so had the Co-operative Congress. The Chief Magistrate of the City ought to have been here to welcome the delegates. Therefore they would thank no one but the citizens.

Mr. MacPartlin formally proposed a vote of thanks. The citizens should see to it that the man whom they elected as their chief

citizen should recognise the organised workers. Public representation was rigged and the men elected here did not represent the citizens of Dublin.

Mr. Coffey asked was the Lord Mayor in the city.

The Chairman said they were not responsible for his movements.

The vote of thanks was unanimously adopted.

Mr. McCarron moved a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee. Dublin was unique in raising all the money for the reception of delegates within the movement. The arrangements were equal to anything ever done, even in Dublin Castle. The interests of the employers and the workers were diametrically opposed. To accept money from employers to entertain people who might be fighting them to-morrow was a thing that should never be done.

Mr. Whitley seconded the vote of thanks, which was passed

unanimously.

Mr. O'Brien, on behalf of the Reception Committee, suitably

acknowledged the vote.

Mr. Cassidy moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman. The manner in which he had carried on the work had been unique. He had departed from the beaten track of prepared sermons and had given them a fine natural oration. The only objection raised to his proceedings was that he arrogated too much of the time. But all would confess that Mr. Larkin was an impartial Chairman. He had no respect for what delegate he sat upon.

Mr. Casey (Limerick Trades Council), seconded the motion. He saw Mr. Larkin for the first time at that Congress. He came up with fear and trembling to sit under him, but he had found him a lamb.

Mr. O'Brien supported the vote of thanks. It had been said that Mr. Larkin's Presidential Address was a remarkable address, by a remarkable man, and he had certainly proved a remarkable Chairman, indeed a unique Chairman. He had made them revise all their dictionaries and all books written on rules of order. But they had put him in the chair, not because they thought he would be an ideal Chairman, but to honour him for his work for the Trades Union movement.

Mr. Rimmer, as one who had had occasion to challenge the rulings of the "lamb" desired to be associated with the vote of thanks, though he could not congratulate Congress on its selection. Mr. Larkin had said that the Chairman was never wrong and undoubtedly he believed it. He was a remarkable man, and did not realise the importance of his declarations.

The vote of thanks having been adopted unanimously,

Mr. Larkin said he was glad someone had added salt to the soup. He did not thank them for eulogy; he was more used to other sorts of flattery. He was a strong man with any amount of confidence. He would love his enemies and beat his friends into doing things. All he thought of was principle, and when he took a line of action nothing would stop him.

The Congress then closed,

# BALANCE SHEET, DUBLIN CONGRESS, JUNE, 1914.

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Audited and found correct,

ANDREW BRESLAN Auditors.

# AFFILIATION FEES.

BUT SELECTION TO THE REPORT		1	S.	d.	
Amalgamated Tram and Vehicle Workers -		1	10	0	
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joine	rs				
(Dublin 3rd)	-	0	8	0	
Amalgamated Union of Cabinetmakers (Dublin)	-	0	9	0	
Amalgamated Society of Engineers (Dublin No. 2)	100	0	16	8	
Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses	-	3	10	0	
Amalgamated Society of Housepainters			10	0	
Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employees	500	2	8	4	
Ancient Guild of Brick and Stonelayers	-	1	10	0	
Associated Loco, Engineers and Drivers	100	1	14	4	
Belfast Trades Council	-	3	0	0	
Belfast and Dublin Locomotive Engine Drivers	5. 15	2	0	0	
Boot and Shoe Operatives (Dublin)	1	0	8	4	
City of Dublin Operative Farriers		0	6	8	
Cork United Trades Council		1	0	0	
Dublin Carpet Planners -	5	0	3	6	
Dublin Paper Cutters	-	0	4	2	
Dublin Plumbers	-	0	18	4	
Dublin Metropolitan House Painters -	.0	1	8	4	
Dublin Stonecutters	000	0	6	8	
Dublin Saddlers	4	0	6	0	
Dublin Silk Weavers		0	8	6	
Dublin Trades Council	3 3	3	0	0	
Dublin Tinsmiths and Sheetmetal Workers -	300	0	8	4	
Dublin Typographical Society	-	3	0	0	
Electrical Trades Union	-	1	8	4	
Flax Roughers (Belfast)		1	10	0	1
General Union of Carpenters	-	1	0	10	1
Irish Amalgamated Bakers	-	1	8	4	1
Irish Cart and Waggon Builders	31	0	5	0	
Irish Glass Bottlemakers	-	0	14	0	
Irish Grocers' and Purveyors', &c., Assistants	7	0	16	8	
Irish Operative Butchers' Society -	2	0	15	0	
Irish Stationary Enginedrivers	3	1	8	4	
Irish Transport Union E.C.	To the last	14	10	0	
Irish Women Workers' Union (Dublin) -	-	1	10	0	
Irish Women Workers' Union (Belfast) .	-	1	0	10	
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Irish Drapers' Assistants	KIR.	4	10	0
Limerick Trades Council	1000	1	0	0
Municipal Employees Association	200	0	15	0
National Union of Bookbinders (Dublin)	Com	0	16	8
National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades -	253	1	15	0
National Union of Shop Assistants and Clerks	1	1	0	4
National Union of Dockers (Derry)	A =0	1	8	4
National Union of Assurance Agents	16.00	0	10	0
National Union of Railwaymen	200	13	4	0
Newry Trades Council	2001	0	10	0
Postmen's Federation	1	3	10	0
Royal Liver Agents' Union	1	0	8	10
Railway Clerks' Association		2	10	0
Steam Engine Makers	110	1	5	0
Typographical Association (E.C.)	1 ma	2	10	0
Typographical Association (Belfast) -	100	01	10	0
United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers -	SIE	2	10	0
		£97	6	8

# LIST OF DELEGATES.

AMALGAMATED BAKERS OF IRELAND .- Francis Moran, Bakers' Hall, Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin.

AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS, DUBLIN, 3rd Branch-Andrew Breslin, 33 Emerald Street, Dolphin's Barn, Dublin.

AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF ENGINEERS (DUBLIN, 2nd BRANCH)-John

Redmond, 13 Lord Edward Street, Dublin.

AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF TAILORS-James M'Carron, T.C., 48 Stanley Walk, Derry, and Patrick Lynch, 2 Crosses Green,

EMERALD BRANCH, DUBLIN, -Arthur Murphy, P.L.G., and John MacMahon, Trades Hall, Dublin.

PROGRESSIVE BRANCH, DUBLIN.—Thomas Lawlor, T.C., P.L.G.,

Trades Hall, Dublin.

AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF TRAMWAY AND VEHICLE WORKERS-Michael McCann, 71 Albert Street, Belfast.

AMALGAMATED UNION OF CABINETMAKERS-J. Costello, 13 North Summer Street, Dublin.

AMALGAMATED UNION OF CO-OPERATIVE EMPLOYEES-L. Lumley, 22 Green Lane, Oldham, and W. Lennox, 32 Drumcondra Road, Dublin.

ANTIENT GUILD OF INCORPORATED BRICK AND STONELAYERS-R. P. O'Carroll, T.C., P.L.G., and William Flynn, 49 Cuffe Street, Dublin.

ASSOCIATED SOCIETY OF LOCO. ENGINEERS AND FIREMEN-John Drummond, 101 Hillhouse Street, Glasgow, and J. Breen, Cawdor Street, Rosslare Harbour, Co. Wexford.

BELFAST AND DUBLIN LOCO. ENGINE-DRIVERS AND FIREMEN.-Henry McClure, 98 York Road, Belfast, and Walter Walsh, 195 Phibsboro' Road, Dublin,

Belfast Trades Council-D. R. Campbell, 11 Kimberley Street, Belfast, and D. Houston, 37 Lisburn Avenue, Belfast.

BOOT AND SHOE OPERATIVES (DUBLIN BRANCH)-Arnold Lowe, 3 Deane Street, Dublin.

CARPENTERS, GENERAL UNION-Richard Brophy, 55 Ring Street, Inchicore, Dublin.

CITY OF DUBLIN OPERATIVE FARRIERS-Benjamin Drumm, 15 Parnell Street, Dublin,

CORK UNITED TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCIL.-Mr. Michael Egan, J.P., T.C., 19 Commons Road, Cork; Thomas Walsh, Trimbath's Lane, Cork; Mr. Timothy Hegarty, 6 Garfield Terrace, Wellington Road, Cork.

DUBLIN CARPET PLANNERS-Thomas Murphy, 10 Portobello Road.

Dublin.

DUBLIN SILK WEAVERS UNION .- M. Mallin, 46 Upper Kevin Street. Dublin.

DUBLIN TINSMITHS AND SHEET METAL WORKERS-John Farren, Trades Hall, Capel Street, Dublin.

- Dublin Trades and Labour Council—Wm. O'Brien. Trades Hall, and Thomas MacPartlin, Trades Hall, Dublin.
- DUBLIN TYPOGRAPHICAL PROVIDENT SOCIETY—Michael O'Flanagan, 35
  Lower Gardiner Street, and John P. Dunne, 41 Penrose
  Street, South Lotts, Dublin.
- ELECTRICAL TRADES UNION—C. T. Woodhead, 23 Manor Street Dublin, and H. J. Houston, 34 Lisburn Avenue, Belfast.
- FLAX-ROUGHERS AND YARN-SPINNERS—Dawson Gordon, 23 Columbia Street, Belfast,
- Furnishing Trades Association—D. Mulcahy, 26 George's Place, Dublin.
- IRISH DRAPERS' ASSISTANTS' ASSOCIATION—M. J. O'Lehane, W. Hore and T. O'Dwyer, 76 Grafton Street, Dublin.
- IRISH GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS—Arthur Sharkey, Great Brunswick Street, Dublin, and James Longmore, 25 Pembroke Street, Irishtown.
- IRISH GROCERS, PURVEYORS, GENERAL SHOP ASSISTANTS' AND CLERKS' UNION.—John O'Connor, 7 Henry Street, Dublin.
- IRISH LINEN-LAPPERS-John Mercer, 25 Columbia Street. Belfast.
- IRISH OPERATIVE BUTCHERS' ASSOCIATION—Arthur Doran, 12
  Merkland Street, Belfast.
- IRISH STATIONARY ENGINE DRIVERS-John Coffey, 26 Gulistan Cottages, Dublin.
- IBISH TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION (DUBLIN NO. 1 BRANCH)

  —James Larkin, Bernard Conway, John O'Neill, Michael
  Cunningham, Thos. Foran, and P. T. Daly, Liberty Hall,
  Beresford Place, Dublin.
  - Belfast Branch-James Connolly, 122 Corporation Street, Belfast.
  - CORK BRANCH—(No. 20)—Daniel Coveney, 4 Merchant's Quay, Cork.
  - CORK BRANCH (No. 21)—Daniel Carey, 2 Maria Villas, '98 Street, Cork.
  - Dublin No. 3 Branch—John Bohan, T.C., 15 Basin Street, Upper, Dublin; Thomas Burke, 62 Queen Street, Dublin; and Thomas Kennedy,
  - AGRICULTURAL LABOUBERS BRANCH—Frank Moss, Swords.
  - INCHICORE BRANCH-W. P. Partridge, T.C.
  - SLIGO BRANCH—Alderman John Lynch, New Street, Sligo, and Councillor P. Keeley, Lord Edward Street, Sligo.
  - WEXFORD BRANCH—Richard Corish, T.C., P.L.G., William Street, Wexford.
- IRISH WOMEN WORKERS (DUBLIN BRANCH) Delia Larkin, Croydon Park, Dublin, and Bridget Butler, Liberty Hall, Dublin.
  - Belfast Branch-Mrs. Ellen Gordon, 41 Kilwood Street, Belfast.
- LIMERICK TRADES AND LABOUR COUNCIL—James Casey, Bowman-Street, Limerick,

METROPOLITAN HOUSE PAINTERS-Joseph Cahill, E. McCabe and John Scully, 27 Aungier Street, Dublin.

MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES' ASSOCIATION-A. R. Turner, T.C., 86 George Street, Glasgow.

NATIONAL AMALGAMATED HOUSE AND SHIP PAINTERS AND DECORATORS-J. McBride, 6 Lomond Street, Strandtown, Belfast.

NATIONAL AMALGAMATED UNION OF SHOP ASSISTANTS, WAREHOUSEMEN. AND CLERKS-Thomas Johnson, 13 Ranfurly Drive, and M. Smyth, 9 Adelaide Street, Cork.

NATIONAL SOCIETY PRINTERS' WAREHOUSEMEN AND CUTTERS-Thos.

Pakenham, 53 Summerhill, Dublin.

NATIONAL UNION OF BOOKBINDERS AND MACHINE RULERS (DUBLIN Branch)—Thomas Clarke, 10 St. George's Place, N.C.R.

NATIONAL UNION OF DOCK LABOURERS (Derry) .- W. J. McNulty,

Longtower Street, Derry.

NATIONAL UNION OF RAILWAYMEN-N. Rimmer, 7 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin; J. M. MacDonagh, 27 South Terrace, Inchicore; and Thomas Dowling, St. Patrick's Terrace,

CORK BRANCHES, Nos. 1 and 3-John Good, 97 Patrick Street.

Cork.

POSTMEN'S FEDERATION-T. Irvine, 13 Cadogan Street, Belfast, and C. P. Kelly, 4 St. Joseph's Terrace, Wellington St., Dublin.

RAILWAY CLERKS ASSOCIATION-W. E. Hill, 337 Gray's Inn Road, London, E.C., and R. L. Orr, 4 Brighton Road, Rathgar.

ROYAL LIVER AGENTS AND EMPLOYEES-John Hanlon, 24 Millmount Avenue, Drumcondra.

STEAM ENGINE MAKERS (DUBLIN BRANCH, No. 24)-John O'Rourke, 3 Basin Street, Lower, Dublin.

STONECUTTERS OF IRELAND (Dublin Branch)-Thomas. Farren, 3 Brown Street, Dublin.

TYPOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION-H. T. Whitley, "Florida," Ardenlee Parade, Cregagh Road, Belfast, and T. Cassidy, 41 Chapel Road, Waterside, Derry.

BELFAST BRANCH-Frank Hall, 12 Frederick Street, Belfast, and

E. H. Thornton, 2 Annalee Street, Belfast.

UNITED KINGDOM SOCIETY OF COACHMAKERS-William Gardiner, 31 Walnut Street, Belfast, and R. Costello, 4 Rockboro' Road, Cork.

UNITED OPERATIVE PLUMBER'S ASSOCIATION (Dublin Lodge)-George Keogh, 11 St. Brigid's Avenue, North Strand, Dublin,

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

SCOTTISH TRADES CONGRESS-Bailie Robert Clinie, 25 Armour St., Kilmarnock, and Gilbert Lewis, Dockers' Office, Ardrossan.

## VISITOR.

# IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS, 1894-1914.

100				Secretary.	Treasurer.
ear.	No, of Delegates.	Locality.	President,	Market Mark 12 - 10 St. Auto a	
894 895 896 897 898 899 1900 1901 1902 1903 1904 1905 1906	Delegates.	Dublin Cork Limerick Waterford Belfast Londonderry Dublin	J. H. Jolley (Printer) James Dalton (Printer) P. J. Leo (Pork Butcher) Richard Worthly (Tailor) James M'Carron (Tailor) George Leahy, P.L.G. (Plasterer) A. Bowman, T.C. (Flax Dresser) Wm. Cave, Ald. (Bootmaker) Walter Hudson, M.P. (A.S.R.S.) Wm. Walker, T.C. (Carpenter) Jas. Chambers, P.L.G. (Saddler) Stephen Dineen (Baker) James M'Carron, T.C. (Tailor)	John Simmons  " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	Patrick Dowd. J. H. Jolley.  "P. J. Tevenan.  Alex. Taylor.  Geo. Leahy, P.L.G.  ""  E. W. Stewart.  ""
1908 1909 1910 1911 1912 1913 1914	85 108 85 75 87 99 94	Belfast Limerick Dundalk Galway Clonmel Cork	John Murphy, P.L.G. (Printer) M. Egan, J.P., T.C. (Goachmaker) James M'Carron, T.C. (Tailor) D. R. Campbell Insnce Agent) M. J. O'Lehane (Draper's Asst.) Wm. O'Brien (Tailor) Jas. Larkin (Transport Worker	P. T. Daly	M. J. O'Lehane, P.L.G. D. R. Campbell.

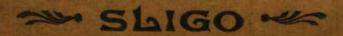
<sup>\*</sup>In 1901 and from 1903 the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for the year was also President of the Congress.



THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL

# CONGRESS

WILL BE HELD IN



DURING WHITSUN WEEK, 1915.

