

Irish Trades Union Congress and  
Labour Party.

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REPORT  
OF THE TWENTY-SECOND  
Annual Meeting  
HELD IN THE  
TOWN HALL, SLIGO,  
ON  
Aug. 7th, 8th and 9th, 1916.

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Executive.

cuallact oibre éireann is comairle na ceárd

árd-choisde gnóta

# Irish Labour Party & Trade Union Congress

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

Secretary: Thos. Johnson, T.D.

Assist. Secretary: R. J. P. Mortished.

TELEPHONE NO. DUBLIN 4559.

IN REPLY QUOTE  
OUR REFERENCE

YOUR REFERENCE

32 Lower Abbey Street,  
DUBLIN.

All letters should be addressed to  
"The Secretary."

No Congress was held in

1915

for the reasons stated on  
page 5 of the Report for 1916.

—  
R.P.

# NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

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CHAIRMAN :

THOMAS MCPARTLIN, DUBLIN.

VICE-CHAIRMAN :

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, DUBLIN.

COMMITTEE :

THOMAS CASSIDY, Derry.

MICHAEL EGAN, Cork.

THOMAS JOHNSON, Belfast.

THOMAS FARREN, Dublin.

M. J. O'LEHANE, Dublin.

THOMAS FORAN, Dublin.

DAWSON GORDON, Belfast.

NATHAN RIMMER, Dublin.

TREASURER :

D. R. CAMPBELL, 11 KIMBERLEY STREET, BELFAST.

SECRETARY :

P. T. DALY, TRADES HALL, CAPEL STREET, DUBLIN.



# Report of the Twenty-second Annual Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, SLIGO, 1916.

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THE following is the Report of the Executive Committee presented to Congress, the discussion upon which will be found in the proceedings infra.

FELLOW DELEGATES,—In presenting you our Report, embracing in time a period of over two years, we do so under great handicap. Following the recent uprising in Ireland, not alone has our Secretary, Mr. P. T. Daly, been removed to England, but all his papers and correspondence dealing with the Congress affairs have been seized, nothing of any service having been recovered. Under these phenomenal circumstances, deprived of any written record any recountal of your Executive's activities for 1914-15 must be of a brief character. The resolutions passed at our last Congress, in all cases where such instruction was given, were forwarded to the various Government officials and Public Bodies, and in most cases duly acknowledged.

**Conference in Printing Trades.**—Pursuant to instructions given on the question of preventing the placing of Government printing contracts in districts where wages were low, the Executive arranged for a conference.

This was held in Dublin, and was attended by three delegates from the Typographical Association and three from Dublin Typographical Society, with Mr. P. T. Daly in the chair. After considerable discussion, the following resolution was adopted.—

“That no Local Government, Poor Law or Urban Council printing contracts be executed in any town or city in Ireland paying less than 30s. per week; that Government printing contracts be confined to the cities of Dublin, Cork, and Belfast, or any other town or city paying a minimum of 35s. per week.” It was arranged that a deputation, consisting of two delegates from the Typographical Association, two from the Dublin Typographical Association, with Mr. Daly from Congress, should wait upon the Executive Committee of the Typographical Association in Manchester, and ask for their support to the foregoing. It was also decided that information should be sought as to the number of County Councils, Boards, etc., who had adopted the Fair Wages Resolution, and also as to rates of wages paid in all printing centres in Ireland.

This visit arranged for was made on 11th July, 1914, and after



hearing the views of the deputation, the E. C. of the Typographical Association passed the following resolution:—

"That 30s. being the minimum rate in the Rules of the Association, this E. C. is of opinion that the printing work of local authorities should be confined to offices paying at least the 30s. rate, but not less than the local rate where it is higher than 30s. Further, this Council is prepared to give support to any movement to put this into effect.

The Conference was subsequently resumed in Belfast on 8th August, 1914, Mr. P. T. Daly presiding. Mr. Daly reported he had sent out some 600 circulars to public bodies, asking answers to the following questions:—

1. Have you adopted the Fair Wages Resolution?
2. Names and addresses of printing firms at present executing printing contracts for your Board,
- 3 Wages paid and working hours of such firms?

Replies had been received in about 160 cases. From these it would appear that only 62 Irish public bodies have as yet adopted the Fair Wages Resolution:—County Boroughs, 6; Urban Councils, 17; County Councils, 13; Rural District Councils, 15; Boards of Guardians, 11. It is to be regretted that a large number of the officials of Rural Councils and Guardians did not extend to the communication the courtesy of a reply. Consideration was again given to the main question, and after discussion it was decided to amend resolution passed at earlier meeting by deleting the words "any other town or city" and substituting "offices." The effect of this would be that a firm paying 35s. per week, though situated in a district where the rate was lower, would not be debarred from executing Government work, and would therefore give an upward tendency to wages. It was decided to hold a further meeting in Cork, but this did not take place, and no report has been formulated by the Committee in charge. It is our belief that Conferences such as these, by the societies interested, where a community of thought and action is arrived at, should be exceedingly helpful to those concerned, and we trust that joint action in the printing trades may be renewed at an early date. If Congress served no other purpose than to assist in a unification of effort by affiliated bodies, it would easily justify its existence.

**Irish Government.**—Faced with the probability of Home Government being established, and our organization being called upon to justify its existence under its new constitution as a Labour Party, your Executive considered the advisability of sending a delegation to America for the purpose of seeking financial assistance to contest elections. After full discussion it was decided this should be done, and the Secretary was instructed to put the matter before Mr. Gompers, President American Federation of Labour, and get his opinion. This proved favourable, and further arrangements were in progress when the outbreak of the war destined to upset so many plans, put a stop to the projected mission.



**Action of Executive re Food Stuff.**—Realizing how disastrous abnormal export of foodstuffs might be to the people of this island, your Executive issued a manifesto to the workers of the country, dealing with the peril of unrestricted profit mongering with the necessities of life.

**Postponement of Congress.**—In the spring of 1915, with the minds of the people for the most part engrossed in the progress of the European War, the advisability or otherwise of holding the Annual Congress arranged to take place in Sligo during Whit week, occupied the attention of your Executive, who, after fully considering it, reluctantly arrived at the decision that it must at least be postponed till later in the year. Later in the season, when the matter was again reviewed, and when the prospects of holding a successful meeting were, to say the least, no brighter, it was decided that it would have to be abandoned for that year.

This was a great disappointment to all concerned, to none more so than the local Reception Committee, who had been labouring so hard to make our visit to Sligo as successful as the former one, but it was we believe the better course to adopt. When the Congress had been abandoned for the year, it was decided to issue an appeal to affiliated bodies for financial assistance to carry on the work, to which a loyal response was made.

**College Green Election.**—The regrettable death of Mr. J. P. Nannetti, M.P., the member of the College Green Division of Dublin, and all his life a consistent Trade Unionist, created a vacancy in the Metropolis which aroused considerable interest among Dublin workers. The question of contesting the seat by a nominee from the ranks of Labour was considered by your Executive under their new powers, and after discussion as to the difficulties of finance, etc., was left in the hands of the Subcommittee acting in conjunction with the Dublin Labour Party. Some hesitation was felt at undertaking such a big venture, but urged by the choice of candidate made by the Irish Party, the decision to contest the seat was arrived at, the result being as follows:—

Nugent (Nat.)	...	...	...	2,445
Farren (Lab.)	...	...	...	1,816

Majority ... 629

The contest was short and sharp, but, considering that it was undertaken at the eleventh hour with but imperfect machinery, the magnificent poll secured by Mr. Farren augurs well for the future of Labour Representation in the City of Dublin.

**Withdrawal of Grant under Section 106, National Health Insurance Act.**—The Government having thought it well, in pursuance of its cheese-paring attitude in certain directions, to notify the withdrawal of the grant given to various Trades Unions, under Section 106, National Health Insurance Act, your Executive protested against this withdrawal; it being most unfair to societies which had already drafted their rules in accordance with



the arrangement that this grant be forthcoming, but without avail.

**Irish Rebellion.**—The events of Easter week—the rising and its suppression—the imposition of Martial Law, and the wholesale arrest and deportation of suspected persons, many of them Trade Union officials, necessitated considerable activity on the part of your Committee. The correspondence printed herein will indicate the direction of our efforts.

The position of Trade Unionism in Dublin following the rebellion, was for several weeks somewhat critical. Some of the more active officials had been killed or arrested, public meetings had been prohibited by proclamation, and this was held to apply also to Trade Union meetings. The dislocation of industry consequent upon the bombardment and destruction by the military of the centre of the City, led to widespread unemployment and distress, and the call upon Trade Unions for financial aid was heavy. In addition there was evident, in certain sections of Dublin employers and their spokesmen in the Press, a feeling of satisfaction that **at last** they had seen the end of militant Trade Unionism! We felt it to be our duty to do all we could to advise and offer cheerful counsel to those Unions which had been sorely hit. We are gratified to be able to report that to-day the movement in Dublin is in a sound and healthy condition.

In view of the grave rumours that were afloat, the state of mind of those in authority, and the stoppage of communication between Dublin and the outside world, our chairman and Treasurer wrote from Belfast to Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Secretary to the British Labour Party, and a Member of the Cabinet, directing his attention to several matters of urgent importance. The following is the letter and the correspondence which ensued:—

RIGHT HON. A. HENDERSON, M.P.,  
House of Commons.

DEAR SIR,

We take the liberty to write to you at this very serious time, to ask you to interest yourself to prevent the possibility of a grave injustice being done to several of our friends and comrades in Dublin.

We take first the case of Mr. F. Sheehy-Skeffington, who has been arrested. Mr. Skeffington is not directly associated with the Trade Union Movement, but we know him to have been a strenuous opponent of anything like an armed rising. He is strongly anti-war, but consistently opposed to military action on all hands, and both publicly and privately has denounced recourse to armed activities on the part of the anti-war Nationalists. His only association with the Dublin revolt was, we are assured, that he tried his utmost after the outbreak, to organize a body of civic police to prevent looting.

We know nothing of the circumstances of his arrest, but fear that under a trial by Court Martial, with military feeling inflamed as it is, the Court will not be able to appreciate the difference between his action and that of active participants in the revolt.

Secondly, we draw attention to the case of many of the women prisoners. Practically all of these women were engaged in the work of nursing and succour—some of them only taking their places on the second, third, or fourth day, when it was obvious that the need of assistance for the wounded

was urgent. These women have been arrested, and no one knows where they are. Their friends are anxious to know whether they are alive or dead, and no information can be obtained from the military or police.

Thirdly, we hear that several of the Trade Union leaders of Dublin have been arrested. No one knows the charge against them. Though active participators in Trade Union and Labour fights, they have not been adherents of the Sinn Fein movement. We fear that in the general condemnation many men and women, who are innocent of any connection with the revolt, will be unjustly punished should they be hastily tried by Court Martial.

We ask you to use your influence immediately to secure that the men and women now in custody shall be enabled to communicate with their friends, and have ample opportunity to arrange for their defence.

Yours sincerely,

D. R. CAMPBELL, Treasurer	}	National Executive
THOS. JOHNSON, Chairman		Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party.

NOTE.—This was written on May 5th. We did not know at the time that Mr. Skeffington had been shot by the military on April 26th. An official statement was issued by the Military Command on May 3rd denying that any prisoner had been shot without trial, and we therefore disbelieved the rumours we had heard. It now appears from the evidence given at the Court Martial, that a report of the murder of the three prisoners at Portobello Barracks—Messrs. Sheehy Skeffington, M'Intyre and Dickson—had been made by the officer in command of the barracks to headquarters on April 27th. Despite this report an official statement denying the rumours was issued on May 3rd.

WHITEHALL,  
LONDON, S.W.,  
8th May, 1916.

DEAR MR. JOHNSON,

I duly received the letter signed by yourself and Mr. Campbell, and I at once placed it in the hands of the responsible authorities, with a personal request that your recommendations might receive their most careful consideration.

Yours sincerely,  
ARTHUR HENDERSON.

WHITEHALL,  
LONDON, S.W.,  
12th May, 1916.

DEAR MR. JOHNSON,

I think you will like to see the enclosed copy of a letter which I have received from Sir John Maxwell in reply to mine enclosing a copy of yours of the 6th May.

Yours sincerely,  
ARTHUR HENDERSON.

[COPY.]  
HEADQUARTERS, IRISH COMMAND,  
PARKGATE, DUBLIN,

9th May, 1916.

DEAR MR. HENDERSON,

I have received your letter of the 8th May, enclosing a communication from the National Executive of the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party.

I will certainly see that the representations made will receive the most careful consideration



As regards the women who have been arrested, I have already released the majority of them, and am only retaining, for further inquiry, certain of the more responsible individuals who appear to have been clearly connected with the rebellion.

The work of sorting the various prisoners is, as you can imagine, one of great magnitude, and I am most anxious to release, without delay, any innocent person who may have been inadvertently arrested.

Yours very truly,

(Signed)

J. G. MAXWELL

The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.,  
Whitehall, London, S.W.

(It will be noted that no reference is made to the case of Mr. Sheehy Skeffington.)

BELFAST, May 13th, 1916.

ARTHUR HENDERSON, ESQ., M.P.,  
Minister of Education,  
Whitehall, S.W.

DEAR MR. HENDERSON,

I am much obliged for your letters of 8th and 12th inst., the latter enclosing copy of a communication from Sir John Maxwell.

Amongst the Trade Union leaders arrested are two of our Committee—Mr. Wm. O'Brien, Secretary Dublin Trades Council, and Mr. P. T. Daly, T.C., our Congress Secretary.

I have been to Dublin twice within the past two weeks, and am satisfied that neither of these men were engaged in the revolt; but they are only two amongst many others in a similar position. Arising out of Mr. Daly's case, we as a Congress Executive are in an awkward position. Our Congress was arranged for Whitsuntide. The Secretary has all papers, affiliations, etc., and we can't get into communication with him. No access to prisoners is allowed, and as a consequence we are unable to move. As you are aware, a number of English Societies are affiliated, and we wish to get into communication with them.

Can you use your influence to secure that I, as Chairman, or, to save my journey to Dublin, one of our Executive members, say Mr. O'Lehane, Secretary of the Irish Drapers' Assistants, or Mr. M'Partlin, of the Joiners' and Carpenters' Society, should be allowed to interview Mr. Daly as soon as possible, **on Congress business only?**

Yours sincerely,

THOMAS JOHNSON.

BOARD OF EDUCATION,

WHITEHALL, LONDON, S.W.,

17th May, 1916.

DEAR SIR,

I am desired by Mr. Henderson to say that he has communicated further with Sir John Maxwell on the subject of your letter,

I am,

Yours faithfully,

C. M. YOUNG.

T. Johnson, Esq.

(Re interviewing P. T. Daly, Secretary, Congress.)

On May 11th Mr. Asquith announced in the House of Commons his intention to visit Ireland to obtain a first-hand knowledge of affairs in this country. During his stay in Dublin he was approached by a deputation of property owners in regard to their claims for compensation for destruction of property. Your Committee thereupon endeavoured to arrange that he would receive a deputation in regard to compensation for loss of life

and loss of furniture, tools, etc.. and the release or trial of all Trade Union officials, etc., etc. We failed to arrange an interview, but the following letters passed:—

[COPY.]

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY.

BELFAST, May 15th, 1916.

THE RIGHT HON. H. H. ASQUITH, M.P.

SIR,

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the above organization, representative of the Irish Trade Union movement, we beg to request that an opportunity may be given to us to interview you during your visit to Belfast in relation to

(1) Compensation to the relatives of working men who, having no association with the revolt, have lost their lives in Dublin owing to the action of the military authorities;

(2) Compensation for the damage to workmen's homes by the action of the military in destroying houses and furniture to achieve military ends;

(3) The imprisonment of Trade Union leaders without any evidence of complicity in the revolt;

and to request that facilities be given to us to interview the Secretary of the congress (Councillor P. T. Daly), who was arrested, for the purpose of obtaining information regarding the books and papers appertaining to the Trades Union Congress to be held at Whitsuntide.

Yours respectfully,

D. R. CAMPBELL, Treasurer	} National Executive.
THOS. JOHNSON, Chairman	

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY.

TRADES HALL,

CAPEL STREET, DUBLIN,

May 20th, 1916.

THE RIGHT HON. H. H. ASQUITH, Esq.,

Prime Minister.

SIR,

In reference to our letter, dated 15th inst., and your reply thereto, promising to consider any statement we may make in writing, we desire to make the following representations on the subjects indicated in our letter.

We are pleased to note that the Government has agreed to compensate property owners in Dublin and elsewhere for the loss caused by fire and theft during the recent revolt.

(1) We urge upon the Government that the claim of the relatives of non-combatant civilians who have been killed or injured should receive similar consideration. It is common knowledge that many persons, having no connection whatever with the revolt, were shot by the military, many being killed and wounded. No doubt these were "accidents," and were unfortunately an inevitable consequence of the measures considered necessary by the military authority to quell the rising. But we contend that the relatives of the victims have at least as strong a claim upon the good will of the State for some recompense for the loss (in many cases) of the breadwinner, as the property owner has for the loss of his property.

(2) The same claim is made in regard to losses borne by working class householders and small shopkeepers caused by damage to the interior of houses and shops and the destruction of furniture, on entry being made by the military. A great deal of damage was done in this way, and the sufferers are not in a position to use the machinery of the property owners' association which has been formed to formulate claims. We suggest that an official announcement should be made that the State will make an ex gratia grant to meet these losses, and that a responsible local committee might be appointed to act for the claimants and formulate their claims.

We would press upon you the wisdom of giving immediate sympathetic consideration to such cases as those referred to in the foregoing paragraphs.



particularly to those who are suffering from the loss by death or wounding of the heads of households. "Life is more than property," and we hope it may not be again the experience of the working class of Dublin (on whose behalf we have the honour to plead), that the rich will receive compensation because they have friends at Court, while the poor must bear their losses without complaint, because, being poor, that is their just reward!

(3) Imprisonment of Trade Union leaders.—We wish to make an emphatic protest against the arrest and continued detention without trial of a number of Trade Union leaders and officials—men whose only crime appears to be that they are associated with active Trade Union and Labour organizations, and in the minds of the authorities are therefore dangerous.

We do not intend to enlarge upon this subject, as we presume that the demand for a speedy trial of all prisoners is already engaging your attention; but in the name of the organized Trade Union movement in Ireland, we demand the immediate public trial of all Trade Union officials.

We are,

Yours faithfully,  
THOS. JOHNSON, Chairman } National  
D. R. CAMPBELL, Treasurer } Executive.

10 DOWNING STREET,

WHITEHALL,

8th June, 1916.

DEAR SIR,

Referring to your letter of May 20th, the Prime Minister desires me to say that all material losses in respect of buildings and their contents are being submitted to Sir William Gouling's Committee. Those who have suffered loss should therefore send in their claims to the Committee, and Mr. Asquith has no doubt that they will be satisfactorily dealt with. He regrets that the Government are unable to undertake to pay compensation for loss of life or injury which may have occurred during the course of the outbreak. Mr. Asquith would also be much obliged if you would forward the list of Trade Union leaders whom you claim have been unlawfully arrested or detained, and he will have further enquiry made into their cases. He also desires me to point out that any prisoner who feels aggrieved at his detention will have the right to appeal to Mr. Justice Sankey's Committee.

Yours faithfully,

M. BONHAM CARTER.

Thomas Johnson, Esq.

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

BELFAST, June 17th, 1916.

THE RIGHT HON. H. H. ASQUITH, ESQ.,  
Prime Minister.

SIR,

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 8th inst., and thank you.

We regret to learn that while the Government are agreeable to compensate for losses occasioned by damage to furniture and houses (as well as other property), they are unable to undertake to pay compensation for loss of life or injury to the person of innocent citizens arising from the same cause.

It being a well established practice in modern society that loss of property is of more concern to governments than loss of life, the decision causes no surprise, but it is none the less lamentable at this particular moment in the history of our country.

In regard to the Trade Union leaders whose release or immediate trial we have demanded, their names are:—

P. T. Daly, of Dublin (Secretary to the Irish Trades Congress, etc.).

Wm. O'Brien, Dublin (Secretary Dublin Trades and Labour Council).

Thomas Foran, Dublin (President Irish Transport Workers' Union).

M. J. O'Connor, Tralee (Secretary Tralee Trades Council).

There may be others, but these have come especially to our notice, and we sincerely believe

- (1) That they took no part in the outbreak; and
- (2) that they have been detained because of their active participation in Trade Union and Labour movements, and probably at the instigation, direct or indirect, of certain people in civil life. Our insistent request is, that **these men should be brought to trial, or that they be forthwith released.**

In the case of Mr. P. T. Daly, now at Wandsworth Detention Barracks, we understand that he has been kept in solitary confinement for several weeks, without cause, but (and we have this on the authority of a member of Parliament), on the definite instruction of the Military Authority in Dublin. Treatment like this of an untried prisoner does not help to increase respect for "law."

In the case of Mr. Wm. O'Brien, he has refused **on principle**, to sign the form of application for release, his contention being, no doubt, that the authorities have no right to detain a citizen, and as a condition of considering his claim for release to require him to answer a series of questions as to his religion, membership or non-membership of certain (legal) organizations, movements on specific dates, etc., all before any charge has been preferred against him.

We beg to request that attention will be directed to these cases without delay.

We are,

Yours faithfully,

D. R. CAMPBELL, Treasurer	} Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party.
THOS. JOHNSON, Chairman	

10 DOWNING STREET,  
WHITEHALL, S.W.,

21st June, 1916.

DEAR SIR,

The Prime Minister desires me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th June, which shall receive consideration.

Yours faithfully,

Thomas Johnson, Esq.

M. BONHAM CARTER.

Our claim for compensation has been supported, both publicly and privately, in the Press and in Parliament, but, as will be seen, while the Government has resolutely refused to grant compensation for personal injury or loss of life, they have agreed to consider claims for loss of tools, damage to and destruction of furniture, etc., as to which, through the good offices of the Dublin Trades Council a considerable number of cases have been submitted to Sir William Goulding's Committee.

Following upon Mr. Asquith's visit, and in view of his then expected statement in Parliament on the future Government of Ireland, we, in conjunction with the Dublin Trades Council, sent a deputation consisting of the Chairman representing the Congress, and Mr. Thomas Farren representing the Dublin Trades Council to London to interview the Parliamentary Labour Party, the British Trades Congress Parliamentary Committee, and the Transport Workers' Federation Executive (the latter two Committees being in session at the time), and also to visit our Secretary, Mr. P. T. Daly, then imprisoned in Wandsworth Detention Barracks as a "suspect." The deputation was cordially received by each of the above named bodies. The Labour Party were asked to press forward in any debate which took



place upon the future Government of Ireland, our claim, that whatever arrangements might be made, full consideration must be given to the growing Labour Party in the country. Both they and the Trades Congress Parliamentary Committee were asked to support our demand that compensation should be paid for loss of life and loss of employment due to military activities in Dublin; also to press for the trial or release of our Secretary; to secure the return of books and papers belonging to Congress and the Transport Union which had been taken possession of by the military, and in general the deputation's instructions were to give full information to our friends of the Labour Movement in London as to the facts of the Irish position in so far as Labour and Trade Unionism was affected.

We desire to place on record our thanks to each of the organizations named for their ready response to our requests, and their generous offer to assist the Irish Labour Movement in any way we might suggest. We would also acknowledge the support rendered by the Labour Press of Britain.

In regard to our demand for the return of the books and papers belonging to the Transport Workers' Union and this Congress, we are pleased to say that after some delay we succeeded in obtaining possession of a portion of these. Unfortunately a great deal had been destroyed, considerable stocks of new books and stationery, as well as large quantities of Trade Union records had been sent to the paper mill to be pulped.

It may be desirable in this connection to place on record, for the information of the Trade Union world outside Dublin, and in the interests of reliable history, certain facts in regard to the attack upon, and the military occupation of "Liberty Hall"—one of the chief centres of Trade Union activity in Dublin.

Sir Mathew Nathan, Under Secretary, in his evidence before the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the causes of the rebellion stated that there were about three thousand members of the Citizen Army, and in the course of his evidence, and that of certain Dublin employers, an impression was sought to be created that the Citizen Army and the Transport Workers' Union were scarcely distinguishable organizations.

The facts, as admitted by Major Price, of the Army Intelligence Department, in his evidence, and by the Under Secretary for War, in reply to a question asked in the House of Commons, are, that the Citizen Army at the time of the outbreak comprised about 200 men! Not more than half of these were members of the Transport Union. They were tenants of rooms in Liberty Hall, and had sole access thereto, just as several other bodies, Trade Union and other, were tenants of other rooms.

Not a single shot was fired from Liberty Hall during the rebellion until after the military took possession. The building was vacated and locked, and no one but the caretaker was on the premises after six o'clock on Monday night, April 24th, until the military "captured the citadel" after a bombardment



which was utterly unnecessary, and which did not begin until Wednesday morning, 26th April—a day and a half after the place had been vacated! The wanton destruction and pillage which occurred during the military occupation calls for inquiry. Over two hundred pounds worth of stock, shirts, underclothing, etc., were stolen from a shop attached to the building and occupied by the Women Workers Co-operative Society. In the women's workroom a dozen sewing machines were wantonly smashed to bits, chairs, tables, clothing, books, pictures, etc., were broken up or stolen.

We submit this statement of indisputable facts which have come to our knowledge, in order to remove a false impression regarding one of our affiliated societies which has been deliberately created by the capitalist Press and the authorities for the purpose of discrediting that organization.

**Irish "Settlement" Proposals.**—Since the Government's policy in regard to the amendment of the Government of Ireland Act was announced, we have taken such steps as seemed desirable to renew our opposition to the suggested "partition" scheme. It will be remembered that, when similar proposals were suggested two years ago, Congress passed resolutions in determined antagonism to any proposal to exclude Ulster or any part of Ireland from the Home Rule Bill. Deputations had been sent to London, and public meetings of protest were held, under the auspices of Congress, to help to defeat the attempt to divide Ireland. It was argued that such a proposal, if carried out, was bound to destroy all our hopes of breaking down sectarian and political antagonisms by the creation of a great Irish Labour Party, uniting the workers of North and South, that the working classes of both included counties and the excluded counties, would inevitably suffer by the division, because remedial and protective Labour legislation would be retarded in both sections the Irish Parliament being predominant agricultural and therefore conservative, would be loth to alienate capitalist interests in Ulster in the hope of inducing them to come into the scheme of self-government, and Ulster, being "nobody's child," would probably be denied the benefit of Labour legislation passed for the workers of Britain.

These and similar arguments were appended to the following letter, which was sent to Mr. Lloyd-George:—

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,  
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

BELFAST, June 6th, 1916.

THE RIGHT HON. D. LLOYD GEORGE,  
Minister of Munitions.

SIR,

RE IRISH GOVERNMENT.

On behalf of the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party, representing the organized workers of Ireland, we desire to bring to your notice the fact that no arrangements made regarding the problem of Irish Government which provides for the dismemberment of Ireland will be acceptable to the Irish Labour Party.

The Trade Unionists of Ireland cannot accept as binding any settlement



which is the result of any arrangement made with the Ulster Unionist Party and the Irish Nationalist (Parliamentary) Party—neither of which has any authority to speak for the organized working class in Ireland.

During the discussions on the Home Rule Bill and the Amending Bill (1914), we laid our views and the resolutions arrived at at our Annual Congress before Mr. Birrell and the Irish Party and the Labour Party, by deputation and otherwise, as per appended summary. These we hereby reaffirm, and respectfully request that our suggestions and the resolutions arrived at by the Trade Unionists of Ireland shall be given due consideration before any settlement is arrived at.

Yours,

THOS. JOHNSON, Chairman.  
D. R. CAMPBELL, Treasurer.

The action of our officials was confirmed at a meeting of the Executive held on June 10th, when the following resolutions were passed, copies of which were sent to Mr. Lloyd-George. Mr. J. E. Redmond, Sir E. Carson, Mr. Wm. O'Brien, and the Chairman and Secretary of the British Labour Party, from whom acknowledgments were received.

Resolved—"That this Executive Council, representative of the organized workers of the whole of Ireland, desires to reiterate the decision of the last Irish Trades Union Congress in regard to the suggested exclusion of any portion of Ireland from the provisions of the Home Rule Bill. We protest most strongly against the setting up of any barrier which would further sunder and divide the people of this country, believing such action not only undemocratic, but suicidal and disastrous to the working-class movement; and further, we feel that in regard to the negotiations now in progress with a view to the settlement of the Irish question, the representatives of Irish Labour, as a most important element in the community, must be consulted."

"That we reiterate our demand that all Trade Union officials, including Messrs. P. T. Daly, Secretary Irish Trades Union Congress; Wm. O'Brien, Secretary Dublin Trades Council; Thomas Foran, President, Irish Transport Workers' Union; M. J. O'Connor, Secretary Tralee Trades Council, at present in military custody in England, shall be immediately released or brought to trial, and we request the Labour Party to press this claim on the Government, as we believe the continued detention of these men has for its object the crippling of the Trade Union Movement in Ireland."

**Interview with Mr. Lloyd-George.**—An intimation having been conveyed through the Labour Party that Mr. Lloyd-George was prepared to hear the views of the Trade Unionists of Ireland, we joined with the Dublin Council in sending a deputation on July 7th. Efforts were made to make the deputation representative of all parts of the country, but owing to the shortness of notice we were unable to accomplish this, and it consisted of Messrs. Johnson, Campbell, O'Lehane Lawlor, and M'Partlin.

The deputation having been introduced by the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.,

Mr. Johnson said they came there as representing the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party and the Dublin Trades Council. Ever since the question of the exclusion of a part of Ireland from the provisions of the Home Rule Bill first arose, they, by resolutions at Congress, by deputations to Ministers, and by public meetings, had shewn their intense opposition to the proposal. The deputation representing the organized workers



from the whole of Ireland, and while not claiming to speak for the large number of Ulster Trade Unionists who were opposed to any form of Home Rule, he said that many even of those were opposed, on Trade Union grounds, to any proposal to divide Ireland.

Their opposition might be viewed from two stand-points. Mr. Lloyd-George would appreciate what was meant when he said that the "soul of Ireland" revolted against the idea, but there was also the opposition engendered by the certainty of evil results to the practical work-a-day affairs of the working class, i.e., as Trade Unionists, as Friendly Society members, as Co-operators, etc., etc.

In their opinion, if the exclusion proposals were persisted in they would create two problems in Ireland instead of one. The Nationalist minority would resist the Unionist Government, and the resolute opponents of division in the "included" part of Ireland would make such trouble for the new Irish Government as to still further alienate the Unionist population of Ulster, and thus lead to greater differences than ever.

In regard to the amendments of the Government of Ireland Act, they had claimed from the beginning, and still pressed the claim, that whatever the nature of the scheme, the Labour party were entitled to due recognition and any nominated body that might be set up must contain a fair proportion of Labour representatives.

Mr. Campbell supplemented by saying that not by any stretch of imagination could a Parliament set up with the present Irish members on either side be representative of the opinions of the people in a domestic legislature. Prior to the outbreak of the war we had had many prognostications as to the "break-up" of the present political parties, and the formation of entirely new ones under Home Government. In the suggested "make-up" of this new parliament this aspect seemed to have been entirely lost sight of. They disapproved, however, of the whole scheme of partition, believing it to be un-natural, however provisional it was intended to be. He suggested that most provisional things in life became permanent.

Mr. O'Lehane corroborated the two previous speakers, and read resolution passed by the Executive a few weeks previously, a copy of which Mr. Lloyd-George said he had received. This scheme of settlement he (Mr. O'Lehane) understood was being put forward as an act of appeasement. Well, he believed, as an Irishman who had travelled his country up and down, the result would be it would appease no one and aggravate many. He believed that were a plebiscite taken of the people of the whole country, nothing like half of the number would support this policy of the Nationalist and Unionist Parties in constructing such a barrier between the people. There was only one people in Ireland—Irish. At their Annual Congress men of all shades of opinion could assemble and discuss things pertaining to their welfare. That, he thought, could be done also in a Parliament



for the whole country. He declared that the real voice of the people, so far as it had been permitted to be articulate, was strongly against the cutting up of Ireland.

Mr. M'Partlin said they protested strongly against the severance from their fellow-workmen in the North.

Mr. Lawlor declared that the present representatives had no mandate whatever from the people on this question of excluding a portion of the country—not even a county—from the operation of the Home Rule Act.

The interview having assumed more conversational form, Mr. Lloyd George said he had listened with great interest and attention to what had been said and arising therefrom he should like to ask the deputation some questions as to the relative numbers of organised workmen in the North and South. In giving the information sought, reference was made to the deputation which had waited on Mr. Birrell, and to the suggested amendments to the Schedule of the Home Rule Bill made by it to secure that just representation should be given to the large industrial population of the smaller towns, of the existence of which Mr. Lloyd George said he had hitherto been unaware. He then enquired if the deputation, in preference to acceptance of the scheme suggested would rather continue as heretofore, and the members replied in the affirmative. When it was explained by Mr. Lloyd George that this would mean the continuance of martial law, the deputationists said they believed sufficient humaneness still existed to have that unnecessary restriction of liberty removed by other means than by bribe. Mr. Lloyd George, in closing the interview, said he had not hitherto been aware that the Trade Unionists of Ireland met in separate congress, and he was extremely pleased to hear their views of the suggested scheme stated in such full and frank manner. Nobody liked partition well enough to choose it, but they were faced with the certainty that Ulster could not be forced into an Irish Parliament. The only hope was that she may come in by choice later on. The position at present demanded that some settlement should be arrived at which would hold good until the war was over and for a period afterwards. He was much interested in their views as to representation, and the suggestion that the nominative element should be representative of the whole of Ireland. He should like very much if the deputation would formulate in writing, their views on this question, and on the question of whether the two Houses should sit as one chamber or separately, and let him have them at the earliest possible moment, entirely without prejudice to their opposition, when he would promise them they would receive full consideration.

Mr. Lawlor having thanked Mr. Lloyd George for the courteous reception accorded them the deputation withdrew.

**Resignation of Mr. Hill.**—Mr. Hill tendered his resignation as a member of Committee but owing to the expected early meeting of Congress, the acceptance of same was held over.



From the list of signatures appended to this report well-known names will be missed. Some may re-appear, but two, alas never will. Without for a moment pausing to consider the rightfulness or otherwise, of recent events in our land, this we can say, that in the deaths of James Connolly and Richard O'Carroll, staunch Trade Unionists and champions of the rights of the common people, this country suffers deep and irreparable loss.

Signed on behalf of the Executive,

THOS. JOHNSON, Chairman.

M. J. O'LEHANE.

M. EGAN, J.P., T.C.

THOS. CASSIDY.

THOS. M'PARTLIN.

D. R. CAMPBELL, Treasurer and  
Acting Secretary.

Prior to the opening of Congress proper an informal conference on the subject of Co-operation by Labour Representatives on Public Bodies was held under its auspices. The meeting assembled in response to the following circular, issued by order of the National Executive:—

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

We have arranged to call together a Preliminary Conference of Labour Representatives of Local Government bodies—Town, Councils, Poor Law Boards, District Councils, etc., etc.—to consider proposals—

(1) To form an Association or Committee of Labour Councillors, Guardians, etc., for mutual help and guidance in matter of policy, and to assist in promoting joint action throughout the country.

(2) To consider the best means of disseminating information in regard to questions of local government, especially affecting the working classes;

and any other pertinent matters that may be brought forward.

The Conference will take place at the Town Hall, Sligo, on Sunday, 6th August, at 7.30 p.m., and all Labour representatives who are members of Societies eligible for affiliation to Congress are invited.

We shall be glad if you will be able to attend.

On behalf of the National Executive,

THOMAS JOHNSON, Chairman.

D. R. CAMPBELL, Acting Sec.

Mr. Thomas Johnson (Chairman of National Executive) occupied the chair, and there was a good attendance. He said that the object of calling them together was more to get a free expression of opinion than to formulate a policy. It was an undoubted fact that scattered all over the country, in Town and County Councils, Poor Law, and other Boards there were a



great many representatives who sat or at least had secured election as "Labour" representatives. He thought it was desirable that some co-ordination of thought and action should be secured amongst these representatives of the working-class. This in his opinion could only be arrived at by the aid of Trades Councils and local Labour Parties. His suggestion was the compilation of a register of names and particulars of every elected person on a public body who could be described as a "Labour Representative." The calling together in conference of such once or twice a year with the object of securing a uniformity of action on all matters of local or National importance. The dissemination of information on matters of public importance from their administrative side either by circular or newspaper. As he had said earlier such a policy could only be carried through successfully if they were assured of active assistance of Trades Councils and Union officials, and with that view he invited the opinions of those present.

Councillor Egan (Cork) said he thought that where Trades Councils existed they were already carrying out the policy suggested by their chairman. For those districts without such a body he thought some such scheme should be devised. He referred to the work of the Land and Labour Association, a body which he thought should be identified with the general Trade Union movement. He believed that good would accrue from the meeting. The working-class were blind to their own interest. In his own city out of 56 corporators they could only claim three as Labour men. If the scales could only be wiped from the mental eyes of the workers they could return 50. He approved of the suggestion of meetings and distribution of pamphlets.

Mr. Thos. Lawlor (P.L.G., Dublin) said he thought the main object of that meeting should be to bring about uniformity of action by men already on Public Bodies. In his own city many representatives occupied seats and were described as representatives of labour who had really no claim to the title whatever. He thought we should move quickly in the matter as there was every danger of Trade Unionists being side-tracked by outside organizations. He thought a strong recommendation should be made to the incoming National Executive to push the matter earnestly.

Alderman Lynch (Sligo) said he welcomed very heartily the suggestions thrown out. Situated as they were away on the extreme west, such an organization as the one indicated in the chairman's remarks would be a blessing. They had 68 Poor Law Guardians, only one of whom was a Labour man. There was great need that each group should be aware of what the others were about.

Mr. O'Flanagan (Dublin) said he had every sympathy with the suggested new movement, which he thought should keep the idea of Nationality in its forefront. Until the agricultural labourers could be got to throw in their lot with the workers in the towns little progress would be made. The desire should



be instead of branches of the A.O.H., or U.I.L., strong branches of the Irish Labour Party.

Mr. Thos. Farren (Dublin) congratulated the president on the calling of the Conference. In his remarks he would speak on the lines of action suggested by the chairman. The matters referred to by him agitated the workers of Dublin in a great degree, resulting as most of them knew in the formation of the Dublin Labour Party. Prior to the meetings of Public Bodies they held meetings to consider the agendas, and instructed their representatives thereon as to voting, etc. Every vote cast had in his opinion a great moral effect even though it be "a bird alone." Many matters there were on which there should be a complete uniformity of action by labour representatives throughout the country, and, in his opinion, none more important than the appointment of officials by merit instead of preferment as at present. Labour men should remember that the outside public scrutinizes their action, and that respect gained keeps pace only with honesty of action. He welcomed the idea of lectures in different centres which had been put forward.

Mr. O'Lehane (Dublin) said he agreed heartily with the remarks of the previous speaker. There was a great need for closer co-operation amongst those sitting as representatives of the workers. What precisely constituted a Labour representative? He knew a district in which eight men were elected as such but not two of them could be relied on to act as such. He noticed this matter was referred to on Congress Agenda, and he hoped it would receive due consideration. The first thing was to get the workers organised get them all linked up with the Congress. A most hopeful awakening was making itself evident among the school teachers, who, he hoped, would very soon identify themselves with the Trade Union movement.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast) suggested that the National Executive of Congress be requested to issue circulars asking for information along the lines laid down by the chairman.

Mr. T. Cassidy (Derry) in seconding, regretted the absence of Ald. McCarron, whose views on the suggestions would, he felt sure have been of great help. He referred to the fact that in Derry there were five or six Labour representatives but who had really not been elected as such. In his opinion one of the first if not ~~the~~ first reform labour representatives should apply themselves to was the question of municipal coal supply. They had had recently in Derry a very acute illustration of the need for this where the exploiters had been ruthless in this respect. The Corporators, however, took the matter in hand, chartered vessels to bring a supply direct to their order and were thus enabled to safeguard the interests of the people. The outlying neglected districts offered a good field for the new propaganda, and he looked for a good harvest from the seed planted that night.

Mr. Jno. Farren (Dublin) said he was pleased the previous speaker had referred to the matter of coal. On the Richmond



Asylum Board they had Labour representatives who knew this business from top to bottom. They were able to convince the members of the Board that the Coal Ring were bleeding them. They acted as their own importers, increased the wages of the workers, and saved £1,800 in addition, proving once again that "Direct Labour" was a saving to the people. He thought that for such a movement as had been outlined the services of a permanent official would be necessary.

Mr. Smyth (Dublin) suggested that officials and organizers of the different trades should be utilised for this purpose of consolidating their representation on Public Bodies, when on their other business. He believed his Union would lend their organizer occasionally for such important work. When referring to it as "important" he had in mind two so-called "Labour" representatives in Kingstown who had voted against a War Bonus for members of his trade.

The Chairman said he didn't think it would be wise to pass a resolution on the matter at that stage. As he had explained the intention was to have a free interchange of opinion, a consensus of which would reach the new Executive. The attendance and the interest had been greater than he had anticipated, and he felt sure the result would also justify itself. He thanked them all for their attendance and the meeting terminated.

### FIRST DAY, MONDAY, 7th AUGUST, 1916.

The Twenty-second Annual Conference of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party opened in the Town Hall, Sligo, on Monday, 7th August, 1916, at 10 a.m.

The Congress having been called to order by Mr. Thomas MacPartlin, vice-chairman of the National Executive.

Alderman John Jinks, J.P., Mayor of Sligo, on behalf of the Corporation and people of the town of Sligo, welcomed the delegates. He hoped their deliberations would bear fruit, and that their stay in the district would prove enjoyable. He was sorry to see absent from their meeting that morning his respected friend, P. T. Daly (cheers). He thought the Government was treating that man very harshly, and he hoped that before they left Sligo they would pass a very strong resolution with regard to that (hear, hear).

Alderman Foley, Sligo, and Councillor Monson, Sligo, who associated themselves with the Mayor's words of welcome, alluded to the fact that fifteen years had elapsed since the Congress last met in Sligo.

Alderman Lynch, chairman of the Reception Committee, on behalf of the organized workers of Sligo, extended to the delegates cordial welcome.

Councillor M. Egan, J.P., Cork, proposed that the thanks of the Congress be extended to the Mayor and Corporation for their thoroughly Irish welcome to the 1916 Congress, and, in



doing so, referred to the progress that had been made since the Congress last met in that town. He congratulated the workers of Sligo on the improvement in the local conditions of labour.

Mr. Thos. Cassidy, Derry, in seconding, said there was a better understanding now between employers and workers in the north.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation and briefly acknowledged by the Mayor.

### **Election of Officers.**

On the motion of Mr. Patrick Lynch, seconded by Mr. Bennett, Mr. Francis Gallagher, secretary of the local Reception Committee, was appointed Assistant Secretary to the meeting.

Messrs. Thos. Lawlor and Frank Hall were elected Tellers, the voting being:—Lawlor, 3; Hall, 25; Wm. Banbury, 6.

The following were elected out of eleven nominees to act on the Standing Orders Committee: M. John Farren, Dublin, 43; Mr. Patrick Lynch, Cork, 38; Ald. Lynch, Sligo, 37; Mr. H. T. Whitley, Belfast, 35; Mr. Dawson Gordon, Belfast, 30. The other delegates nominated were Mr. Nulty, Derry, 29; J. H. Bennett, Dublin, 13; A. Breslan, Dublin, 12; M. O'Flanagan, Dublin, 8; J. P. Delaney, Dublin, 7; R. Brophy, Dublin, 3.

Messrs. Bennett, Dublin, and Breslan, Dublin, were elected auditors, the voting being as follows:—Bennett, 30; Breslan, 25; Smyth, Dundalk, 24; Clarke, Belfast, 12; Brophy, Dublin, 30.

Mr. M'Partlin then called upon Mr. Thos. Johnson, Belfast, Chairman of the Congress to take the chair.

### **The President's Address.**

The Chairman, who was very heartily received, said:—

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#### **FRIENDS AND FELLOW-WORKERS,**

Before proceeding with the business of the Congress I feel that it is my sad duty to say a word or two regarding the loss which we and the working class movement have sustained through the death of those of our comrades whose lives were sacrificed in the recent rebellion.

As a Trade Union Movement we are of varied minds on matters of history and political development, and, consequently, this is not a place to enter into a discussion as to the right or the wrong, the wisdom or the folly of the revolt, but this we may say, that those amongst the rebels who have been associated with us in the past, who have led and inspired some of us with their love of their country and their class, were led to act as they did with no selfish thought but purely with a passion for freedom and a hatred of oppression.

Amongst those who have given their lives are three men who were well known in the Irish Labour World—James Connolly, Richard O'Carroll, and Peter Mackin. Of these Jim Connolly



and Dick O'Carroll were leading spirits at our Congresses. Mackin being an active members of the Painters' Society and Vice-President of the Dublin Trades Council.

I shall not easily forget the speech of O'Carroll during the Dublin Congress of 1914 when responding to the toast of "The City of Dublin" at the banquet provided by the local Labour Party, and the intense fervour of his closing words, "Dublin, I love you!"

There was the keynote of his civic spirit. He loved his city and his country. He took pride in his public work, in his work for his Union and his class, and it was the intensity of his conviction, the enthusiasm of his nature that led him (impulsively, without premeditation, as I have been told) to throw in his lot with the insurgents.

I had a more intimate knowledge of Jim Connolly. For several years—from the first day of his arrival in Belfast until the outbreak of the war two years ago—I was closely associated with him.

Having that intimate knowledge of him, and after a careful study of his public speeches, his private conversations, and his written work, I say that never was there a man who more thoroughly saturated himself with the hopes, the aspirations, and the sufferings of the working class.

We cannot fully appreciate his work until we have cast aside all those ideas and impressions which we have received from current literature, history or philosophy, based as they are on a capitalist conception of society. We must look at life in all its aspects from the point of view of "the bottom dog"—the oppressed,—be it nation, class or sex. Jim Connolly saw everything from that standpoint, and his life was one long sustained effort to voice the aspirations and stimulate the ambitions of the poor and disinherited, to break down the forces of Capitalism, and all those social, political, and economic tyrannies which are but the expressions of Capitalistic power.

His researches into the history of the Irish people—his interpretation of causes and effects as outlined in his book "Labour in Irish History"—are acknowledged by all students as noteworthy, and by many as pointing the way to a truer explanation of some of the otherwise unaccountable phenomena in the social history of this country.

We who knew him must feel that in his death the working class of Ireland has lost a champion they could ill afford to lose. We looked forward to seeing him take a very active leading part in the direction of the Labour Movement in the civil life of this country under a new regime, but he conceived his duty lay in another direction. We mourn his death, we honour his work, we revere his memory.

And while laying these wreaths on the graves of our comrades who gave their lives for what they believed to be the Cause of Ireland's Freedom—let us also remember those many others (some of whom had been chosen in years past to attend



our Congresses) who have laid down their lives in another field, also for what they believed to be the Cause of Liberty and Democracy and for Love of their Country.

It is a great tribute to the chivalry and humanity of the workers of all lands, that before the rulers can obtain popular support for a war, or before armies can be raised, enthusiasm can only be aroused by appeals to the people in the names of Liberty, Justice, Humanity, Religion, and the Defence of the Weak!

I suppose there is not one of us but knows some who responded to the call for recruits with a single eye to the defence of right, the enlargement of the bounds of liberty, and a passionate zeal for the overthrow of tyranny.

Many of these have lost their lives, many have been crippled or maimed for life, and we must, alas, look forward to the loss of many more!

It is told that James Connolly when preparing for execution, on being asked by the priest if he would say a prayer for the men of the firing party, replied "I pray for all men who do their duty according to their lights."

In that spirit I ask all present, whatever their views may be in regard to the war or the rebellion, to rise for a moment in token of respect for all our comrades who have been brave enough to give their lives for the cause they believed in.

Two years ago at our last Congress in Dublin the President, Mr. Larkin, gave an inspiring address, stimulating our hopes and reviving our spirits by his predictions that with the opening of an era of self-government the Labour movement in Ireland was about to enter on a period of fruitful activity in the social, industrial, and political life of the country.

It is no discredit to the prophet that the prophecy has not been fulfilled in the manner expected. Few people in Europe at Whitsuntide, 1914, believed that within two months there would have been brought forth from the womb of time this monstrous offspring of Greed and Tyranny, the European War.

It is of little use to try to apportion blame for the immediate cause of this vast calamity. Imperial power, International trade and the command of the seas had coincided with, in the minds of many has been the cause of, the dominance by one nation of the commerce of the world. Another nation, ambitious, powerful, whose rapidly increasing trade and industry overflows its own frontiers seeking an outlet in the exploitation of distant lands, seizes upon the idea of uniting Imperialism with World Power and Commercial Prosperity as the divinely appointed way of national salvation.

Was it not inevitable that these two powers, while Imperialism and Commercialism were allowed to remain in the ascendant, must some day come into conflict?

Diplomatic alliances, threats of war and temporary settle-



ments, Hague Conventions and international understandings, the increase of armaments and proposals for disarmament, royal marriages and the journeyings of princes, all these things are but manœuvres for position. When the opportune moment arrives any dispute, no matter how trivial, is made the occasion for war. Immediate guilt may be ascribed to one power or one person more than another, but the blame for the National Habit of Mind that makes it possible for war to develop out of a trifling quarrel, must be borne by the people of Europe, who, being blinded by their teachers, have allowed their kings and ruling classes to lead them into the Infernal Regions.

In common with the mass of my countrymen I believed, after the outbreak of war, that the Cause of Democracy, the defence of such liberty as the common peoples of the Western nations had won, was bound up with the success of France and Britain. I held to that opinion with some enthusiasm, and despite the efforts of our Government to prove that the governing methods of all ruling classes are much alike.,

### **I hold the same opinion still,**

for France is still a Republic—more firmly established!

But one's enthusiasm becomes dulled when one sees that those very liberties which we prided ourselves were worth the sacrifice of life to defend, liberties only won by our fathers from the hands of their Aristocratic, Feudal, and Capitalist Rulers after the sternest struggles, have been steadily stripped from the people by their present rulers almost without a protest!

We have seen the emergence in these countries of military rule in civil affairs, an enormous extension of military power over the lives of civilians, the silencing of criticism, the closure of the Press, censorship of public meetings, abrogation of the rights of combination, the arrest and imprisonment without trial of innocent men, and above all, that crowning act of degradation, the imposition on the British people of conscription.

Whatever may be debited against Militant Nationalism in Ireland, to its credit must be written the freedom of our people from that tyranny!

I saw at first hand some of the realities of military methods during Easter and following weeks. That experience cured me of any leanings I may ever have had towards the ideal of a "Nation in Arms" if directed by a military caste.

We have read the official accounts and newspaper reports of some of those occurrences which we had seen for ourselves. From the distortion of facts apparent in these records we have learned how little reliance can be placed on official despatches or special correspondents' reports. They are written to create a desired impression regardless of the truth. For myself, since that experience in Dublin, I take the daily war reports with



the addition of copious supplies of that valuable antiseptic—common salt!

Another lesson learned from that vivid experience was that the doctrine that "Military necessity justifies any kind of action" is not peculiar to the Prussian General Staff; and that a military training does not make a man immune from terror, panic, arrogance, revenge!

The strongest moral justification for arming and training a military force is that in becoming a disciplined body it rises superior to the elemental passions of a mob. When, therefore, it is urged as an excuse for certain atrocious conduct on the part of soldiers—officers and men—that "they had met with great provocation and being but human they retaliated," we have a confession that a military force may be trusted with but very limited powers.

The moral of the whole story—not yet closed—for the workers is to be very vigilant against any encroachment by the military on the Civil Powers of the State. The subordination of the military to the civil power is one of the real virtues of the British Constitution, but it is in very grave danger to-day, as all who remember the Curragh incident will agree.

But our business at this Congress is mainly concerned with the future. How do we view the prospects of peace? What is to be our policy in regard to the demobilisation problem, when three million men are released for civil employment? How are we prepared to meet the new conditions under which the work of the world will be carried on? What contribution have we to make as a Labour Party towards the solution of the political and industrial problems that clamour for settlement? Ireland will be affected differently from Great Britain and our problems must be thought over and their solutions sought with due regard to the present stage of Ireland's industrial development.

It is estimated by Mr. Sidney Webb that seven million people in these islands are engaged in war or in preparation for war, half the adult population being either in the army or navy or supplying these forces with material. Mr. Asquith tells us that current expenditure on Army, Navy, and Munitions for Britain's forces alone averages £3,600,000 per day, irrecoverable expenditure.

Some day, sooner or later, we shall see the disbandment of these vast armies—a stupendous accumulation of debt will face the nation

**and the creditors will look to their bond!**

Many cool-headed students look with fear and trembling on the future of Europe after the Peace is proclaimed. They seem to see the gaunt spectre of starvation fronting the peoples and a universal revolt against the rulers who, having led the nations into war, have failed to save them from the consequences of war!



It is a possibility that must be met and unless courage, wide vision and strong—even revolutionary—methods are taken by the Governments there may be no avoidance of the uprising of despair.

But consider the subject with the minds of men untrammelled with obsolete notions about private property and the laws of supply and demand, and what do we find? We have in these islands a people endowed with strength and trained intelligence, a fertile country rich in mineral deposits and power-producing fuel, some thousands of factories and workshops newly equipped with easily adaptable machinery, and all the power necessary for production at an unprecedented speed. Are we not right in saying that if these powers of production are directed aright and the channels of distribution made clear, that there will be no shortage of food or clothing or housing accommodation or any of the daily needs of the common people? The danger that is feared will arise, if the productive activities of the nation are allowed to fall back immediately into the hands of the profiteers. If the old commercial methods are re-established—if "the market" is to be the determining factor in production—then chaos will come as sure as the morning.

The National Credit which has been used for raising and spending £5,000,000 per day for so many months must not be withdrawn on the cessation of hostilities, it must be used for raising further loans and the expenditure persisted in for as many weeks or months as are necessary to bring the national life back to normal. There will be this difference, that every pound spent will then add to the national wealth and so conserve credit, while during the war we are annihilating wealth and destroying credit.

### **It is an eloquent testimony to the wisdom and insight**

of the prophets and propagandists of the Labour Movement that practically every beneficent legislative or administrative act of the Government, necessitated by the stress of *war* to save the people from plunder or promote the national well-being, has been in accord with their teaching.

We saw at the outbreak of war the transport services taken possession of by the Government by a stroke of the pen, sugar supplies and prices controlled, house rents regulated (after much labour agitation, for which the men and women of Glasgow are to be especially thanked), factories and workshops compulsorily taken and their activities directed to the nation's needs, and a hundred other governmental acts, all declared to be visionary, impossible, or impracticable by "level-headed business men" of the old pre-war days, all interfering with the rights of property and all designed to secure what was believed to be the social well-being. And the custodians of the Sacred Laws of Supply and demand have not yet been revenged!



In so far as the Government has failed to protect the peoples' rights—and the failure has been great—it has failed because it lacked the courage to proceed further in the same direction and over-ride the opposition of the wealthy and powerful interests which opposed them.

To save itself from calamity after the war the nation must follow the Collectivist policy that has succeeded during the war.

### **Our industries must be directed to the satisfaction of our needs**

utterly regardless of the question whether it will bring profit to any private interests.

The recuperative power of modern society is inconceivable; what has been done during the past year in the organisation, building and equipment of hundreds of munition factories now employing thousands upon thousands of men and women, producing daily millions of pounds worth of war material, is indicative of what may be done by the organised nation to supply a social need when private profiteering interests are not allowed to stand in the way. If the people will, and the Government acts, we need fear no destitution!

The nations are being bled white, but once stop the bleeding and national health and strength may soon be regained. The bleeding process did not begin in August, 1914. It has gushed forth since then, but the drip! drip! drip! has been going on for many decades. There is no difference economically between the waste of war and the waste of luxury—except that the former adds the killing and maiming of men.

To make sure of recovery the nation must direct its energies to the production of the things that make for healthy life, and restrictions must be placed upon the production of luxuries for the rich, and upon wasteful expenditure by all classes. Only on these lines can the nation's resources be conserved and our people saved from ruin.

When the war is over the cry will go forth from Parliament and the Press for Retrenchment and Economy. This will be interpreted by the wealthy as a call for reduced expenditure by the State on schemes for Social Betterment, that the payment of interest on War Loans may be a first charge on the national income.

We, on the other hand, protest, that if the payment of interest charges is to lead to the further enslavement of the poor, then a new war must be declared by the people against the payment of interest! (I am aware of the War Loan taken up by the working-class organisations, and the protective purposes of the Government in promoting the issue of small loans; it was not designed without guile!)

There will probably be a hundred thousand Irishmen return home from the war seeking employment. Most of these will, let us hope, be absorbed, more or less gradually, into their old



employment, but a large number, impossible to estimate, will unquestionably be "on the market" open to take service at a wage which will tend to be lower than the Trade Union standard. We must take steps to prevent employers using the pensions as a lever for reducing the price of labour. We all know the process—how police and military pensioners are employed at a mean wage which when added to the pension may keep a family in comfort,

**but alone, means semi-starvation;**

and how the fact that a pensioner is available impels a rival applicant for a job who is dependent on his weekly wage to "cut his price" or go idle. This is a big problem for the future; how is it to be met? We must strengthen our organisation, of course, but beyond that? I fall back on the oft-discussed demand, the "The Right to Work"—or more accurately, the right to obtain employment doing useful work at a living wage!

This policy implies the relieving of the labour market of any superfluity of labour. To achieve this I advocate that preparation

**should be made at once in Ireland**

for the inauguration of such useful public works on a large scale as will eventually prove socially productive. So far any suggestions of this nature that have been made have only had relation to Great Britain, as though Ireland's industrial future were assured! There are many such undertakings necessary to be carried out in this country, but they are beyond the means of private enterprise and unlikely to bring in a profitable return quickly enough for the private investor. These must be "Public Works" undertaken by the nation. I refer, especially, to schemes of afforestation, the reclamation of waste lands, utilisation of bogs, the drainage of the Rivers Bann, Shannon, Barrow, etc., the re-housing of the working-classes in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Derry, Sligo, and all the old towns and cities—even Belfast.

These are big jobs which would relieve the pressure on the workers in the cities, and would have been taken in hand long ago by any government which considered the condition of the people.

Another proposal which we must press forward is that the scheme of agricultural colonies for returned soldiers and sailors—and others—should be extended to Ireland. There is a resolution on the agenda dealing with this matter and I trust it will receive full consideration.

Thousands of men from our cities are now in the Army whose early training was on the land. Many of these would welcome a chance to return to agriculture if there were some assurance of comfort, family life, and the social pleasures. The agricultural



colony of small holders working in co-operation under expert guidance may be destined to revolutionise rural life in Ireland. It is a disgrace to the Irish Parliamentary representatives of all parties that no voice has been raised in the House of Commons in favour of adapting this scheme to Ireland, for taking land in this country and settling Irish soldiers thereon.

Agricultural conditions will in future even more than in the past become a subject of importance to town workers. The supply of

### **food from Ireland's soil for Ireland's people**

may become an urgent need. We may look with certainty for a continuation of high prices for food and this fact alone will compel townsmen to direct their attention to agricultural questions. Our policy must be to support every movement whose purpose is to increase the productivity of the land, that will attract workers back from the cities, that will make for agricultural prosperity—not in the sense of being profitable merely to the landholder as the present "prosperity" connotes—but rather as making the land provide a greater number of families with a comfortable livelihood. We must give active support to every effort to compel the tillage of the great areas of suitable land now devoted to grazing. Land holders must be made to realise that they hold their land in trust for the community, if it is not made the best use of the community must assume possession and use it to the fullest advantage. Private profit, no more in farming than in industry, must not be allowed to interfere with the national well-being. The true test of prosperity is not to be found in the bank accounts of the individual farmer, who may reckon it pays better (besides being easier) to graze cattle than to grow corn or roots, but, as Ruskin said, "in the producing as many as possible full-breathed, bright-eyed happy-hearted human creatures."

I lay stress on the importance of agriculture because I think that, despite the talk about encouraging the export trade in manufactured goods, the future of Ireland's industries will depend upon the productivity of its land; that with the encouragement of real farming by modern methods scores of industries will naturally arise to facilitate the productive operations and assist the distributive processes essential to agriculture.

To the farmer's cry that

**"He cannot get labour!"**

we answer that good wages, attractive conditions of life, and the status of co-worker instead of farm slave, will quickly remove any cause for complaint on that score. I do not suggest that even these privileges granted by an odd farmer here and there will remove the difficulty, but if the change in treatment and reward of agricultural workers were general, good men



would be attracted to the soil and the cry of "shortage of labour" would no longer be heard in the land.

Appropriate to this is a passage I lighted upon in one of Ruskin's lectures delivered to working men in London many years ago: "And for you workers (he said) there will come a time for better payment. Some day, assuredly, we shall pay people not quite so much for talking in Parliament and doing nothing, as for holding their tongues out of it and doing something; we shall pay our ploughman a little more and our lawyer a little less, and so on; but, at least, we may **even now** take care that whatever work is done shall be fully paid for; and the man who does it, paid for it, not somebody else; and that it shall be done in an orderly, soldierly, well-guided, wholesome way, under good captains and good lieutenants of labour; and that it shall have its appointed time of rest, and enough of them; and that in those times the play shall be wholesome play, not in theatrical gardens with tin flowers and gas sunshine, and girls dancing because of their misery; but in true gardens, with real flowers, and real sunshine, and children dancing because of their gladness; so that truly the streets shall be full (the 'streets' mind you, not the gutters) of children, playing in the midst thereof. We may take care that working-men shall have at least as good books to read as anybody else, when they have time to read them; and as comfortable firesides to sit at as anybody else, when they have time to sit at them. This, I think, can be managed for you, my laborious friends, in the good time."

These changes would be attained by the establishment of the

### Co-operative system of farming,

whether by colonies of small holders on the plan outlined by the Departmental Committee, or by joint farming on a large scale by groups of men working in co-operation under an expert director appointed by themselves.

In what I have thus far said, I have indicated the lines for an immediate constructive programme for the Irish Labour Party to set its mind to (in addition to the necessary protective measures which we as Trade Unionists must demand), a series of proposals which, if put into operation, would secure the workers against the risk that threatens of widespread unemployment, reduction of wages, and undermining of their Unions.

But these large schemes of productive work can only be taken in hand by the Government, and **they** can only be moved by an organised political force. We must, therefore, make it our business to set about the thorough organization of our political power as an adjunct to our industrial power. Let us make no mistake about it, the capitalist lion and the labour lamb (or vice versa, if you prefer it) are not going to lie down in peace and harmony after the war as some idealists predict! The antagonism is fundamental and inevitable in capitalist society,



however it may be glossed by a superficial show of friendship. The conflict is one of ultimate purposes and is not settled by an acknowledgement by either side of the virtues of the other—though personal bitterness and vituperation may well be eradicated. (In this connection it may be worth expressing the hope that the Press and public will bear in mind that the "heroes in khaki" who have borne themselves so bravely, who have shown so much self-sacrifice, who are such clean fighters, so buoyant of spirit, and who bear suffering so nobly, are identically the same men whom they have so often reviled and denounced when engaged in a strike!)

### **If the struggle is not to cease it is essential**

that we should prepare our plans for protecting and improving our position in the industrial field and, in support of our efforts as Trade Unionists, proceed with the organisation of our political forces.

We have a programme and an ideal, based upon social justice and the political equality of all men and women, which should rally to our banner all who labour for wages, and all who think of Ireland's future in terms of human happiness and well-being, in opposition to those who judge a nation's prosperity by bank balances and trade returns.

Is not the time ripe for a bold forward move on the part of Irish Labour! The old Parliamentary Party appears to be tottering; its supporters have lost faith; the new generation does not understand a party wedded to one idea, and forbidden by the laws of its being to look with favour upon a more lovely rival in the shape of a constructive policy!

### **It is impossible to foretell the future in Irish politics.**

The hopes of two years ago seem destined to be dissipated. I confess, I am not hopeful now of seeing an early opening of a Home Rule Parliament with authority over the whole of Ireland—despite Mr. Asquith's acknowledgement that "the Act is on the Statute Book." The acceptance at the Buckingham Palace Conference, by the Irish Party of the principle of Exclusion—even temporary—was the fatal blunder, and recent events have made it impossible for the British Parliament to consent to the use of force to compel the Ulster minority to obey the authority of an Irish legislature. It is utterly illogical, unjust, and scandalous that, the Constitution being flouted by an armed people (professing loyalty), the supreme guardian of the Constitution should bow its head and decline the challenge—meekly accepting defeat! But there the facts are—grinning! The British people are made that way, and whether we like it or not they are an important factor in the situation.

What follows? Labour spokesmen from the cities most affected have said they are prepared to wait another fifty years to



achieve national unity rather than to admit the principle of exclusion of any part of Ireland. Our policy then must be to set about creating a strong party with a practical programme of social reconstruction: with democracy—political and social—as an ideal and a method. An intelligent advocacy of such a programme and its application by public bodies wherever possible will be the surest way of rallying the workers of Ulster to the banner of a United Ireland—free, democratic and self-governing. And if my pessimism regarding the Irish Parliament is not justified by events—if it is established in the near future with Ulster a willing co-operator in its work, then more than ever our party must be ready to take a place in its councils, and prepared with carefully thought-out proposals and plans of reconstruction and amelioration.

### **I would therefore impress upon you all**

the need for an enthusiastic propaganda of our principles, for immediately taking in hand the organisation of our supporters throughout the country, and for stimulating an interest, among our younger men especially, in the problems and ideals of Citizenship and Labour Party. We have taken the first steps in this direction by arranging to bring into closer association all members of local governing bodies (such as town councils, urban councils, poor law boards, etc.) who genuinely represent Labour and Trade Union interests. Amongst these will be found the nucleus of a body of voluntary organisers whom we hope to enrol in the service of our party. We intend to devise means of keeping these hitherto scattered forces in closer relationship, to provide them with opportunities for comparing notes, discussing difficulties and evolving a common policy for Labour in local administration. From this beginning I think it may be possible to enlist many individual enthusiasts here and there throughout the country into our service, who will organise their districts, arrange propaganda meetings, distribute literature (which must be provided), and by these means, in conjunction with active Trade Union organising effort, gather into our ranks all those men and women who are seeking an outlet for their social sympathies, and to whom the Labour Ideal of a Free Co-operative Commonwealth appeals.

All this will require much thought, energetic work, enthusiastic voluntary service, and—a greater difficulty—a large amount of money. We will need the undivided service of at least one capable man

### **and we must have a weekly newspaper.**

These ideas have been in our minds for a long time but the unexampled difficulties of the past two years have prevented any progress being made towards reducing them in reality. The circumstances of the time now compel us to take action or lose



the chance of assuming our rightful place in the political life of this country.

I have touched lightly and dealt very crudely with a number of subjects which go to the roots of modern society. I may have irritated some of you by undue reticence, and vexed others by bluntness. But I hope that what I have said may be of assistance in directing your thoughts to some of the vital things that concern the workers.

I am honoured by being given the responsibility of presiding over this Congress. I am doubtful of my ability to direct the discussions tactfully and with fruitful results, and I ask you to bear with me if I transgress the rightful authority of a Chairman, and assist me by a spirit of tolerance for each other's opinions, and a resolve on the part of every delegate that this Sligo Congress of 1916 will bring credit to the Labour Movement in Ireland.

Mr. John Good (Cork) in moving a vote of thanks to the chairman said he was not able to do justice to the able and eloquent address to which they had listened. Referring to men who, two years ago, stood with them in that Congress, and who had since met their deaths in the rebellion, he declared that whilst they were out for the freedom of Ireland those men were also looking for the freedom of the workers of the world. Therefore, no matter how they might differ from them they could at least give those men credit for noble and unselfish motives (hear, hear). He agreed with the chairman regarding the future of the labour movement after the war and emphasised the necessity of preparedness.

Mr. Thos. Lawlor (Dublin) in seconding, said he thought they had all been struck by the very able manner in which the chairman had handled a very difficult subject. He was sure that under the guidance of Mr. Johnson the Congress would bear good fruit.

Mr. N. Rimmer, in supporting, suggested that the Standing Orders Committee be instructed to consider the advisability of issuing the President's address in pamphlet form and to consider whether it should be distributed free or issued at a nominal charge.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast) supported the suggestion which was cordially adopted by the meeting.

Mr. H. T. Whitley supported the vote of thanks. They were there as trades delegates from various parts of Ireland, holding divergent views, and one the best features of Mr. Johnson's address was the manner in which he had avoided wounding the susceptibilities of any of them.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Johnson thanked them for the reception they had given to his address. He was glad that it had been at least accepted in the spirit in which he wrote it; it was perfectly sincere, every word of it (hear, hear).



## REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE.

The Chairman moved the adoption of the Executive Committee.

Councillor Egan (Cork) seconded.

Mr. O'Lehane (Dublin) moved : " That this Congress strongly condemns the arrest and continued detention of our secretary, Mr. P. T. Daly, and demands his immediate release."

Mr. M. Smyth seconded.

Mr. W. E. Hill suggested that the resolution should read " immediate public trial or release " (cries of " Release "). Their contention was that the deportees should be tried or released and he moved to amend the resolution accordingly.

Mr. Whitley (Belfast) seconded.

Mr. O'Lehane and his seconder agreed to the amendment and the resolution was carried enthusiastically. It was directed that copies be sent to the authorities.

On the suggestion of the Standing Orders Committee the Congress adjourned at one o'clock until 9.30 a.m. next day.

## PUBLIC MEETING.

A Public Meeting, which was well attended was held in the Town Hall, on Monday Night, 7th August. Mr. Thos. Johnson presiding.

Addresses were delivered by The Chairman, Ald. M'Carron (Derry), Councillor Egan (Cork), Councillor Hugh Lyon (Glasgow), Wm. O'Brien (Dublin) Mr. Rimmer, and others.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted on the motion of Ald. M'Carron, seconded by Councillor Egan :—  
" That this meeting calls upon the unorganised workers of Sligo and the surrounding districts to join up with their fellows in their respective trade unions and so help to resist the coming attack upon the standard of life of the workers of Ireland."

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## SECOND DAY.

### Executive Committee's Report.

#### The Rebellion.—Irish Settlement Proposals.

The Conference was resumed at 9.30 a.m., on Tuesday, Mr. Thos. Johnson presiding.

The meeting proceeded to discuss the report of the Executive Committee.

In reference to paragraph relating to delegation to America.

Mr. Rimmer objected to the suggestion that they should seek outside assistance. Mr. Geo. Bernard Shaw had said that the

Irish people were becoming the champion mendicants of the world. If the Irish people wished to be free they must themselves strike the blow (hear, hear).

Mr. Hill said there was a larger number of Irishmen in America than there was in Ireland, and he submitted that the decision of the Parliamentary Committee was absolutely right in their desire to appeal to the Irish workers in America to assist their brethren at home.

### **Withdrawal of Insurance Grant.**

In discussing this paragraph of the report Mr. M. O'Flanagan moved that the question be forwarded to the Standing Orders Committee for a resolution.

Mr. Frank Hall seconded.

Mr. M'Partlin said that any resolution that might be brought forward should be very strong. The question affected the whole of Ireland.

Mr. O'Lehane said the Board of Trade had treated the Trades Unions very shabbily in this matter.

Messrs. O'Flanagan, M'Partlin, and O'Lehane were asked to see the Standing Orders Committee, when the suggested resolution was being formulated.

Subsequently

Mr. O'Lehane moved, Mr. John Clarke seconded, and Mr. O'Flanagan supported a resolution protesting against the withdrawal of the grant and demanding its immediate restoration in full from 31st May, 1916, and that copies of the resolution be sent to the proper quarters.

Carried unanimously.

### **College Green Election.**

Mr. Wm. O'Brien said he thought a few words should be said with reference to the College Green election which was mentioned in the report. That election was a historical event in the annals of Irish Trade Unionism. It was the first time a trade unionist went forward on a definitely Irish programme. The expenses of that election came to about £300, every penny of which was put up by the trade unions of Dublin. It was absolutely impossible owing to the short time at their disposal to set up the machinery which was essential to secure victory, but the fact that Mr. Farren secured three out of every seven votes without a single street being canvassed augured well for the future of the Irish Labour Party (applause).

### **The Irish Rebellion.**

Referring to the Executive Committee's report on the Irish Rebellion.



Mr. W. J. Murphy (Dublin) said the trades societies had been put to tremendous expense owing to the recent disturbance in Dublin, and had had to pay out between four to five thousand pounds. The Government was now prepared to accept the claims of the property owners and the trade unions ought to be in a position to make their claim for the money expended to be reimbursed to them. He detailed the steps taken by the Insurrection Inquiries Sub-Committee to deal with the claims of the workers.

Mr. M. O'Flanagan suggested that the incoming Executive should be instructed to take the necessary steps to press upon the Government the justice of recognizing the losses incurred by the trade unions.

Mr. O'Lehane, speaking as the delegate of one of the societies that suffered heavily during the rebellion, on behalf of the Dublin delegates and the trade unionists of the metropolis, tendered their sincere thanks to the chairman (Mr. Johnson) and Mr. D. R. Campbell, acting secretary, for their action in the matter. Mr. Johnson acted in the most prompt and spirited manner on that occasion, and whatever could be done was done by him in conjunction with Mr. Campbell (hear, hear).

Mr. Thos. Farren heartily endorsed Mr. O'Lehane's tribute to Messrs. Johnson and Campbell. It was very fortunate for them, he said, that Mr. Johnson happened at the time to be resident in Belfast, as he was therefore in a better position to go to the authorities and demand that the rights of the workers should be respected. He did everything that it was possible for man to do to help them during that time of trouble. On behalf of the trades unionists of Dublin he heartily thanked the President and Mr. Campbell for the great assistance they gave.

### **The Transport Workers' Union.**

Mr. W. E. Hill asked if the Transport Workers Union had anything to do with the paragraphs in the report relating to them.

The Chairman replied in the negative. The Committee inserted those paragraphs on their own responsibility because of the information they had.

Mr. Hill said he was exceedingly pleased to know that. Residing as he did in England he was aware that it would bring ridicule upon the Transport Workers' Union and the labour movement generally if the Transport Workers Union attempted or desired to disassociate themselves from the Citizen Army. The Citizen Army was the direct outcome of the struggle in which the Transport Workers Union had been involved: it was formed and officered by the Transport Workers Union. Who did the Parliamentary Committee think they were deceiving by that report? He moved that the paragraphs be referred back to the Executive Committee with a view to their deletion.

Mr. Bennett seconded the motion.

Mr. T. Foran (I.T.W.U., Dublin) said the Transport Workers Union was proud of the action taken by the Irish Citizen Army. There was no attempt to repudiate it, and they would allow no one to repudiate it. The Citizen Army was composed of trades unionists having their own governing body with control over their own organisation. The statement in the Committee's report was a statement of fact.

Mr. Hill said he withdrew his resolution in view of Mr. Foran's statement.

### **Irish "Settlement" Proposals.**

The Chairman announced that it had been decided to discuss the resolutions dealing with the Irish "Settlement" proposals concurrently with that portion of the Executive Committee's report referring to the matter.

Mr. Joseph Buckner (Limerick Trades and Labour Council) formally moved the following:—

"That this Congress, representative of the organised workers of the whole of Ireland, desires to reiterate the decision of the last Irish Trades Union Congress in regard to the suggested exclusion of any portion of Ireland from the provisions of the Home Rule Bill. We protest most strongly against the setting up of any barrier which would sunder and divide the people of this country, believing such action not only undemocratic, but suicidal and disastrous to the working-class movement and further, we feel that in regard to the negotiations now in progress with a view to the settlement of the Irish question, the representatives of Labour, as a most important element in the community, must be consulted."

Mr. Egan (Cork): We are back again in the position we occupied some months ago. Would it not be just as well if we did not discuss this matter at all?

The Chairman: It is perfectly in order, and we are discussing concurrently with this resolution the action of the Parliamentary Committee.

Mr. Egan: Is it not all finished?

The Chairman: I am afraid not.

Mr. Egan then seconded Mr. Buckner's resolution. He said they stood in a very peculiar position not only in regard to the terms of settlement but also in regard to the Home Rule Act which was on the Statute Book. Speaking on behalf of the people of the south of Ireland he declared that from the trade union point of view they were opposed to partition. They did not want to be separated from their fellow-workers in the north of Ireland where there were the best trade unionists in the country. This was a very important question for trade unionists.



Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast Trades and Labour Council) moved as an amendment:—

“Delete all after ‘measure,’ and substitute ‘and that this Congress, representing the workers of Ireland, demands that the question of an Irish settlement be held in abeyance until six months after declaration of peace.’”

He said it was the opinion of their council that settlements arrived at in moments of panic very rarely proved of lasting benefit, and they believed that the state of mind into which the Irish and the British public had been thrust was very largely a state of panic. They were not in a proper frame of mind for approaching this subject with the quiet consideration that it merited. It would be better not to run any risk until the war was finished than to make a settlement which would be a “cure” worse than the disease. It would be better to go on as they were than to adopt expedients which had not the fundamentals of permanence in them. Personally he would rather see the Home Rule Act scrapped than that even one county should be left out.

Mr. Ernest Kidd (Belfast) seconded the amendment which was supported by Mr. M. McCann (Belfast).

Mr. Hill: Is it a fact that under this settlement thirty seats were offered to Labour?

The Chairman: It is not a fact. No seats were offered to Labour.

Mr. Wm O'Brien: Thirty seats were allotted to the Urban Districts—a very different matter.

Mr. Hill said it was all very well to blame the Irish Party for having had anything to do with the terms of settlement but in so far as the workers of Ireland had elected those men, so far the workers of Ireland were responsible for any action taken by them as their representatives. If they accepted the principle of representative government, then the acts of their representatives were their acts. He believed that there was no other way out for the Irish Party when they entered into the settlement negotiations. The Ulster Unionists were prepared to enter into a discussion and was it to be said throughout the world that in those circumstances the Irish Party was not? The people of England felt that the rebellion had been caused by gross injustice, by the holding up of Home Rule, decade after decade and by the holding over of the Home Rule Act even after it had been placed on the Statute Book. They desired that war or no war the earliest possible opportunity should be taken of settling the Irish question. If a settlement had not been arrived at it was not the fault of the English democracy or the English people. Were the Irish people prepared to go out into the desert again for fifty years (Cries of “We are! We are!”). No more hateful proposal could be made than partition, but when they had said that and taken a high line they were faced



with the practical issue. Everybody knew, as the chairman had said that they could not coerce Ulster, or force it within the bounds of a Home Rule Parliament if it did not come in willingly. Ireland's trouble was that they had failed over and over again because they would not deal with practical issues. The issue was imminent, the need was imminent, and he thought that whilst they were as united as they could be on the question of partition, when they came down to the hard practical issue they had to face this fact—that if there was to be self-government in Ireland and workers were to have their chance of taking their part in it, it could only be by the agreement of their loyalist fellow-countrymen in the north of Ireland, and that could only be achieved by some measure of partition.

Mr. Good (Cork) as representing a district almost entirely Nationalist, said the vast majority of the working classes of the city and county of Cork had only one opinion on this matter—that sooner than have any portion of Ireland cut away they would prefer to go back to the old Penal Days (hear, hear). The whole trouble arose because the people were led by gentlemen of the Carson and Redmond class. Let them ~~put~~ away those men and let the workers take the matter into their own hands (hear, hear). As Irishmen they should be prepared to take that question up at a moment's notice.

Mr. Wm. O'Brien, in supporting the resolution, said he had listened with amazement to the speech made by Mr. Hill who spoke exactly like a partitionist. What did Mr. Hill mean by the coercion of Ulster? If a measure was being prepared for England would he say "we cannot coerce Lancashire, or Yorkshire or London"? Did not the majority rule? Why should a section of the people in the north of Ireland object to a measure for which the majority of the people of Ireland voted? Why should that matter be postponed until after the war? They were told that the case of the small Nationalities would be considered at the Peace Conference. Well, there was a small nation over this way that was to be considered. Ireland had been a nation longer than some of the others. They had heard a good deal of Serbia and Belgium but it was not until 1830 that it was found desirable to raise Belgium to the rank of an independent State. Why should not Ireland claim representation at the Peace Conference? He thought the time had come when the nations forming the large Powers should be broken up into their constituents. Large Powers were a menace to the peace of the world. We wanted smaller nations united together in the United States of Europe—or of the World. Everything that was said to-day about the Kaiser was said about Napoleon a hundred years ago. They wanted freedom for themselves and every people in the world, and they would never have it whilst they had big Powers dragooning the world. They did not want to keep big armies of men in idleness but to engage in peaceful pursuits and turn the sword into the ploughshare (applause).



Mr. James Flanagan (Belfast) in supporting the resolution said he thought a candid expression of opinion on the matter should go forth from that Congress that day. There were two things men were willing to fight and die for, religion and politics—a religion they had not got and politics they did not understand (laughter and applause). They ought not to allow this matter to be deferred.

Mr. Thos. Cassidy (Derry) said he took up the position as a representative of the workers of Ireland that they were opposed to the question of partition in any shape or form (applause). Expediency was a great word, but the rights of a country and of its people were not to be bartered (hear, hear), and they in the North would not be separated from the men of the south of Ireland. If it was necessary they would fight and sacrifice their lives to maintain that principle. The Home Rule Act must be passed, and whoever was against it must face the consequences.

Mr. M. O'Flanagan (Dublin) said it had struck him that they had not asked themselves "who is going to settle this question?" They could not rely upon their alleged leaders to settle it. He thought they were determined to settle this question for themselves and to their own satisfaction (hear, hear). Recent events in Dublin had gone a long way in instilling new life into the Irish trades union movement. Although that movement had a broad platform the more strongly it was identified with Nationality the sooner the question would be settled. Men like James Connolly (applause) who were prepared to fight and die for their principles were the sort of men they wanted (applause).

Mr. O'Lehane opposed the amendment. He was not prepared to wait one minute. The amendment negatived the work the Irish Trades Congress had been engaged upon for many years past. Labour in this country had been stifled and hampered by the existence of warring factors, of political parties and religious sections. Surely it was nearly time they got rid of that sort of thing. The action of the government in this matter was the most hypocritical and dishonest action of its whole record in regard to the question of Home Rule. Ulster could not be coerced, forsooth! But half-a-million people in Ulster could be coerced! Ulster had shown determination, backbone, she had shown she was in earnest. If a small section could show that determination and consistency what could not they all, working together, achieve?

Ald. M'Carron said the people of Derry were opposed to exclusion. Did Mr. Asquith consult the workers when he was in Ireland? If not he did not consult the most essential section of the community. He (Ald. M'Carron) wanted his unionist friends to come in with him and try to build up an Irish nation. The Nationalist conference in Belfast did not reflect the opinion of the workers of Ulster (hear, hear).



The Chairman put Mr. Campbell's amendment to the meeting. It was defeated only one vote being recorded in its favour.

Mr. Buckner's resolution was then put to the meeting and declared carried, amidst loud and continued applause.

The Executive Committee's report was adopted on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by Councillor Egan J. P. (Cork).

### **Fraternal Greetings.**

The following telegrams were read:—

"President, Irish Trades Union Congress, Sligo. National Union of Bookbinders and Machine Rulers, in general council assembled at Typographical Institute, 35 Lower Gardiner St., Dublin, sends fraternal greetings to Irish Trades Union Congress and regrets that Mr. P. T. Daly was not released to attend your Congress."

"President, Irish Trades Congress, Sligo. The general council) of Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (Manchester) sends its greetings to the Irish Trades Union Congress, and trusts that its deliberations will tend to greater unity of the industrial forces of the United Kingdom.—F. CHANDLER, Sec."

Mr. Robert Allan (Edinburgh) Chairman of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, who met with a cordial reception, conveyed to the conference the fraternal greetings of the Scottish Congress. In doing so he mentioned that it was his first visit to Ireland, and that it had left a very favourable impression upon him. They were passing through very critical times in their trade unions in Britain, but they hoped that when the war finished a new era would open for the working classes of the country. Whatever views they might have about the war, there was no doubt that it had its roots deep down in the capitalist system, and it was only when they abolished that system that wars would cease. He desired to say how sincerely he rejoiced to note the warmth and enthusiasm with which the name of his old friend, Mr. James Connolly, had been received. It touched him very deeply to think that his old friend was so highly regarded by the Irish people. Mr. Connolly had striven to achieve for the Irish people freedom and social equality (applause).

Councillor Hugh Lyon (Glasgow) said he thought it was well that at this particular crisis in the history of the working classes in Ireland the trade unionists of Scotland should send a delegate to the Irish Congress. Personally he was not a politician. He had always held that politics was introduced by the rich as a game to hoodwink the poorer classes and he maintained that the rich had played that game very well (hear, hear). They were faced to-day as trade unionists with problems that were new to them. Their problems in Scotland differed to some extent from those which had to be faced in Ireland,



but they had got the same enemy in their midst and their problems would have to be faced in the same fashion. The question of female labour was now greatly in evidence in Scotland. In Glasgow they had ladies cleaning their streets, delivering their letters, driving their mail vans, and conducting on their tramcars. Practically the ladies were doing the work now so far as Glasgow was concerned. They were paying them practically men's wages, and immediately the war was over the employers would take advantage of that female labour to reduce the wages of male workers. Lord Haldane stated the other day that it was time they prepared for the second war—the war of commercialism, the industrial war. Well, if the capitalists were already beginning to put their house in order for that fight it was high time for the workers to put their house in order also (hear, hear). He only hoped that the workers of Ireland would be united—and if the rank and file were to be united it was absolutely necessary that the officials should set the example (hear, hear).

Mr. Thos. M'Partlin proposed, Mr. Thomas Ward seconded, and Mr. Thomas Lawlor supported a hearty vote of thanks to the Scottish delegates.

The vote was carried with enthusiasm and Mr. Allan briefly replied.

## THE AGENDA.

### National Health Insurance Problems.

The Congress then proceeded with the Agenda.

Mr. Dawson Gordon (Belfast) moved:—

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the present system of obtaining Medical Certificates by insured persons in Ireland, under the National Health Insurance Act has proved a failure, both in regards to the interest of the insured person and the Approved Society and that this Congress calls 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 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."

He said the Panel system had proved rotten for Trades union members of a Society and all concerned. Under the new system the doctor was paid by the number of certificates he issued, and so far as his (the speaker's) Society was concerned they found that that was not a very good system either. The doctor charged for the certificate, and in some cases was not willing to issue the certificate unless the patient was prepared to take medicine from him.

Mr. Frank Hall (Belfast) seconded the resolution, and pointed

out that it paid a medical man in the circumstances to keep a patient on the sick list as long as possible.

Mr. W. J. Murphy (Dublin) said the Societies were practically at the mercy of these doctors. The resolution indicated the only proper and decent course to adopt, and pending it coming into force some system should be adopted in common fairness to everybody of appointing a referee doctor for each district.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

### **Part One of the Act.**

Mr. John Clarke proposed:—

“That this Congress regrets the opinion which is sought to be formed in Ireland at the present time, that part one of the National Insurance Act should be repealed, knowing as we do the great benefits accruing to the members of (our Association and) all the working classes therefrom and that copies of this resolution be sent to the Press.”

Mr. Thos. Farren seconded the resolution. He said he agreed with the principle of the National Health Insurance Act but not with the way the Act had been administered in this country. The machinery that was being used for carrying out the Insurance Act badly required oiling, and he claimed that the Irish working classes should have direct representation on the Parliamentary Commission which had been appointed. It was generally acknowledged that the people who carried out the Act best were the trade union approved societies.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

### **Approved Societies' Surplusses.**

Mr. O'Lehane moved:—

“That we demand that the surplusses which have accrued in the various societies should be immediately made available for the payment of the additional benefits referred to in the Act, promised at the time of its introduction and frequently subsequently.”

Mr. O'Flanagan seconded the resolution. He said more power should be given to approved societies as to how they should invest or spend their money. The Government laid it down that it should be invested in War Loan Stock.

Mr. Dawson Gordon moved as an amendment that “This Congress believes in the principle of National Health Insurance, and that all monies so contributed should be pooled and made available for the payment of benefits to all insured persons, irrespective of the society to which they belong.” He maintained that societies built up large surplusses by robbing the people entitled to receive benefits. It was only an odd trade union that had a surplus, and if the big societies started to pay increased benefits it would mean the extinction of the others.



Mr. Thos. Lawlor (Dublin) seconded the amendment.

The matter was still under discussion when the Congress adjourned at 1 p.m. for an hour.

Upon resuming at two o'clock.

Ald. O'Toole suggested that both the resolution and the amendment should be withdrawn. He asked would it not be to the advantage of all societies if this money was kept by the Government for soldiers after the war.

Mr. H. T. Whitley (Belfast) asked did anybody seriously maintain that an approved society should not accumulate a surplus if it could by careful management and close attention to expenditure? As to pooling if they did not exercise some carefulness over the expenditure of the money the society that was careless and had no surplus would come back on the society that had.

Mr. Hill said the pooling scheme would encourage parasitic small societies which would be able to muddle along with impunity, and then get share of the money of the well-worked society. It would be a case of the inefficient society robbing the well-worked society.

Mr. Wm. Murphy (Brushmakers) said they might as well ask the well-worked trade unions to hand over their funds to the badly worked trade unions.

Alderman M'Carron (Derry) said if Mr. Gordon's amendment were adopted there would be no incentive to a society to manage its affairs well.

Mr. Good said the suggestion had been made that this money should be used to help the men coming back from the war. He would prefer to have the money go to those who lost their health and strength in the industrial war. It was the Government's duty to look after wounded soldiers, and it was their duty to see that the Government looked after the wounded soldiers. If there was a surplus he believed they should give it out to their members in increased benefits.

Mr. E. Kidd (Belfast) supported Mr. Gordon's amendment.

Mr. D. R. Campbell said he felt rather inclined to favour Mr. Gordon's amendment because he believed it was a great temptation to large friendly societies and insurance companies that they were going to be able to save on this Act and benefit thereby.

Mr. O'Lehane said if the amendment was carried he believed it would be the beginning of the end of the approved societies. He believed the Government had the intention, if they could do so, of taking over the entire administration of the Act and creating another administrative Board. The proposal to pool the surplus was a very important one and one that from the democratic point of view naturally appealed to everybody, but they must not forget the dangerous fact that if the surplusses

were pooled the Government would say, "why should we have all these scattered units? We will run it as we run the Labour Exchanges and pay sickness benefits as we pay unemployment benefits." He wanted the surplus of each society to be utilised for the members of that particular society. If they took away the individuality of the societies they would cast the whole administrative scheme into the hands of the State and have an end of approved societies.

The Chairman put the amendment, when there voted:—

For the Amendment	...	...	21
Against	...	...	30

—  
Majority against 9

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

### Administration of Part II. of the Act.

Mr. John Murphy (Cork) proposed:—

1. "That we strongly condemn and protest against the administration of Part II. of the Insurance Act in compelling our members to accept red-leading jobs on the Clyde and elsewhere at less than painters' rates payable in those districts, and depriving our members of their benefits if they refuse such jobs, such action by the Labour Exchanges, being entirely against our Rules, and not even in keeping with the spirit of the Act. Furthermore, we are of opinion that the officials of the Labour Exchanges are out to try and break the Trade Union Movement, backed up by the Board of Trade; therefore we call on the National Executive of the Congress to take the necessary steps to deal with this action of the Labour Exchanges and get it before Parliament as a means to have it rectified."

2. "That we condemn the system of the Labour Exchanges in sending men to work in other towns than their own for lesser rates of wages or suspend them from benefits if they refuse to go. We consider this a direct means of breaking local conditions and lessening of wages as agreed on in cities and towns, and thereby assisting unscrupulous employers taking certain work and compelling their employees to accept lesser wages, in addition to paying their own railway fares, according to the different towns of which they contract. We therefore call for the amending of the Act, Part II., in order to prevent this exploitation of the workers who unfortunately come under its provisions."

Mr. Murphy said he believed that part of the act was never intended to defraud trade unionists of their rights. He suggested that the resolution be forwarded to the Members of Parliament.

Mr. Good (Cork) in seconding said it was the duty of every trade unionist to understand how that Act was worked and



every other Act passed for the working and control of the workers generally. Therefore he thought it was the duty of every trade unionist to see exactly what was going on and to remedy it if possible. They should grasp the matter thoroughly and demand that if the officials did not work the Act satisfactorily the working of it should be taken from those officials and handed over to the trade unionists (applause).

Miss Perolz proposed the following amendment:

"We therefore call for the total abolition of the Labour Exchanges as having proved expensive useless and dangerous to the interests of men and women workers and suggest that their staffs be utilized for the extended administration of the Trades Board Act."

Mr. M. Smyth (Dublin) seconded the Amendment.

Councillor Egan (Cork) said he was opposed to Part II. of the Act wholly. There was something radically wrong in its administration and one thing was certain—something must be done whereby the administration of the Act would be put in the hands of trade union officials (hear, hear).

Mr. Bennett supported the abolition of Labour Exchanges, which he said existed for nothing else but to supply scab labour (hear, hear and applause).

Mr. W. J. Murphy (Dublin) asked what steps did the Cork people, who had a grievance, take to get the remedy as provided for in Part II. of the Act.

Mr. Thos. Farren (Dublin) supported the amendment. He said it was a disgrace to the trade unionists of Ireland that this Act was allowed to remain in operation. Take the case of a man whose society had not made arrangements with the Labour Exchanges. He had to sign every morning for a fortnight and then, provided his claim was allowed which was very rare he got the magnificent sum of 3/6. He (the speaker) had to harp continually at the officials in Dublin on behalf of the workers. The Act was a fraud and a farce. Were the workers to starve while the officials were making up their minds? The workers who were in should combine with those who were out to get away from under the Act altogether.

Mr. Thos. Cassidy (Derry) said he was apposed to Part II. of the Act altogether and the best thing that could be done would be to have it abolished.

The mover and seconder of the resolution accepted the amendment and the motion as amended was then put to the meeting.

The amended resolution was adopted with two dissentients.

### Nationalisation of Irish Railways.

Mr. W. E. Hill proposed the following resolution:—

"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 unavoidable delay in carrying out the recommendations of the Majority Report of the Viceregal Commission on Irish Railways, dated 4th July, 1910 (modified to provide for the Presidency of a responsible Railway Minister, having a seat in the Cabinet of any Parliament that may be elected under the Better Government of Ireland Act), and thus Nationalising the said railways under a system of public control."

"The Conference further affirms that any Bill 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 Council, such representatives not to be necessarily employees of the Authority;"

2. "That 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 employees."

3. "That the salaries, wages and other conditions of service of the Clerical and Operative Staffs be not less than 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 by reason of their becoming employees of the Irish Railway Council."

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

Mr. Hill alluded to the object lesson in Nationalisation, even though partial, which they had been afforded on the other side of the channel since the outbreak of the war. He thought they would have no difficulty in passing that resolution. The need was greater to-day than ever. The very moment war broke out it was found absolutely necessary to take over the railways of Great Britain immediately. Surely if that was necessary in times of war to convey troops and munitions it was more necessary in peace for the conveyance of people and commodities. The result was that in England and Scotland the railway workers got a bonus from the Government while the workers on the Irish railways—which had not been taken over by the Government—got a bonus that was not worth taking, and it had to be paid by the railway companies themselves. It was the action of the Government and not of the railway companies that was forcing Irish railwaymen into a position of revolt. The Government had paid eight millions to enable English railway companies to pay a bonus and not one penny came to Irish railway companies.



Mr. Duffy seconded the resolution which was supported by Mr. P. Murphy (Cork), Mr. Good (Cork) and Mr. Ward and carried unanimously.

### **War Bonus to Railway Workers.**

Mr. W. E. Hill proposed :

“ That this Congress emphatically condemns as unwarrantable and unjust the action of the Government in allocating public money to the extent of about eight millions sterling per annum for the purpose of giving a War Bonus of 5/- per week to the railwaymen of Great Britain, while at the same time refusing to grant any State allowance whatsoever to the employees of Irish Railways who, as taxpayers, are contributing to the War Bonus paid to their British colleagues; and calls upon the Irish Parliamentary Representatives and Irish Public Bodies to insist on the Government extending to Irish railway workers similar treatment in this respect to that granted to the railwaymen of Great Britain.”

The proposer of the resolution said there was no greater injustice than this question of a War Bonus to Irish railway workers. Had the Government dealt with food prices and profiteers as they could and should have done there would be no need for a War Bonus. Every Irish ratepayer was helping to pay his share of the eight million pounds that was going into the English railways.

Mr. P. Murphy (Cork) seconded the resolution. He considered that the officials of the railway men were not entirely blameless in the matter.

Mr. Rimmer held that Irish railway men were largely to blame.

Mr. Duffy said it had been stated that there had been no increase in the charges of the Irish railways, but that was not a fact: there had been a considerable increase in the charges for passenger traffic

Mr. Ward, in supporting the resolution, said the railway companies said they had been compelled to raise their rates on account of the increased price of coal, but they did not consider for a moment that the railway man had also got to pay the increased price (hear, hear).

The resolution was carried unanimously.

### **Londonderry and Lough Swilly Railway Strike.**

In response to a request from the Chairman.

Mr. Rimmer gave a brief outline of the dispute on the Londonderry and Lough Swilly Railway. He said the milesmen and gangers employed on the Carndonagh section applied for an increase in the case of the former of 3/- per week to their present wages of 13/- per week with an additional shilling per

week war bonus, the gangers' wages to be proportionately increased. Prior to this application the efforts of the National Union of Railwaymen to get these men a War Bonus on the same scale as that granted in Great Britain had failed to secure a satisfactory reply from the Company. A further effort was made to get the directors to meet a deputation of the men accompanied by the Irish secretary of the Union. This further effort was supported by a petition signed by almost all the employees. The Company declined to meet anyone not in their employment. Following this a strike took place amongst the men employed in the goods and traffic departments which ultimately led to substantial increases being granted after a meeting between the directors and representatives of the men. On the day this conference took place the milesmen had been mobilised at Pennyburn for the purpose of loading or unloading coal. On learning what had been granted to the other employees, the milesmen promptly sent in an application—or made it personally—for some increase. This was met with threats of dismissal. The men subsequently decided to send in fourteen days notice, dating from June 16th or thereabouts, to leave the service unless an increase was granted. The Company allowed the notices to take effect and the men from Buncrana to Carndonagh inclusive had been out on strike ever since. Many of those men with families resided in the houses at the level crossings—or accommodation crossings—which in the absence of the men at work were attended to by their wives who were allowed some small consideration for performing that duty. The Company made an offer of a shilling a week with some modification of Sunday duties. The Company also very discreetly sent for the gangers on the Burtonport section of the line and prevailed upon them to accept the offer and remain at work and thus prevent the strike spreading. Unfortunately the men had not the consent of the Union before they went out on strike.

### **The D. and S. E. Railway Trouble.**

Mr. Hill proposed:

“That this Congress condemns the action of the Dublin and South Eastern Railway Company in dismissing seven members of their clerical staff for no reason other than that of the alleged need for retrenchment, and expresses its keen disappointment that no effective action has been taken by the company following upon the representations to the Directors made by a deputation of the staff by the Irish Council of the Railway Clerks' Association through Sir Matthew Nathan and by Mr. J. E. Redmond, M. P., requesting them to secure reinstatement of the clerks concerned, or their transfer to the employ of other companies in Ireland.”

Mr. Hill said representations were made to the company by their Association and several members of the Irish Party took considerable interest in the matter. The Company made pro-



mises and the G. S. and W. Rly. Co. agreed to take one of the men if the D. and S. E. Co. would ask them to do it. The Dublin and South Eastern, however, made no such request with the result that these men were still unemployed.

Alderman Lorcan O'Toole seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

### **Dublin Rebuilding—Housing Conditions—Compensation to Workers.**

Mr. Thomas Farren moved the following three resolutions simultaneously:

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, in the re-building of Dublin, steps shall be taken to secure that the re-building will be carried out on lines making for the permanent adornment and improvement of the City; also demands that in the special circumstances under which the destruction was caused, the Government will afford such financial assistance as may be necessary to carry out re-building in the manner indicated."

"That this Congress, representing the workers of Ireland, demands that the recommendations contained in the report issued by the Departmental Committee appointed to enquire into the housing conditions shall be given effect to without further delay."

"That the Irish Trades Union Congress demands that the scope of inquiry to consider claims for compensation for losses sustained owing to the Insurrection shall be widespread, to allow the claims of the workers to be considered, for, according to the terms of reference, the Commission appointed cannot entertain claims for compensation for loss of life or loss of employment; and that the National Executive take all steps necessary to give effect to this resolution."

Mr. Farren said the conditions of housing in Dublin were so bad that they ought to be seriously considered by the Government. The Dublin Corporation had endeavoured to do all they could to remedy the sad state of affairs that existed. They tried to get grants from the Local Government Board, but instead of being facilitated everything possible seemed to be done to prevent the building of houses for the people of Dublin. With regard to the destruction in the centre of the city he maintained that the people who knocked down the finest street in Dublin should see to it that it was restored to its former state. In connection with compensation for the working classes they had endeavoured to do everything possible to secure compensation in the first place for loss of life, in the second for loss of property and in the third for loss of employment. The trade unions that had paid unemployment benefit should also be compensated.

Mr. W. J. Murphy seconded the resolutions. Something between five and six thousand pounds, he said, had been expended

in this connection by the Dublin trade unions alone. There was an absolute necessity for focussing public attention on this question. He thought the English Labour Party should be asked to move in the matter and that attention should be called to it in the House of Commons.

The resolutions were carried unanimously.

Mr. Patrick Lynch (Cork) proposed and Councillor Egan seconded the following resolution which was unanimously adopted:—

“That it be an instruction to the incoming National Executive to make every possible effort to secure the passing of an Amending Act to the ‘Housing of the Working Classes Act,’ so as to secure loans for the building of healthy houses in our cities and towns on the same conditions as those laid down in the Irish Labourers’ Act.”

### **Trades Board and Shops Act.**

Mr. L. J. Duffy, proposed the following two resolutions simultaneously:—

“This Conference 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.”

“That we demand the extension of the Shops Act, 1912, to all shop assistants and clerks, no matter where employed, whether in rural or urban areas; we demand a limitation of the working hours to 48 per week; and further, we are of opinion that the administration of the Act should be in the hands of somebody other than the local public authorities as now constituted, these being in most towns largely composed of shopkeepers directly interested.”

Mr. Duffy pointed out that the Government enforced regulations for the comfort of dressmakers and milliners which apparently shop assistants could lay no claim to.

Mr. John Stapleton seconded.

Miss Perolz moved the addition of the following words after the words “distributive trades” in the first resolution:—  
“and among women workers in the printing and sorting trades.”

The addendum was accepted by the mover and seconder of the resolution which was carried unanimously.

### **The Increased Cost of Living.**

Mr. Wm. O'Brien moved:—

“That this Trades Congress views with alarm the continued increase in the prices of the necessities of life, aggravated by the action of unscrupulous traders, which is causing untold misery amongst the working classes, and we would respectfully



urge on the Government the necessity of intervening, with the view of arresting what may eventuate in widespread destitution. That copies of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade."

Mr. O'Brien said this question touched the vital interests of everyone. It was a problem that had existed since the very first week of the war and it was really time that they decided to do something. Passing resolutions was no use. Vast profits were being made by employers and shipowners and the Government was making no effort to keep down the cost of living but was apparently quite prepared to let them go on fleecing the people as they had been doing. The Executive should get into communication with the Trades Congress in England and see what should be done.

Mr. Thos. Farren seconded the resolution which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Dan Magee moved and Mr. Robert Tynan seconded the following resolution which was also carried unanimously:—

"That, owing to the increased cost of all articles requisite for the upkeep of their workmen and their families at the present time, this Trade Congress consider that the minimum weekly wages of workmen employed by the Public Boards, and other employers, be not less than 30/- per week."

Mr. Ernest Kidd (Belfast) proposed:—

"That having regard to the dissatisfaction of the workers in general at the continual alarming increase in the cost of living, the Congress should approach the most appropriate body with a view to convening a National conference, the same to be thoroughly representative of the workers of the country, to discuss the best methods of bringing about such reduction even to the extent of withholding labour, and that the demands of the said conference be placed before the Cabinet as soon as arrived at."

Mr. Collins (Dublin) seconded the resolution.

On the suggestion of the Chairman the resolution was referred to a special sub-committee consisting of Messrs. E. Kidd, N. Rimmer, James M'Carron, Thos. Foran, and Wm. O'Brien.

The sub-committee met subsequently. and on the following day submitted the following recommendation:—

"That consideration of the proposal be deferred until the British Trades Congress and its affiliated bodies have had an opportunity of taking action, and that the National Executive Committee be directed to co-operate with that body in any action calculated to induce the Government to deal with this urgent and vital question."

The committee's recommendation was unanimously adopted on the motion of Mr. Wm. O'Brien, seconded by Mr. Kidd.

The Congress adjourned at 5 p.m. until 9.30 next morning.

### THIRD DAY.

Mr. Thos Johnson presided and the proceedings commenced shortly before ten o'clock.

#### University Lectures and Technical Scholarships.

Mr. John Good (Cork Trades Council) proposed the following two resolutions:—

(A) "The workers of Ireland assembled in Congress record their hearty approval of the efforts which are being made at University College Cork, to bring the National University into touch with the working classes. They earnestly desire recognition of their claims to higher education and fuller fellowship. Hence this Congress hopes that the authorities of the National University and of its constituent colleges, will establish tutorial classes and extension lectures for workers, on the plan so successfully adopted in Great Britain."

(B) "That the Department of Technical Instruction be urged to provide and offer free scholarships in sufficient numbers, and made available at every Technical School in the country, whereby the most capable pupils would be enabled to attend without loss to their parents, the nearest provincial or metropolitan Technical Institute, and so train and develop the industrial resources of our countrymen."

The proposer said it was a matter which required the careful attention of every working man. Our education system at present was a policy of cramming the minds of the few and ignoring the fate of the many. He alluded to the fact that all over England in many of the large centres tutorial classes had been working for a number of years for the benefit of the working classes, and he did not see why Ireland should be deprived of these advantages. But Ireland had always been class ruled.

Mr. Patrick Lynch (Cork, A. S. Tailors and Tailoresses) seconded the resolutions.

The Chairman said these tutorial classes were not entirely confined to England. For four years back they had had tutorial classes in Belfast and he was greatly gratified to find how well those lectures were attended. The Queen's University was very generous indeed in providing assistance in the matter, and they had been going on fairly successfully. He thought the new executive could be relied upon to go into the matter thoroughly. It should be remembered that though they might provide the lectures, it rested with the men and women themselves whether or not they would attend them.

The resolution was carried without dissent.

#### Electoral Reform.

Mr. Patrick Lynch (Cork) proposed and Mr. John Good (Cork) seconded the following resolution which was adopted:—

"That this Congress is of opinion that before any scheme for



the re-distribution of electoral power under the 'Government of Ireland Act' can be equitable and representative, it must be preceded by an Amending Act, which provides for—

1. The enfranchisement of all adults, male and female.
2. The shortest possible qualifying period for registration by duly authorised Registration Officers.
3. Payment of Returning Officers' fees and expenses from the National Exchequer.
4. The holding of Parliamentary elections on one and the same day, and the exercise of one vote only by each elector."

### **Weekly Half-Holiday.**

Mr. John Good (Cork) proposed and Mr. Patrick Lynch (Cork) seconded the following resolution which was adopted:—

"That this Congress calls upon the Government to introduce legislation to compel all employers of labour in Ireland to give at least one half-holiday per week, with pay, to all regular employees; and where such is not possible, one week's holiday annually be granted, together with bank holidays, or days in lieu thereof."

### **Workmen's Compensation Act.**

Mr. Dawson Gordon (Belfast, Flax Roughers and Yarn Spinners) proposed and Mr. Ernest Kidd (Belfast, Electricians) seconded the following resolution which was adopted:—

"That this Congress instructs the National Executive 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 15/- 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."

### **Female Factory Inspectors.**

Mr. Dawson Gordon (Belfast) proposed and Mr. M. McCann (Belfast, Amalgamated Tramway and Vehicle Workers) seconded the following resolution:—

"That this Congress urges upon the Government the great necessity that exists in Ireland for additional Female Factory Inspectors, as the present staff is totally insufficient for the carrying out of the duties imposed upon them, and we earnestly urge upon the Government to take immediate steps to remedy the matter by increasing the present staff."

The proposer and seconder accepted an amendment moved by Miss Marie Perolz (Irish Women Workers) and seconded by Mr. M'Partlin (Dublin, A. S. Carpenters and Joiners) inserting after the words "present staff" the words "by the appointment of Irishwomen." Miss Perolz said it was of the greatest importance that women appointed should be educated in Ireland and have their interests in Ireland for two reasons—firstly, because the conditions for women differed in many respects in England and Ireland, and a factory inspector ought to know intimately the conditions existing in her own country; and, secondly, because she ought to be in sympathy by birth and training with her own countrywomen and devoted to their services and particular interests.

### **Co-operative Employees and Other Workers.**

The Chairman moved the adoption of the following resolution. He explained that it had been proposed last year and discussed. It was then referred to the Executive who recommended its adoption as it now stood. The resolution read:—

"This Congress 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 other employment, is detrimental to the best interests of Trade Unionism.

It calls upon all co-operative employees to take up membership with the Trade Unions catering for all employed in their trade or calling, whether co-operative or otherwise.

The National Executive is hereby instructed to call the attention of all co-operative societies to the same, and to notify Trades and Labour Councils and other Labour bodies throughout the country."

Mr. John Stapleton (Dublin, Irish Grocers' Assistants and Clerks) seconded the resolution which was carried.

### **Legislation Affecting Shop Assistants.**

Mr. L. J. Duffy (Dublin, Irish Drapers' Assistants) proposed and Mr. John Stapleton seconded the following resolution which was adopted:—

"This Congress condemns the unsatisfactory methods of charging up stock to branch shops, and of stocktaking, leading, as it does, to the public receiving short weight, and the harsh and restrictive radius agreements imposed upon shop managers and assistants by some multiple firms, and considers—

(a) That fidelity and guarantee societies who accept premiums from such multiple firms for guaranteeing them against loss by shortage should be deprived of the right they at present possess of recovering payment for shortages from the managers and assistants so guaranteed; and,

(b) That the National Executive be instructed to look



into the whole question of such guarantees and stocktaking, together with the methods of fidelity and guarantee societies, with a view to promoting legislation on the subject."

### Naval and Military War Pensions.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast Trades and Labour Council) proposed the following resolutions together:—

(a) "That this Congress of Irish Trade Unionists condemns the suggestions issued by the Statutory Committee of the 'Naval and Military War Pensions Act, 1915,' that local committees should solicit contributions from the public for the purpose of enabling the work of the Act to be carried out. And this Congress is strongly of opinion that the provisions of the pensions grants and allowances necessary to prevent distress or hardship among the men who have fought and suffered for their country, and among the dependants of those who have fallen, is a National obligation, and as a matter of national honour ought not to be dependent upon charity; but that the cost of such provision, together with the necessary expenses of administration, should be defrayed out of the funds provided by Parliament; that copies of this Resolution be sent to the proper authorities."

(b) "That this Congress protests against any attempt on the part of the Government and the Statutory Committee on Pensions to shirk their responsibility for making adequate provision for wounded or disabled soldiers and sailors, or the dependants of men who have lost their lives during service in the Army or Navy; we are of opinion that the attempt to make local committees responsible for the collection of voluntary funds for supplementary allowances is a mean method of evading national responsibility, and implies a desire to leave the widows and orphans of men who have given their lives for the State to the tender mercies of organized charity."

Mr. Campbell said they had received a shock when they learned that under the conditions of the Naval and Military War Pensions Act those pensions were to be augmented by donations from charitable organisations. He asked the Congress to declare that it was a national obligation to see that these men and their dependants were fully provided for and not left, if at all possible, to compete with ordinary workers. Certainly their livelihood should not be dependent upon the success of any charity bazaars or charity sermons. It was simply asking the Government to translate into hard fact the glowing tributes they paid to the soldiers when they shouldered their rifles (hear, hear).

Mr. Dawson Gordon (Belfast) in seconding, said their principle was that the National Exchequer must supply the money. "It is up to us," he said, "to see that these people don't go where other warriors have gone in past times—to the poorhouse" (hear, hear, and applause).



Mr. Michael O'Flanagan (Dublin) said he did not think a resolution of that sort should go from that Congress. He was not prepared to admit that they ought to interest themselves in pensions and pittances for these men who came back from the Continent. They in principle did not agree with war as a means of settling disputes between peoples.

Mr. J. H. Bennett (Dublin) : We are under obligation to the men who went out to the Front to fight for us.

Mr. O'Flanagan : I am not prepared to admit that these men are fighting for my country which is Ireland.

Mr. J. H. Bennett said he was sorry this had become a contentious matter. It was certainly a matter for the Government and the Government would only do what they were forced to do.

Mr. J. Flanagan (Belfast) speaking as one who had served in the Army, and who had three sons now serving, said they must not wait until the war was over; the problem was imminent. He believed an expression of opinion from that Congress would have great weight.

Mr. Campbell said he thought Mr. O'Flanagan's attitude might be crystallised into this: That because soldiers had gone out to do a thing with which some of the Labour Party disagreed they should say, when the Government which had promised those men certain things was going to evade the fulfilment of its promises: "Serve them jolly well right!" He (Mr. Campbell) maintained that if the money was going to be taken from the people it was their duty to see that the men to whom it was promised got it.

The resolutions were carried Mr. M. O'Flanagan alone dissenting.

### **Farm Colonies for Soldiers.**

Mr. Thos. Johnson (Belfast)—Mr. M'Partlin temporarily occupying the chair—moved the following resolutions:—

"(a) That this conference calls upon the Government to take possession of agricultural land in Ireland for the establishment of farm colonies on co-operative lines (immediately extending their present scheme by acquiring not less than two thousand acres of land as is being done in Scotland and Wales) to be occupied by Irish soldiers on demobilisation and others and in accordance with the report of the Departmental Committee appointed to deal with the question of employment on the land after the war."

(b) "That we call upon the Labour Party and the Irish Representatives in the British House of Commons to insist that in any scheme for the utilization of labour in National undertakings, such as afforestation, reclamation of waste lands, or forests, re-housing of the people, river drainage, etc., designed to relieve the labour market on demobilization, that Ireland shall receive an adequate share of the Imperial funds, and that a



committee representing various Irish industrial interests should be appointed forthwith, to make preparation for such work."

Mr. Johnson said the proposal was that farm colonies should be established for the settlement of soldiers and sailors and also munition workers on disbandment to save them from coming on the labour market. They could utilize these colonies as large farms under the supervision of an expert with the men employed at a fixed standard wage, with the best conditions of employment and the amenities of social life in a country village. The value of that experiment would be very great indeed, especially if it were successful. In Ireland they could utilise the great tracts of land at present devoted to grazing for the growing of crops. It would lead the way to practically a revolution in Irish agricultural conditions. A lead would be given to the Congested Districts Board as to what they ought to do in the western area.

Mr. Thos. Lawlor (Dublin) in seconding the resolution said that it would be understood that the claims of the evicted tenants must not be imperilled by any action that the Government took to provide land for soldiers on demobilization.

Mr. Johnson: There is no possibility, I think, of that danger arising.

The resolutions were carried unanimously

### **The Half-Time System.**

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast) moved:—

"That the half-time system is a curse to the child, both physically and mentally; restricts the opportunity for the employment of adult labour; and tends to lower the wages of the workers in the industries affected, and should be abolished."

He said nothing had a greater tendency to pull down wages especially in the spinning industry than the half-time system. He did not believe it was good for the child, and it was certainly not good for the economic status of the parent.

Mr. Dawson Gordon (Belfast) in seconding, said it made one's heart bleed to see the children going to work in the mills at six o'clock in the morning.

Carried unanimously.

### **Sectional Unions.**

Ald. Lorcan O'Toole (Dublin) proposed and Mr. Good (Cork) seconded:—

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, further special efforts should be made to condemn the continuance of Sectional Trade Unions, realising that men employed in any one industry, trade or calling, in order to secure any permanent improvement in their conditions, should organise into one strong National union. The Congress, therefore, instructs its Executive Committee to use its utmost efforts to press the various sectional unions to

amalgamate into one body, and further recommends that in future admission to membership of the Congress be discouraged or refused to all sectional bodies, unless they can show they have made efforts during the previous year to carry out the spirit of this resolution."

Ald. M'Carron considered it rather a dangerous resolution.

The Chairman suggested to Mr. O'Toole the wisdom of withdrawing the latter part, which was going to throw upon the Executive Committee a very great responsibility.

It was agreed that the resolution should terminate at the word "body."

On the suggestion of Miss Perolz the words "and women" were added after "that men."

The resolution was then carried unanimously.

### **Tailoring Work in Dwelling Houses.**

Ald M'Carron (Derry) proposed and Mr. W. J. Leeman (Belfast) seconded the following resolution which was carried unanimously:—

"That this Congress, in the interest of the public health, condemns the practice of carrying on tailoring workshops in dwelling houses, and instructs the National Executive to use every effort to make such practices illegal; and further, that they bring under the notice of the Home Office the desirability of getting Local Watch Committees to assist the Factory Inspectors (as the latter are not numerous enough) in enforcing better observance of the Factory and Workshops Act."

Mr. John Good (Cork) proposed and Mr. M. Smith (Dublin) seconded the following resolution which was carried unanimously:—

"That this Congress desires to draw the attention of Corporate and other bodies to the necessity of getting work executed in winter time, thereby alleviating the great dearth of employment which exists in the winter months."

### **The Petrol Restrictions.**

Mr. John Traynor (Dublin, Irish Automobile Drivers' and Mechanics Union) proposed and Mr. John Farren (Dublin, Tinsmiths and Sheet Metal Workers) seconded the following resolution which was carried:—

"That this Congress is of the opinion that the restriction of the petrol supply to Ireland is detrimental to the interests of Motor Car Drivers and Mechanics and members of Kindred trades, and exceedingly injurious to the trade and commerce of the country, that the National Executive Committee be instructed to place this matter before the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Irish Parliamentary Representatives to have the restrictions removed or a more generous supply distributed."



## Amendments to Motor Car Act, 1903.

The Chairman suggested that Resolution 33 on the agenda should be referred to the Executive Committee as it was a matter requiring special knowledge and consideration.

This course was agreed to on the motion of Mr. Traynor, seconded by Mr. M. Smith.

The resolution in question read:—

“Sub-Section (2), Section 3 to be amended to read:—‘The Council of a County or County Borough shall grant a licence to drive a motor car to any person applying for it, on satisfying the examiner appointed by the Council of a County or County Borough as to his or her mechanical knowledge and driving ability, to take charge of and drive a motor car on any public highway, and on the payment of an examination fee of £1 and a licence fee of 5/- unless the applicant is disqualified under the provision of this Act.’”

“Sub-section (1), Section 9 be amended to read:—‘Section 4 of the principal Act (which relates to the rate of speed of motor cars) is hereby repealed, but a person shall not under any circumstances drive a motor car within any limits or place referred to in regulations made by the Local Government Board, with a view to the safety of the public, on the application of the Local Authority of the area in which the limit or place are situated, at a speed exceeding ten miles per hour.’”

“Sub-section (1), Section II, be amended to read:—‘Any person guilty of an offence under this Act, for which no penalty is provided, shall be liable on summary conviction in respect of each offence to a fine not exceeding twenty pounds, or in the case of a record or subsequent conviction, to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds, or in the discretion of the Court, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months, unless in the case of a conviction for a mere light being out, he proves that he has taken all steps reasonable and practicable to prevent the light from going out.’”

## The Munster Warehouse (Tralee) Dispute

Mr. M. J. O’Lehane (Dublin, Irish Drapers’ Assistants) moved:—

“That this Congress strongly condemns the action of the Munster Warehouse Co., Tralee, through their Chairman, Mr. D. J. Murphy, in flagrantly violating the agreement entered into with the other traders in that town, as well as with the employees in connection with the ‘Living-in System,’ and it desires to place on record its appreciation of the magnificent fight which the assistants have put up during the last fifteen months in their endeavour to compel Mr. Murphy to adhere to his agreement.”

Mr. O’Lehane said it was the longest dispute in which they had been engaged and arose out of the fact that the company



broke an agreement with the Drapers' Assistants into which they entered in 1913. They broke the agreement after the outbreak of the war without assigning any reason whatever. He spoke of the magnificent fight which the assistants involved were continuing to put up and declared "They are really our heroes in the trenches."

Mr. Patrick Lynch (Cork) in seconding suggested that efforts should be made by the coming Executive Committee to end the dispute.

Carried unanimously.

### **Coach-building and Kindred Matters.**

(a) "That, in the opinion of this Congress the continued importation of all classes of vehicles into this country is deplorable, and owing to the evolution of the motor car, it is desirable on the part of the vehicle industry, that we call on all traders and merchants to encourage home industry by insisting on having their vehicles manufactured in Ireland. The members of the community who foster and encourage such importation are unworthy of the support of the public."

(b) "That, in the opinion of this Congress, all carriages, wagons and other vehicles for the use of the Army and other Government Departments in Ireland should be made in Ireland by civilian labour, under fair conditions. That if this were done it would help to solve the unemployed problem in the coach-making and other trades. That the National Executive Committee be instructed to place this matter before the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Irish Parliamentary Representatives."

(c) "That this Congress is of opinion that all motor car bodies required for use on Irish roads should be made, painted and trimmed under fair conditions in Ireland, motor bodies made in Ireland being far superior to any others on the roads of this country. This Congress appeals to motor car agents to have their car bodies made, painted and trimmed at home, and so develop this important industry in Ireland."

(d) "That this Congress condemns the continued importation of carriages, vans, wheels and coach ironwork or fittings, and calls on the gentry, merchants, corporations and public companies of Ireland to have all their coach building done at home under fair conditions, and so help to restore this ancient industry to its former prosperous position in Ireland."

(e) "That this Congress is of opinion that practical coachmakers should be appointed hackney carriage inspectors instead of policemen, as is the custom at present, policemen having no technical knowledge to fit them for such positions. That job carriages and taxi cabs should be inspected and disinfected at regular periods, in the interest of public health. That the Board of Trade should insist that practical coachmakers be appointed Carriage Inspectors on all railways, and the Executive Commit-



tee be instructed to bring these matters before the Chief Secretary and the Irish Parliamentary Representatives."

### **Irish Receiving Depots for Government Contracts.**

Mr. William Murphy (Dublin, United Society of Brushmakers) proposed:—

"That this Congress views with regret the continued apathy of the responsible authorities despite the repeated requests and resolutions of this Congress for the past fourteen years in not forming in Dublin receiving depots for Government contracts, so as to place Irish contractors on an equality with the contractors of England and Scotland, and that, as Irish contractors are at a great disadvantage in competing for Government contracts through having to send and pay freightage on their manufactures to England for inspection and pay return carriage if not approved. We now demand that the Government at once open depots in Ireland and thus give Irish workers some of the benefits of the large contracts for different classes of articles required by the Government from time to time. Copies of this resolution to be forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Secretary for War, Lord Derby, Sir Edward Carson, and Mr. John Redmond."

Mr. John Farren seconded.

Mr. H. T. Whitley pointed out that an inspecting depot in Dublin would not greatly facilitate Belfast manufacturers who would have to send their goods to Dublin and pay freightage on them just as they did now to England.

On the suggestion of the Chairman the mover and seconder agreed to change the resolution to read "open receiving depots in Ireland."

Carried unanimously.

### **Night Work in Bakeries**

Mr. Dineen proposed and Mr. John Farren seconded the following, which was carried unanimously:—

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the system of night work in bakeries is unsatisfactory, and should be abolished by legal enactment, and that in the interests of the workers a more frequent inspection of bakehouses by the Home Office officials is desirable."

### **A Separate Irish Exchequer.**

Mr. Wm. O'Brien moved and Mr. Thos. Farren seconded the following which was carried unanimously:—

"That this Trades Congress demand the creation of a separate Irish Exchequer for the receipt of all State Taxes and Revenues derived from Irish sources, and that the imposition, collection

and expenditure of all such monies shall be controlled solely by the elected representatives of the Irish people."

### **A National Labour Programme.**

Mr. W. E. Hill (London, Railway Clerks' Association) moved :

"That, in view of recent political developments, and in order that Labour interests may be duly and effectively represented in the future legislature of this country, this Congress calls upon the National Executive to formulate a comprehensive National Labour Programme, consistent with the existing conditions of Irish affairs and the future needs of Irish Labour, this programme to be submitted for consideration and approval to the constituent organisations, and to special meeting of this Congress."

Mr. Hill said they had formed a Labour Party and made provisional arrangements for financing that Party but they had received no information as to what programme they had before them. He thought their programme should contain clear and explicit approval of the policy of nationalisation of railways.

The Chairman: I think it is hardly in order at this point to suggest what that programme should be.

Mr. Hill said he wanted to know what was the programme for which they were standing.

Mr. Thomas Ward seconded.

Miss Perolz moved as an amendment:—

"After 'Irish Labour' add 'such programme to include (a) schemes for Medical Inspection of School Children, Maternity Centres and similar reforms, to promote physical welfare of the children of the working classes, and (b) for the adequate participation of men and women workers in the administration of justice.'"

Miss Perolz said medical inspection of school children was carried on in almost every country of the western world except Ireland, and had been found most effective in preventing the spread of diseases at an early stage when it could best be dealt with. Medical inspection should, of course, be coupled with adequate provision for the treatment of children found to be suffering from defective teeth, defective eyesight or any other complaint. But, of course, the health of the child needed the utmost attention, not only during school days, but in infancy. The high rate of infant mortality and the amount of disease contracted in infancy were amongst the most serious evils they had to face in this country. Hence the need for maternity centres. With regard to the latter part of her amendment it was obviously desirable in the interests of all that every section of the nation, including the women and the workers should share in the administration of justice (hear, hear).

Mr. John Traynor seconded the amendment.



Mr. D. R. Campbell said he took it that Mr. Hill wanted them to have there what they had not got in England—that was a written and accepted programme. He (the speaker) thought that the difficulties in the way of calling a special meeting to formulate a programme as suggested by Mr. Hill were well-nigh insuperable. The resolutions adopted by that Congress would provide them with sufficient programme for the next twelve months. He held that the constitution gave them sufficient scope and was sufficiently elastic to allow that party to rise to the needs of the moment in regard to anything that might be brought forward.

Mr. Hill: The fact that the English Party has not got a programme is by no means an asset to that party and by no means an indication of what we should do.

The amendment was added to the resolution by consent and the motion with demand for special conference deleted.

Carried unanimously.

### **The Deportees.**

On the motion of Mr. Bohan, seconded by Mr. M. O'Flanagan the following resolution was unanimously adopted:—

“That this Irish Trades Union Congress is of the opinion that the action of the Government by arresting thousands of men and women and keeping them in prison and internment camps, without any specific charge being made against them, whereby the wives, mothers of children are deprived of their bread-winners is unnecessary, as it is bringing untold misery and privation to the homes and families of the innocent. Moreover, during this period, when the costs of food and necessities have reached a famine price, this will cause degeneracy to the Irish populace which will eventually stagger humanity. We therefore call upon the Irish and Labour members to demand from the Government that the men and women in prison in connection with the recent rebellion be given a trial without further delay, or released immediately, and that copies of this resolution be sent to Messrs. Ginnell, Dillon, Redmond, Prime Minister, Sir Edward Carson and General Maxwell.”

### **Increasing Old Age Pensions.**

Mr. Lawlor proposed and Mr. John Farren seconded the following which was carried unanimously:—

“That the Old Age Pension be increased to the sum of ten shillings per week for both sexes, to enable them to subsist and help them to meet the very heavy cost of living; also that the age limit be reduced from 70 to 65 years; also that the Congress calls on the Labour Party to bring in a Bill immediately to deal with same.”

### **Fire Brigade Men's Union.**

Mr. Lawlor proposed and Mr. Thos. Farren seconded the following which was carried unanimously:—

"That we ask the Congress to call on all men solely employed on the Fire Brigade Staffs throughout Ireland to organise and establish branches of the Fire Brigade Men's Union, and affiliate themselves with the Trades Council in their different cities and towns, and work in conjunction with the Union of the Dublin Fire Brigade."

### **Excessive Duty in Asylums.**

Mr. John Good proposed and Councillor Egan seconded the following which was carried unanimously:—

"That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived when steps should be taken to put a stop to the excessive hours of duty worked by the Lunatic Asylum Attendants of this country. We therefore strongly appeal to the Government to introduce legislation dealing with the subject, and ask the Parliamentary Committee of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party to take immediate action to remedy the existing evils in the interests of all concerned."

### **Asiatic Labour on British Ships.**

Mr. Bennett proposed and Mr. H. Adair seconded the following which was carried unanimously:—

"That this, Irish Trades Union Congress, representing the workers of Ireland, regret to know that the Government of the country are still allowing British merchant ships to be manned by cheap Asiatic labour to the detriment of the British seamen, and strongly protests and demands the removal of all Chinese from British ships."

### **Conscription of Wealth.**

Mr. Ernest Kidd proposed and Mr. John J. Collins seconded the following which was carried, *nem. con.*:—

"That the Irish Trades Congress approach the Executives of Affiliated Societies with a view of sending forward to the Government a resolution informing them that we are opposed to any form of conscription of labour and that we further demand that the Government should take immediate steps for the conscription of wealth."

### **Chairmen of Courts of Referees.**

Mr. Breslan proposed and Mr. W. J. Murphy seconded the following which was carried unanimously:—

"That the Irish Trades Congress is of opinion that Police Magistrates are unsuitable persons to act as Chairmen of Courts of Referees (Unemployment Insurance, Part II.) by reason of the Police Court atmosphere that is introduced into the Court



proceedings, and whereby most workmen appealing are more or less under the guise of criminals, and we call on the Board of Trade to take immediate steps to have such chairmen replaced by some impartial person who will sympathetically interpret the Act as applied to Appeals. Copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the Board of Trade and Chairman of the Labour Party."

### **Amendment of Merchandise Marks Act.**

Mr. James Longmore proposed:—

"That this Congress considers that the time is opportune to so amend the Merchandise Marks Act, that all manufactured articles or goods coming into the United Kingdom from abroad should bear the mark of origin, so that the public cannot be deceived as to where the articles or goods were manufactured."

Mr. Longmore said if something was not done it was clear that the stocks which had been accumulating in Germany since the outbreak of the war would be dumped into this country at the conclusion of the war. At the moment Holland was exporting all the bottles she was making and getting bottles for her own use from Germany.

Mr. Hood seconded the resolution which was carried unanimously.

### **Encouraging Irish Brasswork.**

Mr. Francis Young proposed:—

"That in order to encourage Irish manufacture, and in view of the increasing installations of electric lighting, this Congress would earnestly request all Public Boards, Architects, and Heads of Establishments to give an opportunity to Irish houses to compete for the making of electroliers and other brass work before placing their orders outside this country, and that the National Executive be instructed to send in a copy of this resolution to the above named."

He referred to the good work done by the Congress in the past in reviving Irish industries, and said he solicited their interest on behalf of one of the most hard hit trades in the country. Hundreds of pounds worth of brasswork were imported every month of the year to supply the plumbing trade, and the absence of development was most disheartening. A trade in the position of theirs could fairly claim even preferential treatment until restored to its former prosperity, but even ordinary justice in the matter of fair competition was denied them.

Mr. John Farren seconded the resolution which was carried unanimously.

### **Irish Government Printing.**

The following resolution was proposed by Mr. M. O'Flanagan, seconded by Mr. Whitley, and carried unanimously:—

"That this Trade Union Congress is of opinion that the printing required by Irish Government Departments and Public Boards should not be executed in centres where the prevailing low wage conditions set up a barrier against fair competition from the centres where higher wages are paid and better conditions of employment observed. That copies of this resolution be sent to the Stationery Offices Authorities and the Public Boards in Ireland."

### The New Executive.

The new National Executive was elected as follows:—

**President**:—Mr. Thos. M'Partlin, Dublin (unopposed).

**Vice-President**:—Mr. William O'Brien, Dublin (Unanimously. Messrs. Thos. Johnson, Belfast, and Thos. Foran, Dublin, were also nominated, but retired in favour of Mr. O'Brien).

**Secretary**:—Mr. P. T. Daly, T.C., Dublin (re-elected unanimously).

**Treasurer**:—Mr. D. R. Campbell, Belfast (re-elected unanimously).

**Executive Committee**:—Mr. Thomas Cassidy, Derry (60 votes); Councillor M. Egan, Cork (59); Mr. Thos. Johnson, Belfast (53); Mr. Thos. Farren, Dublin (50); Mr. M. J. O'Lehane, Dublin (46); Mr. Thomas Foran, Dublin (43); Mr. D. Gordon, Belfast (41); Mr. N. Rimmer, Dublin (34). The voting for the unsuccessful candidates was: Bennett, 29; M'Nulty, 27; Good, 16; Delaney, 11; Clarke 7.

Mr. Johnson was elected delegate to the British Trades Congress and Mr. P. T. Daly, delegate to the Scottish Trades Congress.

It was unanimously agreed that Mr. P. T. Daly should accompany Mr. Johnson to the English Trades Congress.

### Next Year's Congress.

It was decided that next years Irish Congress should be held in the city of Derry.

### Tribute to Treasurer.

During the discussion of the balance sheet Mr. James Bennett, as one of the auditors, cordially complimented Mr. D. R. Campbell, hon. treasurer, on the manner in which he had kept the books.

Mr. Whitley proposed that the Acting Secretary's honorarium be added to by £10, making it £20, and in doing so alluded to the arduous duties so successfully undertaken by Mr. Campbell in addition to the work of treasurer. He also paid a tribute to the assistance rendered in this respect by Mr. Johnson.



Mr. Kidd seconded the motion.

Mr. M'Partlin mentioned that Mr. Campbell himself was very much against accepting any remuneration whatever.

Councillor Egan said Mr. Campbell had done a man's work splendidly, and he was glad to find the Congress appreciated it. The resolution was carried with great enthusiasm.

Mr. Campbell, in replying, said he took over the secretarial work not so much for the Congress as for P. T. Daly, and he did not expect that his services would be recognised in this manner. However, he had not the slightest objection to accepting the money (laughter and applause). He never could have done the dog's work of the treasurer and secretary were it not for the generous support and in most cases initiative of their chairman (applause). He thanked them very much.

### Votes of Thanks.

On the motion of Mr. O'Lehane, seconded by Mr. Frank Hall, a vote of thanks was passed to the Mayor and Corporation of Sligo for having placed the Town Hall at the disposal of the Congress.

On the motion of Mr. Nathaniel Rimmer, seconded by Councillor Egan, a vote of thanks was passed to the Reception Committee to which Ald. Lynch replied.

On the motion of Mr. Whitley, seconded by Mr. Breslan, a vote of thanks was passed to the Press, and acknowledged by Mr. O'Toole of the Dublin "Saturday Post."

### Tribute to the Chairman.

Mr. M'Partlin, having been moved to the chair.

Mr. Patrick Lynch, Cork, proposed and Mr. Wm. Murphy, Dublin, seconded a vote of thanks to Mr. Thos. Johnson for his conduct in the chair.

The vote was cordially supported by Ald. M'Carron, Messrs. Wm. O'Brien, Hill, Foran, and M'Partlin.

Mr. D. R. Campbell, in associating himself with the vote, said without Mr. Johnson's assistance it would have been absolutely impossible for the Parliamentary Committee to have presented them with the report which had been submitted. He took the initiative and inspired them during the troublous times through which they had passed and never seemed to tire or falter. He hoped Tom Johnson would be long spared to take a leading part in the movement in this country.

The resolution was carried amidst great enthusiasm, the Congress rising and cheering.

Mr. Johnson in reply said he really felt very grateful to them. It was a very proud day in his life to be able to stand there and feel that they appreciated any efforts of his during the last few

months, and he might say he had been more or less actively engaged in the Labour Movement since 1894 or 1895. He had been somewhat daunted at the task of presiding over that Congress, but they had made his task a very easy one indeed. He did not think it was possible for any body of men anywhere, in any class or society, to conduct such discussions so open to all sorts of arimony, with such a sense of justice and decorum as they had done (applause).

The proceedings concluded with the singing of "Auld Lang Syne."

### Entertainments.

The Reception Committee, presided over by Alderman Lynch and Mr. Francis Gallagher did everything possible for the comfort of the delegates during their stay in Sligo.

At two o'clock on Monday afternoon the delegates were conveyed up Lough Gill in motor boats and were entertained at tea in the hotel at Dromahair.

On Tuesday night the delegates were entertained at dinner in the Town Hall. Ald. Lynch presided, and there was a representative attendance of the clergy and laity of the town.





# BALANCE SHEET, SLIGO CONGRESS, AUGUST, 1916.

INCOME.				EXPENDITURE.			
		£	s. d.			£	s. d.
To Balance from last Congress	...	...	147 1 5	By Auditors' Fees (Dublin)	...	...	0 10 0
„ 81 Delegates' Fees	...	...	81 0 0	„ Two Secretaries do.	...	...	3 0 0
„ Affiliation Fees	...	...	148 14 1	„ Standing Orders Committee do	...	...	2 10 0
„ Sale of Congress Reports	...	...	1 10 9	„ Two Tellers	...	...	0 10 0
„ Special Appeal	...	...	31 12 4	„ Two Hall Doorkeepers	...	...	2 0 0
				„ Hall Caretaker	...	...	1 0 0
				„ Printing—W. H. West (2 years)	...	...	60 9 4
				„ E. C. Meetings	...	...	55 16 7
				„ Deputations	...	...	15 16 4
				„ Subscriptions to Norfolk Farm Labourers	...	...	2 2 0
				„ Secretary's Honorarium	...	...	25 0 0
				„ Treasurer's do.	...	...	5 0 0
				„ Acting Secretary's Honorarium	...	...	10 0 0
				„ Secretary's Petty Cash	...	...	8 8 0
				„ Reporting Dublin Congress	...	...	3 3 0
				„ Hall Caretaker (Capel Street)	...	...	1 0 0
				„ Secretary's Expenses to Typographical Con-			
				ferences	...	...	5 9 10
				„ Typewriting	...	...	0 18 4
				„ Balance in Bank	...	130 2 1	
				„ Cheques and Cash in hand	...	77 3 1	
							207 5 2
							£409 18 7
			£409 18 7				£409 18 7

Audited and found Correct,

ANDREW BRESLAN, } Auditors.  
JAMES BENNETT, }

## AFFILIATION FEES.

	£	s.	d.
Amalgamated Tram and Vehicle Workers ...	1	10	0
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners ...	22	17	4
Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses ..	3	0	0
Amalgamated Society of Housepainters ...	6	3	0
Belfast Trades Council ...	3	0	0
City of Dublin Operative Farriers ...	0	10	0
Cork United Trades Council ...	1	0	0
Dublin Stonecutters ..	0	10	0
Dublin Trades Council ...	3	0	0
Dublin Tinsmiths and Sheetmetal Workers ...	0	10	0
Dublin Typographical Society ..	2	10	0
Dublin United Brassfounders ...	0	10	0
Dublin Fire Brigade Men's Union ...	1	0	0
Dublin Corporation Workmen ...	4	3	4
Electrical Trades Union (Belfast) ...	1	0	10
Electrical Trades Union (Dublin) ...	0	10	0
Flax Roughers (Belfast) ...	2	2	0
Grocers' Assistants ...	0	10	0
General Union of Carpenters ...	1	5	0
Irish Glass Bottlemakers ..	0	15	0
Irish Stationary Engine drivers ...	1	0	0
Irish Transport Union (No. 1.) ...	8	6	8
Irish Women Workers' Union (Dublin) ...	0	10	0
Irish Transport Union (Sligo) ...	1	0	0
Irish Transport Union (Belfast) ...	1	5	0
Irish Transport Union (No. 3) ...	1	13	4
Irish Transport Union (Cork) ...	0	10	0
Irish Amalgamated Union of Bakers ...	1	5	0
Irish Amalgamated Union of Bakers (Dublin) ...	1	13	4
Irish Linen Lappers (Belfast) ...	1	10	0
Irish Drapers' Assistants ...	12	10	0
Irish Automobile Drivers and Mechanics Union ...	1	0	0
Irish Transport Workers (Kingstown) ...	0	10	0
Irish Licensed Vintners' Association ...	1	10	0
Limerick Trades Council ...	1	0	0
Mechanical and Heating Engineers ...	0	10	0
National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades ...	1	13	4
National Union of Shop Assistants and Clerks ...	1	0	0
National Union of Dockers (Dundalk) ...	0	15	8
National Union of Assurance Agents ...	0	12	6
National Union of Railwaymen ...	15	6	7
National Sailors' and Firemen's Union ...	4	3	4
National Union of Dockers (Drogheda) ...	0	16	8
National Union of Dockers (Newry). ...	0	12	6



National Union of Dockers (Galway)	...	...	1	9	2
National Union of Dockers (Belfast)	...	...	1	10	0
National Union of Dockers (Derry)	...	...	1	13	4
Postmen's Federation	...	...	10	0	0
Railway Clerks' Association	...	...	5	19	0
Sligo Trades Council	...	...	1	0	0
Typographical Association (E.C.)	...	...	5	9	6
United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers	...	...	4	3	4
United Society of Brushmakers	...	...	0	10	0
			<hr/>		
			£148 14 1		

### SPECIAL APPEAL.

			£	s.	d.
Furnishing Trades Association	...	...	1	18	4
National Union of Shop Assistants...	...	...	1	1	0
Railway Clerks' Association	...	...	2	10	0
U. K. Society of Coachmakers	...	...	2	0	0
Irish Bottle Makers	...	...	1	0	0
Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners	...	...	6	0	0
Dublin Fire Brigade Workmen	...	...	1	0	0
Typographical Association	...	...	2	10	0
Irish Linenlapers	...	...	0	10	0
Typographical Association (Belfast Branch)	...	...	1	10	0
Dublin Corporation Employees	...	...	1	1	0
Tram and Vehicle Workers (Belfast)	...	...	1	10	0
Belfast Trades Council	...	...	2	0	0
Dublin Trades Council	...	...	2	2	0
Dublin Typographical Society	...	...	5	0	0
			<hr/>		
			£31 12 4		

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

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### **Amalgamated Tramway and Vehicle Workers:—**

Mr. Michael M'Cann, 84 Cullingtree Road, Belfast.

### **Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners:—**

Mr. J. P. Delaney, 168 North Strand, Dublin.

Dublin 3rd Branch—Mr. Andrew Breslan, 33 Emerald Square, Dolphin's Barn, Dublin.

Dublin 4th Branch—Mr. Thomas M'Partlin, 35 Lower Gloucester Street, Dublin.

Dublin 6th Branch—Mr. William Banbury, 36 Hamilton Street, South Circular Road, Dublin.

### **Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses:—**

Alderman James M'Carron, 48 Stanley Walk, Londonderry.

Mr. Patrick Lynch, 2 Crosses Green, Cork.

Mr. W. J. Leeman, 9 Agincourt Avenue, Belfast.

Dublin Progressive Branch—Mr. Thomas Lawlor, P.L.G., 22h Bride Street, Dublin.

Sligo Branch—Mr. Thos. Kelly, Knappagh Road.

Mr. Patrick Henry, Walker's Row, Sligo.

### **Furnishing Trades' Association:—**

Mr. Denis Mulcahey, 26 George's Place, Dublin.

### **Amalgamated Society of House and Ship Painters:—**

Mr. M. Smyth, 249 G. Block, Iveagh Buildings, Dublin.

Cork Branch—Mr. John Murphy, 12 St. Catherine Place, Cork.

### **Amalgamated Wood Cutting Machinists.**

Mr. James White, 74 Joy Street, Belfast.

### **Belfast Trades Council:—**

Mr. D. R. Campbell, 11 Kimberley Street, Belfast.

### **City of Dublin Operative Farriers:—**

Mr. Benjamin Drumm, 15 Parnell Street, Dublin.

### **Cork Trades Council:—**

Mr. John Good, 97 Gt. Patrick Street, Cork.

Mr. John O'Sullivan, 8 Madden's Buildings, Cork.

### **Dublin Trades Council:—**

Mr. Thomas Farren, Trades Hall, Capel Street, Dublin.

Mr. Wm. O'Brien 43 Belvidere Place, Dublin.



**Dublin Typographical Provident Society :—**

Mr. Thomas Phillips and Mr. Michael O'Flanagan, 35 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin.

**Dublin Fire Brigade Men's Union :—**

Councillor Patrick T. Daly, 22 Fitzroy Avenue, Dublin.

**Dublin United Brassfounders' and Gasfitters' Society.**

Mr. Francis Young, 17 Sandford Avenue, North Circular Road, Dublin.

**Dublin Tinsmiths and Sheet Metal Workers :—**

Mr. John Farren, 20 Blackhall Place, Dublin.

**Dublin Corporation Workmen :—**

Mr. Daniel J. Magee, 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin.

Mr. Robert Tynan, 24 Winetavern Street, Dublin.

**Electrical Trade Union :—**

Mr. John J. Collins, 27 Mount Temple Road, Dublin.

Mr. Ernest N. Kidd, 13 Joycelyn Street, Belfast.

**Flaxroughers and Spinners (Belfast) :—**

Mr. Dawson Gordon, 17 College Street, Belfast.

**General Union of Carpenters :—**

Mr. Richard Brophy, 55 King Street, Inchicore, Dublin.

**Irish Stationary Engine Drivers :—**

Mr. Patrick Carey, 8 Upper Mayor Street, Dublin.

**Irish Amalgamated Bakers :—**

Mr. Francis Moran, 22 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin.

Mr. Stephen Dineen, 23 Mount Vincent Cottages, Limerick.

**Irish Glass Bottlemakers :—**

Mr. John Flood, Bottle House Lane, Ringsend, Dublin.

Mr. James Longmore, Bottlemakers' Hall Irishtown Road, Dublin.

**Irish Transport and General Workers' Union :—**

No. 1 Branch—Mr. Joseph Metcalfe, Mr. Thomas Foran, Mr. Michael Brohoon, 31 Eden Quay, Dublin.

No. 3 Branch—Councillor John Bohan, 36 Blackhall Place, Dublin.

Cork Branch—Mr. Lawrence Prior, 4 Greenmount Buildings, Cork.

Belfast Branch—Mr. James Flanigan, 146 Corporation Street, Belfast.

Sligo Branch—Alderman John Lynch, New Street, Sligo,  
Mr. Michael Lynch, New Street, Sligo, Mr. John  
M'Laughlin, South Gallows Hill, Sligo.

Kingstown Branch—Mr. James Nolan, 31 Eden Quay,  
Dublin.

**Irish Drapers' Assistants:—**

Messrs. M. J. O'Lehane, L. J. Duffy, and J. Parke, 76  
Grafton Street, Dublin.

**Irish Grocers' Assistants and Clerks:—**

Mr. John Stapleton, 7 Henry Street, Dublin.

**Irish Automobile Drivers and Mechanics' Union:—**

Mr. John Trainor, 22 Dawson Street, Dublin

**Irish Women Workers:—**

Miss Marie Perolz, 12 N. Gt. George's Street, Dublin.

**Limerick Trades Council:—**

Mr. Joseph Buckner, Roxboro Road, Limerick.

**Mechanical and Heating Engineers:—**

Mr. William J. Murphy, 5 Royal Terrace, Fairview, Dublin.

**National Union of Assurance Agents:—**

Alderman Lorcan O'Toole, 183 Great Brunswick Street,  
Dublin.

**National Union of Shop Assistants and Clerks:—**

Mr. Thomas Johnson, 13 Ranfurley Drive, Belfast.

**National Union of Dockers:—**

Dundalk—Mr. James Smyth, 7 Annville Terrace, Chapel  
Street, Dundalk.

Drogheda—Mr. Rogert Nugent, Foresters' Hall, Drogheda.

Newry—Mr. Henry Madrick, 16 King Street, Newry.

Galway—Mr. Patrick Loftus, St. Augustine's Street, Galway.

Derry—Mr. W. J. McNulty, 74 Long Tower Street, Londonderry.

Belfast—Mr. Jno. Alexander, Auburn Villa, Kensington Rd.,  
Knock, Belfast.



**National Union of Railwaymen:—**

Mr. Nathan Rimmer, 18 Dame Street, Dublin.

Mr. Thomas Ward, 54 Eliza Street, Belfast..

Cork No. 2 Branch—Mr. P. Murphy, 5 Cahill Ville, St. Luke's, Cork.

**National Sailors' and Firemen's Union:—**

Mr. J. H. Bennett, 4 Common Street, Northwall, Dublin.

Mr. H. Adair, 15 Gamble Street, Belfast.

**Postmen's Federation:—**

Mr Thomas Irvine, 13 Cadogan Street, Belfast.

Mr. William J. Shortt, 36 Egeria Street, Belfast.

**Railway Clerks' Association:—**

Mr. W. E. Hill, 25 Euston Road, London.

**Sligo Trades Council:—**

Mr. Francis Gallagher, Trades' Hall, Sligo.

**Typographical Association:—**

Mr. John Clarke, 12 Frederick Street, Belfast.

Mr. Thomas Cassidy, 41 Chapel Road, Waterside, Derry.

Belfast Branch—Mr. Frank Hall, 12 Frederick Street, Belfast, Mr. Henry T. Whitley, 12 Frederick Street, Belfast.

**United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers:—**

Mr. John Swan, 21 South King Street, Dublin.

Councillor Michael Egan, J.P., 19 Commons Road, Cork.

**United Society of Brushmakers:—**

Mr. William Murphy, 16 Muckcross Parade, North Circular Road, Dublin.

**Licensed Vintners' Assistants' Association:—**

Mr. Eugene Maguire, 15 Rosemary Street, Belfast.

# IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS, 1894-1916.

Year.	No. of Delegates.	Locality.	President.	Secretary.	Treasurer.
1894	119	Dublin ...	Thomas O'Connell (Carpenter)	John Simmons ...	Patrick Dowd.
1895	121	Cork ...	J. H. Jolley (Printer) ...	" ...	J. H. Jolley.
1896	93	Limerick ...	James Dalton (Printer) ...	" ...	"
1897	86	Waterford ...	P. J. Leo (Pork Butcher) ...	" ...	"
1898	90	Belfast ...	Richard Worthly (Tailor) ...	" ...	P. J. Tevenan.
1899	62	Londonderry ...	James M'Carron (Tailor) ...	" ...	"
1900	77	Dublin ...	George Leahy, P.L.G. (Plasterer)	Hugh M'Manus ...	Alex. Taylor.
1901	73	Sligo ...	*A. Bowman, T.C. (Flax Dresser)	E. L. Richardson, T.C. ...	"
1902	98	Cork ...	Wm. Cave, Ald. (Bootmaker) ...	" ...	Geo. Leahy, P.L.G.
1903	86	Newry ...	Walter Hudson, M.P. (A.S.R.S.)	" ...	"
1904	74	Kilkenny ...	Wm. Walker, T.C. (Carpenter)	" ...	"
1905	72	Wexford ...	Jas. Chambers, P.L.G. (Saddler)	" ...	E. W. Stewart. ?
1906	72	Athlone ...	Stephen Dinceen (Baker) ...	" ...	"
1907	87	Dublin ...	James M'Carron, T.C. (Tailor)	" ...	"
1908	85	Belfast ...	John Murphy, P.L.G. (Printer)	E. L. Richardson, J.P. ...	"
1909	108	Limerick ...	M. Egan, J.P., T.C. (Coachmaker)	" ...	"
1910	85	Dundalk ...	James M'Carron, T.C. (Tailor)	P. T. Daly ...	M. J. O'Lehane, P.L.G.
1911	75	Galway ...	D. R. Campbell (Insurance Agent)	" ...	"
1912	87	Clonmel ...	M. J. O'Lehane (Draper's Asst.)	" ...	D. R. Campbell.
1913	99	Cork ...	Wm. O'Brien (Tailor) ...	" ...	"
1914	94	Dublin ...	Jas. Larkin (Transport Worker)	" ...	"
1915	No	Congress	HELD.	" ...	"
1916	81	Sligo ...	Thomas Johnson (Shop Assts.)...	" ...	"

\*In 1901 and from 1903 the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for the year was also President of the Congress.