Irish Trades Union Congress
and Labour Party.

REPORT OF THE TWENTY-THIRD
ANNUAL MEETING

GUILDHALL, DERRY,
6th, 7th, 8th August, 1917.

Published by Authority of the National Executive.
Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party.

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ON

MONDAY, TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY,

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NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

CHAIRMAN:
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THOMAS JOHNSON, Belfast.

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

SECRETARY:
P. T. DALY, T.C., TRADES HALL, CAPEL STREET, DUBLIN.
REPORT
OF THE
TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party,
DERRY, 1917.

FIRST DAY.

The Twenty-third Annual Conference of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party opened in the Guildhall, Derry, on Monday, 6th August, 1917, at 11 a.m.


The Mayor, who wore his robes and chain of office, said it afforded him the greatest possible pleasure to extend to the delegates from the different parts of Ireland to that old city a very hearty, sincere, and cordial welcome. They were sometimes told that this was the "cold, black North." but there would be nothing cold, nothing insincere in their welcome to the Congress. After mentioning that eighteen years had elapsed since the Congress met in Derry before, the Mayor said the city had been making slow but steady progress during the past few years, and he believed that at no period was the outlook better than to-day. He thought they were going to see rapid progress in the city during the next ten years. In a reference to the shirt and collar industry, the Mayor said the city possessed the best type of workers that could be found throughout the length and breadth of the Empire. The women and young girls who were working in the factories were a credit to the city and community. They had done their part
in co-operating with capital, and in securing the prosperity that they were all proud to acknowledge in the city to-day. Having dealt with the shipbuilding industry, the Mayor said labour itself would have a good share, he believed, in the prosperity that was coming. They were at present passing through difficult and trying days. They had almost reached the transition period, and he hoped when the reconstruction period arrived they would not find capital and labour in different camps. He hoped they would find that there was a community of interests between the two, and that there would be a working together of all the best elements. It would require the very best minds of the country to build up the fabric again so that we might have peace and harmony, industrial prosperity—and happiness and contentment as a country. He hoped the Congress would be fruitful of the best results, and that the proceedings would be absolutely harmonious. He supposed as long as they were constituted as they were they were bound to have divergence of views on many things. They had not reached the ideal state yet, but he hoped they would all work for it, and strive to reach that true ideal of citizenship and high level of moral principle outlined by Macauley—“Then none was for party, then all were for the State, then the strong man loved the poor, and the poor man loved the rich; then lands were fairly portioned, then goods were fairly sold, the Romans were brothers, in the brave days of old.” (Applause).

Councillor William Logue (Derry), chairman of the Derry Trades Council, joined in the welcome to the delegates.

On the motion of Councillor M. Egan, J.P., Cork, seconded by Mr. H. T. Whitley, President Belfast Trades Council, a hearty vote of thanks was passed by acclamation to the Mayor of Derry.

Election of Officers.

On the motion of Mr. William O’Brien, seconded by Councillor M. Egan, J.P., Mr. Dealtry P. Thompson, Secretary of the Derry Trades Council and of the Local Reception Committee, was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Meeting.

The following were elected Tellers:—Messrs. B. Drumm, Dublin, 61; F. Friel, Derry, 58; F. Hall, Belfast, 40. The other delegates nominated were:—Messrs. Duffy, Cork, 39, and Smyth, Dundalk, 27.

The following were elected out of eleven nominees, to act on the Standing Orders Committee:—Messrs. Patrick Lynch, Cork, 61; William Logue, T.C., Derry, 61; T. Lawlor, P.L.G., Dublin, 55; J. Farren, Dublin, 53; J. Mitchell, Belfast, 45. The other delegates nominated were:—Messrs. W. P. O’Doherty, Derry, 42; J. H. Bennett, Dublin, 38; D. Houston, Cork, 35; H. Rochford, Dublin, 31; M. O’Flanagan, Dublin, 17; J. P. Delaney, Dublin, 12.
Messrs. John Clarke, Belfast, 35; and W. P. O'Doherty, Derry, 32, were elected auditors. The other delegates nominated were:—Messrs. Colhoun, Derry, 25; Smyth, Dundalk, 22; Cahill, Dublin, 7; and O'Flanagan, Dublin, 3.

Mr. William O'Brien then called upon Mr. Thomas MacPartlin, Dublin, Chairman of the Congress, to take the chair.

The President's Address.

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

FELLOW-DELEGATES,—I would like in the first place to return thanks to you, on behalf of the society which I represent, for the honour you do them in electing me, as their representative, to preside over your deliberations at this, the Twenty-third Irish Trades Union Congress. I also desire to tender my own gratitude that I am the medium through whom that honour is conveyed.

Now, friends, in times like these, when members of the working class are being slaughtered by the thousand every day in the interests of the greedy capitalists of all the belligerent nations,

one feels it very hard to concentrate one's thoughts on any question but when and how this awful carnage can be stopped (hear, hear), and in that connection the only "one bright spot" on the horizon is the effort that has and is being made by the organised working class of Russia, which, let us hope, in the near future, will extend to the other belligerents, to bring about a speedy conclusion to this war, and make provision in the future for the prevention of war, which always means suffering and death for the workers and heaps up more money gains for the capitalist class (applause).

The silver lining that we, as Irish workers, see behind the dark cloud, is the fact that each country now engaged in slaughter professes to be so occupied

ON BEHALF OF THE FREEDOM OF SMALL NATIONS;

so that when the blood lust is satisfied, and Ireland puts forward her claims to that freedom which has never been lost sight of by her people, there can be no doubt that her rights will be conceded (hear, hear), and thereby remove every obstacle to

THE ONWARD MARCH OF THE WORKERS TO THEIR RIGHTFUL PLACE

in the counsels of our country. All workers, no matter of what shade of political thought, will agree with me when I say that it is almost impossible to organise on a class-conscious basis until the question of the Government of Ireland, which has so long divided us into different political sections, is finally settled. And let me here ask all who are interested in the success of the Irish Labour Movement, to be on the alert and to always remember that in times of industrial strife.
THE CAPITALIST CLASS DROP ALL POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS,

Sinn Feiners, Redmondites, Carsonites, Catholics and Protestants, all join together with the one common object, and that is to grind down the organised workers—all of which points to the necessity of a strong, virile Labour organisation keeping itself independent and always ready to grapple with any tyranny no matter what flag it sails under (applause.)

Now, fellow-delegates, there are a few questions to which I would like to direct your attention to-day—some arising out of the war, and others that were burning questions previous to the war, and will remain so until the people of these countries make up their minds that they are determined that no longer will a small section be allowed to exploit the many for their own benefit.

PROFITEERING, AND EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE,

are terms that are very much used during the past couple of years, but if I were to discuss them now, I am afraid there would be no time left to touch on anything else, so I will satisfy myself with referring to two recent incidents, which will show how these terms affect the robbers and the robbed. Early in July there was a debate on excess profits in the British House of Commons. During the course of that debate Mr. Bonar Law, who, as you all know, is not a labour agitator, is reported as having made the following statement:—"The Government should never have allowed shipowners to make the profits they had made, but ships should now be requisitioned, and freights for the rest controlled. While they were making these profits it was hard to persuade people to make sacrifices." (hear, hear.) As an example of shipowners' profits he said he had invested £8,210 in sixteen different companies, which should bring in £405 at 5 per cent., but at the end of 1915 he received £3,624, and for 1916, £3,847. One of the steamers which he had invested £300, and he received a cheque for £1,000. In respect of another in which he had invested £350, he received £1,050. You will perceive from this statement that some of the British Government, on an investment of £8,210, made a profit of over £9,000 in two years out of the misfortunes of his country. When the workers remember that this is only one of the many members of the same Government who are making large sums of money without any personal risk, they will understand why food is so dear to-day, and why profiteering is not interfered with, and incidentally the necessity for prolonging the slaughter.

On the other side of the picture we find A. B., a highly skilled worker, joined the English Army for the period of the war. After two years' service he is sent home a physical wreck, and a grateful country allows him a pension of 13/- a week for a period of six
months; after that, the poor-house, I suppose. Taken in conjunction, these cases emphasise the meaning of equality of sacrifice (hear, hear)! Now, fellow-delegates, there are many other questions brought about by this war which press hard upon the workers, such as the Munition Acts, D.O.R. Acts, etc., but the workers across the Channel being so large in numbers, and not having yet made up their minds to apply the proper remedies to resist these harsh measures, we can only assure them that when the time comes we of the Irish working class will not be found wanting in any step it is thought desirable to take (applause).

I will now briefly deal with a few subjects upon which the voice of the organised workers in Ireland must be heard.

The first, and, in the event of the European War being prolonged, the most important, is the attempts that are being made up and down the country to induce the people to accept partition. And although the workers in every part of Ireland have, time and again,

**EXPRESSED THEIR ABHORRENCE OF PARTITION, IN ANY SHAPE OR FORM,**

I think it is no harm to again repeat that we would prefer to carry on the fight for another fifty years than consent to any dividing up of the country (hear, hear). We are told that Ulster wants partition. We do not believe it (hear, hear)! On the contrary we are convinced that Ulster does not want it, as is instanced by the fact that, with the exception of two delegates, all the workers' representatives from Ulster voted against partition at our Congress in 1914, although a number of them were in opposition to Home Rule (hear, hear). And the workers there, as elsewhere, are the largest section of the community. Anyhow, Ireland's frontier was fixed by nature, and we from the other end of Ireland

**ARE TOO FOND OF THE NORTH,**

with all its history and traditions, to acquiesce in any attempt, prompted by interested Englishmen, to keep us divided. You all remember the lines of Davis:

"The North began, the North held on; 
God bless the Northern land."

Well, we say the North will hold on to the South, and God's blessing will be on both! (applause).

The Franchise Reform Bill now passing through the British Parliament is worthy of some attention from the Irish workers. Although it is not everything that has been called for by the workers, still it goes a long way in the right direction. Under its provisions the women have got some satisfaction for their long and strenuous fight, and, although limited in the present measure, their rights, once recognised, it is only a question of time until
EVERYTHING THEY ASKED FOR AND FOUGHT FOR MUST BE CONCEDED.

But whilst congratulating the women on their success and noting the fact that the working class voting power will be considerably increased, the chief point of interest for Irishmen is the fact that most of the capitalist and employing classes in this country are putting forth every effort to prevent Ireland from enjoying the advantages of the measure. And even the Irish representatives in the British Parliament are showing by their indifferent attitude during the consideration of the Bill that they dread a democratic widening of the Franchise (hear, hear.) The Irish workers will want to see to it that this Bill will not be like many other reforms that were passed and put into operation in Great Britain for years before we were able to force their application to Ireland. Some people may say that as this is an English measure it will not matter, as we can settle these things in Ireland under our own Parliament. But this is not the proper view to take, because we as workers have to remember that the advent of an IRISH PARLIAMENT WILL BE THE SIGNAL FOR THE REAL OPENING OF THE CLASS WAR. (Applause.)

And all the voting power we possess will be necessary if we are to grip our right proportion of the machinery of government (hear, hear.) So it is time to be up and doing, and see to it that when you go back to your different centres that the Government will be let know that the workers of Ireland are determined that this much needed reform must apply to Ireland from the start (applause).

EDUCATIONAL NEEDS.

Another question of great import to the workers is Education; and in this country, where the control is in the hands of a group who have no sympathy with the aspirations of our people, it is almost impossible to make any progress under the present system. In the primary schools, where all the workers' children have to go, there is the Compulsory Attendance Act in operation; one would think that the natural corollary to this would be that everything was free that was necessary towards the education of the child. But what do we find? A vanman with 26/- a week has four children at school in 2nd, 4th, 6th and 7th standards. His bill for books for his children is 2/4, 3/7, 8/9, and 10/-, total of 24/8; not much left for food you will say; but

IF THIS MONEY IS NOT PAID HE CANNOT SEND HIS CHILDREN TO SCHOOL.

He is then brought before the court as a common criminal, fined a couple of shillings, and probably loses his job. So much for "free" education! Now there are many children in these schools who, owing to the miserable wage paid their fathers, never get a
decent meal at home. How can the children be expected to get any advantage from the teaching? No matter how good the teachers their time is wasted (hear, hear.) And then we have, worst of all, the medically unfit! In the Irish primary schools these are never looked after.

**THE CURE FOR ALL THIS IS POPULAR CONTROL.**

Is there any reason why school attendance committees, most of whom are elected by the people, could not, in conjunction with the managers, administer all the affairs of the primary system? I think not. Then the parents would have some say in the matter, and, as in the last event they have to pay for all, they ought to have that say. Some people will think that to feed the children, supply them with books, provide school clinics, and pay the teacher a proper salary, would cost a lot of money. Granted, but when the child is properly trained in mind and body, it becomes an asset to the country, and if not well nourished and educated it will cost far more at the other end of the scale, when he or she gravitates to the poorhouse, the asylum, or the jail (hear, hear.)

**THE CHILD OF THE WORKER**

in the present system of society is almost wholly crushed out of any chance of secondary or university training; but employers and others in this country are at present agitating their minds to a considerable extent about technical education for the children of the workers. I am not going to say it is any sudden remorse of conscience that influences them, but more probably the desire for a more efficient wage slave, so that more profits can be made; and that after the war they may be better able to compete with the more scientific capitalists of other nations. But let that be as it may, we ought to take every advantage of their anxiety, if it will help us to procure more knowledge, because in the time we hope is coming, when production will be for use and not for private profit, the more highly-skilled each worker will be the better for the commonwealth (applause). As I am convinced, and I think this war has proved, the technical training a boy gets is an advantage to the nation, therefore,

**NO PART OF THE EXPENSE OF SUCH TRAINING**

should fall on the parents, but should be borne by the whole community (hear, hear). If this is admitted, then the boy should get every facility to specialise in any branch he so desires; but in my opinion this lesson has not been learned by the people of this country, because the chief cause of the failure of technical teaching is the bad attendance at classes. This is caused by the long hours worked by the boys, which leaves them too weary to attend night classes; and the opposition of the employers to give facilities for attendance during the day. I would like to quote here, as a headline for Irish workers to aim at, a rule which is in
existence in America, and which has been agreed to by employers and employed. It reads thus:

"Apprenticeship four years. The contractor taking an apprentice shall engage to keep him at work in the trade for nine months consecutively in each year, and see that during the remaining three months of the year the apprentice attends school during January, February, and March; and a certificate of attendance from the Principal of the school attended must be furnished to the Joint Arbitration Board, as a compliance with the requirements before he is allowed to work during the coming year. A contractor taking an apprentice shall keep him steadily at work or school; failing to do so he shall pay him the same as though he had worked for him."

Now, a system such as this, aided by the school

**SUPPLYING ALL REQUISITES FOR USE DURING THE SESSION,**

and offering prizes for superiority at the close, would, I am sure, have the support of all the working classes, and would give the girls and boys the encouragement that is necessary if technical training is to be made a success in this country (hear, hear.)

I will now try and claim your attention for a few moments to discuss what, in my opinion, alongside the question of low wages, is responsible for more disease and misery among the working class than any of the other grievances by which they are oppressed. I refer to the

**AWFUL CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE WORKERS ARE HOUSED.**

If there is anyone listening to me who has any admiration for our vaunted civilisation, I would advise them to spend a day with an insurance agent whilst going his rounds in a working-class district in any of our large cities, or do a canvass in the slums during some of the local elections, and I promise them they will come back with grave doubts that the civilisation so much admired is anything but a farce (hear, hear). They will be sure to come across the dingy little arch inside which there is a yard surrounded by a lot of dirty little hovels, each containing nine or ten persons; one filthy lavatory and a water-tap in the centre of the yard—common to all the residents, who may number 80 or 100 souls. They will also see the large tenement house with eight or ten families,

**REEKING WITH DIRT AND DISEASE,**

where men, women and children use the one w.c., and the ash-bin at the bottom of the stairs to receive all the refuse, and keep the house "perfumed," in the intervals between collections, which are usually about twice each week. They will search in vain for bath or wash-house, or any of the other things that makes life pleasant; but they will find cooking, washing, eating and sleeping all in the one room; and in many of them provisions made for all the calls of nature. I often wonder, when I meet some well-fed-looking gentleman in our principal streets, do they know that the clothes some of them are wearing have been made in these rooms,
in some instances by unfortunate sweated workers in the last stages of consumption, as I have seen them (hear, hear.) I think if they did, they would insist that the shops where they leave their orders should have them made in properly-ventilated workshops, even if they had to pay the Trade Union rate of wages (applause.)

AS IT NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO EXPECT THAT CHILDREN REARED UNDER THESE CONDITIONS COULD GROW UP TO BE HEALTHY AND MORAL CITIZENS?

After the big lock-out in Dublin in 1913, a Departmental Committee was appointed to enquire and report on housing in that city; and the conclusion they came to was, there was nothing so bad in Western Europe! They also made financial recommendations, which have not been given effect to yet, and will probably not be until the workers are forced into another social upheaval (hear, hear.) The Municipalities are not able to deal with this question on the large scale that is necessary, so the State must be forced to take this matter up. In England at present there is a Housing and Town Planning Conference in existence, the object of which is to extract twenty millions or more from the Government for housing in England and Scotland. And, by the way, a large number of members of Amalgamated Societies in Ireland are paying a levy to support that movement, although

IRELAND IS NOT TO BE CONSIDERED

in the matter at all. Why is it that Irishmen are not making a move on the same lines? (Hear, hear.) Pessimistic people will be afraid that the money will not be able to be got, but let them banish their fears. A country that can spend forty millions a week on a war, in which the people engaged are producing nothing, can easily find the small amount, by comparison, which will suffice to house the workers, and which will be repaid tenfold by their increased productive capacity. And if, as we expect, in the near future, Ireland has control of her own money, the amount she has contributed during this world-slaughter for destructive purposes proves clearly that there will be no difficulty, when the times come, to provide ample funds, to save the thousands of her children who are being cruelly murdered now, both in body and soul, by the miserable conditions under which they have to exist in all our large towns (applause.)

Now, friends, while I have tried to bring home to you the fact that this war has made it clear that all the money which is necessary for social reforms can be easily provided,

I HAVE NOT SAID THAT THE LEOPARD WILL CHANGE HIS SPOTS, nor do I believe that the attitude of our public men has changed in the slightest degree, nor that when the war is over they will be one bit more anxious to lighten the burdens of the working classes (hear, hear.) Quite the opposite—all the signs are that if we allow
the same class to remain in power, they will, as they have done all through this war, use the Government machinery to still further suppress and limit the freedom of the common people. But, fellow-workers, it is in your hands to alter all this, and to do this successfully,

**THERE IS ONE THING ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY,**
namely, closer organisation (hear, hear). Already the employers are linking up all over the country, and if the workers who are now serving in the British Army are thrown on the labour market to the extent of a couple of millions at the close of the war, it will make it very difficult to even bring back the standard of living we had in pre-war times. Already we see in Dublin—despite the promises of Mr. Barnes, Pensions' Minister, that employers would not be allowed to take advantage of pensions to reduce wages—a Government Department, where the standard wages of a Clerk was 35/- a week, that returned soldiers were put on at 26/- per week. If the Government acts like this,

**WHAT MAY WE EXPECT FROM PRIVATE EMPLOYERS**
who are organised for the sole purpose of making profits? (hear, hear).

In the face of all these dangers ahead, does it not speak bad for the intelligence of Irish workers to have to admit that there are numbers of towns through the country where there is no organisation whatever for the different crafts, where each worker is out for himself, and the devil take the hindmost? And even in centres where there are organisations already in existence, there are great numbers of workers who have not yet learned that

**THE ONLY WAY THEY CAN BETTER THEIR OWN CONDITION OR EMANCIPATE THEMSELVES**
from their present position of slavery, is by uniting with their fellow-workers, through the Trade Union movement (hear, hear).

And now, fellow-delegates, what about ourselves? Is there not something we can do to bring about closer unity? Why are there twenty or more Unions catering for workers who all should be in one Engineering Trades Union? And in a small country like Ireland, six or seven different Unions of Woodworkers? Can we not make some effort to end this, and not be waiting for Executives across the Channel to force our hands? Then there are what ignorant people call the "unskilled" Unions. In Dublin district alone there are half-a-dozen of these, and throughout the country numerous others, all catering for the same class of workers. Now the great bulk of these Unions are confined to Ireland, and therefore have full control. Why cannot they at once start to link up? And then they will be able to reach the thousands of eligible men who are at present scattered through the country belonging to no trades union at all (applause).
Now, friends, I have tried to touch as many points as possible, and I must now conclude; and in doing so I would say to you that in every forward move you make be always

ACTUATED BY THE PRINCIPLE

of the greatest good for the greatest number; and remember that your fight is not against individuals, but against what has been described as "A system which, in its least repulsive aspects, compels thousands and tens of thousands to fret and toil, to live and die in hunger, in rags and wretchedness, in order that a few idle drones may revel in ease and luxury." (Loud applause.)

Alderman M'Carron (Derry), in moving a vote of thanks to the chairman, said Mr. M'Partlin had touched upon many subjects, every one of which was bristling with ideas and points of utmost interest to the workers of Ireland.

Mr. D. Houston (Cork), seconded the vote of thanks, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. M'Partlin returned thanks to the delegates for the reception they had given to his address.

On the recommendation of the Standing Orders Committee the Congress adjourned at one o'clock to enable the delegates to partake of the hospitality of his Worship the Mayor.

By kind invitation of the Mayor, the delegates and their friends enjoyed a Brake Drive to Buncrana, in the afternoon. They were the guests of his Worship, in St. Mary's Hall, Buncrana, where refreshments were provided. The catering was most satisfactorily carried out by Foster's, Waterloo Place, Derry. During the evening a fine group photograph of the delegates was secured by Mr. Glass, Photographer, Carlisle Road, Derry.

SECOND DAY.

The Conference was resumed at 9.30 a.m. on Tuesday Mr. Thomas M'Partlin presiding.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.

Mr. M. O'Flanagan moved, and Mr. Kelly seconded, and it was agreed to adopt the report of the National Executive, as follows, subject to discussion:

FELLOW DELEGATES,

Your Committee beg to report that on the conclusion of Congress last year they took immediate steps to forward the various resolutions adopted to the heads of the Departments, Governmental and otherwise, mentioned in such resolutions, or for whom they were intended.
The questions of conditions of Labour and Wages paid by local authorities in Ireland occupied their attention at considerable length. Your Committee, however, have got to record with extreme regret, that in very few instances have their representations met with the success which they deserve, and which Congress and your Executive as representative of Congress, so eminently desire. They attribute this to the fact so often adverted to by previous Committees, that Labour is sparsely represented on Public Boards in Ireland, while the enemies of Labour are in a considerable majority. In one particular instance, that of the Labourers employed at Crooksling, your Committee corresponded at considerable length with the Borough Council of Dublin, and with the Local Government Board, and we are pleased to record that in this case we secured a recognition of the claims of the workmen for consideration.

Food Prices.

The following correspondence with the Chief Secretary took place prior to the Conference:—

[Copy]
IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,

RE FOOD PROBLEM.

DEAR SIR,
I have been instructed by above to ask that you receive a deputation in regard to this important question and trust that you may be able to arrange an early date.

Yours faithfully,
D. R. CAMPBELL,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. DUKE, K.C.,
Chief Secretary,
Dublin Castle.

[Copy]
IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,
DUBLIN, 10th December, 1916.

RE FOOD CRISIS.

DEAR SIR,
On 28th November, acting on instructions, I wrote to the Chief Secretary, asking him to receive a deputation from above body on the subject of the Food Crisis but have not yet received an acknowledgment. As you will notice by circular, a conference is to be held on 16th December, to which Deputation is expected to report. I should be glad if you would let me know at your earliest when it can be received.

Yours faithfully,
D. R. CAMPBELL,
Acting Secretary.

A. P. MAGILL, Esq.
DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 10th instant, I am desired by the Chief Secretary to say that the question of Food Production in Ireland is receiving the careful attention of the Government, but at the present stage he does not think that anything would be gained by receiving a deputation on the subject. Later on, when his enquiries are completed, he will be happy to receive a deputation if it appears likely to be useful that he should do so.

Yours faithfully,

A. P. MAGILL.

D. R. CAMPBELL, Esq.,
Secretary, Irish Trades Union Congress,
11, Kimberley Street,
Belfast.

Food Conference.

On Saturday, December 16th, 1916, in the Council Chamber, City Hall, a Special Conference, under the auspices of the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party, was held to consider the food crisis and the present cost of food, fuel, and the necessaries of life. The chair was occupied by the President of the National Executive, Mr. Thomas M'Partlin.

President's Statement.

The Chairman said the Conference had been called mainly for the purpose of laying before it the report of the deputation which it was intended should wait on the Chief Secretary. No matter what doubts the Government might entertain, the delegates were painfully aware that a famine already existed, and that the wages they and the people they were representing received were not sufficient to buy food to meet their needs. Circumstances were different in England and Scotland, where there was, owing to the war, an enormously increased volume of work, with a consequent increase of wages. The highest increase in Ireland had not been more than 10 per cent., while the cost of living had gone up 80 per cent. While some apologists for the Government were going about pointing out that the export of food stuffs from Ireland had not increased, the official returns showed that two thousand tons more potatoes were exported in November than in the corresponding period of last year. This showed that in the near future prices would become prohibitive, and the workers would actually starve (hear, hear). Already he noticed isolated cases in the country where the workers had been driven to prevent food from being exported, and if the Government did not take some action no one knew what the organised workers might be compelled to do in the future (applause).
Mr. Freeland, Amalgamated Society of Engineers, said he thought a grave mistake had been made by the Executive in deciding to send a deputation to the Chief Secretary, and this had been proved by the action of Mr. Duke in refusing to receive the deputation. If the Executive had awaited the result of that meeting and demanded a conference with the Chief Secretary, they would not have been subjected to the insulting rebuff contained in that letter (hear, hear).

The Chairman said the Unions throughout the country were calling on the National Executive to do something, and it was very little use calling a conference unless the Executive had something definite to lay before it, and it was for that reason they decided to send a deputation to the Chief Secretary. Now they saw that nothing was being done, and the reply had deliberately confused the issue, because it dealt with food production, and what the deputation desired to consult the Chief Secretary upon was with regard to the conservation of the food supplies in the country (hear, hear).

Mr. Freeland said if the meeting demanded that the Chief Secretary should receive a deputation, whether he liked it or not, he would adopt quite a different attitude from that which he had taken towards the Executive (hear, hear).

Mr. Egan (Cork), said it was the duty of the Conference to support the action of the Executive, and to insist that in Ireland they got fair treatment regarding the supply to food.

On the motion of Mr. Kidd (Belfast), seconded by Mr. Dodd (Belfast), a resolution approving the action of the Executive, and condemning the attitude taken up by the Chief Secretary, was unanimously adopted.

**Resolutions.**

Mr. Thomas Johnson (Belfast), moved a series of resolutions, calling attention to the 84 per cent. increase in the cost of food and fuel without any compensating increase of wages; calling on the Government to take steps to secure for the Irish people all the advantages which would accrue to a self-supporting country in times of emergency. Among the many demands were the prohibition of all export of food, live or dead, until a census of foodstuffs was taken; the appointment of a national authority to take over the entire business of food, export and import. Condemnation was expressed of the futile policy of the Chief Secretary and the Vice-President of the Department of Agriculture in regard to the provision of food supplies in the ensuing year, and it was declared that methods of verbal persuasion and dependence on the private interest of the farmer or land holder for increasing food production was doomed to failure, inasmuch as the raising of store cattle for the English and Scottish markets might be more "profitable" to the individual than for the growing of corn.
Grazing Lands.

The resolutions demanded that steps be taken immediately to bring under cultivation large areas of the grazing lands, that during the war there should be national control of all shipping, railway, transit, and coal mining, that the Government should fix the price of bread at not exceeding 6d per four pound loaf, and of coal for household use at not exceeding 30/- per ton (flat rate), at all ports, any loss to be borne by the Treasury as part of the necessary cost of the war. The final resolution stated that “if immediate steps be not taken by the Government to ensure an adequate supply of food for the people at reasonable prices, the responsibility will undoubtedly be on the Government for any subsequent action which the Unions concerned may be compelled to take in regard to the handling of foodstuffs, which will entitle them to the fullest moral and financial support of the whole community.”

In recommending the resolutions to the support of the delegates, Mr. Johnson said the subjects under discussion were of importance, not only now, but as to possible consequences. They looked on the matter mainly from the point of view of the urban workers. The menace in front of them was great. Whatever might be the case with regard to Great Britain this country was different as growing more food than it consumed.

They in Ireland should not be mulcted because of the economic sins of Great Britain. When they propounded their proposals a certain amount of responsibility would be taken off their shoulders and put on the Government. If the Government declined to take steps and insisted that the market for agricultural produce must determine who shall consume that produce, then the responsibility would be on the Government, and he should not be sorry if the people rose up in some way to prevent the export of food (applause).

Mr. Nathan Rimmer, of the National Union of Railwaymen, said the practical existence of the nation was at stake. Speaking of the railwaymen, he said the great bulk of them were earning in addition to the war bonus less than £1 a week. He represented an industry which must have something to say in the matter. If the last resolution meant anything it meant that the transport workers would have something to say. The delegates must not assume that that was a call to individual men to take action on their own behalf. In an organisation like theirs the Government was in the hands of the Executive Committee, and the branches or individual members were not at liberty to take action on their own without consulting the Executive.

Mr. Lynch, Cork Trades Council, said the workers of Cork, were united against oppression. Speaking on agricultural matters he said there were hundreds of thousands of acres lying idle, and nothing done in connection with them for the benefit of the country.
He called attention to the action taken in Kenmare, and said, "God bless the people of Kenmare for smashing the farmers and letting the potatoes run about the streets for the people." Every effort should be made to prevent the exportation of food, even if it be necessary to ask the transport workers to prevent exportation.

Mr. D. R. Campbell, Belfast, made reference to a clause in one of the resolutions recommending that farmers be guaranteed a price for their produce sufficient to compensate them for any necessary increase in cost of production owing to the war. He moved in addition providing that a minimum wage be fixed for all agricultural workers.

Mr. Freeland seconded the amendment. He thought they were embarking on somewhat revolutionary matters. They were asking the Government to place an embargo on Irish exports. They would probably hear a cry from the political element that an embargo should be placed on farmers, as agriculture was the only industry Ireland had to offer to the world at large. They ought to make it plain to Mr. Duke that he had to deal with the present problem in the same manner that Mr. Lloyd George dealt with the problem of the production of armaments, or else he was going to hear something more from this country (hear, hear).

Mr. Murphy, Dublin, said the refusal of the Chief Secretary to receive a deputation was in keeping with the working of the Munitions Act. That particular Act was one of the greatest obstacles ever placed in the way of trade unions. The Chief Secretary by refusing the deputation had thrown down a certain challenge. There ought to be a definite time fixed for remedying the horrible state of affairs that they had come together to remedy.

Alderman Corish, Wexford, said there was no use in asking the Government to stop exportation, and it might be necessary to take into consideration what they would do to disarrange carrying facilities so as to stop exportation. They should have the first call on the produce of their own country. The resolutions before the meeting were no use unless they decided what they were going to do.

After some further discussion, Mr. Campbell's amendment was put to a vote and adopted.

Mr. Adamson, Belfast, counselled the delegates to try and avoid a split between English and Irish workers. He went on to say that nothing would be successful unless they were prepared to drop a great deal of political hankering after the powers that be, and show that industrial workers were prepared to throw down the gauntlet.

Mr. O'Lehane, Dublin, expressed the opinion that the resolutions appealed to the Government too much. In appealing to the Government they were not appealing to a friendly ear or a friendly body. This was purely an Irish question, and Ireland
must take some means by which the food supply would be kept in the country. If the Chief Secretary had the courtesy or statesmanship to meet the deputation they would be in a position to have an idea of what the Government attitude was going to be, but they had been snubbed and absolutely ignored, and there was only one method left. They should agree on the principle of complete prohibition until they knew there was a surplus in the country.

Mr. Campbell called attention to the resolution calling on the Government to bring under cultivation large areas of the grazing lands by direct labour on an extensive scale under the Department, and moved an amendment that the resolution should read "direct voluntary labour." Just as the young men in Ireland were opposed to military conscription, they were opposed to industrial conscription at this or any other crisis. It was too much to compel a man to work on the land not at a wage fixed by himself, but by an arbitrary tribunal.

Mr. Adamson, Belfast, seconded, and the amendment was agreed to.

Mr. Farren, Dublin, said they were determined that there should be no artificial famine in Ireland as long as sufficient was produced in the country to feed the people (hear, hear). If the Government did not make up its mind to do something, the only possible way for the workers to do their duty was to have a general strike. How long did those responsible imagine that the present state of affairs would continue? Those who imagine it would be allowed to exist were living in a fool’s paradise. They were not going to allow their wives and children to starve so long as there was food in the country (applause).

Mr. Logue, Derry, said that this was really a question of self-preservation, and they should discriminate as between their duty to labour organisations in England and their responsibilities here at home (hear, hear). A definite time should be fixed to give the Government a chance to act—if indeed they could say there was any government in this country. Possibly they would get the customary reply that "the matter would receive careful attention." They should, if the Government failed, devise ways and means with the object of preserving the food supplies of the country (hear, hear.) He was confident that whatever mandate was given to the workers would be carried out and responded to no matter what the consequences might be (applause).

Irish Coalfields.

Mr. W. O’Brien, Dublin, referred to the important question of the Irish coal fields. They saw that at the Wolfhill mines, where only 150 tons per day were being raised, no less than 1,500 tons could be raised if only adequate railway facilities were afforded for transit between the pit mouth and the Great Southern
and Western system, and coal could then be sold at 19s 6d per ton in the city. Surely the Government should take over the control of the railways and thus enable local industries of the kind to be developed (hear, hear).

On the motion of Mr. O’Brien, seconded by Mr. Freeland, an addition was made condemning the Government for their neglect of the Irish coal fields.

The Railway Strike.

Mr. O’Farrell, Irish Railway Clerks, said he was surprised that no delegate had referred so far to the strike on the Great Southern and Western Railway, which would possibly take place that night and probably extend to the other railways. They ought to ask that the Government should assume control of the Irish railways as they had done in respect of the English railways (hear, hear). Notwithstanding all the restrictions which were placed on Irish railways the Government refused to assist Irish railway men. He did not think it was creditable to the National Union of Railwaymen that they accepted the terms, including a 10s war bonus per week given by the Government in England and yet left Irishmen out in the cold (hear, hear). It was only when the whole traffic of the country was about being dislocated and the people were starving that the Government would come to realise the seriousness of the situation (applause). It should go forth from that Conference that they were not going to tolerate this additional insult and national injustice, especially when it affected so seriously the industrial and commercial interests of the country generally (hear, hear).

Mr. Ward, Belfast, said that efforts were still being made by the Executive Committee to get the Irish railways taken over by the Government, and the same concessions for Irish railway workers as for those in England.

Mr. T. Lawlor, P.L.G., said they should concentrate on national control and not on war business.

Miss Bennett called attention to the question of sugar, and moved an amendment to a clause of the resolution stating that the Local Government Board should take up the matter of sugar regulation and distribution immediately.

Miss Ffrench Mullen seconded the amendment.

In the course of a discussion which took place on the subject strong views were expressed as to the manner in which sugar was sold, and one southern delegate said there were large stores of sugar in Cork, but poor people could not get a quarter of a pound unless they bought half a pound of tea with it.

The amendment was agreed to
Mr. Logue, Derry, moved an addition to one of the resolutions, in favour of the opening of municipal food shops and coal depots in the various districts.

This was passed.

The final resolution, with regard to immediate steps to be taken by the Government to ensure an adequate supply of food for the people at reasonable prices, having been formally brought before the meeting,

Mr. Murphy, Dublin, suggested that definite date be fixed, after which immediate action should be taken to safeguard the people.

Alderman M'Carron, Derry, thought it would be a mistake to fix a date. That matter might be left to the Executive. They should try every constitutional means before they did anything of the sort.

Mr. T. Lawlor, P.L.G., agreed that that might be left in the hands of the Executive, but they might impress on the delegates to prepare their forces for any action that might be taken.

Mr. Rimmer informed the delegates that so far as the union with which he was connected was concerned, they considered that the Executive should be consulted in such matters. If the men themselves took action they should put up with the consequences. They should try in a statesmanlike way to get the unions to take whatever action might be necessary. "Our union," he concluded, "won't accept any instruction from this Congress."

Mr. Logue, Derry, expressed surprise at the attitude taken up by Mr. Rimmer. It seemed to be a question whether the English Executives were going to rule the action of the men in Ireland or whether they were going to rule it themselves.

In the course of a discussion, some delegates advocated the right of the men to take action, and one speaker said the workers were prepared to ignore their Executives if necessary, but he hoped it would not be necessary.

Mr. Murphy said he would agree to leave the question of fixing a date in the hands of the Executive.

The resolution in its original form was then passed.

At the close of the business on the paper, a resolution was passed in favour of asking the Chief Secretary to receive a deputation representative of the Conference, the appointment of the deputation to be left to the Executive.

The proceedings terminated with votes of thanks to the Lord Mayor and citizens for the use of the City Hall, to the Chairman and to the Press.
The following Delegates attended:—

J. P. Delaney, 168, North Strand, Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners; Patrick Lynch, 2, Crosses Green, Cork, Cork and District Trades and Labour Council; James McCarron, 48, Stanley's Walk, Derry, Amalgamated Society of Tailors; James McGlinchey, Nelson Street, Derry, National Union of Dock Labourers; W. J. Leeman, 9, Agincourt Avenue, Belfast, Tailors Society; Wm. J. McNulty, 74, Long Tower Street, Derry, National Union of Dock Labourers; Deatly P. Thompson, 2, Westland Terrace, Derry, Derry and District Trades and Labour Council; William Logue, 12, Creggan Road, Derry, Derry and District Trades and Labour Council; T. Boyd, High Street, Kilkenny, Typographical Association; James Smyth, 7, Annville Terrace, Chip Street, National Union of Dock Labourers, Dundalk; Peter Toner, Bachelor's Walk, Dundalk, Boilermakers; William Larkin, M'Dermott's Terrace, Dundalk Trades Council; R. Brophy, 55, Ring Street, Inchicore, Gen. Union of Carpenters and Joiners; J. White, 74, Joy Street, Belfast, Woodcutting Machinists; P. Gavan, 35, Warren Street, S. C. R., Woodcutting Machinists; P. Byrne, 73, West Street, Drogheads, Drogheads Typographical Society; Thomas Irwin, 228, Nicholas Street, Dublin Operative Plasterers; Patrick White, King Street, Wexford, Wexford Branch Typographical Association; Richard Corish, William Street, Wexford, Wexford Branch I.T.W.U.; Stephen Butler, 17, Harding Street, Londonderry Branch A.S.E.; Edward McCafferty, 11, Northland Avenue, Londonderry Branch Engineers; James Freeland, 18, Woodvale Street, Belfast, Londonderry Branch Engineers; Thomas Boyle, U.K.S. Coachmakers, Dublin Branch; James Swan, U.K.S. Coachmakers, Dublin Branch; J. J. Collins, E. T. U., 17, Mt. Temple Road, Dublin; F. Fleming, 2, Henry Street, P.O. Engr. and Stores Association (Ireland); E. Newth, 48A, Rathmines Road, Boot and Shoe Operatives; E. McCabe, Aungier Street, Metropolitan House Painters T. U.; Patrick Mulhall, 27, Aungier Street, Metropolitan House Painters T. U.; John Scully, President, 27, Aungier Street, Metropolitan House Painters T. U.; Joseph Taaffe, 36, Buckingham Street, Dublin, Slaters and Tileers; Owen Hynes, 49, Cuffe Street, Dublin, A. G. of Brick and Stonelayers; M. Smith, 28, G. Block, Iveagh Buildings, Bride Street, House and Ship Painters; William Murphy, 16, Muckross Parade, Brushmakers U. K. Society; Denis Mulcahy, 26 George's Place, Dublin, Furnishing Trades; Thomas Ward, 54, Eliza Street, Belfast, National Union of Railwaymen; Michael McCann, 4, Leituez Hill, Belfast, Trades Council; Loughlin M'Curdy, 27, Forfar Street, Belfast, Carters; Wm. J. Murphy, Heating Engineers and White Smiths; John Farren, Dublin Sheet Metal Workers; Thomas Foran, F.L.G., Liberty Hall, Dublin, Irish Transport Union; Michael Brohoon, T.C., Dublin, Irish Transport Union; Andrew Breslin, Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, Dublin, 3 Branch; Thomas Gorman, School Club, Tralee, Tralee Trades Council; N. Rimmer, N. U. R.; Thomas Lawlor, Dublin Progressive Branch A. S. Tailors; Charles Gallagher, Dublin, Emerald Branch Amal. Society of Tailors; J. Sheridan, 14, Thorncastle Street, Irish Glass Bottle Makers; A. Byrne, 27, Thomas Street, Ringsend; Dawson Gordon, 17, College Street, Belfast, Flax Roughers; Nicholas Bennett, Castletown, Dundalk, Amal. Society of Carpenters; John Lynch (Ald.), New Street, Sligo, Seamen's and Firemen's Union; Michael Lynch, New Street, Sligo, Irish Transport Workers' Union; Francis Gallagher, Alma Terrace, Sligo, Sligo Trades and Labour Council; Alfred E. Dodds, 7, Lisburn Road, Belfast, National Association Theatrical Employees, Belfast Branch; A. M. Adamson, 35, Oxford Street, Belfast, The Workers Union; John S. L. M'Keag, 35, Oxford Street, Belfast, The Workers' Union; Ernest Kidd, 13, Jocelyn Street, Belfast, Electrical Trades Union; William Joseph Shortt, 26, Egeria Street, Belfast, Postmen's Federation; Charles P. Kelly, 4, St. Joseph's Terrace, Wellington Street, Dublin, Postmen's Federation; J. T. O'Farrell, 22, Palmerston Place, Dublin, Railway Clerks' Association; John Gaffney, 20, Thorncastle Road, Belfast, Ship Constructors and Shipwrights Association; James O'Brien 83 Seville Place, Dublin, Ship Constructors and Shipwrights Association; Denis
Houston, 80, Old George Street, Cork, Irish Transport and General Workers, Cork Branch; Benjamin Lindsay, 2, Loretto Avenue, Bray, National Union of Railwaymen; R. L. Wigzell, 18, Dame Street, National Union of Clerks; D. Logue, 18, Dame Street, National Union of Clerks; Louie Bennett, Glanmire, Bray, Irish Women Workers' Union; M. Ffrench Mullin, 9, Belgrave Road, Irish Women Workers' Union; Dan Magee, 24, Winetavern Street, Corporation Workmen's Trades Union; Robert Tynan, 24, Winetavern Street, Corporation Workmen's Trades Union; John Swan, 29, South King Street, U. K. S. Coachmakers; Thomas Boyle, 31, Synge Street, Dublin, U. K. S. Coachmakers; Francis Moran, 10, Mount Temple Road, Irish Bakers' Amalgamated Union; William O'Brien, 43, Belvidere Place, Dublin, Dublin Trades Council; Thomas Farren, 3, South Brown Street, Dublin Trades Council; M. J. O'Lehane, 76, Grafton Street, Dublin, Irish Drapers' Assistants; L. J. Duffy, 76, Grafton Street, Dublin, Irish Drapers' Assistants; Thomas Johnson, Belfast, N. U. Shop Assistants; Thomas Cassidy, 41, Chapel Road, Waterside, Derry, Typographical Association.

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IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,
DUBLIN, 18th December, 1916.

DEAR SIR,

In forwarding you enclosed copy of Resolutions I am instructed by Conference to say that they regret it did not seem desirable you should receive a deputation. This was intensified by intimations in the Press that deputations from other bodies had been received on the same subject.

In view of the gravity of the question to the people of this country, I am instructed to again press upon you the desirability of receiving this deputation from the organised workers of Ireland.

Yours faithfully,

D. R. CAMPBELL,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. DUKE, K.C.,
Chief Secretary.

[Copy]

IRISH OFFICE,
OLD QUEEN STREET, S.W.,
20th December, 1916.

DEAR SIR,

I am desired by the Chief Secretary to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, and enclosures, and to say that he will address a further communication to you after his return to Ireland.

Yours faithfully,

A. P. MAGILL.

D. R. CAMPBELL, Esq.,
Acting Secretary,
Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party,
11, Kimberley Street,
Belfast.
IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,
DUBLIN, 6th January, 1917.

DEAR SIR,

I have to thank you for yours of 5th inst., and to say that the actions of the Government in regard to food production, referred to therein, have been fully appreciated by my Committee. The matters upon which we desired to present our views were, however, not limited to the important question of intensified food production, but included the still more important one of the conservation and distribution of food-stocks already in hand. It is our opinion, strengthened by appeals every day from affiliated bodies, that unless the Government take action quickly to ascertain the needs of, and regulate the supplies of food to, the people, famine will face this country before July. From this viewpoint I am instructed to again respectfully urge the reception of the deputation already appointed to wait on you from the organised workers, otherwise we will be reluctantly compelled to call the Conference together again to consider what steps may be necessary to avert starvation.

An early reply will oblige.

Yours respectfully,

D. R. CAMPBELL,
Acting Secretary.

CHIEF SECRETARY’S OFFICE,
DUBLIN CASTLE,
15th January, 1917.

DEAR SIR,

With reference to your letter of the 6th instant, I am desired by the Chief Secretary to say that he will be glad to receive a small deputation—of not more than 3 or 4 members—from your Executive, on Thursday next, at this Office, at 3 o’clock.

Will you kindly let me know whether the deputation will attend at this time and of whom it will be composed.

Yours faithfully,

A. P. MAGILL.

D. R. CAMPBELL, Esq.,
11, Kimberley Street,
Belfast.

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,
BELFAST, 16th January, 1917.

DEAR SIR,

I have to thank you for yours of yesterday. The names of the deputation appointed to wait on you are as follow:—Thomas MacPartlin, Thomas Foran, M. J. O’Lehane, and Nathan Rimmer, of Dublin, and Thomas Johnson, Belfast, and I have arranged that they shall attend at your Office at the time mentioned.

Yours faithfully,

D. R. CAMPBELL,
Acting Secretary.

Mr. DUKE, K.C.,
Chief Secretary.
Deputation to Chief Secretary for Ireland.

A deputation consisting of the President, Mr. Thos. M'Partlin; Acting Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. D. R. Campbell, Mr. T. R. Johnson, Mr. M. J. O'Lehane, and Mr. Thomas Foran, P.L.G., waited on the Chief Secretary in Dublin, on Thursday, 18th January, 1917.

Mr. D. R. Campbell, Acting Secretary Irish Trades Congress, said the point on which they laid stress was the conservation of Irish food supplies from now till harvest. Information from the country was that unless the Government does something there would be a serious Irish food shortage and increased prices.

Mr. T. Johnson (Shop Assistants' Union, Belfast), said the English people have more money to pay for food, and it would go from Ireland to England unless something is done to conserve it. There is probably sufficient food in Ireland, but it is at such a price that the people cannot buy it. Prices were rising according to the demand in England. Families in Ireland, he said, are gradually coming down towards the poverty line. Maximum prices should be fixed for bread and coal, and there should be depots for supplies of coal and milk. They wanted a complete embargo on potato exports.

Mr. Rimmer, Irish Sec. National Union of Railwaymen, said despite the bonus to railwaymen they were unable to buy what is necessary for their families. There was a feeling that the Great S. and W. Railway Co. is not, in some places, carrying out the strict terms of the agreement arrived at under State control. If this continued the probabilities were that drastic action would be taken by the men.

Mr. M. J. O'Lehane (Drapers' Assistants), said if the Wolfhill and Dungannon mines were utilised coal could be had in Ireland at half present prices. Wages of agricultural labourers should be fixed by Government.

Mr. M'Partland, President, Trades Union Congress, said if the Government did not take action regarding Irish food exports there was a feeling abroad that the people should themselves take means of preventing food going away. If that idea got abroad it might give rise to a state of affairs difficult to cope with. They had heard that potatoes are still being exported, and that certain influences could obtain permits.

Mr. T. Foran (Transport Workers), said if the Government did not take action it might come to pass that transport workers would find it necessary to refuse to handle food supplies for export.

Mr. Duke’s Reply.

Mr. Duke said the deputation brought to his notice two great grievances—low wages and short supplies and high prices. It seemed to him an elementary principle in dealing with the case that any Irish Government must regard it as its primary duty to see to the well-being of the people of this country. Regulations
had been introduced as to the export of produce and the price of certain classes of farm produce to make sure that Ireland is not placed in difficulties while there is Irish-grown food available. So far as potatoes are concerned, it was seen that the action of speculators was raising prices inordinately, and threatening to decrease supplies dangerously. Although it was a serious step, it was felt there was no alternative but to direct that potato exports should cease except in limitations, and to take steps also with regard to prices at which they should be dealt in. The difficulty found in applying simple regulations of that kind and the antagonism evoked by that comparatively simple interference illustrated, from the Government point of view, the enormous difficulty of combining a system of State control with a system on individual and voluntary lines. There were two possible modes of dealing with these questions. One was that the community should take up all commodities and industries into its own hands, and meet out to everybody what it deems to be wholesome treatment. The other was that the community should apply help to providing for the interests of the community. Either system might produce results which might turn out reasonable. The difficulty now was to combine the two. He asked if it was possible for the State to fix a standard of wages for employers to whom it did not provide money to pay the wages unless it was ready to take the whole of their industries and guarantee them against loss? Recently the Irish railway industry came to something like a threat of deadlock and it became necessary for economic, and not wholly for reasons of military expediency, to do what had been done for reasons of military expediency on the other side of the Irish Sea. But Irish railway workers do not form anything like the proportion of the population they do in England, and if they applied the same method to the industries which were involved in their daily necessities they would find the State had no means of providing employers with funds out of which they would pay the increased wages. The result was that increased wages were not forthcoming. It was all very well to make Statutes decreeing increased wages, but who was going to provide employment if it did not pay to do so? When it was said: "Fix a high wage on which men can live in comfort," he would ask where was he to find the money? With regard to food supplies and prices, there were in that field many branches of useful activity for Governments. There has been no general demand to fix a standard price for sugar, but it would be much easier to deal with it than with other commodities. With regard to the question of dealing more stringently with the supply of sugar, that was a subject he would take the earliest opportunity of discussing with Lord Devonport. In these islands they could not act independently, because in a state of war they must have a common regulation of their imports, which would necessarily be regulated on a common basis, and the most that could be said was that care would be taken that the distribution was fair, and that they got their fair share of the produce as available.
Mr. Johnson said it was stated by interested people that the order as to the distribution of milk and sugar did not apply to Ireland. Was that so?

Mr. Duke said the milk order only applied to England and Scotland. The difficulty had not then arisen so urgently as it had more recently in Ireland. As to sugar, he thought the system was uniform, and the grocer saying that he only supplied his own customers was merely a practice which had grown out of the difficulties of the situation. If there were abuses the Sugar Commission would try to deal with them, and he would take care that any abuses brought to his notice were attended to.

As to cereals, he was not aware of any complete inventory of the supplies that are available either in Great Britain or in Ireland, and if the information were available it would not be in the public interest to disclose it. The matter was occupying the attention of the Government, and the keeping open of the ocean highways, and the giving of priority to ships that convey food was never lost sight of. With care and proper regulation he had confidence that the management of the food supplies would ensure them a sufficient supply. With regard to potatoes, when the regulations were considered he had discussed the available supply with the representatives of the Department, and before the regulations were made there was definite knowledge as to what potatoes were in the country. There were plenty to supply Ireland’s needs, and leave a substantial surplus, but the risk that they would be shipped was in sight. That risk, so far as human ingenuity could provide, had been removed. The existing control of potatoes was such as to prevent anything like normal export. No licences had been granted in response to influences exercised by individuals or to make exorbitant profits for owners.

If he were free to go into details he would satisfy them that the Government had done what it ought to in respect of potatoes, and if they heard from potato export centres of complaints from farmers that they were not permitted to realise high prices, he hoped those farmers would set off this against the suffering of their fellow-citizens, and would meet the difficulty with readiness to take a share in the common sacrifice. Regarding the milk supply, a deputation representing the Co-operative Societies had brought to his notice the high price charged in some places. He told them that to some extent the remedy seemed to be in the hands of the customers. If a large Irish community is pillaged by monstrous charges the people who make such charges should bear in mind that they deal in perishable goods, and that an interruption in business is as easily caused by excessive charges as by any other means. If those who supply milk would consider what was fair it would go a long way to solve the difficulty. If it was found in Ireland it was not possible by the ordinary play of supply and demand to regulate prices a Milk Order could be introduced in Ireland if it was shown that it would supply the remedy. If representations continued to reach that office and the Department
they would come with minds ready for the occasion, and if farmers were unable after pressure from outside to fix prices giving a fair profit, the Government might have to step in and fix what was reasonable.

"You have referred," said Mr. Duke, "to discussions on a proposition that the difficulties with regard to one branch of food supply could be met by a refusal by transport workers to handle food. There are desperate people sometimes who, when they find the difficulties of their lives, see what they regard as a remedy in being the authors of their own disease, and if there could be anything which would bring to a disastrous crisis the difficulties in which we are involved it would be if any class set itself to paralyse the work of the whole social machinery on the proposition that paralysis of the whole machinery would provide any remedy."

Mr. Campbell—Would your consideration include the farmers?

Mr. Duke—It would include everybody. If you consider what may be the result of leaving the produce to rot where it lies you will see that nothing more mischievous could be devised. It would be effective in producing paralysis, in securing the destruction of a large quantity of food, but the only matter in which it would be wholly ineffective would be in either increasing the quantity of food, reducing its price, or enlarging the means of those engaged in carrying on industries.

Mr. Campbell said it was an anomaly to find prices being fixed for next year while the Government were doing little to safeguard this year's supplies.

Claim for Damage done to the Hall of the Irish Transport Workers' Union.

Your Executive had before them the consideration of the report of the Committee having charge of claims for damage done to property during the insurrection in Dublin, in 1916. The Committee refused to consider the application of the Transport Union for re-coupment for damage done to Liberty Hall.

In this connection the following letters were sent by your Committee:

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,
DUBLIN, 20th February, 1917.

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.,
Labour Party,
1, Victoria Street,
London, S.W.

Dear Sir,

I am directed to inform the Labour Party that the action of the Labour Exchanges in Ireland is at present, and for some time past has been, causing grave anxiety to the workers. Non-employment benefits due to some of the Tradesmen under the provisions of the Act have been denied because of the refusal of the Tradesmen in question to take up work in the Unskilled Labour market.
My Executive also beg to direct the attention of the Labour Party to the action of the Government in reference to the damage done to the Hall of the Irish Transport and General Workers’ Union. The Citizen Army were tenants of the Irish Transport Union just as the Irish Volunteers were of the premises in Dawson Street. The Citizen Army were not in the Hall after Easter Monday, and two days afterwards the Military bombarded the Hall of this Working Class Organisation practically leaving it uninhabitable. From the time the Citizen Army left Liberty Hall in revolt they did not occupy any portion of the building and from first to last there was not one shot fired by them from Liberty Hall. When the Military took possession they took away property of the Union which has never been returned. We have raised the question here locally. The answer we have got is that the property was taken away by souvenir hunters. When I tell you that one of the things taken was a cottage piano and another a baby grand piano you will understand how much credence is to be given to the souvenir hunters story. I may add that property belonging to persons residing in the Liberty Hall area but not belonging to the Union has been made good, either by the return of the goods or by payment of monies in lieu thereof. Hoping that these matters will secure the hearty support of the Party.

With kind regards.

Fraternally yours,

P. T. DALY, Secretary.

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,
DUBLIN, 10th March, 1917.

Rt. Hon. Arthur Henderson,
Secretary,
Labour Party,
1, Victoria Street,
London.

DEAR MR. HENDERSON,

My Executive have directed me to again draw your attention to the question of the destruction of Liberty Hall, the Head-quarters of the Irish Transport and General Workers’ Union, and particularly to the fact that all the papers in connection with the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party were taken by the Military from the building and have not been returned.

I would like you to understand that there have been engaged in the European War close on 5,000 members of the Irish Transport and General Workers’ Union and I am in a position to state, and to verify my statement, that close on 2,000 of their members have been killed. I need hardly tell you what these men think of Liberty Hall, and if the Government, of which you are a member, are going to compensate capitalists for the destruction of their property, what answer will they have for those men if they refuse to compensate them for the destruction of theirs?

I am also directed by the National Executive of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party to inform you that the question of minimum wage for agricultural labourers has been considered by them, and I am to inform you that whilst the members of my Executive favour the establishment of Wages Boards generally, they consider, and have desired me to impress upon you, that, preliminary to the consideration of such question, the minimum wage suggested for Great Britain for this class of Labour should apply to Ireland.

I am further directed to inform you that several of our Affiliated bodies throughout the country have brought under our notice the question of the exportation of food stuffs from this country. They say that this is making it very difficult for them to control their members, and if it goes on they fear the men engaged in the handling of it will refuse to handle it in the immediate future.

Yours fraternally,

P. T. DALY, Secretary.
The Right Hon. Arthur Henderson replied as follows:

1, Victoria Street,
London, S.W. 1,
12th March, 1917.

Dear Mr. Daly,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favour of the 10th, and no e the position your Executive takes up with regard to the destruction of Liberty Hall. I must frankly say that I see no possibility of obtaining any Government assistance, though I am making enquiry into the matter. I note what you say with regard to the question of the minimum wage. Before finally deciding my attitude on this point I should like to have fuller information. Then with regard to the possible refusal on the part of members of your affiliated bodies to handle food stuffs intended for export from Ireland: merely to make the bald statement as to a possible refusal, without giving full and detailed information, is not sufficient. I am quite prepared to assist your affiliated societies, but only when satisfied that there is a disposition on the part of those concerned to give this country adequate and proper assistance, without stoppages of work, during the period of the War.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Henderson.

Mr. P. T. Daly,
Trades Hall,
Dublin.

Your Committee also communicated with the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but up to the time of making this report no action has been taken on the part of the Government to re-imburse the Transport Union for the damage done to their property.

Freedom of Russia.

Very shortly after the consummation of the Russian revolution, your Committee conveyed to the Workmen's Council in Petrograd a resolution of congratulation. We also forwarded the following cable:—"Tcheidez Workmen's Council, Petrograd. Irish Labour Movement approve calling an International Conference. Accepts invitation. Requests information. Daly, Secretary, Irish Trades-Union Congress and Labour Party, Trades Hall, Dublin."

International Labour Conference at Stockholm.

Your Committee considered the question of representation at this Congress at considerable length and decided to appoint Messrs. William O'Brien, Vice-Chairman, and D. R. Campbell, Treasurer, to act as their delegates. They applied for passports and were informed that the matter was being considered, but eventually received a reply refusing the necessary passports.
Petrol Restrictions.

Acting on the instructions of Congress your Committee decided bringing this matter under the immediate attention of the authorities. Our further attention was drawn to the fact that new restrictions were being imposed, and as a result of this information your Committee brought the matter again under the attention of the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Board of Trade with the result that we were informed that the Chief Secretary was giving the matter his personal attention. Up to the time of preparing this report we have no knowledge what the Chief Secretary’s personal attention has resulted in.

Organising the Irish Labour Movement.

Your Committee gave this matter considerable attention during the year. We are very happy to report that intentions have been shown of a desire on the part of workers hitherto unorganised, to spread the movement into districts where before it had no footing. Your Committee issued the following circular, which was prepared by Mr. Thomas Johnson:

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
TRADES HALL,
CAPEL STREET,
DUBLIN, JUNE, 1917.

DEAR SIR AND COMRADE,

With a view to promoting the organisation and representation of Labour on elective bodies, the National Executive have decided upon a scheme for organising the active supporters of Trade Unionism and Labour Representation as detailed below.

It will be seen that the scheme depends for its success upon the cordial co-operation of the Branch Secretaries or Shop-stewards, or other specially appointed collectors, and we venture to hope that your Branch will adopt the scheme with enthusiasm, and endeavour to enrol as large a number of "Subscribing Members" of the Irish Labour Party as possible.

Every week that passes brings additional proofs of the necessity for strengthening the influence on Irish public affairs of a well organised Labour Party. The pressure we have been able to bear in the past on local corporations and the Irish Government has been considerable and of much benefit to Trade Unionists and the working classes in general, but the urgent problems arising out of the war, the need for a sustained agitation to secure that Labourers' voice shall be heard in the Councils of the Nation, demand that a much greater effort than ever must now be made. To do this effectively we must enlist the active personal assistance of those thousands of workers who hitherto have been but passive sympathisers. We are confident that the members of your branch will do their share in this work. The Organisation and Labour Representation Fund which we propose to raise will be used for strengthening the Trade Union movement in those places where it is weak, and to assist in securing the return of Labour Representatives to the National Legislature.
Throughout the world Labour is emerging from its obscurity and proving itself a force to be reckoned with by the governing powers—soon perhaps to become itself the governing power. In every nation of Europe, in America, Canada, Australia, S. Africa, even in far China and Japan, there are National Labour parties supported by the subscriptions of the workers. We will not have it said that of all the Nations of the world the workers of Ireland alone were inarticulate!

The following is a summary of the scheme decided upon:

Scheme for organising existing groups or Societies or Branches of Societies on the one hand, and individual supporters who are bona-fide members of Trade Unions on the other, and bringing them into direct association with the Irish Labour Party.

It is assumed that it is at present undesirable to make any formal change in the existing constitution of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party.

It is recognised that the affiliated Unions contain a proportion of members who are in definite active sympathy with the Irish Labour Party, but having a larger number who, while vaguely sympathetic, are not conscious of any personal association with the Party.

It is also recognised that there are Societies or branches of Societies which are as a whole opposed to the Irish Labour Party, but which contain a minority who desire to become actively associated with us.

The National Executive believe that it is necessary to gather these all in, and bring them into direct relation with the Party, and that this may be done by the expedient of recognising them as "Subscribing Members."

It is, therefore, decided to establish the Stamp system for payments of contributions to an Organisation and Labour Representation Fund. A subscriber's card to be issued by the National Executive, ruled with spaces for stamps to be affixed. Subscriptions to be Threepence per month. Specially designed Stamps to be issued by the Executive, face value Threepence each. Secretary of Branch (or whoever may be appointed as Collector) to receive stamps, which are to be charged to him at the rate of Twopence-halfpenny each, the other Halfpenny to be retained as expenses of collection. Branch Secretary or Collector on receipt of contribution to affix a stamp to card indicating that the Subscribing Member has paid to the Fund the sum of Threepence.

This will apply to cases where a branch of an affiliated Society officially adopted the scheme, and appointed the Secretary or other collector to receive subscriptions and disburse stamps. But there will also be cases where the branch or Society will not act officially. In such cases we will try to find a member who will act as collector, whose duty will be to obtain as many regular subscribers from amongst his fellow workers as possible. Even if only three or four are enrolled in a branch, it will be valuable work done—if every branch of every Trade Union provided not less than four subscribing members to the Irish Labour Party, we would have a very strong organisation.

In support of this scheme the Executive proposes to assist branches by propagandist visits, and by the issue, when funds permit, of pamphlets, leaflets, etc.

Will you please read this communication to your members, get the matter discussed, and, if approved of, have the scheme adopted and a collector officially appointed to receive subscriptions. We will then send him a supply of Subscribers' Cards and Stamps.

If you require any further information please communicate with Mr. Thomas Johnson, 13, Ranfurly Drive, Strandtown, Belfast, or with

Yours fraternally,

P. T. Daly, Secretary.
Delegation to the Scottish Trades Union Congress.

Your delegate, Councillor P. T. Daly, reported having attended the Scottish Trades Union Congress, held at Falkirk. He stated there were 160 delegates present, and that the Congress was thoroughly representative of the Scottish Labour Movement. The resolutions included one congratulating the Russian people on their successful revolution, demanding the conscription of wealth, and condemning the conscription of labour. They had a very interesting discussion on Governmental control of the Liquor Trade as against abolition. Your delegate further reported how much impressed he was with the tone of the Congress, with the breadth of vision shown by the speakers, and more particularly with the friendliness and brotherly feeling exhibited by all the delegates. He conveyed to them the fraternal greetings of the Irish Labour Movement, and before leaving they presented him with a gold badge, a kindness which your Committee very much appreciate, and which they hope to reciprocate in the near future.

Representation at the British Trades Union Congress.

In consonance with the decision arrived at at last Congress, held in Sligo, your Committee acquainted Mr. C. W. Bowerman, M.P., Secretary of the British Trades Congress, that they had appointed Messrs. Thomas Johnson and Councillor P. T. Daly to represent them as fraternal delegates at the Congress of 1916, held in Birmingham. Mr. Bowerman replied that owing to the list of invitations being already a lengthy one and the great amount of business to be gone through it would not be convenient to accept your delegation.

Labour Exchanges and Unemployment Benefits.

Your Committee considered complaints received in reference to this subject and secured copies of the following findings through the Right Hon. John Hodge, M.P.:

- CLAIM BY AN ASSOCIATION FOR A REPAYMENT FROM THE UNEMPLOYMENT FUND IN ACCORDANCE WITH AN ARRANGEMENT MADE UNDER SECTION 106, OF THE NATIONAL INSURANCE ACT, 1911.

DECISION No. 1396.

The following decision has been given by the Umpire under Regulation 19 of the Unemployment Insurance Regulations, 1912.

The claim of an Association for a repayment from the Unemployment Fund in respect of three workmen who had been employed as painters was disallowed under Section 86 (3) on the ground that the workmen had refused offers of suitable employment.
Owing to slackness in their own trade, the workmen, whose homes were in Dublin, were offered and refused jobs as labourers at Pembrey. The job would have been a long one, but the wages offered, viz. — 8d per hour was 4d per hour less than the workmen habitually received in their own trade at Dublin.

The workmen, accompanied by representatives of two painters Associations, attended the sitting of the Court of Referees (Eastern Ireland District). Both Association representatives urged that the work offered was not suitable for painters, whose normal work was of a light, and in many cases, delicate nature. The Court reluctantly recommended that the claims be disallowed in view of Umpire's decision No. 1035. They stated also that the workmen were not incapable of the work offered. The Association, however, declined to accept the recommendation of the Court, and appealed to the Umpire, whose decision was as follows:

"On the facts before me my decision is that the claim should be allowed. The work offered was outdoor labouring work, probably of a heavy nature, and does not seem to have been suitable for these men, who on the evidence produced before me by the Society were skilled men, who had served an apprenticeship, it is not to be understood, however, that painters are entitled to refuse all work outside their trade."

(Intd.) C. B. H.

for T. W. PHILLIPS,

10th March, 1917.

E.D. 6161 (1917).

CLAIM FOR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT.

DECISION No. 1397.

The following decision has been given by the Umpire under powers conferred by Section 88 of the National Insurance Act, 1911.

The claim of a workman who had been employed as a painter was disallowed under Section 86 (3) on the ground that he had refused an offer of suitable employment.

The workman, whose home was in Dublin, became unemployed on the 30th November, 1916, made a claim to benefit on the 2nd January, 1917, and on the 8th January was offered and refused work at Altrincham as a labourer (Pick and Shovel). The wages offered were 8¾d per hour, and the job would have lasted six weeks, at the end of which the workman's fare would have been refunded. The workman applied for employment at Clydebank as a red-leader and was accepted by the employers. The workman was so informed on the 17th January but he then failed to travel.

The workman, in appealing against the Insurance Officer's decision, denied that he refused employment on the 8th January, but on the contrary stated that he applied for work at Clydebank on the 7th January.

In the workman's absence the Court of Referees (Eastern Ireland District), were unanimously of opinion that (1) the work offered on the 8th January, was not within his physical capacity to perform, and was therefore unsuitable, but (2) that the employment for which he successfully applied, and which he refused on the 17th January, was suitable; and the Court therefore recommended that the claim to benefit should be disallowed as from January 17th.

The Insurance Officer, however, declined to accept the recommendation of the Court as regards the offer of the 8th January, and pointed out that as the Court had not seen the workman, they were not in a position to judge of his physical capacity to perform the work. Also the workman had not advanced any evidence to that effect. Subsequent to the hearing by the Court of Referees the Umpire's decision No. 1381 was received, and in forwarding the case the Insurance Officer pointed out that in view of this decision, the workman's refusal of red leading work could no longer be regarded as a refusal of suitable employment.
The Umpire's decision was as follows:

"On the facts before me my decision is that the claim for Benefit should be allowed.

In regard to the employment offered on January 8th, there is not sufficient evidence to refute the normal presumption that heavy labouring work would not be suitable employment for a tradesman as this workman appears to have been. There is no evidence as to his ordinary earnings or as to his physical capacity.

In regard to the offer of employment on January 17th, the case would appear to be similar to No. 1381."

C. B. H.

for T. W. PHILLIPS,

March, 1917.

E.D. 6152 (1917).

CLAIM FOR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT.

DECISION No. 1035.

The following decision has been given by the Umpire under powers conferred by Section 88 of the National Insurance Act, 1911.

The claim of a workman who had been employed as a mason was disallowed under Section 86 (3) on the ground that he had refused an offer of suitable employment.

The applicant, who lived at Denbigh, became unemployed on the 17th April and made a claim for benefit on the 23rd April. On the 27th April he was offered employment as a limestone quarry labourer at Llandudno. He would have been paid at the rate of 5½d per hour with a special allowance of 12½% of the week's earnings. As soon as he became proficient he would have been put upon ordinary quarryman's work at piece rates of 4½d per ton with the allowance of 12½% on his earnings. The average earnings of the men were from 30/- to 42/- per week. The work at the quarry was very urgent as a large number of the quarrymen had joined the forces and the lime was required for the purpose of the manufacture of munitions.

The workman contended that he was justified in refusing the offer as he was a mason and the work offered as a quarryman was not suitable for him. He was expecting re-instatement in his ordinary capacity at an early date. From enquiries, however, it did not appear that there were any reasonable prospects of local employment.

The Court of Referees (North Wales District), recommended that the claim should be allowed as the employment offered to the applicant was not suitable employment within the meaning of Section 86 (3). The Court added that, in their opinion, there was a moral obligation upon all unemployed workmen to undertake work in connection with the production of munitions whether or not such work would be regarded as strictly suitable in normal times. The Insurance Officer declined to accept the formal recommendation of the Court and agreed with the opinion expressed by the Court. He pointed out that many masons in the district had accepted work at the quarry and he urged that in the exceptional circumstances, the employment offered should be regarded as 'suitable' within the meaning of Section 86 (3).

The Umpire's decision was as follows:

:"On the facts before me my decision is that the claim for benefit should be disallowed."
It does not appear to be contended either that the wages which could be earned would be too low, or that the work would be outside the applicant's capacity to perform. Objection is taken practically, solely on the ground that the work is not in the applicant's ordinary trade. This contention has, no doubt, much to be said for it but, by itself, is not a sufficient reason for refusing to attempt the work especially in view of the fact that so many masons had already accepted this work, the very slight prospect of work for masons in their own trade, and the urgency of the work offered—the output being required for munitions."

(Intd.) C. H.

for T. W. PHILLIPS,

30th July, 1915.

L.E. 14703.

CLAIMS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT.

DEcision No. 1226.

The following decision has been given by the Umpire under powers conferred by Section 88 of the National Insurance Act, 1911:—

The claims of five workmen who were ordinarily employed as painters and whose homes were at Belfast, were disallowed under Section 86 (3) on the ground that they had refused offers of suitable employment.

The applicants, after being unemployed from four to six weeks, were offered employment as red leaders at Walker-on-Tyne. The local standard rate of wages for that class of work would have been paid, viz.:—34/- per week on time, or 7/6 per day on piece work, and the work which was of an urgent nature on a Government Contract, was expected to last for some time. The prospective employers had undertaken to pay the workmen's railway fares. The Manager of the Belfast Labour Exchange reported that the applicants at first accepted the offers but after their particulars had been submitted to and accepted by the employers they declined to proceed to the work owing to the intervention of their Association. The Manager further reported that there were no immediate prospects of local employment for painters. He added that some of the painters in the district accepted this work and had remained on the job.

The applicants contended that they were justified in refusing the offers in question on the grounds that (1) the work of red leading was not in their own trade and the wages offered were below the recognised rate for painters in the district, (2) they would have been fined by their Association if they had accepted the work in contravention of one of the Society rules, and (3) the cost of travelling such a distance would be out of proportion to the wages earned.

The District Delegate of the Association confirmed the statement of the applicants to the effect that they would have been penalised by the Association if they had accepted the employment offered. In reply to a question as to whether it was not customary for painters to accept work outside their own trade during periods of depression in the trade, he admitted that painters often did accept other work even at rates of wages lower than that recognised by the Painters' Association, without being fined by the Society. He contended, however, that such conditions did not apply in this instance because red leading was not outside the trade of painting but was merely a branch of it which had been taken over generally by unskilled workmen. He urged that skilled painters could not therefore be required to do such work at rates of wages lower than those recognised in the trade for painters.
By permission of the Chairman the Delegate of the Association attended the sitting of the Court of Referees (Northern Ireland District), and reiterated his contentions. He also alleged that local painters on the Tyne were engaged upon this job and were paid at the recognised rate for painters. The Delegate urged that the applicants should not be required to travel from Belfast to the Tyne to work with other painters in receipt of 8/- per week more than they were offered.

A report was received from the employers referred to from which it appeared that the standard rates for painters in the district was 7/- per day while that of red leaders was 5/8 per day. The firm had engaged large numbers of men as red leaders and they received the lower rate but as they could not complete the work it was found necessary to transfer some of their painters to this work and in such cases the painters continued to receive the higher rate of wages. This was only a temporary expedient and all the other men were engaged as and paid as red leaders.

The Court of Referees expressed considerable doubt as to whether the work offered to the applicants was in all the circumstances, suitable for them. They were of opinion that painters should be willing, when their ordinary work is not procurable, to undertake the work of red leading. In this case, however, the Court thought that there were special circumstances, arising out of the employment of local painters at higher rates of wages, which would justify the workmen in refusing to accept the work. They did not regard the cases as falling within the rule of the Association referred to, but in view of the special circumstances mentioned they recommended that the claims for benefit should be allowed.

The Insurance Officer declined to accept the recommendation of the Court on the ground that, as the standard rate of wages for the work would have been paid and as such work was frequently performed by painters, the work was suitable for the applicants.

The Umpire's decision was as follows:

"On the facts before me my decision is that the claims for benefit should be disallowed."

In ordinary circumstances it would appear that these workmen might be entitled to refuse this work, but in view of the very abnormal circumstances of trade they should have been willing to take this work rather than remain idle for an indefinite time."

C. H.
for T. W. PHILLIPS,
4th April, 1916.

L.E. 7317 (1916).

Partition of Ireland.

Your Committee issued the following manifesto on this subject, viz.:

IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY,
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE,
DUBLIN, 18th May, 1917.

When the first suggestion of the partition of the workers of Ireland was mooted the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party, through the National Executive, took the earliest opportunity of entering a protest against the proposal. By deputations to the Premier, to the Labour Party, and to the Irish Party, we have made our hostility to the partition of the country known. Our opposition to the exclusion of any part of Ireland from the operation of legislation intended for the whole country is as strong now as it was when the proposals were first made. In our opinion if the exclusion proposals are persisted in they will create two problems in Ireland...
instead of one. The Trades Union deputation which waited on the Prime
Minister last year pointed this out. They also pointed out the certainty
of evil results to the practical affairs of the working class as Trades Unionists,
as Co-operators, and as members of Friendly Societies. Representing, as
we do, different provinces of Ireland, and armed, as we are, with the unani-
mous endorsement of our attitude by three successive Congresses of Labour
Meeting in different parts of Ireland, we reiterate our opposition to any
scheme which divides the workers of this country into different sections.
We believe such partition will be suicidal and disastrous to the working
class movement, and that it would be absolutely unworkable.

(Signed),

THOMAS M'PARTLIN, Chairman.
WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Vice-Chairman.
DAVID R. CAMPBELL, Belfast, Treasurer.
THOMAS JOHNSON, Belfast.
THOMAS FORAN, P.L.G., Dublin.
THOMAS CASSIDY, Derry.
M. J. EGAN, T.C., J.P., Cork.
THOMAS FARREN, Dublin.
DAWSON GORDON, Belfast.
M. J. O'LEHANE, Dublin.
P. T. DALY, Secretary.

Imprisonment of Patrick Higgins.

The case of Patrick Higgins, who was convicted in 1914,
and sentenced to a long term of penal servitude for having thrown
a policeman into the River Liffey during the course of a riot, was
considered by your Committee. The Chief Secretary was informed
that Higgins was not arrested for some considerable time after
the offence was committed, that other prisoners who had been
charged with the like offence had been released from custody prior
to Higgins's incarceration, requesting the Right Hon. gentleman
to give Higgins the benefit of an amnesty granted to the others.
Your Committee regret, however, to report the Chief Secretary has
informed them the Lord Lieutenant decided that the law must
take its course.

Representation of the People Bill.

When this measure was introduced your Executive took the
earliest opportunity of expressing their approval of the measure
in general terms, whilst regretting the absence of Adult Suffrage
and claiming a re-distribution of seats without any reduction
of the number of members returned. Later, when the Council
of County Councils called for the exclusion of Ireland and the
Executive took steps to protest against any such action, and in
an interview with the Labour Party, claimed, in the name of the
Irish Labour Movement, that their influence should be used against
any attempted exclusion. The Labour Party, who were repre-
sented by Messrs. Parker and Bowerman, M.P.'s, accompanied
by Mr. H. S. Lindsay, Parliamentary Agent to the Labour Party,
gave an assurance that the matter would receive their active
support and anxious consideration.
Wages of Agricultural Labourers.

Your Executive gave this matter their earnest consideration and claimed that the minimum wage should be applied to Ireland. They further pointed out the necessity for having a uniform wage fixed by all the Unions catering for this class of Labour, and suggested a minimum of 27/- per week. Your Executive look forward to the realisation of this uniformity of wage and the future organisation of agricultural, and other classes of Labour, through the scheme of better organisation alluded to in this Report, and dealt with in the circular drafted by Mr. Johnson.

Obituary.

Your Executive regret that this year again we must record the death of another of our comrades, and a member of the Dublin Labour Party Council, William P. Partridge. He was a very earnest worker in the Movement, a former delegate to our Congress, and one whose presence and assistance we shall miss very much. Arrested in 1916 in connection with the Insurrection, he was released in a very feeble state some months before the general amnesty. He remained at home confined to his room until going to Ballaghadereen, in Co. Mayo, in June, where he passed quietly away on July 26th, being interred in St. Colman's Cemetery, Ballaghadereen, on July 28th. Councillor Partridge is the second member of the Dublin Labour Party whose death has been brought about through the Dublin Insurrection of 1916. Your Executive have extended to the members of his family their condolence in their bereavement.

THOMAS M'PARTLIN, Chairman.
WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Vice-Chairman.
M. J. EGAN, T.C., J.P.
THOMAS CASSIDY.
THOMAS FARREN.
THOMAS FORAN, P.L.G.
THOMAS JOHNSON.
DAWSON GORDON.
NATHAN RIMMER.
M. J. O'LEHANE.
D. R. CAMPBELL, Treasurer.
P. T. DALY, Secretary.

Food Supplies.

Dealing with the food supplies of this country, Mr. T. Johnson (Belfast), said that from the reports which were before them, and from the delegates' knowledge of what occurred last October, November, and January, it was well that they should have in mind the fact that, although at present the supplies of food in this country appeared to be ample, and although the harvest appeared promising, they were still likely to be in the position in which
they were last year with regard to the risks consequent upon the submarine menace. The incoming Executive should take every opportunity to press upon the Government and upon the public the necessity of conserving Ireland's food supplies (hear, hear). There was evidence of considerable agitation developing for the free and unlimited export of potatoes, corn, and other foodstuffs. He had no objection—the Executive of last year had no objection—to export surplus foods, but whatever strength was in their organisation last year should still avail to see that nothing but the surplus was exported. They might have ample surplus for export if there was a free import of wheat, but in the event of the submarine menace being increased, and of the actual and certain blockade of the country being consummated, they would be in the same position as that which faced them last November. Following the policy and programme of last November and December, a census of supply should be taken and an estimate of the requirements of the Irish people should be made, and any export of Irish food should be allowed only in proportion of the available imports. It was desirable that they should be alive to the possibilities. They all hoped that the risks were lessened, but the war had shown that many surprises were in store for them. They should not run the risk of actual starvation during next summer and next autumn. They should make it clear that only surplus foodstuffs should be exported.

Mr. Rimmer moved that on the question of the possibility of a scarcity of the food supplies of this country, a resolution be drafted for the consideration of this Congress. The resolution was agreed to, and Messrs. Johnson and Rimmer were asked to appear before the Standing Orders Committee in connection with it.

**Transport Workers' Hall.**

In connection with the Executive Committee’s reference in their report to the claim made against the Government for damage done to the hall of the Irish Transport Workers' Union, Mr. W. J. Murphy expressed the hope that the Committee and all concerned would not lose sight of similar claims made on behalf of other societies.

**Freedom of Russia.**

A long discussion took place with regard to the action of the Executive in accepting an invitation from Russia to attend the International Conference at Stockholm.

Mr. William Davin, Railway Clerks’ Association, said he wanted to know why the Executive did not call a special conference to consider this question, which was of such importance to the Labour Movement. Responsibility in this matter should devolve upon Congress. He wanted to know by whom was the invitation extended to Irish delegates to attend the Stockholm Conference.
Mr. P. T. Daly, T.C., Secretary,—The same authority that invited the British Labour Party and the British Trades Union Congress to participate in the same Convention extended their invitation to us. Because of the fact that we had established a class-conscience movement here, and had a Labour Party, the National Executive considered it advisable that the invitation so extended should be availed of, and, accordingly, we accepted the invitation, and notified the chairman of the Soldiers' and Workers' Committee in Petrograd.

Alderman M'Carron, Derry—Read the invitation.

Mr. Daly said the invitation was a general one.

Alderman M'Carron—Let us hear it.

Mr. Daly said he had not it with him, but if he had thought that it would have been called for he would have brought it with him.

Mr. Whitley—Was it a communication to the Executive Committee?

Chairman—No, Sir.

Mr. Lathan—The real point is:—From whom did the Parliamentary Committee receive the mandate on behalf of the Irish Trades Union Movement to accept the invitation. The British Labour Party decided to consult the constituent organisations and to hear whether or no they would attend this Conference.

Mr. Davin pressed for a definite reply to his question.

Mr. D. R. Campbell, Treasurer—The invitation was a general one, a world-wide invitation, issued by the Council of the Workmen's and Soldiers' delegates, to the Labour Parties of all countries, both to the majority and to the minority. There was no special invitation sent to the Executive Committee of the Irish Trades Congress any more than there was a special invitation sent to the British Labour Party. That invitation was extended broadcast, and it was thought by the Executive Committee that the opportunity to attend this important Congress should be availed of.

Mr. Lathan—I have no objection to your deciding that this Conference is one at which the Irish Labour Party should be represented. The point we want to bring out is this:—You had no mandate from Irish Labour (hear, hear).

Mr. Campbell—The Executive Committee quite understand that this thing should be thrashed out. The Executive of this Congress, like the Executive of any Congress, is the Congress in the interim of its sittings. Certain circumstances may arise when the Executive may have to take action, even upon fundamentals. They took that on them, and are subject to your castigation, or approval, for daring to express their willingness
to attend the Stockholm Congress either as a majority or a minority, and a separate nation (hear, hear.) The same power was vested on the Executive to act on behalf of the Congress in appointing delegates, or deputations, to go anywhere as is vested in them in expressing an opinion on behalf of the Congress, during the interim, subject to your approval, castigation or condemnation. There was no special invitation. The matter was brought before the Executive, and the Executive was unanimous in welcoming the International Conference, and in expressing the desire on behalf of this country to be represented thereat.

Mr. Flanagan (Belfast)—I don’t think that very much speechmaking is necessary to justify the attitude of the Parliamentary Committee. Are we represented at the Convention in Dublin? (Cries of “Order.”)

Mr. Davin, in moving the deletion of the paragraph headed “Freedom of Russia” from the Executive Committee’s report, said it was not the question of whether or not Irish delegates should go to Stockholm that affected his mind. He wanted to call attention to the action of the Executive in taking upon themselves the power to speak on behalf of the Irish Labour Movement, without consulting the constituents of that movement. The answers given were not straightforward.

Chairman—I hope the delegates will refrain from making suggestions of that kind.

Several Delegates—The answers were straightforward.

Mr. J. H. Bennett (Sailors and Firemen) seconded Mr. Davin’s proposition. They were, he said, all aware that Labour bodies had received an invitation. They did not object to delegates going. The Labour Party in England had called a Conference before deciding to send delegates. This Executive took upon themselves the power to speak on behalf of the Irish Labour Movement, without consulting the men who pay those men to go. It is a disgrace to the Irish Labour Movement.

Mr. Kelly expressed the opinion that the Executive did their best to represent the views of the delegates.

Mr. T. Cassidy (Derry)—The point is:—Have the Executive the power in their own hands to carry out the work of the Irish Trades Union Movement? (Hear, hear). We, as an organised Trades Union body, and as an Irish Labour Party, were bound to consider ourselves included in the general invitation (hear, hear). On that point alone, I hold I was justified in supporting the action of the other members of the Parliamentary Committee. If the Parliamentary Committee had acted wrongly, I am sure none of them will object to be criticised at this Congress (hear, hear). As long as I am a member of any Committee which is supposed to carry out your work from year to year, I want, when a certain action of mine arises, to know whether I can act on your behalf.
Mr. John Lawlor (Dublin) supported the recommendations of the Executive. He held that the delegates should stand behind the Executive appointed to look after their interests during the year.

Mr. William Logue (Derry) said the Executive did not act on their own initiative in regard to the food question in Ireland. They did not arrogate to themselves the responsibility on that occasion, but put it on the organisations. This was a more important matter, and the organisations had not been consulted. He supported Mr. Davin’s proposition.

Mr. Johnson (Belfast) reminded Councillor Logue that the Executive took certain action in regard to the food question on their own initiative. The British Labour Party was in a different position from the Irish Labour Party, who were consistent in their action for many years with regard to international labour questions. In taking this action they believed that they were interpreting the sentiments of Irish Trades Unions. If they had thought there was a marked difference of opinion they might have seen the necessity of a special mandate from the Irish Labour Movement.

Mr. Walsh (Dublin), Mr. Flanagan (Belfast), and Mr. Smyth (Dublin), having spoken, Mr. Lynch (Cork), moved that the question be now put.

Mr. Frank Friel (Derry), National Amalgamated Union of Labour, one of the tellers, describing himself as a “common hod carrier,” rose to continue the debate, amid loud cries of divide.

Mr. Davin’s motion was defeated by 65 to 24, and the action of the Committee was approved of.

Appointment of Delegates.

Mr. William O’Brien (Dublin) then proposed that the report of the Committee appointing Messrs. William O’Brien and D. R. Campbell as delegates to Stockholm be deleted, and that the Congress appoint delegates.

Mr. Campbell (Belfast) seconded.

Mr. Lynch (Cork), said this was a mere quibble to get out of the whole thing.

Mr. O’Brien’s motion was not accepted, but Mr. H. T. Whitley (Belfast), was called upon to move the following resolution, which stood in his name on the Agenda:—

“That this Congress condemns the action, as reported in Press, of the Executive in applying for affiliation and in appointing delegates to attend a conference in Stockholm.”

Mr. Whitley said Congress was the proper body to appoint delegates. This was the main reason why his Society sent forward the foregoing resolution. Proceeding, he said that if representatives
were being appointed Mr. Campbell would not be selected from the North. He charged the Committee with devoting too much attention to matters abroad while they neglected matters at home vital to the interests of the workers of Ireland. They had the destinies of their own country to attend to, and questions affecting their own workers. These constituted work for them at their hand, and it should not be neglected. Instead of looking so far afield as Russia, and while they appointed delegates to the Stockholm Conference they did not make any effort to get proper representation at the Conference that was likely to evolve some form of government for their own country. While it was right to congratulate Russia they should not be detracting attention from matters which cried out for settlement in Ireland. They should concentrate on matters at home, and endeavour to reap benefits for Irish workers.

Mr. John Clarke (Belfast), seconded.

Mr. Campbell said he was not being sent to Stockholm as a Northern delegate. He was being sent by the Executive of the Irish Labour Party to represent the country as a whole. In regard to the qualification of his representative capacity at the Congress, he had some regard for the opinion of the Societies of the North represented at the Conference. It was not his concern to take into consideration the opinion of the Societies that were not represented. When the Executive selected two representatives, the Stockholm Conference was to have been held within a few weeks, and it was necessary, when making application for attendance at the Conference, and for passports, to send forward two names. The Conference had been adjourned two or three times, and it was now open to the delegates at the Congress to elect two persons to represent them at Stockholm.

Mr. Mitchell, moved as an amendment to Mr. Whitley's resolution, "That Congress approves of the action of the National Executive in selecting Messrs. O'Brien and Campbell to represent this Congress at Stockholm," and Mr. E. M'Cafferty seconded the amendment, which was carried by 63 to 26 votes.

Mr. Bennett—Are the delegates to get a mandate, or are they going on their own?

Mr. T. Lawlor, P.L.G.—They have first to see Captain Tupper.

The President pointed out that the Congress had approved the action of the Executive.

Mr. Bennett—The thing is:—What are they to do when they get there?

Mandate to the Delegates.

A heated discussion took place on Wednesday, on a resolution of instruction to the Congress delegates appointed to attend the
Stockholm Conference. The resolution, which was proposed by Mr. Johnson, seconded by Mr. Duffy, was as follows:

"That it be an instruction to the delegates appointed to attend the Stockholm Conference—

"(1) To seek to establish the Irish Labour party as a distinct unit in the International Labour Movement.

"(2) That we cordially approve of the declaration of the delegates of the Russian Conference of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates 'that the delegation cherish the firm hope that the idea of a real democratic peace without annexations and indemnities on the basis of the right of the people to dispose of their own destinies, an idea in the name of which every national conference has been convoked, will meet with the warm sympathy of the working classes, and that they, supported by their powerful organisation will give the most energetic support to the fight for the realisation and carrying into effect of this idea in life without faltering before any obstacle, which undoubtedly will be placed in their way by people in Imperialistic circles,' and we hereby instruct our delegates to co-operate with the delegates of the workers of other nations in promoting these objects."

Mr. Johnson said this resolution will limit our delegates to acting in accordance with the spirit of our Conference this year and previous years. Knowing that this is the mandate that they are possessed of, they will know exactly our views upon their duties when they meet their fellow-workers of other countries. The idea is to promote a working-class agreement, and to oppose the continuance of the war so long as the workers of the various countries could see a way to agreement.

Mr. Frank Hall (Belfast) said he would oppose the resolution until he got a definition of what was meant by indemnities. Was Belgium not to be indemnified? Was Russia not to be indemnified, and were those in the United Kingdom who had given their blood and treasure and lost property not to be indemnified?

Mr. J. H. Bennett (Sailors' and Firemen's Union, Dublin) said they wanted peace, but there could be no peace without indemnities. Except there was restitution there would be a betrayal of those who had given their lives, and of those who were daily facing the dangers of the conflict by land and sea. They should also think of the relatives of those who had fallen in the fight. The Congress should throw the resolution out. If not the Congress should be thrown out.

Mr. Hynds (Belfast) said Belgium should be indemnified; but the indemnities should be paid by all the Powers that had conspired to make her the cockpit of Europe.

Mr. T. Moore (Belfast) said he was ashamed of the resolution. To avert war in the future the German military machine should be smashed.
Mr. Lathan (Railway Clerks) said the Pacifist interpretation of no indemnities and no annexation did not accurately represent the British Labour view. The root trouble of the war lay with Germany. Until they had a clear idea as to where the German people stood Congress should not commit itself to the resolution.

Mr. W. J. Short (Belfast) said when Germany was winning German Socialists forgot all about their Socialism and trade unionism, but now when the Germans were on the run they were anxious for peace (applause).

Mr. Thomas Foran (Dublin) said it was the capitalists who would benefit by indemnities. German Socialists, like British Socialists, were in the minority as regards the war. Mention had been made of the destruction of the German war machine. Were they going to destroy the German war machine and keep the British one intact? Were the working-classes of this country afraid to meet the workers of the world? Had they so little confidence in the ability of the workers of the world to evolve machinery for the creation of peace for the world?

Councillor Logue said he did not believe that any delegate at the Conference would defend the system of government in Germany.

Chairman—Does any delegate defend the capitalistic Government?

Mr. T. Lawlor, P.L.G. (Dublin) referred to the sufferings endured by the working-class. Was anyone at the Congress so foolish as to believe that the war was the outcome of a moment’s consideration? Did they not know that it was the outcome of capitalistic activity and secret diplomacy years before the first shot was fired? (Hear, hear). He had no hesitation in stating that if a plebiscite were taken of the working classes of Britain and Germany, Austria and France, they would agree to a conference such as the Stockholm Conference was hoped to be. He hoped the Stockholm Conference would be the forerunner of many such conferences that would win for the workers the right, to which they were entitled, of saying whether there should or should not be war. The Socialist and Labour position in England was just as bad as it was in Germany. He hoped that the result of the Stockholm Conference would be that the proletariat of Europe would have a bigger say in future in preventing such a colossal catastrophe from ever overcoming the world again.

Mr. T. Cassidy (Derry)—If an indemnity means that a nation which is on the down-grade is made to indemnify other nations, such as France was made in 1870, I would be against it because the working-class would suffer. Whilst I am against that, I am not against giving compensation to those who have suffered. The countries for which those men have suffered and died should be made to compensate them and their relatives.
Mr. Flanagan (Belfast)—While I have no love for the German war machine, I may have for the German people. There will have to be indemnities. Civilisation will have to be secured.

Mr. Williams (Railway Clerks)—We want to be perfectly certain that our delegates at Stockholm do not adopt a formula of words which will play directly into the hands of the junker class in Germany, who, in this, and in every other country, will be only too willing to use the working class for their own ends. I hope that as the result of this war, all military machines will be broken up, and that a new era will be started along the lines laid down by President Wilson.

Mr. Campbell (Treasurer)—Militarism developed in Germany, but there are others who wished to emulate it. It was prophesied in the early stages of the war that whereas the diplomats settled previous wars, the nations will settle this one. The International Socialist Conference at Stockholm is an attempt to see that those who are bearing the burden of the war should have the settling of it. Reparation and compensation for loss of life should be saddled on a man's own country. (Cries of “No” and “Yes,”) and compensation and reparation should first be saddled on a man’s own employer. The State, which is the soldier’s employer, should be responsible for the welfare of his dependants (cheers). Indemnities in the past had been used as a penalty, as a fine for transgression. As the militarist machine gave birth to the war, all nations who had control of militarist machines, or who put it into operation, should be culpable for reparation. All who have contributed to the carrying on of the war, either in the supposed role of defenders, or as the aggressors, should hear their share in building up the smaller countries that have been devastated and that have been made the cockpit for the fighting out of international quarrels. This is an attempt not to settle with the junker classes in Germany or in Great Britain, but to get at the minds and at the hearts of all people in all belligerent and neutral countries (hear, hear).

Mr. Davin said the Executive Committee had shirked their duty in not bringing forward concrete proposals on this question. Branches as a consequence had not an opportunity of instructing their delegates.

Mr. Duffy said the country that received indemnities usually turned out the poorer.

Mr. Moore (Railway Clerks’ Association) said that among the members of his Association there would be considerable support of Mr. Johnson’s motion. Was the prospect of getting indemnities worth holding out and spilling more blood? (Cries of “No.”) Was human life of so little value that peace should be delayed for the sake of indemnities?

Mr. Hall (Belfast) asked if the delegates had received a mandate from their society for voting on this important question.
President M'Partlin, chairman of the Congress, said the delegates were sent there by their societies, and they must accept responsibility.

Mr. Campbell—Didn't Mr. Hall get a mandate to vote against it?

Mr. Hall—I have, but others have not, and I will take a note of all belonging to Belfast who vote in favour of the motion.

Mr. Johnson, replying to the opposition after a vigorous exchange of views from all parts of the house, said they should endeavour to convert the German delegates to the view that our views were the correct ones. He objected to have their friends the Russians penalised by paying an indemnity because they had won for Labour one of the greatest victories in the world's history. The workers required to come together—all the workers of Europe—and settle some scheme whereby they could overthrow the capitalist authorities and bring in a peace that they could proclaim for ever.

The motion was passed by 68 votes to 24.

The announcement of the passing of the resolution was received with loud and prolonged applause, the demonstration being the most enthusiastic that was witnessed during the Congress.

Mr. Bennett—I am glad there are 24 Britishers in the room anyway.

Mr. T. Lawlor—And some are of military age too.

Mr. Hall—I hope they will refuse to take those delegates in the boats and also refuse them passports.

Mr. O'Brien—I hope they will refuse to take "scabs" also.

Petrol Restrictions.

In connection with the action taken by the Executive Committee in bringing under the attention of the authorities the hardship imposed by the Petrol Restrictions, Mr. Traynor said he hoped the Parliamentary Committee would continue to keep this question before them.

Work of Organisation.

Referring to the plans for the organising of the Irish Labour Movement—Mr. Johnson said the delegates should be asked to take a personal interest in the organising scheme. The societies throughout the country had been made aware of the proposals of the Executive in reference to this method of more intensive organisation and raising of funds. A considerable number of men and women were actively in sympathy with this movement, and, to ensure that active sympathy, the Committee asked them to pay their contributions regularly (hear, hear). This scheme could
not be a success unless the individual delegates and secretaries of branches throughout the country took up the matter personally and with more enthusiasm, to impel the various members of their societies, who hitherto had been mere passive supporters, into becoming active adherents of the Irish labour movement.

Unemployment Benefits.

In reference to the complaints received by the Executive Committee in connection with the Labour Exchanges and unemployment benefits, and to the findings received through the Rt. Hon. John Hodge, M.P., Mr. W. J. Murphy gave details of the benefits of which the workmen were deprived. This matter, he asserted, required careful looking after by the Parliamentary Committee.

Imprisonment of Patrick Higgins.

Mr. William O’Brien dealt with the imprisonment of Patrick Higgins, whose case was mentioned in the Executive Committee’s report. The Congress, he said, might throw its weight behind the Executive and the Secretary to make a further attempt to secure the release of Patrick Higgins. At the time of the outbreak of the European War there were in prison a number of persons who were sentenced for offences arising out of the great lock-out in Dublin in 1913 and 1914, in addition to many who were imprisoned for political offences. All these people were amnestied as the result of the declaration of war. Patrick Higgins, who was wanted for an assault on a policeman, was not amnestied at the time. Not having been arrested at that time, he was not included in the general amnesty. Later on he was arrested, and was sentenced to 10 years’ penal servitude. This man had suffered in the labour cause and was a martyr of the labour movement.

On the motion of Mr. O’Brien, seconded by Alderman O’Toole, it was decided that a further attempt should be made to secure the release of Patrick Higgins.

Partition Proposals.

Mr. Wm. O’Brien (Dublin), moved the following resolution:—

“That this Congress, representing the workers of Ireland, declares that any attempt to divide the workers of this country by introducing Partition in any form, temporary or permanent, will be resisted by organised labour as being destructive of the Unity and Solidarity of the Irish Labour Movement.”

It might be held, Mr. O’Brien said, that this resolution was unnecessary, as partition was a dead horse in Ireland, but at the same time the workers should reiterate the former decisions of that Congress and declare in no uncertain manner that, irres-
pective of what divergent opinions they might hold on the question of the government of Ireland, they were united in their determination that the workers of Ireland should not be divided. Mr. O'Brien recalled the fact that at the Dublin Congress three years ago, when this question was discussed, there were two speeches made, which, above all others, were outstanding as representing two distinct and divergent points of view. He referred to the speeches made by Mr. Whitley, of Belfast, and the late James Connolly. These two men, who represented, what was looked upon as very different ideas in the Labour Movement, were united as one man, and Congress was wholly with them in declaring that Irish trades unionists would not have Partition. Since then the country had declared its views upon this question, and the opinion then voiced by organised labour had grown stronger, and it was inconceivable that under any circumstances would the workers of Ireland or the people generally have anything to do with Partition in any shape or form, temporary or permanent.

Mr. J. Lawlor seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Replying to a delegate, Mr. P. T. Daly said the names of all the members of the Parliamentary Committee who signed the manifesto were to be found in the printed copy.

Mr. Williams said he would like to know why one member's name was absent.

Mr. Rimmer stated that he was the absentee. He could not attend the meeting of the Executive Committee at which this matter was discussed.

**Representation of the People Bill.**

In reference to a paragraph in the Executive Committee's report, dealing with the Representation of the People Bill, Mr. O'Brien said that strenuous attempts had been made by the old Party in power to prevent the democratic franchise from being extended to Ireland. It was their duty to protest against any such attempt and to state on behalf of the democracy of this country that this measure in its entirety must be extended to Ireland.

Mr. Davin said it was very proper that the Congress should support the Executive Committee in what had been done and will be done by them to see that the Franchise Bill was made applicable to Ireland.

Mr. M. Egan, J.P., stated that the Congress should repudiate the action of the nine men of the General Council of Irish County Councils who claimed to speak for the County Councils of Ireland.

On the motion of Mr. Bermingham, seconded by Mr. Brennan, Congress passed a resolution protesting against the action of the General Council of Irish County Councils in asking that the Franchise Bill should not be extended to Ireland.
Obituary.

Referring to the death of the late Councillor Partridge, Mr. William O’Brien, Dublin, said Mr. Partridge was a delegate to Congress, and while some delegates no doubt held different views as to the cause with which he was associated in his last great adventure, no one, especially those who had come into contact with the man, would deny his earnestness and his honesty in serving the Labour Movement and his willingness to make every sacrifice for the opinions he held (hear, hear). His passing away was a great sorrow to all of them, especially to those who were intimately associated with him. After he was released, “labelled for the scrap-heap,” as he himself said, it was astounding to realise the vitality of the man. His thoughts were for the movement. He died a martyr to the principles he held and believed in just as assuredly as those who died with their backs to the wall. He asked the delegates to join in this expression of sympathy and sorrow at the passing away of a good man, who had left the world so much the poorer for his loss.

Mr. Houston seconded the resolution, which was passed in silence, all the members standing.

On the motion of Mr. P. T. Daly, a similar resolution was passed with the relatives of the late Mr. John Barry, the secretary of the Dublin Bakers.

Labour Manifesto.

Mr. D. R. Campbell called attention to the following Manifesto, which was circulated broadcast throughout the country last November. This Manifesto, he said, practically contained the basis of the Labour Programme for the next few years. It was decided to incorporate the Manifesto in the Executive Committee’s report. The Manifesto was as follows:

IRISH TRADE UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY.

TO THE WORKINGMEN AND WOMEN OF IRELAND.

At this critical hour in the history of our country when “politics” are in the melting pot and “parties” are in process of dissolution; when the confident hopes for the establishment of a Parliament for Ireland seem for the moment doomed to dissipation; when the struggle for bread, consequent upon the ever increasing prices, is becoming more severe as week succeeds week; when we are threatened with the infliction upon Ireland of the curse of Conscription—it is our duty to make known to you the policy of the organised Labour Party in Ireland.

At the Annual Congress of the representatives of the Labour Movement of all Ireland held in Dublin before the outbreak of the war in Europe, a scheme was adopted for the formation of an Irish Labour Party—distinct from, and independent of, all other political parties—to be the fighting weapon of the working class in the political field, as the Trade Union is in the Industrial field; the new party to be “part and parcel” of the Trade Union Movement, financed by, and directly responsible to, the organised workers of Ireland.
As the elected spokesmen of that party we say to the thousands of artisans and labourers in our towns and cities, to the agricultural labourer, the shopworker, clerk and teacher, the woman worker in mill or factory, that there is no hope of permanent improvement in the conditions of life of the workers in general unless you take into your own hands the work of industrial and political organisation. We call upon you to join with your fellow-workers in the Trade Union of your calling, and, as a member of your Trade Union, become also a member of the political party of your class—the Irish Labour Party. Too often in the past have you been used to do the fighting when others were to gain the reward; too long have you been made mere stepping-stones for self-seeking politicians to attain pelf and power. The day has arrived in Ireland—as in all countries—when the working class must take upon itself the duty of doing its own work in its own way.

What are the demands of the Irish working class? What is the practical programme of the Irish Labour Party? We will deal first with the negative side of our programme:

**Exclusion of Ulster**—From the first day the proposal to dismember Ireland was made public—at the beginning of the year 1914—the Labour Party has resolutely opposed any attempt to sever Ulster, or any part of Ulster, from the rest of Ireland. Such disruption would destroy all our hopes of achieving the unity of Ireland through the unity of the workers.

**Conscription**—We repeat our determined antagonism to Conscription, and solemnly affirm our intention, to quote the words of the Ulster Covenant, “Of using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy” to extend the Military Service Act to Ireland.

The Positive or Constructive Programme as demanded by our Annual Congress may be stated as follows:

**Industrial**—First, and as the basis of all other activities, we call for the organisation in Trade Unions of all men and women who work for wages. As the strength of a nation is found ultimately to lie in its agricultural and industrial activities, so the strength of the workers, by whom all the wealth of the nation is produced, lies in their power of combined action through organisation in the industrial field. Through Trade Union organisation you will be able to combat the evils of low wages, long hours of toil, and degrading servitude, and eventually to secure control of the conditions under which you work.

**Social and Political**—Immediate action to be taken to reduce the price of food and fuel, or failing this, to demand of the Government a “Free Bread Supply.”

The re-housing of the workers in all Irish towns and cities.

The promotion of schemes of national and municipal work of a productive character, such as re-afforestation, drainage of rivers and reclamation of areas liable to flooding, utilisation of the water-power of our rivers, etc. These and similar public works to be taken in hand immediately, with the double object of increasing the national resources, and relieving the labour market of an army of unemployed men after the declaration of peace.

The acquisition by the Government of agricultural land suitable for tillage, and the establishment of Co-operative Farm Colonies for labourers on the lines recommended (for Great Britain) by the Departmental Committee appointed by the English Board of Agriculture.

Compulsory tillage.

Nationalisation of Irish Railways, with a view to the encouragement of Irish industries, and the development of Ireland’s mineral resources.
A national minimum "living wage" to be established by law. Trade Union standard for all employees of local government authorities.

"Fair Wage Clause" in all public contracts.

More efficient administration of the Factory and Public Health Acts, and appointment of additional factory inspectors—men and women.

Re-organisation of the primary education system, providing for better school buildings, a higher standard of education for the children, medical inspection of school children, and the provision of school meals to ensure that no child's brain shall be taxed when its stomach is craving for food.

Improvement in the pay and status of primary school teachers, to encourage the most capable men and women to undertake the education of our children.

The granting of equal civic rights for all adults—men and women—and the deprivation of all civic privileges due to the accidents of birth or the possession of riches.

These are the demands of the Irish Labour Party. They constitute an ambitious programme of constructive reform, most of them touching the daily life of the people.

They are all urgent and practicable, and possible of attainment within a few years if the workers are united. To carry the programme to a successful issue will require enthusiastic, persistent effort. Many obstacles will be encountered, many who call themselves "friends of labour" will be found, when forced to subscribe to a definite Labour programme, to have other interests to serve. The propertied classes will resist every reform which restricts their privileges; employers of Labour will fight strenuously, bringing forth all the old and many new "bogies" to frighten the people away from the path which leads to industrial and social freedom; sectarian divisions will be fomented as hitherto to prevent unity. But despite all these attempts to defeat the Cause of the Irish Working Class—to whom the Freedom of Ireland means the Freedom of the people of Ireland from social, economic, and political subjection—by the wise use of our Trade Union organisation and our political power, the victory may be won.

Let every worker become a Trade Unionist, let every branch of a Trade Union become affiliated with the local Trades Council, and every Trades Council link up with their fellows through the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party. Thus may the workers of Ireland become powerful for the re-building of the Irish Nation.

**ORGANISATION!  EDUCATION!  EMANCIPATION!**

Issued by the National Executive of the Irish Trade Union Congress and Labour Party.

THOMAS MACPARTLIN, Chairman.
WILLIAM O'BRIEN, Vice-Chairman.
M. J. O'LEHANE, Dublin.
THOMAS FARREN.
NATHAN RIMMER.
THOMAS FORAN.
THOMAS JOHNSON, Belfast.
DAWSON GORDON.
M. J. EGAN, Cork.
THOMAS CASSIDY, Derry.
D. R. CAMPBELL, Acting Sec. and Treasurer.

TRADES HALL, CAPEL ST.,
DUBLIN, NOVEMBER, 1916.
Asiatic Labour.

Mr. Bennett (Dublin), asked if anything had been done with regard to the resolution passed in Sligo last year, protesting against the employment of cheap Asiatic labour on British Merchant ships?

Mr. D. R. Campbell said the resolution was forwarded to the proper quarter, but the Government, so far as he knew, did nothing and promised nothing.

Mr. Bennett asked to be told the date of the reply received to the resolution.

Chairman—Have you any doubt as to the resolution having been forwarded?

It was agreed that Mr. Bennett should get a copy of the reply.

Disabled Soldiers.

Mr. William Murphy—Did the Executive receive during the past twelve months, any intimation from the Ministry of Pensions in regard to the placing of disabled soldiers in skilled labour?

Chairman—The Executive Committee has had no communications on the subject so far as I know.

The report of the Executive was then carried unanimously.

Trade Union Recoupment.

Mr. L. J. Duffy (Cork) moved the following resolution:—

"That this Congress protests strongly against the attitude of the Government in refusing to recognise the large demands on Irish Trades Unions by the unemployment consequent on the Insurrection in Dublin at Easter, 1916, whilst giving unlimited compensation to Capitalists for losses arising out of the same crisis."

The resolution was seconded by Mr. W. J. Murphy, supported by Messrs. T. Farren, M. P. O'Flanagan, and W. Murphy, and declared carried.

Workmen's Compensation Acts.

Mr. M'Nulty (Derry), having obtained the sanction of the Standing Orders Committee, moved the following resolution, which stood in the name of Mr. Dawson Gordon, Belfast:—

"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 persons 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.

If a man got injured now, Mr. M'Nulty said, and if he earned 5/- a week he would only be entitled to 2/6 a week. That state of affairs must be remedied. Fifty per cent. of his former earnings was not sufficient under present conditions.

Mr. Alexander seconded the resolution.

Mr. Johnson said that the question of making phthisis a notifiable disease was important to the workers engaged in the linen industry in the North of Ireland. Mr. Johnson gave figures to show that the number of women and girls affected with tuberculosis was 1 in 84, whereas among those who were unfortunate enough to work in the linen trade the chances were 1 in 19.

Mr. Whitley, Mr. M'Gillen, and Mr. J. Flanagan spoke to the resolution, which was adopted.

**International Labour Day.**

Mr. Rimmer (Dublin), proposed the following resolution:

"That this Congress seeks to establish an International Labour Day."

This resolution, he said, would appeal to the Congress as a whole. He thought it was necessary that an International Labour Day should be established—call it flag-waving or whatever else they liked—so that the workers could proclaim to the world that this day was their holiday.

Mr. Walsh seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. Kenny and adopted.

**Irish Federation of Labour.**

Mr. William O'Brien (Dublin), proposed the following resolution:

"That, in the opinion of this Congress of Irish Trade Unionists, it is essential that an Irish Federation of Labour should be established, if the workers of Ireland are to be organised and disciplined to secure the full product of their toil. That the National Executive be charged with the duty of preparing a scheme to give effect to this proposal, and to take all necessary steps to bring such a Federation into being, after consulting the affiliated unions by circular, Special Congress, or at our next Annual Congress, as the National Executive may find expedient."
This question, Mr. O'Brien stated, had often been discussed at the meetings of Congress, being adopted sometimes, and at others being defeated. They had given their adhesion to the proposal which, however, broke down in having a scheme drafted. The resolution he proposed merely affirmed the adhesion of Congress to the principles of Federation, and carefully avoided going into details, placing the duty on the Executive, with a proviso that all affiliated Societies be consulted. From conversations he had with delegates to Congress and with Labour men generally, it seemed to him that there was a need of an organisation which can focus Labour opinion and give voice to it. There were two kinds of organisations in Ireland—those with headquarters in Ireland and those that were amalgamated with Unions across the water. Any scheme of Federation that might be adopted should not divide the two, but should bind them together. The door should be open to make it possible for both kinds of Unions to come in.

Mr. O'Sullivan seconded the resolution, which was supported by Mr. Boyle.

Mr. Rimmer said they wanted less trades unions and more trades unionists. He went on to point the dangers that would arise from the proposed Federation.

Mr. Duffy said the Federation would be a safeguard both to the men and to the community at large.

Mr. Brophy supported the resolution.

Mr. Lynch (Cork)—Will blacklegs be taken into it?

Chairman—The resolution only asks you to express an opinion on the matter.

Alderman M'Carron opposed the proposition which, he said, would mean the wiping out of amalgamated societies in this country. He wanted to know who would govern the Federation. There would be a conflict if the Federation declared a strike and if the Executive Council of an amalgamated society declared against it. They should remember that there was an international side to this whole question.

Mr. Foran said that before they could become good internationalists they must be good nationalists. Everyone realised that in a very short time the whole aspect of the political situation in Ireland would be very much changed. An Irish Federation of Labour would make itself felt in the Irish Parliament they hoped to see established in the very near future. What handicapped them in the past was lack of funds. Very few trades unions were in the position to supply the necessary money. He presumed that in any scheme of Federation provision for a Labour representation and for the upkeep of such a representation should be made.

Mr. Johnson said if it were intended to establish the Federation for political reasons it would wipe out the Irish Trades Congress.
and the Irish Labour Party. The tendency of amalgamated societies was to establish Irish Councils to deal with Irish affairs. This was purely for the purpose of getting the best machinery to carry on the industrial fight, and he was not yet convinced that a Federation was the best way to accomplish that object. He suggested that the resolution, having been discussed, should be withdrawn, and that something in the nature of a discussion, more or less informal, should take place between the various Executives of the Unions to find out the different views on the matter before the incoming Executive get instructions to formulate a scheme.

Mr. Houston said it was time that there was an Executive body in Ireland to look after the interests of Irish workers on the same lines as the Federation on the other side of the water. He went on to show how such a Federation would be most beneficial to the workers in the South of Ireland who, for the same class of work, were paid different rates of wages in various districts. A Federation would secure a flat rate of wages for all workers. If the local Unions could be brought together as a first instalment, it would be possible to get the others to come in later on.

Mr. Farrelly said an Irish Federation was practically useless to the workers while the industries of the country were not developed. At present the workers had to depend on the benefits conferred by amalgamation.

Mr. Whitley said he was convinced that the time was not opportune for the adoption of Mr. O'Brien's resolution. Their efforts this year should be devoted to securing that the societies outside their organisation should be affiliated next year. There was a feeling abroad that it was the intention later on to have resolutions passed to make it illegal for societies in Ireland to be affiliated with societies across the channel.

Mr. W. J. Murphy supported the resolution.

Mr. Williams said the experience on the other side of the water was that federation tended to overlapping and to producing friction. That Congress should be the predominant Labour Organisation in Ireland (hear, hear). An Irish Federation might result in the breaking away of the Irish membership of amalgamated societies. The Irish Members of the Railway Clerks' Association would be very sorry if anything compelled them to break away from their colleagues and co-workers across the channel. While the National idea should be fostered, there was a greater idea that should be borne in mind, and that was, the National solidarity of Labour. It would be a mistake to have any differentiation or separation of the workers in any part of the United Kingdom.

Mr. M'Partlin (Chairman), took the view that instead of weakening, Federation would possibly strengthen the position of
amalgamated Unions in Ireland. There was no intention in the mind of the mover of the resolution to put forward anything that would in any way interfere with the international solidarity of the workers (hear, hear). Amalgamated societies would be expected to participate in the Federation. He did not understand that the resolution had anything to do with looking after public questions and with the returning of labour representatives to public positions. The Trades Congress was the body that would look after these questions. The Federation would have control in industrial disputes and would find the money to support smaller Unions in their work. There was another aspect of the Federation question which even the amalgamated Unions should carefully consider. It often happened that in England and in Ireland small Unions without proper guides involved large Unions in grave difficulties. An Irish Federation could find out how far the Unions as a whole were prepared to find the sinews of war for Unions that had disputes. There was no reason why local industrial questions should not be submitted to the consideration of representatives of Unions in Ireland before the finances of those Unions were involved in other Unions' difficulties. He was all his working lifetime a member of an amalgamated Union, and he was thoroughly convinced of the necessity of a Federation of this type.

Mr. Gregg and Mr. M'Callion having spoken,

Mr. Hynds moved, and Mr. Moore seconded, that the resolution of the Dublin Trades Council be referred to the Executive Committee for a report.

Mr. O’Brien and Mr. O’Sullivan agreed to accept the amendment, which was declared carried. Mr. Rimmer dissenting.

Examination of Enginemen.

Mr. Walsh moved, and Mr. Kennedy seconded the following resolution:—

“That it be an instruction from this Congress to the National Executive Committee of the Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party to take the necessary steps in having the present system of eyesight testing abolished, as affecting all grades of Railwaymen and Enginemen in particular; that a practical test of Signals be substituted; and that where a man fails to pass the eyesight test he should be compensated under the Employers’ Liability and Workmen’s Compensation Acts in like manner as in other Trades, as we believe such defects are brought about as a direct result of the nature of such occupation.”

The resolution was carried unanimously.
Compulsory Certificate of Competency for Engine-Drivers.

Mr. Morgan moved, and Mr. Farrelly seconded the following resolution:

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

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

"That copies of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister, President of the Board of Trade, leaders of the various parties in the House of Commons, and the principal Boiler and Engine Insurance Companies of Great Britain and Ireland."

Mr. Rimmer opposed the resolution because it was, he said, an attempt to introduce special legislation for a special section of workers.

Mr. Collins, Mr. Kenny, Mr. Brennan, and Mr. Johnson having expressed their opinion, the resolution was carried by 68 votes to 15 votes.

Fair Wages in Public Contracts.

Mr. T. Cassidy (Derry) moved, and Mr. Hall (Belfast) seconded the following resolution:

"That this Congress, representative of the organised workers of Ireland, again demands that all public bodies, in all contracts to be paid for out of public funds, should make provision against the dangers of sweating by inserting such conditions as may prevent the abuse arising from sub-letting, and that every effort should be made by them to secure the payment of such wages and conditions of employment as are generally recognised by the trades unions in each trade for competent workmen; that public advertisements be given only to those newspapers paying their workers recognised wages and conforming to recognised conditions of the trade; that the delegates to Congress pledge themselves collectively and individually to make this a primal and test question for all candidates at the forthcoming elections for Borough, District, and County Councils, and Poor Law Guardians; that the National Executive are hereby instructed to take all necessary steps to
have the foregoing resolutions carried into effect, and that for this purpose a special appeal for financial assistance be made to the societies affiliated to Congress."

Replying to Mr. Clarke, Mr. P. T. Daly said the Committee appointed three years ago to deal with this question would continue its work.

The resolution was adopted.

**Munster Warehouse, Tralee, Dispute.**

Mr. Duffy moved the following resolution:—

"That this Congress places on record its appreciation of the heroic fight made for the principles of Trades Unionism by the Assistants of the Munster Warehouse Co., Tralee, who have, for two and a half years, persisted in their efforts despite all the agencies of Capitalism."

The mover acknowledged the support received from the Transport Workers' Union during the dispute.

Mr. M. J. O'Connor seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

**State Purchase of Liquor Trade.**

Mr. Hynds (Belfast), moved the following resolution:—

"That no arrangements for State Purchase of the Liquor Trade can be satisfactory which does not provide for the representation of the organised workers on the management, and, for the adequate control of the conditions of labour by the workers; and further, that provision must be made for the compensation and maintenance of any who may become unemployed as a result of State Purchase, until suitable and equally remunerative employment be provided for them."

Mr. Peter O'Hara seconded the resolution.

Mr. Longmore opposed the resolution, which was declared carried with one dissentient.

**Government Contracts for Ireland.**

Mr. Boyle (Dublin) moved the following resolution:—

"That this Congress deplores the continued importation of sheet metal, harness, and vehicles, and demands that all Government contracts for Ireland shall be executed in Ireland under fair conditions of labour. Copies of this resolution to be forwarded to the Ministry of Munitions, Chief Secretary, and the Public Boards."
Mr. Delaney, who seconded the resolution, gave instances of work being sent out of Dublin that could very well be carried out by the workers of the city. He mentioned that all the beautiful joinery work in the Derry Guildhall was carried out by an Irish builder. What was required was the establishment by architects and builders of a designing department. He suggested that the National Executive should circularise the property owners and architects of Dublin.

Mr. Williams opposed the resolution. England, he said, imported a large amount of dairy produce from Ireland, and he hoped the British Trades Congress would never have a resolution that the people on the other side of the water should eat only English, Scotch, or Welsh eggs and butter. The more trade that could be developed between both countries the better it would be for both.

Mr. O'Flanagan supported the resolution.

Mr. W. J. Murphy said their idea was to find employment for Irishmen in Ireland.

Alderman M'Carron opposed the resolution.

Mr. Farrelly referred to the gross injustice done to Irish workers during the last few years, when they were deprived of their just share of the expenditure on munitions. When there was a chance of having a great industry established in Cork, they found English companies clamouring to have this industry killed in its infancy.

Mr. Moore said no doubt they had their grievances against the British Government, but that should not be allowed to stand in the way of their doing their duty as trade unionists.

Mr. Kennedy having spoken in favour of the resolution, it was put to the meeting and declared carried.

Saturday Half-Holiday.

Mr. Francis Young (Dublin), moved the following resolution:—

"That all work in factories, foundries, workshops, etc., should cease at 12 noon on Saturdays; we also request all architects and public boards to give preference to Irish manufacture in all kinds of brass and other work."

Mr. Young said he was confident that Congress would press forward an urgent demand for what all must agree was a very necessary reform, which should meet with less opposition from the employers than other changes, whose advantages were not always so self-evident.

Mr. W. J. Murphy seconded the resolution, which was adopted.
Labour Solidarity.

Mr. T. Foran (Dublin), moved the following resolution:—

"That this Congress hails with extreme satisfaction, the announcement that a Triple Alliance has been effected in the British Labour Movement; and, believing, as we do, that this Alliance is bound to improve the British Workers' position, we hereby pledge our support to any endeavour which may be hereafter initiated and we hereby instruct the National Executive to initiate a like movement in Ireland."

He said that labour must organise in large bodies to counteract the encroachments of capital upon labour.

Mr. Metcalfe (Dublin), seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

Housing of the Workers.

Mr. J. Lawlor (Dublin), proposed the following resolutions:—

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the re-housing of Urban workers is an urgent, pressing reform, demanding immediate attention; and we call for a liberal state grant to enable local authorities to wipe out the slums in Irish Towns and Cities, which are admittedly the primary cause of the high death rate, and the lowered vitality of the people.

"That this Congress of Irish Labour is of the opinion that the Government should provide monies, free of interest, to build houses for the working classes; we are further of the opinion, that the National Executive should evolve a scheme whereby the workers will own their own houses.

"That this Congress instructs the National Executive to urge upon the Government the amendment of the Small Dwellings Acquisition Act so as to make the title deeds of holdings sufficient security for repayment of money advanced for purchase of same."

The proposer said it was nothing short of a public scandal the way that the working people were compelled to rear their families. Appeals had been made to the Government from time to time to advance money for the building of houses for working people, but the Government never wanted to advance money for any such purpose. This had been a very burning question during the last ten or twelve years in Dublin. The workers of Dublin had very disagreeable problems to face from time to time, but they never shirked the issue (hear, hear). If it was necessary they would take drastic steps towards having the houses built.

Mr. William O'Brien (Dublin), seconded the resolution.

Mr. Johnson (Belfast), dissented from the paragraph in the second resolution with regard to the ownership by the workers of their own houses. He believed this was introducing a policy that
was harmful to the best interests of the workers of this country. It had the effect of tying a man to a particular house and to allow that house to become a slum because he had not accumulated the money needed to keep it in repair.

Mr. P. T. Daly (Secretary) said that, in connection with a recent housing scheme in Dublin, which was to cost £39,000, the sum of £76,000 had to be paid back when interest was calculated for the period over which the loan was spread. Although it would be a great handicap to him he would sooner own his own house than to pay rent to a landlord. This question was debated at the Scotch Trades Congress recently, and the men in Scotland, who had taken a great interest in this question, considered it was a very wise thing.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Treasurer), agreed with Mr. Johnson. When the Government, in connection with their borrowings for housing, were content with a process of redemption extending from 60 to 80 years, why should the individual worker be asked to redeem their houses in 18 to 20 years? It was a retrogressive step to ask a man to own a house unless he could get a guarantee that he could live in it always, and that he could always get work in the neighbourhood. He would rather see the houses purchased and owned co-operatively through a trade union, co-operative society, or some commune rather than that the individual should have the economic burden of redeeming a house in 10, 15, or 20 years.

The resolutions were put and declared carried.

**Juvenile Offenders.**

Miss Molony (Dublin), moved the following resolution:—

"That this Congress demands that no person under twenty-one years of age shall be sentenced to a greater sentence than five years detention in a Borstal Institution for any offence whatsoever, and recommends that all such persons should be tried by special courts before juries of men and women selected for that purpose by Trades Unions and other bodies interested in juvenile welfare."

Miss Molony said it was practically manufacturing criminals to condemn young people who were little more than children to spend longer or shorter periods with hardened criminals. When sentenced to an ordinary prison these young people were given a downward twist.

Miss Cross (Dublin) seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

**After-War Problems.**

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Treasurer), moved:—

(a) "That this Congress again calls upon the Government to take possession of agricultural land in Ireland for the establishment
of farm colonies on co-operative lines, to be occupied by Irish soldiers on demobilisation and other workers; that expert teachers be appointed to instruct those who may desire to settle on the land at home, in preference to being sent abroad.

(6) That we note with regret, that such a small sum of £6,000,000 is deemed sufficient in order to start schemes of re-afforestation, etc. (less than one day’s cost of the war), and trust that this may be reckoned merely as an instalment and that a committee be immediately set up so that work in Ireland can be commenced immediately.”

Last year, Mr. Campbell said, very comprehensive resolutions were passed at the request of the Belfast Trades Council in connection with the establishment of farm colonies and concomitant work for Irish soldiers. Demobilisation had had quite a lot of talk devoted to it during the past two years, but the amount of action had not been commensurate with the amount of talk. The resolution called on the Government to acquire 2,000 acres of land in Ireland, in addition to the land acquired in England and Scotland, for the establishment of farm colonies. The Government consented to do that, but up to the time he came to the Congress he could not learn where the 2,000 acres had been taken. If the Government could not arrange a deal with the landholders they should go into forcible possession. Rider Haggard was acclaimed for getting 3,000 acres in Australia, but Irishmen who had spent a few years on the continent wanted no more travelling. He wanted to do any little bit of farming that could be done on the plains of Ireland. There could be hundreds of farm colonies established in Ireland. Small holdings should be parcelled out to the men, who should be given expert guidance, and who should have all the amenities of social life to prevent them from drifting back to the towns to pull down the earnings of town workers. He could not see why the central plain of Ireland should not house all the returned Irish soldiers and all the returned munition workers. With regard to the second portion of his resolution, Mr. Campbell said that £6,000,000 was now less than three-fourths of a day’s cost of the war, and was a small sum to devote to demobilisation and rehabilitation schemes. They should ask for six millions a week for many weeks.

Mr. T. Johnson (Belfast), seconded the resolution. Although, he said, the Scotch and Welsh members of Parliament persuaded the Government to adopt schemes suitable for their particular countries, none of the Irish members of Parliament had any interest in this matter in so far as Ireland was concerned. This was due, he believed, to the fact that the Irish M.P.'s did not want to introduce a co-operative farming community in Ireland. He believed the establishment of these farm colonies would have a great value as an object lesson on what could be done in the congested districts all over the seaboard of this country.

The resolution was adopted.
Minimum Wage.

Mr. D. M'Gee (Dublin) moved:—

"That this Congress reiterates its former demand for the establishment of a minimum wage of 30/- per 48 hour week for all employees of Public Boards in Ireland, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Borough Councils of Ireland and to the General Council of Irish County Councils."

Mr. C. Doherty seconded the resolution.

Mr. Flanagan (Belfast), contended that 30/- was insufficient, and said that the minimum should be at least 40/-. Mr. Logue, T.C. (Derry), referred to the action of Sir Thomas Russell in connection with the agricultural labourers. Sir Thomas, he said, had for some time been utilising his public office to regulate the wages of the agricultural workers of Ireland so as to have a lower rate than the trade union standard. He had utilised his Department to get a minimum of 25/- a week without privileges and 12/6 a week with privileges. If they allowed a Government official to interfere in this matter it was tantamount to saying that it was not necessary to have trade unions, and it was a menace to trade unions in having a minimum established.

Mr. W. Murphy and Mr. Bennett having spoken, Congress allowed Mr. M'Gee to withdraw his resolution and to substitute the following, which was adopted:—

"Seeing that the Government have largely fixed the price of the Foodstuffs of the country, we hereby demand of the Government to establish a Minimum Wage commensurate with the high cost of living, so as to put the workers in a position to secure the necessaries of life."

Receiving Depots for Ireland.

Mr. W. Murphy (Brushmakers) moved:—

"That this Congress desires to draw the attention of the Governmental authorities to the urgent necessity there is for a Receiving Depot for Ireland in order to enable Irish manufacturers to compete with any degree of success against Foreign Manufacturers.

"That we desire to call the attention of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the Secretary of State for War, to the promise given to the Irish Trades Union Congress in 1909 and repeated to the Irish Industrial Development Association in 1916, viz., that a Receiving Depot would be opened immediately, and further, to the fact that another twelve months has passed away and that there is no indication of such Receiving Depot being started; and that we hereby request the Chief Secretary, and the Secretary of State for War, and the other Governmental
authorities in Ireland to make good their promises in this particular."

Mr. Murphy asked the Executive to do all in its power to have the Receiving Depot established in Dublin.

In seconding the resolution, Mr. J. Farren detailed the steps that had been taken to bring this matter under the notice of Mr. Lloyd George, who promised to send an official to Ireland to make an inspection and to furnish a report. He had reason to believe that that report was favourable, but so far they were not allowed to see that report. The Executive should be asked to get a copy of that report. With a Receiving Depot in Ireland, Irish employers would be able to compete on equal terms with English employers.

The resolution was adopted.

**Educational Reforms.**

Mr. Stewart (Railway Clerks' Association) moved the following resolution:

"This Conference declares that a free educational highway from the primary school to the university is the only educational system which can satisfy the needs of a democratic community. As an immediate step towards this end this Congress urges that the next Education Act shall provide for—"

"(1) The establishment of nursery schools for infants.

"(2) The abolition of all exemptions from school attendance other than sickness between the ages of 6 to 16.

"(3) Secondary education to be made free, and that when necessary maintenance grants be allowed for boys and girls between 14 and 18.

"(4) Free university education for all who reach an approved educational standard with maintenance grants where necessary.

"Compulsory education should aim at giving each child and adolescent a sound general education. Towards this end it is necessary—"

"(a) That undue specialisation should not be permitted before the age of 16.

"(b) That no class should contain more than 20 pupils.

"(c) That the corporate life of each school should be stimulated.

"(d) That a thorough system of medical and dental examination and treatment be established for all schools; and

"(e) That an hour in the middle of the day be set apart for dinner, and that free dinners be provided where circumstances make this necessary."
"Further—This Conference recognises that in order to carry out these recommendations it is necessary—

"(A) That the supply of thoroughly qualified teachers be increased.

"(B) That the remuneration paid be such as is calculated to attract the best talent available into the teaching profession and shall ensure equal pay for men and women doing equal work."

Mr. Stewart said—In the matter of education this country is at the present moment in anything but an enviable position. Drastic reform in this—so vital to the life of any nation—is long overdue, and it is most imperative that the voice of the workers should be heard and their particular requirements made known to the proper authorities. There never was a time in the world's history when the duty of training the young mind was more deserving of our earnest consideration than now. As Dr. Sadler puts it—"Education will enable us to retrieve the treasure wasted in the war. At this moment it is more necessary than ever to maintain and increase its thoroughness and many-sided efficiency."

In England great minds are already engaged in trying to solve the problem as to the nation's needs in this connection on the cessation of hostilities, and it will be largely the fault of the democracy of this country if Ireland is forgotten. Quite recently of the pupils on the rolls of the national schools in the city of Dublin 1,747 boys were enrolled in the third standard, 1,270 in the fourth, 849 in the fifth, and 448 in the sixth. Thus it would appear that 477 boys leave school each year without reaching the fourth standard and 898 without reaching the fifth. It seems almost incredible that the barriers which beset the working-man's son in the direction of secondary and university education should not long ago have been shattered. The main idea underlying the National system of education in this country seems to be that the son of the joiner must have no higher ambition than to follow exactly in the footsteps of his father. Let us see to it that the views recently expressed by Mr. Fisher in regard to this phase of education are turned to practical account. Mr. Fisher demands "social fusion." "After all," he says, "it is important that in our secondary schools the son of the manufacturer, the son of the foreman, and the son of the workman should be educated side by side." "The best way to effect this desirable end is," he continues, "to provide a system under which the well-to-do parents contribute their fees, while the children of poorer parents are liberally assisted by free places and maintenance allowances." Lord Haldane, the great exponent of the revival of education, sums up the position thus. He believed that with the acceptance of the gospel of education was bound up the question of the future of the nation. Technical colleges should be raised to the level of the University, and they could not have too many of such institutions, provided they were kept up to the standard that would
be maintained by the rivalry which would result. A great number
of well-paid teachers should be raised, and he believed that in a
real national system of National education might be found the
solution of many problems between capital and labour. Education
would unfold the real spirit of knowledge, which was a deliverer
from conditions of squalor and misery which would no longer be
tolerated. The continuation school system ought to be developed
and we should see that we secure a trained future generation.
Secondary schools must be made better with the way open to the
Universities. The most important problem before us was the
improvement of the position of our teachers. We had done much
for our soldiers and sailors, but he was not sure that our corps
of teachers was not after all going to be the most important of all.
Corps of teachers embracing everything from the elementary
schools to the University should be recognised as one profession,
and should be well paid.

Mr. Johnson (Belfast) seconded the resolution.

Mr. Flanagan (Belfast) wanted to know how it was proposed
to deal with the half-timer problem.

Miss Molony (Dublin) said we should be ashamed to have
half-timers in our social system. The resolution provided for
maintenance allowances being granted.

Mr. Duffy (Cork) said that education would abolish the half-
time system.

The resolution was declared carried.

Technical Instruction.

Mr. Lynch (Cork) moved the following resolution:

"That in the opinion of this Congress and in order to fit Ireland
to take her place industrially amongst the nations,- Technical
Instruction for apprentices to the various skilled trades should
be made compulsory; that the classes should be held in the day
time, wherever practicable, and wherever this is not practicable
the students should be allowed time off in lieu of the time spent
in the classes."

Mr. Farrelly (Dublin), seconded the resolution, which was
adopted.

Franchise Reform.

Mr. William O'Brien (Dublin) moved the following
resolutions:

"That this Congress of Irish workers, while recognising with
satisfaction, that the Representation of the People Bill will enact
many reforms long demanded by the workers of this country,
expresses its disappointment that it is not proposed to establish
adult suffrage, full proportional representation, and redistribution in Ireland (without reducing the total number of Irish Members).

"That this Congress cannot be satisfied with any measure of Franchise Reform short of complete Adult Suffrage, and further desires to see women admitted to the administration of justice on equal terms with men."

Mr. Duffy (Cork) seconded, and the resolutions were declared carried.

**Irish Port Boards.**

Mr. J. P. Delaney (Dublin) moved the following resolution:

"That this Congress demands the Government to immediately introduce a Bill into Parliament, extending the franchise for the election of Members to Irish Port and Docks Boards on the basis of the present Parliamentary, Municipal, and Poor-Law popular basis, as the present method of electing this board is antiquated and out of date."

"Copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Parliamentary Party, Sir E. Carson, the Chairman of the English Labour Party, and the Government."

After having referred to the present method of electing members to the Dublin Port Board, Mr. Delaney said the importance of the Port Board to Dublin City and the adjoining counties could not be over-estimated. The efficient work of a port meant increased trade for the whole of the district served by it, and the public interest was the one that should be considered from start to finish. Whereas under the present methods the interests considered were those of the larger merchants and shipping companies, which had direct representation on the Board. The interests of Labour, of course, were a matter apparently of no importance at all. The general community was vitally interested in the proper working of the port, and the general community should have a controlling influence in the election of the members. Fifty years ago the Port Board prevented the London North Western from having its headquarters for shipping at Dublin. Twenty years later it prevented the Gt. Northern Railway Company from having its works at Fairview, and during the last eight of ten years it had retarded the development of the shipbuilding industry in the city. It was a matter of public notoriety that only within the last three months had the Port and Docks Board been compelled, as the outcome of a vigorous agitation and the strength of public opinion aroused even amongst the merchants, to grant some small facilities to the Dublin Dockyard Co. to enable Ireland's capital to obtain some of the benefits which must arise from the creation of a shipbuilding industry.

Mr. Farrelly (Dublin) seconded the resolution.

The resolution was then adopted.
On Wednesday morning Mr. Johnson (Belfast) and Mr. Rimmer (Dublin), who had been appointed by the Congress to bring in a resolution on the subject of Irish food supplies, submitted the following motion, which, Mr. Johnson, the proposer, explained, was on the basis of the resolution adopted at the special food conference last year. The resolution was:

"That this Congress, recognising that Ireland is a country which produces more food than she consumes, and exports more than she imports, reaffirms the resolution passed at a special conference on food supplies held in December last, calling on the Irish authorities to make provision for conserving the food supplies of the Irish people, and to this end we demand—

"(1) That the Government take a census of food supplies, live stock, grain, flour, roots, etc.

"(2) That an estimate be made of the food requirements of the people for the ensuing year.

"(3) That all exports of food, including live stock, be regulated in such a manner as to ensure that there shall at all times be retained in Ireland sufficient supplies to meet any emergency and to this end a national authority be appointed to take over the entire business of food exports and imports during the continuance of the war."

Mr. Johnson said they were still under a risk of a blockade and of a prohibition by warfare of imported food supplies. If in response to the agitation that was developing the food supplies of Ireland produced from her own soil were exported ad lib before the next harvest it might happen that the submarines could claim that they had succeeded, and Ireland would be left on her own without any supplies. The resolution did not demand the prohibition of export, but what was demanded was conservation, and it was to that end that they wished to impress the authorities (hear, hear).

Mr. Rimmer, who seconded the resolution, said his object was mainly to prevent people from taking advantage of high prices. There was a possibility, he added, of getting the Government to look favourably on their demands.

The Standing Orders Committee reported that having examined the credentials of the delegates, they found that there were 111 delegates at the Congress, representing 100,000 members.
Russian People Congratulated.

Three resolutions, dealing with the Russian Revolution, appeared on the agenda paper of the Congress. After some preliminary negotiations among the movers of the resolutions, it was agreed that Mr. William O’Brien, Dublin, should move the following resolution:

"This Congress of Irish Workers hails the Russian Revolution. With gratitude and admiration it congratulates the Russian people upon a Revolution which has overthrown a tyranny that resisted the intellectual and social development of Russia, which has removed the standing menace of an aggressive imperialism in Eastern Europe, and which has liberated the people of Russia for the great work of establishing their own political and economic freedom on a firm foundation, and of taking part in the international movement for working-class emancipation from all forms of political, economic, and imperialist oppression and exploitation."

It was only right, Mr. O’Brien said, that this Congress of Irish workers should avail of the first opportunity to place upon record their appreciation of the successful revolution which had taken place in Russia in the early part of this year, and that they should extend to their fellow-workers in Russia their hearty congratulations, and their wish and hope that the revolution now going on would be carried to a successful conclusion. This was not the first Revolution that had happened in Russia, but this one was successful and accordingly approved of by the capitalist press throughout the world. Successful revolutions were extremely popular, unsuccessful revolutions were extremely unpopular in every country, including Ireland (hear, hear). They gave honour to the men and women in Russia who made the revolution a success, and to the countless men who by their sufferings in previous revolutions made possible the path they were treading on to-day. He hoped the spirit stirred up by the Russian Revolution will spread throughout all lands, including Ireland, and that the workers of the world will, when they meet together, find that there was very little to keep them apart.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. M. P. O’Flanagan and carried amidst applause.

Hackney Carriage Inspectors.

Mr. Boyle (Dublin) proposed, Mr. Egan (Cork) seconded, and Congress adopted, the following resolution:

"That this Congress is of opinion that practical coach-makers, instead of policemen, as is the custom at present, should be appointed hackney carriage inspectors, 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 Committee be instructed to bring these matters before the Chief Secretary and the Irish Parliamentary Representatives."

**Trade Boards Act.**

Mr. Owens (Belfast) moved, and Mr. M'Callion (Derry) seconded, the following resolution, which was adopted:

"That this Congress notes with satisfaction that the Government is giving consideration to the question of extending the Trades Boards Act to the retail and distributive trades, and in view of the low wages paid in laundries, dressmaking shops, millinery workrooms, shops, and to girls in the printing, stationery and allied trades in Ireland, we urge that the question is one pressing for legislation, and we demand that any rates of wages fixed be based on a normal week of 48 hours."

**Old Age Pensions.**

The Congress, on the motion of Mr. Kenny (Dublin), seconded by Mr. Mitchell (Belfast), agreed to a resolution demanding that the old-age pension be immediately increased to 10/- a week, with the reduction of the qualifying age to 65, and that superannuation allowances from trades union, friendly, or benefit societies be no longer barriers to the granting of the full amount, and that the Labour members be asked to urge upon the Government to introduce a Bill embodying these suggestions.

**Female Factory Inspectors.**

Mr. D. Houston (Cork), for Mr. Dawson Gordon (Belfast), moved the following resolutions:

"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 by the appointment of Irishwomen.

"That owing to the low vitality of the Linen Workers, due to the condition of employment and the speeding up system in Spinning Mills, this Congress calls upon the Home Office to have the Factory Acts so amended as to reduce the recognised working hours to 48 per week; and that the Trade Board Act apply, guaranteeing a living wage to all workers in the Industry."
The Trades Congress, Mr. Houston said, should insist upon a competent and sufficient staff of Inspectors as there were transgressions of the Act every day all over Ireland.

Miss Moloney (Dublin) said the conditions in many trades in Dublin were a real scandal, especially in connection with some of the laundries, girls having to work in portions of them in which other people would not place their animals.

The resolutions were adopted.

**Fraternal Greetings.**

Mr. W. G. Hunter, in an address to the assembly, conveyed a message of goodwill and unity from the Scottish Trades Congress. He said he admired the position taken up by the delegates the previous day on the question of the partition of Ireland. He was glad to see a unity of purpose and object on the part of the delegates in regard to no partition. They in Ireland, as well as in Scotland, and England, had been partitioned too long. The time had come when they ought to remove these dividing lines that were placed there artificially by the employing classes. Workers only wanted a fair share of the profits of their labour.

Mr. N. Beaton said it was evident that the English Trades Congress were bent on crushing out the Scottish Trades Union Congress, but they would not succeed. While he was in favour of amalgamated societies the local people, in his opinion, should have control of their own affairs. Amalgamated societies would only make progress when they took the trouble to understand the people they were trying to organise. Adverting to the Stockholm Conference, Mr. Beaton said he was very glad that the Congress had decided by a large majority to be represented at the Stockholm Conference. They in Scotland would have been disappointed if the Congress acted otherwise. He believed that the British Labour Party had at last recognised that those in the minority for the last two or three years were correct, and they were now going to send delegates to Stockholm. There was a great outcry against the Conference, the reason being that those in authority, and trying to keep the workers down, were realising that power was coming into the hands of the working classes.

They were afraid that this Conference was going to be composed of the working classes of Europe, and that there was a danger that the control was going to be taken out of their hands. If the British Labour movement, which supported the Government during the war, decided to be represented at the Stockholm Conference, then the Government would try to step in and refuse to give the delegates passports. In that event the British Government were taking an enormous amount of responsibility upon their shoulders. If they put an obstacle in the way of the delegates reaching the Conference they would be looking for
trouble, and he hoped they would get it. If the same methods, were taken as had been taken in connection with the Petrograd mission, then freedom was at stake, and when that was so it behoved them to see that freedom got a chance.

Mr. P. T. Daly (Dublin), in moving the thanks of the delegates to the visitors, said if in Ireland they had less talk and did more work instead of 100,000 workers they would have 500,000 represented at their Congress. He expressed his appreciation of their brothers in Scotland and said he would never forget their kindness to him at the Falkirk Congress (applause).

Mr. Logue, T.C. (Derry), who seconded the vote of thanks, declared that Irish Labour was at the turning point, and that it was going to take an important part in the administration not only of national but of international affairs.

The President, in conveying the compliment, made a presentation of blackthorn sticks to Messrs. Hunter and Beaton, as mementoes of their visit to the Congress.

**Balance Sheet.**

Mr. M. O'Flanagan (Dublin) moved, and Mr. Hall (Belfast) seconded, the adoption of the balance sheet, which is published elsewhere at page 86.

Mr. Houston drew attention to the small amount of the affiliation fee paid by the Railway Clerks' Association, which had sent an unusually large delegation.

Mr. Lathan said he would like Congress to know that the Railway Clerks' Association paid the full affiliation fee on every member it had in Ireland.

Mr. W. O'Brien (Dublin) said it was time that steps should be taken to make societies pay on their full membership.

The Chairman said the Railway Clerks were working strictly in accordance with Standing Orders.

Mr. Campbell (Treasurer), pointed out that there was no Standing Order limiting the number of delegates to Congress.

Mr. Lynch (Cork) said the Railway Clerks' Association should be congratulated on having sent a full delegation (hear, hear).

The motion was carried unanimously.

**Appointment of Scrutineers.**

Congress then proceeded with the election of officers for the ensuing year. The following were nominated as Scrutineers:— Mr. M'Callion, 61; Mr. Houston, 49; Mr. M'Gee, 43; Mr. Farrelly, 42; Mr. Stewart, 34. The first three were declared elected.
Mr. P. T. Daly announced that he had received a letter from Mr. Dawson Gordon, who expressed his regret that he was unable to attend the Congress owing to a strike in Coalisland, County Tyrone. A letter was also read from Mr. M. J. O'Lehane, who was absent through illness. The following nominations had been handed in:—

Chairman:—O'Brien, William.
Vice-Chairman:—Cassidy, Thomas (Printer), Derry, 52; Farren, Thomas (Stonecutter), Dublin, 45.
Treasurer:—Campbell, D. R.
Secretary:—Daly, P. T.

National Executive:—Bennett, J. H. (Nat. Sailors and Firemen), Dublin, 42; Cassidy, Thomas (Printer), Derry, 76; Cullen, Denis (Baker), Dublin, 26; Egan, M. J., T.C., J.P. (Coachmaker), Cork, 67; Farren, John (Tinsmith), Dublin, 33; Foran, Thomas (Transport Worker), Dublin, 52; Gordon, Dawson (Flax Rougher), Belfast, 33; Johnson, Thomas (Shop Assistant), Belfast, 67; Lynch, Patrick (Tailor), Cork, 54; Mitchell, Joseph (Book-Binder), Belfast, 8; M'Nulty, W. J. (Nat. Union of Dockers), Derry, 44; M'Partlin, Thomas (Carpenter), Dublin, 65; O'Lehane, M. J. (Draper's Assistant), Dublin, 37; Rochford, Henry (Hairdresser), Dublin, 48; Whitley, H. T. (Printer), Belfast, 29; Rimmer, Nathan (Railwaymen), Dublin, 38.

The following officers were declared elected:—
CHAIRMAN:—William O'Brien.
VICE-CHAIRMAN:—Thomas Cassidy.
TREASURER:—D. R. Campbell (re-elected).
SECRETARY:—P. T. Daly (re-elected).

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE:—M. J. Egan, T.C., J.P., Cork; T. Johnson, Belfast; T. M'Partlin, Dublin; P. Lynch (Cork); T. Foran, Dublin; H. Rochford, Dublin; W. J. M'Nulty, Derry; J. H. Bennett, Dublin.

DELEGATES TO SCOTTISH TRADES CONGRESS:—Mr. T. Johnson, Belfast, and Councillor W. Logue, Derry. Mr. Thos. M'Partlin, was also nominated, but he withdrew his name.

Mr. Mitchell also expressed a desire that his name should not be put forward for election on the National Executive.

No action was taken in respect of electing delegates to the English Trades Congress.

Mr. Lathan stated he would inquire into the trouble that had arisen, and he hoped that on the next occasion delegates would be appointed.

Mr. Daly (the secretary) said that when in an internment camp last year he wrote to the secretary of the British Trades Union, but he had not yet received a reply.
Belfast Dispute.

Mr. Hynds (Belfast) called attention to the strike of Belfast barmen who were fighting against the living-in system and who wanted a living wage. The fight was one for trades union principles, and he appealed to the Congress for support.

On the motion of Mr. Duffy (Cork), seconded by Mr. Campbell (Treasurer), the appeal made by Mr. Hynds was endorsed and Congress bespoke for the Belfast barmen the hearty support of trade unionists throughout the country.

Sligo Delegate Assaulted.

On the motion of Councillor P. T. Daly (Secretary), seconded by Mr. Duffy (Cork), the following resolution was adopted:

"That this Congress have heard with extreme regret of the grave injuries which Alderman John Lynch, of Sligo, has sustained in the assault committed on him by the strike-breakers who had to leave Sligo owing to the organization of the working class in that town; that the circumstances of allowing his assailants out on a meagre bail of £25 should be brought out, and we hereby instruct the National Executive to bring them under the notice of the Chief Secretary, and to further ask that gentleman how it came that a special court was convened and presided over by the representative of the Shipping Federation, thereby securing that the representatives of the body who employed the strike-breakers had charge of the trial."

Brewing and Distilling Restrictions.

Mr. Hynds moved the following resolution:

"Whereas the operation of the Government's restrictions on the Irish Brewing and Distilling trades has caused widespread loss through unemployment, in the trades affected directly, and in dependant Industries.

"Therefore, this Congress calls upon the Government to compensate adequately all workers affected, until suitable and equally remunerative civil employment has been found."

Mr. Gregg seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

Government Restrictions—Printing and Kindred Trades.

Mr. O'Flanagan (Dublin) moved, and Mr. Clarke (Belfast) seconded the following resolution, which was adopted:

"That we, the delegates to this Irish Trades Union Congress—hereby demand the immediate withdrawal of the crushing restrictions placed by the English Government on the Printing and Allied.
Trades' Industry in Ireland, the restrictions, in our judgment, being responsible for the dismissal of a large number of our brother Trades Unionists who were employed in the printing, bookbinding, lithographic, and other branches of the industry. We further demand that the embargo put on the importation of paper and other materials necessary for the upkeep of the many industries affected be removed without delay, believing if it is continued much longer that they as a whole are threatened with decay and ultimate destruction."

Feeding of School Children.

Mr. Michael Lynch moved the following resolution:

"That this Congress calls for the general application to Boroughs and Urban and Rural Areas in Ireland of the provisions of the Feeding of Necessitous School Children Act. That we are of opinion the Act should be amended and made as far as possible, to contain the provisions adopted for Scotland, whereby clothing as well as food can be provided."

Mr. Kelly seconded the resolution, which was adopted.

Half-Time Labour.

Mr. Hynds (Belfast) moved, Mr. Duffy (Cork) seconded, and Congress adopted, the following resolution:

"That, in the opinion of this Congress, the half-time system of labour as at present in operation in our mills and factories is a curse to the child physically, mentally, and morally, restricts the opportunity for the employment of adult labour, tends to beat down the wages of the workers in the industries affected, and should therefore be abolished."

Agricultural Hiring Fairs.

On the motion of Mr. Mulhern, seconded by Mr. Friel, the following resolution was adopted:

"Whereas the present system of employing Agricultural Workers, particularly in the North of Ireland, at 'Hiring Fairs,' savours of the old slave market, it is hereby resolved that this Congress calls upon all the public bodies of Ireland and upon the Parliamentary Labour Party to assist in abolishing once and for all, this deplorable state of affairs which, in our judgment, should not be allowed in any Christian country."
Nationalisation of Irish Railways.

Mr. Williams (Railway Clerks’ Association), moved the following resolution:

"That in view of the recommendations contained in the Majority Report (1910), of the Viceregal Commission on Irish Railways, and of the success which has recently attended State Control, this Congress strongly urges that the Railways of Ireland should not be allowed to revert to the control of Companies, but rather, that the existing State Control arrangements should be developed into complete national ownership and management under a Minister of Railways, responsible to Parliament, assisted by National and Local Advisory Committees upon which the organised railway workers shall be adequately represented.

"Further, this Congress approves the principle in respect to profits derived by the State from the Railways, that after providing for the adequate remuneration of the Railway Employes, the interest on the outstanding Railway Debt, and the sinking fund for its extinction, they should be employed in the improvement of facilities, the betterment of conditions of labour, and the reduction of passenger fares, goods rates, and general charges to the public. This Congress is also of opinion that an enterprising and progressive National Railway policy would assist very materially in the development of the National Industries and resources."

Mr. Rimmer (National Union of Railwaymen), seconded the resolution, which was carried.

Representation of Employees on Irish Railway Executive Committee.

Mr. J. Moore moved the following resolution:

"That this Congress protests against the present constitution of the Irish Railway Executive Committee, which does not contain any direct representative of the organised railway workers—whose present and future interests are seriously and vitally affected—and, believing that completely satisfactory working can only be secured by arrangements which ensure the full co-operation of the staffs, calls upon the Government immediately to make such changes in the constitution of the Irish Railway Executive Committee as will provide for the adequate representation of organised Railway workers upon that Committee."

Mr. Lathan seconded the resolution. He expressed the hope that the Irish workers would appreciate the need for emphasising the claim put forward for a share of the control of the railways. There was no idea of exploiting this industry, but to render useful service in the interest of the State.

The resolution was adopted.
Life Assurance Companies and their Policy Holders.

Alderman O'Toole (Dublin) moved, and Mr. Campbell (Treasurer) seconded, the following resolution:—

"That the attention of Congress be directed to the various methods adopted by several of the Life Offices transacting Industrial Life Assurance business, to exploit the exigencies of the country during the period of the war so as to adversely affect the interests of the insuring public, and to deprive the Agents and Collectors of the terms and conditions of service prevalent before the outbreak of the war. Further, that the Congress instructs the National Executive to take effective steps to bring prominently to the notice of the Government the various methods adopted by some of the Life Offices to evade the provisions of the Courts (Emergency Powers) Act, 1914, to the detriment of the Industrial Policy Holders, whose interests were to find protection within the provisions of the aforesaid Act. And more especially to ask Congress to instruct the National Executive to take steps to bring to the notice of the Government that the system of the concentration of debits, commonly known as the 'Block System,' is proving highly detrimental to the interests of the Policy Holders, involving neglect of their interests, a maximum of lapsing, no additional benefits, or reduction in premiums, no evidence of overlapping, and the creation of a field wherein the irresponsible special canvasser can exploit the policies of assurance by surrender for cash or for free policies, to the loss of the policy holders, and is a menace to the interests of thousands of Agents and Collectors, whose capital and life's work has been concentrated upon the building up of agencies, giving them a reasonable return for their capital and professional services."

The resolution was adopted.

War Bonus for Irish Railway Workers.

On the motion of Mr. Morris, seconded by Mr. Moore, the following resolution was adopted:—

"That this Congress expresses its great regret and disappointment that in providing for the payment of the War Bonus to Irish Railway Workers a standard lower than that provided for the British Railway Workers (including the representatives and agents of British Railways stationed in Irish Cities and Towns), should have been set up; and, protesting against such unfair discrimination, calls upon the Government to remedy this unjust and inequitable state of affairs.

"That copies of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister, the President and Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the various Irish and Labour Parliamentary leaders."
Mr. John Farren, Chairman Standing Orders Committee, presented Report recommending that in future the Standing Order in connection with the date for receiving resolutions for the Congress Agenda should be strictly enforced.

The Report was adopted unanimously.

Railway Eight Hour Day Bill.

Mr. Kenny, moved Mr. Walsh seconded, and it was agreed to adopt, the following resolution:

"That this Congress heartily supports the Bill promoted by Mr. Walter Hudson, M.P., to establish a working day of not more than eight hours for all Railwaymen."

Taxation.

Mr. Lynch (Cork) proposed, and Mr. Egan (Cork) seconded, the following resolution:

"That we strongly resent the methods of levying taxation adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his predecessor, inasmuch as they seek to defray an unjustified proportion of the present stupendous war debt out of taxation levied off the necessities and food stuffs of the poor, while they still leave the capitalist 20% of his excess profits and guarantee him practically 5% interest free of income-tax on his War Loan Investments, and we regret that the representatives of Labour in the Government and in Parliament, with the exception of the Independent Labour Party, have made no effort to combat or defeat this injustice."

The resolution was adopted.

Standard Wage for Women.

On the motion of Mr. Lynch (Cork), seconded by Mr. Egan (Cork), the following resolution was adopted:

"That having regard to the fact that women are, and under existing circumstances will continue to be, utilised in many employments which were previous to 1914 wholly or mainly confined to men, this Congress demands that legislation will be promoted by the Government raising the standard wage and limiting the hours of employment of women to that now or in future to be enjoyed by men."

Women's Unions.

Miss Molony (Dublin) moved, and Miss Cross (Dublin) seconded, the following resolution, which was adopted:

"That this Congress call upon the affiliated societies to take steps to organise the women employed in their respective trades,
either into their own unions or into the Irish Women Workers' Union; and welcomes the cooperation of all Irish women who are prepared to accept the principles of the Irish Labour Movement and to share in the glorious task of building up an independent and self-reliant democracy in Ireland."

**Labour Magistrates.**

Mr. O'Brien opposed a proposal by the Derry and District Trades and Labour Council relating to the appointment of representatives of Labour as magistrates on the ground, as he said, that when such men went on the Bench they were only acting as dummies, and it was the paid magistrates who had the power.

Mr. P. Lynch (Cork) said that argument did not hold good outside Dublin. In Cork, where Labour magistrates were appointed, they had done considerable good.

Mr. Egan (Cork) said Labour magistrates had power and had ever used it, and it would be a very good job if more representatives of Labour held the Commission.

The resolution in favour of the appointments was adopted by a large majority.

**National Health Insurance Act—Medical Certificates.**

Mr. Murphy moved, Mr. Delapney seconded, and it was agreed to adopt, the following resolution:

"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."

**National Health Insurance Act, Part II.**

Councillor Logue moved, and Mr. Aitken seconded, the following resolution:

"That we call upon the Government to have a Court of Referees established at Londonderry.

"Furthermore, that we demand of the Government the immediate increase of Unemployment Benefit under Part 2 of the Act."

The resolution was adopted.
Pooling of Funds.

Mr. Murphy moved, and Mr. Farrelly seconded, the following resolution:

"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."

Mr. Duffy opposed, and, on the resolution being put, the Chairman declared that the "Noes" had it.

Disabled Soldiers.

Mr. Lawlor (Dublin) moved, and Mr. Drumm (Dublin) seconded, the following resolution:

"That this Congress enters its emphatic protest against the action of the Government in pensioning off their disabled soldiers on the shoulders of the workers through their Approved Societies. That in our opinion, any soldiers incapacitated through participation in the present world-wide carnage should be treated as an employee of that Government and the Government should be compelled to provide adequate compensation for the injured soldier."

Adopted.

Irish Mineral Resources.

Mr. Lynch (Cork) moved, and Mr. Egan, T.C., J.P. (Cork) seconded, the following resolution:

"That we call upon the Government to acquire landlords' or other interests in all Irish resources and to develop them, and where necessary, grant a subsidy for that purpose and in this manner provide against what will otherwise be in the near future, a serious dearth of employment."

Adopted.

Workshop Accommodation in the Tailoring Trade.

Mr. Lynch (Cork) moved, and Mr. Lawlor (Dublin) seconded, the following resolution:

"That this Congress instructs the National Executive to urge upon the Government the necessity of compelling all employers in the Tailoring Industry to provide workshop accommodation for all the workpeople in their employment."

Adopted.
Automobile Drivers' Licences.

Mr. J. J. Traynor (Dublin) moved, and Mr. T. Boyle (Dublin) seconded, the following resolutions:—

"That, owing to the recent number of Motor accidents, this Congress demands that the Councils of a County or County Borough shall issue Licences to drive a Motor car to none other but persons who are skilled in the care and management of a Motor car on the public highway.

"That the recent Order of the Board of Trade, under the Defence of the Realms Act, prohibiting the use of Motor Spirit for hired Motors is exceedingly injurious to a very large number of workers throughout Ireland. And further, that the so-called modifications of the said Order restricting hired Motors to only hire for special jobs and confining the said hired Motors to a ten mile radius is, in the opinion of this Congress, a most deadly Order, which, if enforced, would plunge those depending on the industry, numbering 25,000, into misery and starvation. And that this Congress demands the immediate withdrawal of the Order and said restrictions."

Mr. Traynor asked Congress to press this matter fully, as it affected 25,000 men in Ireland, not counting those engaged in the allied trades.

Adopted.

Trades Board for Printing and Allied Trades.

Miss Molony (Dublin) moved, and Miss Cross (Dublin) seconded, the following resolution:—

"That this Congress demands the extension of the provisions of the Trades Board Act so as to include women workers in the Printing, Stationery, and Allied Trades in Ireland."

Adopted.

Labour Exchange Promises.

Mr. Edward M'Cabe (Dublin) moved, and Mr. Owen Hynes (Dublin) seconded, the following resolution:—

"That this Congress enters its emphatic protest against the action of the Dublin Labour Exchange holding out promises to men of long periods of employment, promises which they afterwards failed to fulfil.

"Whereas, it has been reported to us that the Dublin Labour Exchange, in order to secure workers for jobs in Great Britain,
represents, through the officials, that the work will last for a number of weeks at rates per hour, which, in many cases are not paid, with promises of overtime which is not worked, and that on these promises many men have been known to accept work through the Dublin Labour Exchange; that after working for a week or two their services are dispensed with, it is hereby resolved that this Congress demands that in cases where guarantees are given and unfulfilled the employer, or the Labour Exchange should be compelled to make good any guarantee which has not been fulfilled and any time falling short of that promised.

"That this Congress regrets that the Fair Wages Resolution of the House of Commons is evaded on work carried out on Railways under Governmental control in Ireland, and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Minister of Labour, and to Mr. E. A. Neale, Chairman of the Railway Control Board in Ireland."

Adopted.

Sanitary and Waste Water Inspectors.

Mr. Bermingham (Dublin) moved, and Mr. Aitken (Derry) seconded, the following resolution:—

"That in all future corporate appointments in Ireland of waste water inspectors, practical plumbers should be appointed, and that in all appointments as sanitary officers practical plumbing should secure the majority of the marks for the examination; and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the corporate bodies in Ireland."

Mr. D. M'Gee (Dublin) opposed the resolution which, however, was declared carried.

Vaccination Acts and Ireland.

Mr. Shortt moved, and Mr. Kelly seconded, the following resolution, which was adopted:—

"That steps be taken by the Parliamentary Committee to have Ireland placed under the same vaccination laws as applied to England."

Next Year's Congress.

Waterford and Tralee were proposed as the venue for next year's Congress, but after discussion, it was left to the National Executive to select the place.
Votes of Thanks.

At the conclusion of the proceedings votes of thanks were passed amidst enthusiastic applause to the Mayor, Corporation, and people of Derry for the use of the Guildhall and the hospitality extended to the delegates during their visit; to the Reception Committee of the Derry Trades Council for the arrangements made for the Congress, and to Mr. Barney Armstrong and the artistes at the Opera House for the excellence of the entertainment to which the members had been invited whilst in the city. Thanks were also accorded to the Press for the reports of the proceedings which had been published, and to the President for his able, dignified and impartial conduct in the chair.

Entertainments.

On Monday afternoon the delegates enjoyed a brake drive to Buncrana, provided by the Mayor of Derry, and were the guests of his Worship in St. Mary's Hall, where the catering was most satisfactorily carried out by the old-established firm of Foster's, Waterloo Place. During the evening a fine group photo of the delegates was secured by Mr. Glass, photographer, Carlisle Road, Londonderry.

The delegates and their friends were the guests of Derry Trades and Labour Council in the Guildhall, on Tuesday evening, the catering again being carried out in highly efficient style by Foster's, of Strand, Derry.

After the repast a presentation was made to Mr. Johnson, and two members contributed songs. The delegates spent the rest of the evening at the Opera House, on the invitation of Mr. Barney Armstrong.
## Balance Sheet, Derry Congress, August, 1917.

### Income.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To Balance from last Congress</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; 81 Delegates' Fees (Food Conference)</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; Refund Executive Expenses—</td>
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<td>10</td>
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<td>Dublin Trades Council</td>
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<td>&quot; Refund Delegates' Expenses—Food Conference</td>
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<td>&quot; Sale of Congress Reports</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
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### Expenditure.

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Audited and found Correct.

JOHN CLARKE,
W. P. O'DOHERTY,
Auditors.
### Affiliation and Delegates' Fees

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Carried Forward: £110 17 2 £61 0 0
**Brought Forward,**

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**Remitted late for Balance Sheet.**

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<td>N.U. Clerks, Dublin Branch</td>
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LIST OF DELEGATES.

Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners:
- Mr. J. P. Delaney, 168, North Strand, Dublin.
- Dublin 1st Branch—Mr. Michael O’Callaghan, 5, Malpas Place, Dublin.
- Dublin 3rd Branch—Mr. John Farrelly, 4, Charleville Mall, Dublin.
- Dublin 4th Branch—Mr. Thomas M’Partlin, 35, Lr. Gloucester Street, Dublin.

Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses:
- Alderman James M’Carron, 48, Stanley’s 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.
- Derry Branch—Messrs. Wright and H. M’Callion.

Amalgamated Society of Engineers:
- Derry Branch—Mr. Edward M’Cafferty, 11, Northland Avenue, Derry.

Amalgamated Society of Cutters (Belfast and District):
- Mr. Joseph M’Arthur, 107, Duncairn Gardens, Belfast.
- Mr. Thomas M’Gerrigle, 18, Stanley’s Walk, Derry.

A. G. I. Brick and Stonelayers:
- Mr. Owen Hynes, 49, Cuffe Street, Dublin.
- Derry—Mr. Harry M’Gillen, 1, Stable Lane, Bishop’s Gate, Derry.

Belfast and Dublin Loco. Engine Drivers T. U.:
- Mr. Thomas Kenny, 14, Temple Cottages, Broadstone.

Belfast Trades and Labour Council:
- Mr. D. R. Campbell, 11, Kimberley Street, Belfast.
- Mr. Joseph Mitchell, 17, College Street, Belfast.

City of Dublin Operative Farriers:
- Mr. Benjamin Drumm, 36, Hardwicke 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. John Lawlor, 9, Fontenoy Street, Dublin.
- Mr. William O’Brien, 43, Belvedere Place, Dublin.

Dublin Fire Brigade Men’s Union:
- Mr. P. T. Daly, T.C., 22, Fitzroy Avenue, Dublin.
Dublin Saddlers and Harness Makers' Society:—
Mr. T. Devereux, 12, St. Kevin's Terrace, New Bride Street, Dublin.

Dublin Journeymen Hairdressers' Trades Union:—
Mr. Henry Rochford, Ivy Lodge, Windsor Avenue, Fairview, Dublin.

Dublin Corporation Workmen:—
Mr. Daniel J. Magee, 24, Winetavern Street, Dublin.
Mr. Robert Tynan, 24, Winetavern Street, Dublin.

Dublin Typographical Provident Society:—
Mr. M. P. O'Flanagan, 35, Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin.
Mr. Joseph Smyth, 35, Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin.

Dublin Tinsmiths and Sheet Metal Workers:—
Mr. John Farren, 20, Blackhall Place, Dublin.

Dublin United Brassfounders' and Gasfitters' Society:—
Mr. Francis Young, 17, Sandford Avenue, N. C. R., Dublin.

Derry and District Trades and Labour Council:—
Mr. William Logue, T.C., 12, Creggan Road, Derry.
Mr. Dealtry P. Thompson, 2, Westland Terrace, Derry.
Mr. Andrew Aitken, 13, Lower Strand Road, Derry.
Mr. William Colhoun, 16, Florence Street, Derry.

Electrical Trades Union:—
Mr. John J. Collins, 17, Mt. Temple Road, Dublin.
Mr. Ernest N. Kidd, 13, Jocelyn Street, Belfast.

Flaxroughers and Spinners (Belfast):—
Mr. Dawson Gordon, 17, College Street, Belfast.

General Union of Carpenters and Joiners:—
Mr. Richard Brophy, 55, Ring Street, Inchicore, Dublin.

Irish Glass Bottle Makers:—
Mr. J. Longmore, Bottle Makers' Hall, Irishtown Road, Dublin.
Mr. James Gregg, 168, Stella Gardens, Irishtown.

Irish Transport and General Workers' Union:—
No. 1 Branch—Mr. Joseph Metcalfe, Mr. Thomas Foran, P.L.G.,
Mr. Michael Brohoon, T.C., 31, Eden Quay, Dublin.
No. 3 Branch—Mr. John Bohan, 36, Blackhall Place, Dublin.
Mr. Thomas Kennedy, 22, Charlemont Mall, Dublin.
Belfast Branch—Mr. James Flanagan, 122, Corporation Street, Belfast.
Cork Branch (Connolly Memorial)—Mr. D. Houston, 35, Parnell Place,
Cork, Mr. D. Carey, 2, Maria Villas, Cork.
Sligo Branch—Alderman John Lynch, New Street, Sligo.
Mr. Michael Lynch, New Street, Sligo.

Irish Drapers' Assistants Association:—
Mr. M. J. O'Lehane, Cavendish House, Dublin.
Mr. L. J. Duffy, Cavendish House, Dublin.
Irish Automobile Drivers and Mechanics' Union:—
Mr. John Traynor, 39, Upper Grand Canal Street, Dublin.

Irish Women Workers' Union:—
Miss Helena Moloney, 9, Belgrave Square, Dublin.
Miss Ellen Cross, 8, Seville Place, Dublin.

Irish Amalgamated Bakers' Union:—
Mr. Francis Moran, 22, Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin.
Mr. Denis Cullen, 22, Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin.
Mr. Stephen Dinneen, 23, Mt. Vincent Cottages, Limerick.

Irish Stationary Engine Drivers T. U.:—
Mr. John Morgan, 20, Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin.

Mechanical and Heating Engineers:—
Mr. William J. Murphy, 5, Royal Terrace, Fairview, Dublin.

Metropolitan House Painters and Decorators:—
Messrs. John Scully, Joseph Cahill, and Edward M'Cabe, 27, Aungier Street, 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.
Hairdressers' Branch—Mr. E. Owens, 1, Glengall Street, Belfast.

National Union of Dockers:—
Drogheda—Mr. Robert Nugent, Foresters' Hall, Drogheda.
Belfast—Mr. John Alexander, Auburn Villa, Kensington Road, Belfast.
Derry—Mr. William J. McNulty, 74, Long Tower Street, Derry.
Mr. Patrick McCall, 24, Walker's Place, Derry.
Branch No. 28—Mr. J. Smyth, 7, Annavilla Terr., Chapel Street, Dundalk.
Branch No. 25—Mr. Henry Madrick, 21, King Street, Newry.

National Amalgamated Society of House and Ship Painters:—
Mr. J. Black, 48, Botanic Road, Glasnevin.
Cork Branch—Mr. William Perrott, 23, Greenmount Buildings, Cork.

National Amalgamated Union of Labour:—
Branch No. 190—Mr. Robert Gray, 6, Lewis Street, Derry.
Branch No. 112—Mr. Frank Friel, 5, Ann Street, Derry.
Branch No. 313—Mr. L. W. Mulhern, Raphoe, County Donegal.

National Sailors' and Firemen's Union:—
Mr. A. O'Hea, 249, Bishop Street, Derry.
Mr. J. H. Bennett, 4, Common Street, Dublin.
Mr. H. Adair, 13, Queen's Square, Belfast.

National Union of Bookbinders and Machine Rulers:—
Dublin Branch—Mr. Andrew Cummins, Trades Hall, Dublin.

National Union of Railwaymen:—
Mr. N. Rimmer, 2, Beresford Place, Dublin.
Mr. W. Walsh, 196, Phibsboro' Road, Dublin.
National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades Association:—
Mr. D. Mulcahy, 26, George's Place, Dublin.

National Society of Brushmakers:—
Mr. William Murphy, 16, Muckross Parade, N. C. R., Dublin.

Postmen's Federation:—
Mr. C. P. Kelly, 4, St. Joseph's Terrace, Wellington Street, Dublin.
Mr. W. J. Shortt, 36, Egeria Street, Belfast.

Railway Clerks' Association:—
Executive Committee—Mr. W. E. Williams, 25, Euston Road, London.
Mr. George Lathan, 25, Euston Road, London.
Mr. W. Davin, Church Street, Howth.
Irish Council—Mr. James Moore, 5, Lr. Beechwood Avenue, Ranelagh, Dublin.
Mr. T. Moore, 94, Old Park Road, Belfast.
Belfast Branch—Mr. P. F. Morris, 17, Hawthorne Street, Belfast.
Cork Branch—Mr. E. O'Mahony, 87, Rathmore Place, Cork.
Dublin Branch—Mr. C. E. Stewart, 3, Seaview Terrace, Baldoyle, Dublin.
Derry Branch—Mr. W. P. O'Doherty, Butcher Street, Derry.
Tralee Branch—Mr. M. O'Donnell, Lisloose, Oak Park, Tralee.

Regular Cart and Waggon Builders:—
Dublin—Mr. James Cooper, 16, Monck Place, Phibsboro', Dublin.

Stoncutters of Ireland:—
Mr. Thomas Farren, 1, Jordan Ville, Crumlin Road, Dublin.

Typographical Association:—
Mr. Thomas Cassidy, 41, Chapel Road, Waterside, Derry.
Mr. Frank Hall, 12, Frederick Street, Belfast.
Belfast Branch—Mr. John Clarke, 12, Frederick Street, Belfast.
Mr. H. T. Whitley, 12, Frederick Street, Belfast.
Derry Branch—Mr. Constantino Doherty, 133, Lecky Road, Derry.

Tralee Trades and Labour Council:—
Mr. M. J. O'Connor, Upper Rock Street, Tralee.

United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers:—
Mr. Michael Egan, J.P., T.C., 19, Commons Road, Cork.
Mr. Thomas Boyle, 31, Synge Street, Dublin.

United Operative Plumbers and Domestic Engineers:—
Dublin Lodge—Mr. Peter Birmingham, 76, Lombard Street West, Dublin.

Vintners' and Grocers' Assistants Union:—
Mr. Peter O'Hara, 12, Castle Lane, Belfast.
Mr. Alex. Hynds, 15, Rosemary Street, Belfast.

FRATERNAL DELEGATES.

Scottish Trades Union Congress:—
Messrs. W. G. Hunter and N. Beaton.
CONSTITUTION.

1.—TITLE.—THE IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND LABOUR PARTY.

2.—OBJECTS.—To organise and unite the workers of Ireland in order to improve their status and conditions generally, and to take such action in the Industrial and Political fields, with that end in view, as may be decided upon at its Annual Meetings.

3. AFFILIATION.—The Irish Trades Union Congress and Labour Party is to be composed of Delegates from Trades Unions and Trades Councils.

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

   The National Executive shall be authorised to issue a Special Appeal for Funds for Political and other purposes from time to time as may seem desirable.

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

6. DUTIES OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.—The National Executive shall:—(1) Endeavour to give effect to the decisions of the Annual Meetings; (2) Watch all Legislative Measures affecting Labour in Ireland; (3) Initiate such legislative and other action as may be necessary and as the Annual Meeting may direct; (4) Endeavour to secure the independent representation of Irish Labour in Parliament and upon all Public Boards; (5) Generally to co-operate with the organised workers in other countries towards the common advancement of Labour.

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

8. CANDIDATES—

   (1) A candidate for Parliament must be nominated by the National Executive or by one or more of the Affiliated Bodies.
   (2) Before any action towards the selection of a candidate is taken, the National Executive shall in the first instance be consulted. A candidate must be selected at a Conference convened by the local Trades Council. Where no Trades Council exists the National Executive shall arrange to have a Conference convened. And no candidature can be promoted until endorsed by the National Executive.
(3) The expenses of candidates for election to local bodies shall be borne by the local organisation or organisations promoting such candidature, and in the case of Parliamentary elections, the expenditure shall be borne by the body or bodies nominating a candidate with such financial assistance as the Central Funds can afford.

(4) Candidates for Public Bodies must be and remain members in good standing of a Labour organisation, eligible for affiliation to this Congress, and must, if elected, continue to be members thereof so long as they retain their seats. They shall also pledge themselves to accept this Constitution, agree to abide by the decisions of the Annual Meetings and National Executive in carrying out the aims of this Constitution; appear before their constituencies under the title of Labour candidates only, and abstain strictly from identifying themselves with, or promoting the interests of any candidature not endorsed by the National Executive.

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

1. OPENING PROCEEDINGS.—The Congress shall assemble at 9.30 a.m. (except the first day, when the proceedings shall commence at 11 a.m.), prompt, adjourn at 1 p.m., re-assemble at 2 p.m., and adjourn at 5 p.m. each day.

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

3. FINANCIAL SUPPORT.—The minimum Annual Contribution payable not later than fourteen days previous to the Annual Meeting shall be from societies or branches of societies at the rate of one penny per member on their full certified membership to date, and in the case of amalgamated unions it shall be assessed on their full Irish membership similarly. And it shall be the duty of the Secretary to have these figures verified where necessary. Trades Councils shall pay £1 for each 5,000 members or part thereof represented. The minimum Annual Contribution from all affiliated bodies shall be 10/-.

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

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

6. RESOLUTIONS.—Resolutions intended for the Congress, with the name of the proposer, shall be in the hands of the Secretary of the National Executive Committee at least SIX WEEKS before the meeting of Congress and shall be at once printed and sent out by the Secretary of the National Executive Committee to the various trades and labour societies and trades councils in Ireland.
7. AMENDMENTS TO RESOLUTIONS.—Amendments to the propositions on the Agenda, written and signed in the following manner, viz.:

"Amendment to Resolution No. 3, to be proposed by Mr. John Smith, Belfast," must be sent to the Secretary of the National Executive Committee at least ONE CLEAR WEEK before the meeting of Congress, and shall be printed and in the hands of the Delegates along with the National Executive Committee's Report, on the assembling of Congress, before the commencement of business.

8. RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS.—All Resolutions and Amendments must be endorsed by and sent through the authorised officials of trade or labour organisations or trades councils sending Delegates to Congress. The names, addresses and societies represented by the Delegates shall be printed and ready for distribution at the commencement of Congress.

9. LIMITATION OF SPEECHES.—The mover of a resolution or amendment shall be allowed ten minutes, and each succeeding speaker five minutes each. No one shall speak more than once upon each resolution or amendment except the mover of the original motion, who shall be given an opportunity to reply. No second amendment or rider to an original proposition shall be put to a vote until the first amendment is disposed of.

10. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.—The National Executive shall be elected on the last day of the Annual Meeting, and Delegates only shall be eligible for election. More than one member of the same trade or occupation shall not be entitled to sit; but this condition shall not apply to the officers. The Secretary shall attend the Annual Meeting by virtue of his office, and be eligible for re-election. The National Executive shall fix his salary. At least two meetings of the National Executive, or of a Sub-Committee, shall be held in the locality selected for the next year's Congress, such meetings to be arranged in conjunction with the local trades council or organised trade unions.

11. NATIONAL EXECUTIVE REPORT.—The Report of the National Executive, which shall have been transmitted to the Delegates at least three days before the assembly of Congress, shall be the business next following that of the election of Congress officers. And after the disposal of same the tenure of office of the National Executive shall cease. A printed balance-sheet, duly audited and certified by the auditors, to be presented to each delegate on the second day of the meeting.

12. LABOUR MEETING.—At least one General Labour Meeting shall be held, under the auspices of the National Executive Committee, in each town during the sittings of the Annual Congress, the local trades council to render such assistance in arranging for halls, advertising, etc., as shall be requisite.

13. SUSPENSION OF STANDING ORDERS.—Standing Orders shall not be suspended unless previous intimation shall have been given to Standing Orders Committee, and the motion agreed to by a two-thirds' vote of the Delegates present.

14. NEXT PLACE OF MEETING.—Nominations for the next place of meeting shall be forwarded to the Secretary for inclusion on the Agenda of Congress, and only places so nominated shall be eligible for consideration.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Delegates</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>President</th>
<th>Secretary</th>
<th>Treasurer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Thomas O'Connell (Carpenter)</td>
<td>John Simmons</td>
<td>Patrick Dowd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>J. H. Jolley (Printer)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>J. H. Jolley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>Limerick</td>
<td>James Dalton (Printer)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>Waterford</td>
<td>P. J. Leo (Pork Butcher)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Belfast</td>
<td>Richard Worthly (Tailor)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Derry</td>
<td>James M'Carron (Tailor)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>P. J. Tevenan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>George Leahy, P.L.G. (Plasterer)</td>
<td>Hugh M'Manus</td>
<td>Alex. Taylor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>Sligo</td>
<td>*A. Bowman, T.C. (Flax Dresser)</td>
<td>E. L. Richardson, T.C.</td>
<td>Geo. Leahy, P.L.G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>Wm. Cave, T.C. (Bootmaker)</td>
<td>E. L. Richardson, T.C.</td>
<td>Geo. Leahy, P.L.G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>Newry</td>
<td>Walter Hudson, M.P. (A.S.R.S.)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Kilkenny</td>
<td>Wm. Walker, T.C. (Carpenter)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Wexford</td>
<td>Jas. Chambers, P.L.G. (Saddler)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Athlone</td>
<td>Stephen Dineen (Baker)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>James M'Carron, T.C. (Tailor)</td>
<td>E. L. Richardson, J.P.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Belfast</td>
<td>John Murphy, P.L.G. (Printer)</td>
<td>E. L. Richardson, J.P.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>Limerick</td>
<td>M. Egan, J.P., T.C. (Coachmaker)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Dundalk</td>
<td>James M'Carron, T.C. (Tailor)</td>
<td>P. T. Daly, T.C.</td>
<td>M. J. O'Lehane, P.L.G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>Galway</td>
<td>D. R. Campbell (Insnce. Agent)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>D. R. Campbell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>Clonmel</td>
<td>M. J. O'Lehane (Draper's Asst.)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>Cork</td>
<td>William O'Brien (Tailor)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>Dublin</td>
<td>Jas. Larkin (Transport Worker)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Sligo</td>
<td>Thomas Johnson (Shop Assts.)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Derry</td>
<td>Thomas M'Partlin (Carpenter)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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