



"LABOR OMNIA VINCIT."

REPORT  
OF THE  
NINETEENTH  
Irish Trades Union Congress,  
HELD IN THE  
TOWN HALL, CLONMEL,  
ON  
27th, 28th and 29th MAY, 1912.

*Published by authority of the Congress and the Parliamentary  
Committee.*

THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL  
**Irish Trades**  
**Union Congress**

WILL BE HELD IN

**CLONMEL,**

ON

Whit-Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday,  
**1912.**



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MONDAY, TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY,  
May 27th, 28th and 29th, 1912.

Edited by P. T. DALY.



Irish Labour Party  
& Trade Union Congress

13/81

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DUBLIN:  
PRINTED BY SEALY, BRYERS AND WALKER.



# REPORT

## NINETEENTH

### PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE, 1912-13.

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CHAIRMAN:

JAMES LARKIN, DUBLIN.

VICE-CHAIRMAN:

WILLIAM O'BRIEN, DUBLIN.

TREASURER:

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

MISS MARY GALWAY, Belfast.

THOS. McCONNELL, Belfast.

M. J. O'LEHANE, Dublin.

THOS. McPARTLIN, Dublin.

R. P. O'CARROLL, T.C., P.L.G., Dublin.

SECRETARY:

P. T. DALY, LIBERTY HALL, BERESFORD PLACE, DUBLIN.

PRINTED BY SEYMOUR & CO. LTD. LONDON AND DUBLIN

# REPORT

OF THE

## 19th Annual Irish Trades Union Congress,

### CLONMEL, 1912.

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#### FIRST DAY—MONDAY, 27th MAY, 1912.

The Nineteenth Annual Trades Congress was held in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall, Clonmel, on Monday, May 27th, 1912.

The Mayor (Mr. James Meehan), who was accompanied by the Town Clerk and Sword and Mace Bearers, was present as President of the Reception Committee, with Alderman T. J. Condon, M.P.; Alderman Fitzgibbon, and Messrs. Michael Tobin, T.C., Treasurer, and W. P. O'Keefe and E. Noonan, Hon. Secs.; J. Prendergast, T.C.; M. O'Connell, T.C.; P. J. Condon, T.C.; W. Daly, T.C.; M. Farrell, T.C.; R. Stapleton, T.C.; J. Magner, T.C.; D. F. O'Connor, T.C.; J. J. Hickey, T.C.; P. F. Hally, T.C.; Wm. Cassidy, J. O'Neill, M. O'Keefe, P. Quirke, P. Cunningham, J. Boylan, J. O'Donnell, James O'Donnell, E. Pope, J. Perridge, J. J. O'Shee, M.P.; J. O'Callaghan, J. Fitzgerald, Wm. Quirke, J. Power, N. McCormack, D. Pyke, R. Byrne, D. Lonergan, T. Lonergan, F. O'Meara, Jas. Mulcahy Lyons, T. Roche, and B. J. Long.

Mr. Joseph Clarke, Vice-President of the Parliamentary Committee, who was received with applause, said that in the name of the Parliamentary Committee he bade the members of the Congress welcome to Clonmel. He would now ask the Mayor to address them (applause).

The Mayor, who was cordially received, said it was a very pleasing duty to him on behalf of the citizens of Clonmel to bid the delegates a very hearty *cead míle fáilte* to their midst. He sincerely trusted that their deliberations would be fruitful, and that the delegates would carry away with them happy recollections of their visit. He again, in the name of the citizens of Clonmel, bade the delegates welcome (loud applause).

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast) said it afforded him very great pleasure to move a hearty vote of thanks to the Mayor for the very cordial reception he had extended to them on behalf of the people of Clonmel. He (Mr. Campbell), on behalf of the delegates, also begged to thank the members of the Reception Committee for the warm welcome they had given them to the sunny South. Speaking on behalf of the Northern delegates, he might say that they didn't exactly march to the South (laughter), as it had been suggested they might (laughter). They came in various ways, some of them by midnight express, and others like the French motor bandits, along the road by "road hogs" (laughter); but all of them came to the sunny South expecting they would get a genial welcome, and they had not been disappointed. He had himself been in Clonmel a short time ago, when he was treated exceedingly well, and he had no doubt that on this occasion when they put on their hats to go away they would all have the happiest recollections of their stay (hear, hear). They came there as representing the organised workers of Ireland. That was, as it had been well described, a Parliament of Labour, held for the purpose of assisting the workers all over the country in the attainment of a decent living, in order that they might get the opportunity of bringing up their children respectably, and if now and again they had to cross swords with them, they did it believing that the cause they were engaged in was an honest and a just one (hear, hear). If they had to fight as such, they did it in the open. They trusted that their deliberations in the town would have the effect of strengthening the workers in their organisation, and making them feel that at any rate in the near future they were going to be real citizens, and real inhabitants of a real country (hear, hear).

Mr. Richard P. O'Carroll, T.C., P.L.G. (Dublin), seconded the motion, which was carried with acclamation.

The Mayor said, on behalf of the Corporation and himself, he desired to tender his thanks to those who had spoken for the very kind things they had said of him. He again expressed the hope that this Parliament of labour assembled for the first time in the capital of Tipperary, would be conducive to the prosperity and the welfare of the workers (hear, hear). As a worker himself, he was proud to be in the position of Mayor to welcome that great body of workers (applause).

On the motion of Mr. M. J. O'Lehane (Dublin), seconded by Mr. George Greig (Belfast), Mr. R. Byrne, of the Clonmel Trades Union, was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Congress.

#### ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Messrs. Whitley (Belfast) and Thos. Lawlor, T.C., P.L.G. (Dublin), were elected Tellers.



The following were appointed on the Standing Orders Committee:—Messrs. McPartlin (Dublin), McConnell (Belfast), Lynch (Cork), Mitchel (Belfast), and Walsh (Limerick).

Messrs. Clarke (Belfast) and Breslan (Dublin) were appointed Auditors.

On the motion of Mr. Quirke (Clonmel), seconded by Mr. Campbell (Belfast), Mr. M. J. O'Lehane (Dublin), Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, was appointed Chairman of the Congress.

#### PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Mr. O'Lehane, who took the chair amidst loud applause, congratulated Mr. Clarke on the expeditious and very admirable manner in which he had got through the preliminaries, and proceeded to deliver his opening address. He said:—

FELLOW-DELEGATES—My first duty is to thank you most sincerely for having elected me to preside at this, the Nineteenth Annual Congress of Irish Trade Unionists. At any period the holding of such a position would be a very great honour, but I venture to say that since the establishment of our Congress, and indeed since the establishment of the Trades Union movement as we know it to-day, there has been no time of greater portent than the present (applause). We are met in the midst of great happenings and on the eve, probably, of far more important developments (applause). It would be impossible for me to deal to-day with the many events of importance which occurred during the past year, or to refer at any length to the multiplicity of questions which affect the well-being of the workers of Ireland. I shall confine my remarks, therefore, to those which I consider to be of immediate and of pressing interest. The first question in the category must, in my opinion, be that which deals with the proposed change of Government in this country. When such altered circumstances obtain,

#### TRADES UNIONISM IN IRELAND WILL, FOR THE FIRST TIME,

take its natural place in the community, and I, for one, am convinced that that will be no mean place (applause). The immediate result may be, at least, that large industrial centres, at present having no direct representation, will elect men to voice their opinions and push forward their demands. But in dealing with the question of representation I must express strong disappointment at the fact that, in the proposed measure, large urban centres are ignored, and instead of giving representation to towns such as Clonmel, Tralee, Wexford, Drogheda, Dundalk, Sligo, Portadown, Lurgan, and Ballymena, it is suggested that the important towns of Galway, Newry, and Kilkenny are to be deprived of direct representation (applause). This is a proposal



to which we strongly object, and we must insist upon its amendment; the urban areas must from the outset get due representation (cheers). There are other phases also of the Home Rule Bill to which we must take exception, notably, the nominated Senate. This anomaly,

WHICH IS BUT A RELIC OF THE OLD ASCENDANCY CLASS LEGISLATION,

and one which the people of Great Britain are about getting rid of, is now to be foisted on Ireland. Believing as we do in government by the people and for the people, we are altogether opposed to any Senate which is nominated or elected on a restricted franchise (applause). Two other most objectionable features in the Bill are the eternal and ever-recurring "veto" and the "safeguards." I may say that we consider these undesirable and unnecessary, either in so far as religion or labour are concerned. The Irish workers would prefer to take their chance on these questions, and they are also willing to work out their own salvation, as I have no doubt they are quite capable of doing (hear, hear). In view of the contemplated change of government, and indeed under any circumstances, I think the time has arrived when the Trades Union movement should be put on a sounder, a more concrete, and a more homogeneous footing. The first essential for that purpose—next to organisation itself—is the creation of a central authority to guide the movement and to deal with difficulties as they arise. This can only be done by the establishment of an Irish Federation of Labour to which the various units would be responsible, more especially on matters affecting conditions of employment. As a result of this no section would, without at least due consultation and deliberation, have the power of involving the entire movement. I have indicated that in order to obtain redress of the many grievances under which the workers labour

ORGANISATION IS THE FIRST ESSENTIAL;

but it is not in itself sufficient. There must be discipline (hear, hear). And whilst unrest may be unavoidable, in many cases absolutely necessary, spasmodic guerilla warfare never achieves much, no matter how heroically propagated. The efforts and sacrifices of the heroes must be conserved and directed in the most scientific and effective manner, so as to produce the most profitable results. This is another reason why I should like to see a central governing body of organised workers in Ireland. In regard to the question of disputes, it is a pity that many people who seem to take such an interest in these matters when they arise

NEVER TROUBLE ABOUT THE CONDITION OF THE WORKERS

until the turmoils begin (applause). No matter how deplorable labour unrest may be from many points of view, it is well that it

should be distinctly understood that such unrest will, and must, continue so long as the present wretched conditions prevail. The workers have learned that it is only by demonstrating their discontent that those who are responsible for such conditions make any serious attempt to remedy them. It is well, therefore, that all should understand that in order to get at the root of the evil the first essential is

#### TO PROVIDE WORK FOR THE WORKLESS

and a decent living wage for all (cheers). I may add a word in regard to the settlement of disputes. This is most important, because I think I am right in saying that the workers have no desire for this warfare. It is they who, for the time being at least, suffer most and make the greatest sacrifices, and any machinery which could be set up to bring about the necessary reforms would, I think, be welcomed by us all. In this connection may I suggest the establishment of courts of arbitration with far more arbitrary powers than those possessed by any such bodies at present? The first act of such a body would be

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RIGHT OF COMBINATION

for all workers—a right which at present is not conceded, and as a consequence an amount of unnecessary friction is created (hear, hear). Here I would like to pay tribute to the magnificent fight which in some quarters was waged for this right during the past year, and notably to the self-sacrifice and heroism displayed by the men and women in Wexford (cheers). The question next in importance after that of organisation and Home Rule is the Insurance Act. You will remember that at last year's Congress certain amendments were proposed, including one demanding a separate Board with complete autonomy in regard to the administration of the Act in Ireland. These, as indicated in the report of the Parliamentary Committee, were duly laid before the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the representatives of the Irish and Labour Parties, the interviews in all cases being considered satisfactory. Subsequently, as the discussion of the Bill developed, two main features arose which gave great concern to the workers. These two points were treated, and are being treated, in a manner detrimental to the interests of the workers, and in some respects contrary to the promises already made. I refer in the first place

#### TO THE ELIMINATION OF THE MEDICAL BENEFITS FROM THE ACT IN ITS APPLICATION TO IRELAND,

and, secondly, to the question of independent Irish administration, which we were all led to believe had been granted. On the question of medical benefits, an amount of correspondence passed, and, whilst those who advocated their elimination stated that this decision was based entirely upon public opinion in Ireland, we, having ascertained the feelings of the workers, as well as having had



expressions of opinion from many public bodies, were satisfied that no such public opinion existed (hear, hear) This view we endeavoured to impress upon the Irish representatives, but unfortunately without avail, as the result of which the Irish workers are deprived of medical benefits. And what do we get in lieu of this deprivation? Those who are in receipt of 15s weekly or over get one penny per week—not at all adequate compensation; while in the case of those in receipt of 9s. weekly or under,

#### NO COMPENSATION WHATEVER

is received for the loss of medical benefits. We are aware, of course, of the difficulties with which the Irish Party were confronted in dealing with this matter, and of the very strong opposition raised to the extension of the Act to Ireland; but, taking everything into consideration, I feel that, in shearing the measure of the medical benefits, it has been deprived of one of its most popular and essential parts (cheers). We have been promised a One-Clause Amending Bill—a promise which we hope will be immediately fulfilled (hear, hear). Independent administration, as I have said, was demanded and promised, and everybody in Ireland was given to understand that independent administration we were to have. During the final stages of the debate, on the night of the 14th of November, the Chancellor of the Exchequer state that “not one penny of the money

#### CONTRIBUTED IN IRELAND WOULD CROSS THE ENGLISH CHANNEL.”

Notwithstanding all this there has since been an effort made to deprive the Irish workers of independent administration—an effort which must be combated and defeated (applause). But, with the exception of the defects which I have mentioned, the Insurance Act is, in my opinion, one of the best and most far-reaching measures for the amelioration of the workers that has been enacted in our time. On the whole, I think it is a humane and honest attempt to improve the social and economic condition of the masses, and to create, as it were, a more healthy equilibrium (hear, hear). In addition to the health portion, it also deals partially with unemployment, and is a recognition of the duty of the State to deal with those who are unemployed through no fault of their own. The advance, we may presume, from one stage to another is short, and it is not too much to hope that difficulties will be bridged and a progressive policy put into execution in the immediate future. Those who state that it is a very difficult problem to deal with the unemployment question have many remedies at their hands and at their doors, more especially in Ireland. They have the reclamation of the waste lands, foreshores, reafforestation, drainage, and

many other works of a reproductive character, which, when scientifically and judiciously handled, would give employment to a far greater number than those who are now seeking it (applause).

UNTIL THIS PROBLEM IS SOLVED THERE CAN BE NO REST

in the Labour world. This brings me to another very important question—it is that of inadequate remuneration for employment. Latterly we have heard a great deal in regard to the establishment of a minimum wage for the miners. The time has arrived, I think, when there must be a universal demand for the establishment of a fair minimum wage in all callings. The farm labourer, the docker, the factory worker, the shop assistant, etc., all have their serious grievance upon this question. The establishment of such a wage would go far to prevent the terrible evils of sweating which are still rampant in some of our industrial centres, and which, notwithstanding the futile efforts of the Wages Board—extremely limited in its operations—are still as prevalent as they were 15 or 20 years ago (applause). Another matter of some importance which has been dealt with, if somewhat ineffectively, during the past year is that of the hours of employment in shops—a matter in which I have taken a very personal interest. The Shops Bill as originally introduced dealt with the limitation of hours, the prohibition of Sunday trading, the establishment of a weekly half-holiday, and the provision of adequate time for meals—four very important provisions indeed; but when it emerged from the Commons two of its most important features had been dropped—viz., the limitation of hours and the prohibition of Sunday trading. There is, therefore, left only the weekly half-holiday and the provision of extended meal hours; something accomplished, no doubt, but, as I have said,

ENTIRELY INADEQUATE.

Its inadequacy is largely due to the apathy and inactivity of the shop assistants themselves. This is a feature, which, notwithstanding the efforts made by certain—a few—organisations, one here and one in Great Britain, should be driven home to the shop workers of these countries, who, properly organised, would be one of the most important elements in the community (hear, hear). The lesson herein indicated will, I hope, be not lost upon those to whom I refer. There are many other important questions which time will not permit me to deal with. I would like to refer briefly to the question of education, more especially in its primary stage, as it affects the sons and daughters of the workers of this country (hear, hear). It has very often been characterised as an unnatural and unnational system. The reason for this characterisation is not far to seek; the majority of those who control it possess no national spirit or instinct. They are out of touch with, if not opposed to, the feelings and aspirations of the people of Ireland. The so-called National Board is a body amenable or subject to no one, so



we have been repeatedly told. They can, therefore, quite easily endeavour to cram a cramped and unnatural programme into the minds of the children of the poor whilst their stomachs are empty. Their teachers are far from being independent, and, as some of them expressed it to me recently, "they have no time to think of education, their own grievances are so numerous." Speaking of the teachers reminds me that it is only when they convert their present state of "unrest" into action that they can hope to have their grievances remedied. They can do this most effectively and expeditiously by

BEING REPRESENTED AT GATHERINGS SUCH AS THIS,

and why they have not taken such a step long ago rather astonishes me (applause). It is only when they decide on doing so that they will get rid of their serfdom and the innumerable grievances under which they are endeavouring to exist. No wonder, then, that our educational system should be most unsatisfactory. We have a bureaucratic Board responsible to no one, and consequently amenable to no one; their teachers in consequence receive the treatment of half slaves (cheers). Children are forced to receive their education in houses badly ventilated and badly constructed. Little or nothing is being done for the grading or co-ordination of education, or for the encouragement of national talent so far as the children of the masses are concerned. Therefore, I think that any change in the government of this country which will give power and opportunity to the people to deal with this all-important question of education will be a change of the greatest service and advantage to the Irish nation (applause). This can only be done by having at the head of our educational systems administrators who are in sympathy with the aspirations of the people, and who understand their needs—in other words, by having a real, instead of a misnamed, National Board (hear, hear). The housing question is another most important subject. While some progress has been made in recent years, more especially in rural districts, it has not at all been adequately dealt with in urban and city areas, owing, it is alleged, to the lack of funds!

MUNICIPAL AUTHORITIES HAVE BEEN SIMPLY TINKERING WITH THE  
QUESTION.

There must be a large comprehensive scheme, and if it was worth while paying over one hundred millions to emancipate the farmers, then it is worth while, in my opinion, to pay a much larger sum to prevent the frightful stagnation and demoralisation which the housing in our towns creates and perpetuates (cheers). This is a question which, if it is to be solved, must be dealt with in no niggardly manner. The municipalities are in some cases probably heavily taxed, but whether the solution is to come municipally or

through the nation as a whole, it is a question which should, and must be, immediately tackled. Then there is the question of

THE NATIONALISATION OF OUR RAILWAYS.

As trade unionists we have always been in favour of the principle. The interests of the people as a whole and the interests of the nation are very much affected by railway administration, and we consider that a management that is narrow in its outlook and uneconomic in its working should not be allowed to hamper the general welfare (hear, hear). A Railway Commission, after sifting every point, decided in favour of the principle. What, by the way, is the good of getting a Commission to report, and then doing nothing? (Hear, hear.) I need hardly say that

I MEAN BY STATE CONTROL, CONTROL BY THE IRISH STATE.

Another matter to which I would like to draw attention is the absolute violation of some Acts of Parliament, more especially, perhaps, the Truck Acts. Some four years ago a Committee specially appointed to inquire into this matter issued a report, which report dealt mainly with the question of fines and the "living-in" system in shops. So far, no effort has been made to give effect to either the Minority or the Majority Report. This is a matter which has been too long delayed, and which must be pressed forward immediately. In conclusion, let me express the hope that our deliberations will be fruitful in bringing about

THE AMELIORATION OF THE CONDITIONS OF THE WORKERS IN THIS COUNTRY,

both in regard to the matters I have indicated and in regard to the many matters which come forward for discussion during this and the succeeding days. In dealing with all these questions, whilst our main object is the elevation of the Labour movement, we must not lose sight of a still larger object, and that is the interest of the nation, which is, after all, above and beyond any movement. But the workers constitute by far the most important element in a nation, and at no period were their views and deliberations of more importance than at the present time. Therefore, it behoves them, and behoves us here at the Congress, to remember that our proceedings are being carefully watched, in some cases by powerful and unscrupulous critics, and in some cases by a not too friendly Press. I would, therefore, urge upon you that during the course of our proceedings

NOTHING SHALL BE DONE OR SAID WHICH WOULD IN ANY WAY REFLECT ON THE GREAT CAUSE.

for which we are assembled, and which we all have so much at heart—a cause which, I sincerely trust, as the result of our meeting in this historic town, will have marched a step forward towards the goal of our ambitions (loud applause).



Mr. Murphy (Belfast) moved a vote of thanks to the President for his address, which he described as an excellent and comprehensive one (hear, hear). While all the delegates might not quite endorse what he had said in connection with Home Rule, there were very few of them who did not believe that the present position of affairs blocked the progress of the organised workers in Ireland, and that a change was eminently desirable in the government of the country (hear, hear). Most of them would be in agreement with what the President had said about the Insurance Act, and their special thanks were due to Mr. O'Lehane for his work in connection with that measure (hear, hear). The reference to education also merited the approbation and admiration of every trades-unionist, because education has been sadly neglected in this country, and the board was as fossilised, ancient, and useless as it could possibly be (hear, hear).

Mr. M. Egan, T.C., J.P., Cork, in seconding the motion, said there could be no doubt that from a worker's point of view that a change was desirable in the Government of the country, as the conditions under which the Irish worker lived were most unfair (hear, hear).

Mr. Daly (Dublin) put the motion, which was carried by acclamation.

The Chairman said while he did not anticipate that his views on all the subjects he alluded to would meet with the approval of the delegates, he was glad to see from the unanimity with which they had passed the vote of thanks that, generally speaking, they were in agreement with the principles he enunciated (hear, hear). The next business was the consideration of the Parliamentary Committee's Report, and he would take suggestions as to the best manner in which to discuss it. He suggested they should take it clause by clause (hear, hear). The first clause covered pp. 1-17.

Mr. John O'Hanlon (Dublin) proposed "that pp. 1-17 be now considered."

Mr. Thomas Halpin seconded

Mr. John Murphy said, in view of the fact that some of the delegates had not got the Report sufficiently long, contrary to Standing Order 11, it would be unfair to rush the matter through.

Messrs. Campbell and Hollywood (Belfast), Vaughan (Limerick), Egan (Cork), having spoken, it was agreed that the Parliamentary Committee's Report be considered on the morning of the second day of Congress.

#### INDEPENDENT REPRESENTATION OF LABOUR.

Mr. James Connolly (Belfast Branch Irish Transport Workers' Union) moved:—"Resolved—That the independent representation of Labour upon all public boards be, and is hereby, included

amongst the objects of this Congress; that one day at least be hereafter set apart at our annual gathering for the discussion of all questions pertaining thereto; that the affiliated bodies be asked to levy their members 1s. per annum for the necessary expenses, and that the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to take all possible action to give effect politically to this resolution." He said Ireland had been deprived of the greatest of all the benefits of the Insurance Act—the medical benefit—and that was the one benefit on which there was no divergence of opinion amongst the working classes (hear, hear). There was no use in blaming either the Home Rule Party or the Unionist Party for this discrimination against Ireland. [The real reason for it lay in the fact that they in Ireland had no organised means of expressing themselves politically. In the new groupings and alignments that were going to take place in Ireland, where were the workers to be? They could not blind their eyes to the fact that the proposed change in the government of the country would mean that the old parties were going to be disrupted, and he asked, as a result of the new arrangement, what part were the workers going to take? They were not going to tack themselves on to some political party of their masters in order that they might swell the fortunes and help the ambitions of their employers. When the representatives of Ireland came to meet in the old historic building in Dublin, which they had heard so much about, were the workers to be the only class that was not to be represented? (hear, hear). He would ask them to be ready to enter the new body to represent a definite organised labour opinion (applause).] The years in which they would be waiting for Home Rule should synchronise with the preparation of labour for Home Rule (applause). They all felt the disadvantage, and he might say the humiliation, involved in the fact that the working classes of Ireland were practically the only workers in any country in Europe to-day that had not a definite organised method of expressing its view upon the political field.

Mr. Moore (Belfast) seconded the resolution.

Mr. James Larkin, in supporting the motion, said there was no argument against a policy such as was outlined in the resolution. In that resolution they had a lever to do their own work. They were not humbugged in the least by people who said that Home Rule meant the millenium, but they believed that Home Rule would give them an opportunity of expressing themselves physically and mentally (applause). They should be ready to do their own work—ready to show their countrymen the way to take full advantages of their opportunities, to follow the road which took them to the goal for which they laboured and for which they hoped. The sun was rising, and the opportunity was now given them to prepare the way to enjoy its effulgence (hear, hear). They should remember that it would be too late to prepare when the battle-note was struck (applause).



Mr. Rimmer (Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants) said that in view of the Osborne judgment he would not vote either for or against the motion, but would remain neutral. The members of his society were forbidden to take any part politically through their branches or through affiliation to political bodies. He was, at the same time, of the opinion that the workers should take every precaution to safeguard their interests (hear, hear).

Mr. Greig (Belfast) said the resolution was undoubtedly one upon which very fine speeches and appeals to sentiments might be made (laughter). They were there to look to the practical and not to the sentimental side. If the resolution was carried it would have a very disturbing effect on trades unions, and it would lead to the shedding of many members (hear, hear). What they were going to do was to ask their members to take up questions upon which they were divided (hear, hear). They were all agreed as to the necessity for combination, but he thought the resolution was premature and should be left over until they knew exactly where they were (applause).

Mr. W. E. Hill (Railway Clerks) said it was the duty of leaders to lead, and if labour had not a definite policy, they could not expect ever to bring the rank and file up to the level of that policy (hear, hear). Referring to the Osborne judgment, he said there was no use waiting for it to be reversed. If it were not reversed by the time that it was necessary to put this resolution in operation, then our Irish Labour Party must be formed and supported in spite of that judgment (hear, hear). They should always remember that, if they wanted their work done well, they should remember that the only way was to do it themselves (applause). Events were moving rapidly, and they should be prepared to take advantage of their moving and help to quicken them (hear, hear). The situation was fraught with hope, and they must have confidence in their own strength, and take full advantage of their power. He strongly supported the resolution (applause).

Mr. Cody (Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, Dublin), said he would oppose the resolution. He had also been a strong supporter of labour interests, but he would never again support a Labour Party in the City of Dublin. He had been a victim of the railway strike in August, and he succeeded in getting a position in the Corporation, but because he supported the United Irish League candidate as against Mr. Larkin, the Socialist, the Labour Party objected because his name was not on the Labour Bureau. That was not the real reason why he lost the position, but because he simply had the courage of his convictions. The Labour Party in Dublin were as great tyrants as the Czar of Russia, and Mr. Larkin had him hunted and spied on and banned in the City of Dublin, and had made him a victim of trade unionism. He (Mr. Cody) was popular with the Labour Party in Dublin when the name of Larkin stunk in their nostrils.

Mr. Larkin said they should require Mr. Cody to prove his statements or one or other of them should withdraw from the Congress. Mr. Cody claimed to speak for the railway servants, but he (Mr. Larkin) challenged him to meet him before the members of that body and take their verdict as between the two of them (applause). He was elected a Labour representative in Dublin on the straight ticket as against all other parties (hear, hear). He had been called a Socialist, but he had also been called an Atheist and an Anarchist. He was a Socialist, but he had never in the course of his life deliberately injured any man. Mr. Cody was an Orangeman, but, strange to say this disinterested individual, a trades unionist, worked for the United Irish League candidate against him when he was fighting in the labour interest. He was getting 16s. 6d. a week strike pay from his Union, and he was acting as foreman over Corporation employes at Drumcondra. His name was not on the Labour Bureau, and the committee had not appointed him. There was a rule under the Act and the regulations in connection with it that he should be registered in the office of the Distress Committee, but Cody was not registered at all in that office. He (the speaker) had gone into the office of the Corporation with his colleagues, three of whom were delegates to that Congress, and, although they knew that Cody was employed in the department, they could find no record of his name. They found that he was working, but under a name that was not Cody. He had been sent into the Corporation to put down jobbery, and he had done what he was pledged to do. He would have done the same if the culprit had been his own brother (applause). The Corporation of Dublin had a rule for registration in their Labour Bureau. It was one of the things which they, as labour men, heartily approved of. Cody got his job through his having been a "ward-heeler."

Mr. Cody.—No. No.

Mr. Larkin.—Oh, yes it was. Cody had been appointed through the instrumentality of Alderman J. J. Farrell, who was the President of the Dublin Corporation Labourers' Trades Union, although his action in this instance was dead against the interests of that body. It was, he added, for those reasons that he got Mr. Cody's services dispensed with.

Mr. Greig said that it was not necessary that the Congress should hear all the details of a personal matter.

The Chairman said an attack had been made on Mr. Larkin, a serious charge had been levelled against him and the Labour Party in Dublin, and his explanation should be allowed (applause).

Mr. Campbell (Belfast) said that he rose at the same time as Mr. Cody, but gave way to him. He would not, however, have done so if he had had any idea that the unpleasant incident which had just been enacted was contemplated (hear, hear). He represented a body before which he was arraigned, indicted, and



brought to judgment for having the temerity at the last Congress to support a somewhat similar resolution to that now under discussion. Now he come, however, instructed to support the resolution by the very body before which he was arraigned for his action last year (applause). It had been thrown in their teeth that if they were men they would have their own representatives. They had proved that the Nationalist Party would not support their interests if there were stronger interests at work. They had proved that the Unionist Party paid little attention to their interests at any time, and they had proved that the British Labour Party would only help them at certain times. They had got to do their own work for themselves (loud applause).

Mr. Whitley (Belfast), referring to the incident between Mr. Larkin and Mr. Cody, said they should be careful to conduct their debates in Congress in such a manner as that the outside public or a powerful hostile Press could have nothing to say to them. Delegates should exercise a little forethought before making remarks against another. In reference to the resolution, he said that it would be a better plan to send the resolution back to the societies for the purpose of eliciting their opinions on the matter. It had been shown that Irish workers differed not only on political questions but on labour matters.

At this stage of the proceedings, Mr. Joseph Mitchell, Chairman of the Standing Orders Committee, presented

#### REPORT (No. 1) OF THE STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE.

"Your Committee recommend that P.C. Report be taken up first business on Tuesday morning, also that nomination for P.C. be handed in on Tuesday morning up to twelve o'clock; and that election be taken on Wednesday morning at eleven o'clock. They also recommend that resolutions 4 and 5 be grouped, Mr. Larkin to move and Mr. O'Brien to second. They also recommend that Resolutions 11, 13, 13A, and 14, dealing with Insurance Act, be grouped. Delegates in whose names they appear to arrange as to form of resolution, and mover and seconder.

"Your Committee report that 87 delegates, representing 70,000 workers, are in attendance at Congress. They also recommend that Congress adjourn at 1.30 p.m., to enable delegates to participate in outing provided by local Reception Committee."

Mr. Greig proposed, and Mr. N. Rimmer seconded, the adoption of the Standing Orders Committee's Report.

Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast) proposed, and Mr. John Vaughan (Limerick), seconded:—"That the Report be varied in such particular that resolutions on Insurance Act be taken with P.C. Report; and that consideration of P.C. Report be postponed, pending decision on resolution at present before the chair."

The amendment was put, and declared passed, after which the Congress adjourned.

## SECOND DAY—TUESDAY, 28th MAY, 1912.

The Congress re-assembled at 9.30, the President, Mr. M. J. O'Lehane, in the chair.

Minutes of preceding day having been read and signed,

The consideration of the resolution dealing with the formation of a Labour Party, proposed the previous day, was again taken up, and Mr. Drummond (Dublin) said the resolution was a very cleverly drawn-up resolution, and would tend to alter the whole aspect of affairs in Ireland. It stated that they were to come there for one day for the purpose of discussing political affairs, but at every Trades Congress at which he had been, practically speaking, they had discussed nothing but Parliamentary affairs. Was the Trades Union movement in Ireland going to become a mere political machine?

Mr. Milner (Dublin) spoke against the resolution, which, he said, was a question of Socialism *versus* the old Trades Unionism. Had the advocates for the rights of labour in the past been asleep? This resolution was a vote of censure on the rights of labour in the past (hear, hear).

Mr. Nolan (Dublin) was in favour of direct representation for labour. The working classes were being made the victims of political exploiters, and the capitalistic classes were seeking to create differences amongst them for that purpose (hear, hear). They had an example of that in the case of the coal owners and railway owners. There was nothing but divisions amongst the workers, and this resolution merely set forth the principle of starting a campaign by which that antagonism might be lessened or abolished (hear, hear). It did not mean antagonism to any political movement. They had made a fine start in establishing a decent Labour Party in Dublin in January last, which had the power of checking the political huxterers in the Dublin Corporation. The speaker was proceeding to refer to the introduction of personal remarks by a delegate at the Congress on the previous day, when the President announced the time limit, and he sat down.

Mr. John Murphy (Belfast) said that year after year and time after time they had passed resolutions in favour of labour representation. He held that they would be swamping the Trades Union movement and be deliberately destroying its utility if they constructed that Congress into a political party (hear, hear). It would introduce political divergences within the Congress which would be incompatible with its unity and without achieving the general purposes for which it had been established. He suggested that the resolution be withdrawn, and that the Parliamentary Committee prepare a scheme of proportionate representation for submission to the next Congress.



Mr. Jos. Mitchell, Chairman Standing Orders Committee, presented

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE (NO. 2) REPORT.

"Your Committee recommend that Chairman enforce Standing Order 9 *re* limitation of speeches, and that non-contentious resolutions be spoken to only by mover and seconder.

"They also recommend that resolutions 3 and 3A dealing with Railway Nationalisation be grouped, and that 18 and 21, dealing with Factory Inspection, be grouped, and that 25 and 26, dealing with minimum wage, etc., be also grouped.

"As the hall is engaged for some part of the day by another body, they also recommend that the adjournment for lunch take place at twelve noon, and that Congress re-assemble at 1.30 p.m."

On the motion of Mr. E. J. O'Neill (Dublin), seconded by Mr. Thos. Halpin (Dublin), the Report of Standing Orders Committee was adopted.

Resuming the debate on resolution proposed by Mr. Connolly,

Mr. William O'Brien (Dublin) said—Every resolution sent forward from that Congress had been treated with contempt by the Irish and the Labour Parties. He had forwarded the resolution passed when Mr. Daly was arrested to the Labour Party, and they had never received even a post-card in acknowledgment. He thought it was time they resented such treatment (applause). Mr. Murphy was the only speaker amongst the opponents of the resolution who had spoken with intelligence against it. He had advocated the sending of the question to the Parliamentary Committee, but last year when that was proposed Mr. Murphy had opposed it (applause). He (Mr. O'Brien) was glad to see that he had come so far on the road, but he feared that if the resolution was the same as last year, Mr. Murphy would vote against it all the same (laughter and applause).

Mr. Flanagan (Belfast) said the Nationalist Party has been spoken of as a Labour Party in the absence of a Labour Party in Ireland, but it was quite possible for a member of the Nationalist Party to be a sweating employer, and to be opposed to the principles of Trades Unionism generally. Now was the moment to form a separate Labour group. They expected to have a separate form of Government very soon in Ireland, and it was for them to take advantage of the opportunity afforded them to do something towards organising Labour forces. If Labour representation was ignored it would get a very poor show in the Irish Parliament when it came into being. It was an undoubted fact that the Nationalist Party—the heads of the Liberal and Nationalist Parties—were capitalistic in their views, and it was quite possible that Mr. John Redmond and his Party might be more reactionary than the present Ulster Tory Party. Some arrangement must be come to to have Labour directly represented.

Mr. Connolly in replying, said that the tone of the debate all through was something which made him feel proud of his countrymen (hear, hear), and at the same time he congratulated his English and Scottish brethren on the manner in which they had put their views (hear, hear). He must, however, ask those speakers who seemed to fear that the passing of the resolution would create dissension, because of the differences of opinion. Were there no differences of opinion amongst workers in Great Britain? (applause). Of course there were, as there were in Germany, in France, the United States, and everywhere else (hear, hear). These differences of expressed opinion were the very life-blood of discussion (hear, hear). He believed if organization of any kind were to get even a chance of expression, it was vitally necessary to pass the resolution (applause).

The President, in putting the motion, expressed satisfaction at the high level to which the debate had reached.

On being put to the vote, 49 voted *for*, and 18 *against*, the resolution, which was declared carried amidst applause.

Mr. Mitchell, Chairman of the Committee, presented—

#### STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE'S (NO. 3) REPORT.

"Your Committee's attention was directed to the credential of the delegate of the Irish Women Workers' Union, and they summoned the delegate (Miss Larkin) before them. The lateness of the receipt of the fees was questioned, and your Committee were satisfied that application for affiliation was received a week previous to Congress.

"Miss Larkin explained that it was entirely her own fault that the fees were not to hand in the correct time. It was due to the fact that she had been so busy in connection with a strike at present going on in Keogh's Sack Factory in Dublin.

"Your Committee recommend that credential be accepted."

Mr. Murphy (Belfast) moved "That this Congress disagrees with so much of the Report of Standing Orders Committee as has reference to the organizing of women by the Irish Transport Workers' Union, and that such recommendation be, and it is hereby deleted, and that Miss Galway get the permission sought." He said that the matter was a very important one. They had so many adventurers and "bounders" in the Trade Union movement, especially in Belfast, that they were desirous that the Congress should give a lead in the matter. He thought it was very detrimental that such persons should set up new unions.

Mr. Hill (Railway Clerks) protested that Mr. Murphy was not speaking to Standing Orders, but was discussing resolutions which had reference to Sectional Trades Unionism. The President said that they could not allow Mr. Murphy to discuss the matter, which was debarred, until permission was given to have it discussed.



Mr. J. Murphy—I protest against that ruling. I consider it most absurd. I am proposing an amendment, and I am not allowed to explain what are my reasons.

The President—All the delegates understand what is in my mind.

Mr. Murphy said he was not going into the merits of the question. The recommendation of the Standing Orders Committee was simply shelving the question until next year. It meant that the Parliamentary Committee were afraid to face the music in a discussion that would take place, and which would be in the interests of trade unionism. He moved that the whole matter be discussed now.

Miss Galway (Belfast), in seconding the amendment, said she wanted the matter discussed now. If the question were shelved it would be most unfair to her society, which all along the line had supported trade unionism in every possible way.

Mr. Campbell (Belfast) said this matter had been discussed by the Belfast Trades Council for months and months. The dispute had been referred to a conference, but that conference had not yet been called.

Mr. Murphy—The statement made by Mr. Campbell is not true.

Mr. Campbell said he would like an expression from some delegates from the Belfast Trades Council as to whether his statement was true or not.

Mr. T. McConnell said as one of the representatives from Belfast he endorsed every word Mr. Campbell had said.

Miss Galway—There is a clique in the Belfast Trades Council who back these people up.

The amendment was defeated and the motion to adopt the resolution was carried unanimously.

The Report of Standing Orders was adopted unanimously on the motion of Mr. N. Rimmer (A.S.R.S., Dublin), seconded by Mr. J. H. Bennett (National Sailors' and Firemen's Union, Belfast).

#### REPORT OF PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

FELLOW-DELEGATES.—In presenting their report for the past twelve months, your Committee have to report that labour legislation during the year has not been as fruitful as we anticipated. The Insurance Act has been passed, as has the Shops Act, and an attempt has been made by the Government to deal with the Minimum Wage question which has proved futile. Following the usual course, copies of the resolutions adopted at Galway were forwarded to the various parties, ministers, Government departments and local bodies, but beyond formal acknowledgments excepting the National Insurance Act and Shops Act, your Committee have nothing to report in connection therewith.

*National Insurance Act.*—As directed by last year's Congress, your Committee convened a special meeting on July 1st to consider the Bill then before Parliament. They had invited opinions and recommendations from the various Trades Councils and Labour bodies in the country, and received valuable suggestions from amongst others:—The Dublin and Waterford Trades Councils, the Joint Committee of the Dublin Branches of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors, Belfast Flax-Roughers and Yarn-Spinners, Textile Operatives of Ireland, the Belfast Flax-Dressers' Trade Union, etc. After a lengthened discussion your Committee decided upon forwarding suggestions which it was decided to press on the Irish Party and the responsible Minister of the Crown (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), who had charge of the Bill.

The following memorandum was agreed to, and forwarded to the different parties, and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer:—

The Parliamentary Committee have decided to advocate that for the purposes of the Bill a special Board be established in Ireland.

That the provisions of the Bill be extended to include provisions for insurance in the event of death;

(a) The number of members to constitute an approved society be reduced from 5,000 to 1,000, and that societies five years in existence prior to the passing of the Bill should be considered approved societies;

(b) The area of compulsion be extended to the unemployment section, and that Section 1 of Clause 63, which seeks to debar a working man from receiving benefit if his unemployment is due to a strike or lock-out, be deleted;

(c) The benefits to the different trades by the making of an additional grant to the Exchequer to cover the heavier liability in the mechanical, engineering, ship-building, or construction of vessels, and other trades be equalised;

(d) The worker shall have an equal right with the employer to compound his payments to the fund, and that Section 74, which, if adopted, would tend to the lowering of wages, should be deleted;

(e) A larger State grant than is specified in the Bill should be secured.

(f) Provision for the return to a contributor, or to the placing to his credit for future contingencies, such sums and the interest thereon as may be held to his credit at such time as he may have been employed within an approved trade, but which would, unless so provided for, be lost by his voluntary or involuntary transfer to employment outside the scope of the employed section of the Bill.

(g) Sub-section (g) of Clause 32, which forfeits at death all moneys in the Post Office standing to the credit of such depositor, be deleted;

(h) Sub-section (b) of Clause 32, dealing with the exhaustion of Post Office funds, shall be supplied by moneys provided by the Treasury.

(i) Sub-section (a) of Clause 11, dealing with accident benefit, be deleted, and that specific provision be made for trade unions to administer and pay out to its members, the unemployed, and in such other cases sick, benefit under the Bill.



The Committee strongly urges the necessity of enlarging the medical insurance clause of the Bill, so as to provide the dependents of insured persons with free medical attendance.

(1) "That the reduced scale of contributions (as provided in schedule 2) to be paid by those whose wages are low, should be amended so as to apply to wages of 3s., 3s. 6d., and 4s. per day, instead of 1s. 6d., 2s. and 2s. 6d. per day as at present proposed; and, further, that this reduced scale when amended apply to actual earnings and not simply to nominal wages."

(2) "That an endeavour be made to secure a clear declaration from the Government as to whether it is intended that Trades Unions, not at present paying sickness benefits, should provide such a benefit on their own account as a condition of their becoming approved societies, and in the event of a reply in the affirmative, that an amendment to this Bill removing such a condition be introduced."

(3) "That Clause 79 of the Insurance Bill be so amended as to provide for Trades Unions being the medium of paying unemployment benefit to their members, even if they do not pay any additional benefit to that provided by the Insurance Bill."

In regard to Disablement Benefit—Clause 8, 7 (c)—the Committee consider the clause should be amended so as to entitle the insured to participate, after the payment of fifty-two contributions, instead of one hundred and four.

The Committee are of the opinion that Clause 9 would be altogether unfair, and they object to the benefits being curtailed for any insured person who has contributed, or for whom has been contributed, the necessary amount of moneys to qualify for benefit, and they accordingly press for its deletion from the Bill. This also applies to Clause 11.

The manifest unfairness to woman workers of the provisions of Section 16 is apparent, and the Committee have decided to press for amendment, so that the contributing member shall secure the payment of the maternity grant together with the usual weekly sickness allowance, and so maintain her prior to and after the birth of her child.

#### CLAUSE 21, SUB-SECTION 5.

The Approved Societies shall have power to select their own place of meeting, and the Insurance Commissioners shall have no power to interfere with such selection except the place of meeting be on licensed premises or some objectionable place not approved of by the majority of the members of the Society.

#### CLAUSE XXIV., SUB-SECTION 2.

Delete all words after "persons."

In Clause XVIII., Sub-section 2, after the word "member" be added—"This is not to apply to Trade Unions which disburse money for ordinary Trade Union purposes, such as strike or dispute pay, or by way of contributions or other disbursements in furtherance of Trade Union objects."

The Committee are of the opinion that Clause LIV. would be very unjust, and would inflict punishment on one person for the misdeeds of another. They consider the Clause should be deleted.

Taking into account the economic conditions in Ireland and the meagreness of employment, the Committee consider Ireland should be especially favoured in regard to Clause LXII., and that the term of twenty-six weeks should be reduced to thirteen weeks.

The Committee further press the peculiar and altogether different position of Ireland to any of the other countries under the scheme, and they press for the amendment of Clause LXIII. by the deletion of all reference to locks-out, for which the insured cannot be held to be responsible, and the alteration of Section 3 so as to exclude political charges.

As Clause LXXIII. is one which might at any time cause grave disquietude to Trade and Labour Unions it was considered necessary to recommend that it should be deleted.

The Committee suggest that there would undoubtedly be an incentive to employers to dispense with their workers during the slack seasons in order to save their contributions, and they accordingly press for the insertion in Part I. of the Bill of a similar provision to that contained in Clause LXXII. of Part II.—

That some penalty be put on employers who dismiss employes without reasonable cause, because these frequent dismissals become a big drag on the scheme, especially that portion of it which applies to unemployment.

That regulations should be made for men and women engaged at the same industry or calling to become members of the one Approved Society.

The Committee, in considering a letter from the Flax-Roughers and Yarn-Spinners, are in agreement with the principle that employers who do not pay 20s. weekly to a worker should be compelled to pay the worker's and the employer's contributions under the Bill, as less than 20s. weekly is not a living wage, in urban districts at any rate.

A further hardship which the Bill proposes is at variance with the established custom in trades unions, and labour bodies generally, viz., the payment of contributions during idleness or illness. The Parliamentary Committee desire to further point out that during these periods the insured is further handicapped by having to pay the employer's, as well as his own, contribution. They are, therefore, of the opinion that the Bill should be amended so as to free beneficiaries from the payment of contributions during the period of their idleness or illness.

A further objection is taken to the amount of moneys required to be lodged by approved societies, for which there would appear to be no provision for refund. The Committee are of the opinion that there ought not be any necessity for such lodgments, inasmuch as the societies being "approved" must have given all the necessary data to secure "approval"—including evidence of solvency. They call for the amendment of the Bill in this further particular.

Your Committee decided to appoint a deputation to proceed to London to interview the Chancellor of the Exchequer, accompanied by the delegates of such Trades Councils and labour bodies as desired to be directly represented on the occasion. Your Committee were informed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not receive their delegation owing to pressure of public business,



and they were referred to Sir Henry Robinson, President, Local Government Board, who, it was stated, would act for the Chancellor of the Exchequer; your Committee, however, unanimously refused to see Sir Henry Robinson on the matter, and they instructed their Secretary to inform him of their decision. They pointed out that however careful he might be, and whatever interest he might display, would not be equal to a personal interview with the Chancellor, with which view Sir Henry afterwards expressed himself in concurrence.

Thanks, however, to the kindness of, and the interest displayed by, Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., an appointment was made with the Right Hon. Lloyd George in his room in the House of Commons on July 17th, your Committee's representatives being accompanied by Miss Mary Galway, Textile Operatives of Ireland; Messrs. Wm. Walker, J.P., and John Murphy, Belfast Trades Council; Thomas Murphy, Dublin Trades Council; Wm. Rooney, Flax-Dressers, Belfast; Dawson Gordon, Flax-Roughers, Belfast; Joseph Buckner, Limerick Trades Council; George Greig, National Amalgamated Union of Labour; Michael McKeown, T.C., Irish Transport Union.

The deputation was first received by the Committee of the Irish Party having charge of the Bill.

The attendance of members, under the presidency of Mr. J. E. Redmond, M.P.; included:—Messrs. J. J. Clancy, M.P.; P. J. Brady, M.P.; Joseph Devlin, M.P.; John Dillon, M.P.; Wm. Field, M.P.; Wm. Abraham, M.P.; J. J. O'Shee, M.P.; J. P. Nannetti, M.P., and J. C. Lardner, M.P., who acted as Secretary.

The delegation, which was introduced by Messrs. J. P. Nannetti, M.P., and Joseph Devlin, M.P., discussed the various provisions of the Bill. Miss Mary Galway, Messrs. John Murphy, Thos. Murphy, Councillor McKeown, Dawson Gordon, Wm. Rooney, M. J. O'Lehane, and P. T. Daly advocated the various points in the Memorandum. Your Chairman opened up the question, and pressed strongly for the inclusion of medical benefits and the protection of the interests of the casual worker, and further pressed on the Committee the advisability of paying Insurance under the unemployed section direct by the Trade Unions. Mr. John Murphy followed, and pressed upon the Party the necessity for amending the Bill as applying to out-workers. They were followed by the other speakers, and Mr. J. E. Redmond, in bringing the interview to a close, said there was a divergence of opinion with regard to the various points raised by the deputation, but he said their views would receive the earnest attention of his colleagues and himself. The deputation having thanked Mr. Redmond for their courteous reception then withdrew, Mr. Redmond having arranged to introduce the deputation to Mr. Lloyd George on the following day.

The following afternoon the deputation was accompanied by Messrs. J. E. Redmond, M.P.; J. J. O'Shee, M.P.; J. P. Nannetti, M.P.; Joseph Devlin, M.P., and J. J. Clancy, M.P., at the interview which took place in the Chancellor's room in the House of Commons.

The deputation was introduced by Mr. John Redmond, M.P., who said—I have the honour to introduce to you a deputation consisting of representatives of the Parliamentary Committee of the Irish Trades Union Congress, and also representatives of the Dublin Trades Council, of the Belfast Trades Council, and some other organisations which are desirous of putting their views with reference to the Insurance Bill before you as it affects Ireland. These gentlemen have already been in communication with the Irish Parliamentary Committee, and on a great many points, in fact on most of the points in which they are interested, they are in agreement with us, but there are some other points upon which you will not take every view put forward by them as having been in its entirety accepted by the Committee of the Irish Party. There are discussions going on still, but on most of the points we are in agreement. Now, the most convenient course for you and the deputation, I think, and in the interests of the different committees, is that I should now retire from the discussion, and let the deputation state to you their case themselves. Mr. O'Lehane, the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Irish Trades Union Congress, will speak first.

Mr. O'Lehane—We represent the Parliamentary Committee of the Irish Trades Union Congress. There are at the present moment about 100,000 workers in Ireland whom we represent, and, in addition, we are backed up by representatives from the Belfast Trades Council and from Dublin, and by the Limerick Trades Council, and also by representatives of large individual Unions in Ireland. We are thoroughly in favour of the Insurance Bill in Ireland, so far as the workers at least are concerned, and the principles underlying it, but there are some points which we consider vital points, and the first is that we should have a separate set of Insurance Commissioners in Ireland for the administration of the Act, and, in fact, that we should have complete autonomy so far as Ireland is concerned in this matter. With these suggested amendments, we are strongly in favour of the Bill, and if these amendments are not conceded we are not with the Bill, and we would be rather slow in accepting it.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—You would rather be left out of the Bill as it stands?

Mr. O'Lehane—We are certainly in favour of the principle of the Bill, but we are not prepared to accept it as it stands.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—You are in favour of the principle of the Bill and the cash of the Bill. The Irishman likes to get ninepence for fourpence, just as anybody else would.

Mr. O'Lehane—The objections are not insuperable.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—There is nothing here in this statement of yours which is very serious.

Mr. O'Lehane—There is one point in regard to sickness, and that is that the Irish Party have thought it advisable to suggest that the medical aid portion should be eliminated altogether.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—I should like to hear you on that.



Mr. O'Lehane—To that we are totally opposed.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—It does not matter to us. It is entirely for you to accept it or not.

Mr. O'Lehane—We consider that portion of very great importance.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—You can be left out if you wish. It is a matter entirely for Ireland, and you had better settle it amongst yourselves.

Mr. O'Lehane—We want the medical aid portion retained. We do not want medical aid benefits excluded.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—I shall take this line. If Ireland says that she does not want some boon, and she says—"No, I would rather not take it," then, of course, I will not press it upon her, and I would say the same thing exactly to England or Scotland. If England said, with emphasis by a majority of two or three to one, "We would rather not take medical benefit," of course, I should drop it instantly.

Mr. Walker—Supposing you agree to exclude Ireland from medical benefits is it possible to agree that members of an amalgamated union, with headquarters in England, shall have medical benefit? As a carpenter in my union I am a member of a registered society in England. Should I get the same benefits as my English colleagues?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—The first speaker put me to the desire of Ireland for autonomy, but how does autonomy come in there for Ireland whenever a man has a right to contract out?—You cannot do it. You have got to make up your mind as a whole either to be in or to be out.

Mr. Greig—What is to be the case of a member of an Amalgamated Society who is three weeks in Belfast and three weeks somewhere else, and continually going backwards and forwards?—That is the case often in Belfast.

Mr. Walker—I may say we have brought 300 joiners into Belfast in the past nine weeks.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—We will have to deal with that problem no doubt, but that is one or the exceptions that go to prove every rule, and special provision has to be made for such cases.

## POSITION OF OUT-WORKERS

Mr. Walker—Then, again, there is another very great danger, and that is that you may be invited to exclude out-workers in Ireland from the provisions of the Insurance Bill.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—What do you mean by out-workers?

Mr. Walker—Take the girls doing embroidery work in the North of Ireland for firms. They are out-workers, and they are a class that is degraded, if I may use the word, because of the very low standard of wages and living conditions prevalent amongst them. If any class in Ireland requires sick insurance it is that class of out-workers, with regard to whom the Government, in recent times, has granted a Commission of Inquiry to investigate and report as to the deplorable conditions under which many of these girls are working. We make a special plea that out-workers should be kept within the Act. They are working at from 3s. 6d. to 7s. per week, up to 90 hours a week, under

the most foul conditions, and the bulk of these women are sick at this moment, and cannot possibly be anything else. You are going to give us sick benefit, and surely we have a right to ask for the protection of the Exchequer for a class who, at this moment, are unable absolutely to safeguard their own interests. Then I come to the workmen's compensation, Clause II. I do wish to press the purely Irish view that it is not fair to penalise a man who may be injured by stopping sick benefit should his compensation exceed an amount equivalent to the sick benefit he would obtain. Now let me deal with the last point, and that is the question of numbers. There is just one friendly society, I think, in Ireland who could come within the provisions of the Bill voluntarily by the number of members they have—namely, 5,000, as stated in the Bill. Miss Galway represents a body of women who pay a penny a week for some members numbering something like 2,000. Mr. Gordon represents 1,000 flax-workers, and Mr. Rooney represents 1,000 flax-dressers. We suggest that you might adopt a provision fixing a number, but making an alternative—namely, that as a trade union or friendly society that had been five years in existence prior to the passing of the Bill had thereby proved its *bona fides*, it should be admitted as an approved society, provided it was solvent, without having the required statutory number.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—Would not this alternative suit you? Supposing you had societies representing particular trades, so long as they represent the whole of that trade would it not suit you that that should be treated as a minimum in those particular cases?

Mr. Walker—That is to say make the industry a unit?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—Yes.

Mr. Walker—That, I think, would be quite acceptable.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—But to encourage all these little societies is a bad thing. Of course, it is a bad thing from the point of view of the sickness fund, because after all you want to average, because otherwise you may get a frightful epidemic in one district which will bankrupt the society there, and you may get another society in another district which will be uncommonly well off. The principle should be brotherhood, and I suggest, therefore, that it is very desirable that you should get the largest unit possible. The larger the unit that is possible the better because of the doctrine of average.

Mr. O'Lehane—Speaking about Approved Societies, are you prepared to approve societies provided they come from the same industry notwithstanding the numbers?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—If you deal with existing societies, provided there are no others of the same trade in Ireland, then in that case we might recognise you in spite of your numbers being below the minimum, but we must force you to federate with others of the same kind.

Mr. Walker—I do not think there will be any objection to that.

#### COMPENSATION QUESTION.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—Then on Clause II. I am dead against you there, and I will tell you why. I think there is about £750,000 in it. If I were fighting to obtain that for the State you might say I am taking your money away, and putting it in the pockets of the



taxpayer, but I am not. It does not matter where the money goes to. I am paying exactly the same whether it goes in that double insurance or whether it goes to some other purpose. But what I do say is that it diminishes the amount which is available for other little gaps in the Bill which I hope to fill up. The Bill deals with the poorest and most destitute and helpless of the population, and I say if I have not enough money to cover both I would rather give the £750,000 to the broken and poor man than to the man who is already receiving compensation, but I cannot give to both.

Mr. Thomas Murphy—There is one question I should like to ask. If a man has been in prison for an offence, then when such a man has been punished he has completely expiated that offence, and should not be further punished under the Bill. Is not that so?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—That is a question for the society entirely. If you go into a society you must stand by the rules of that society. I do not think his fellow-workmen would be hard on him in a case like that.

Mr. Walker—There is just one other question. Supposing a man is employed this week for three days, and he does the work and earns 10s., and next week he earns £1, what will be the rate? Will his rate be assessed on the average of the period or will each week stand by itself?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—It is not so much a week but so much a day that he earns, and I do not think you will get many cases where a man is one day getting 6s. a week and the next week 2s. 6d. a day, and that is why I put per day.

Mr. Walker—If it is based on the day, that settles it.

### SHOP ASSISTANTS.

Mr. O'Lehane—With regard to shop assistants, what value do you propose to put on board and lodging in the case of shop assistants?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—That you must calculate according to the different localities. You must allow the societies themselves and the Health Commissioners to decide. You might be in a country town where the board and lodging will not be very much, but in Dublin, or Belfast, or Cork it would be worth twice or three times as much, and in London the proportion would be still higher than in Dublin, because rent is so much greater here. You must, therefore, have a sort of scale, which would vary according to the town and locality.

Mr. O'Lehane—There is some doubt whether Trades Unions will have freedom and independence in the disbursement of other funds than those relating to benefits under the Bill.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—That is in Clause 18, and it has led to a good deal of misunderstanding; but we will make it clear that so far as Trade Union funds are concerned we do not propose to interfere with them at all. We have nothing to interfere with them.

Mr. Greig—In regard to such societies as Miss Galway represents and the one I represent, which is composed of the less skilled workmen employed as labourers and men employed in a great many very dangerous and unhealthy occupations, the Friendly Societies will have the power to select their members, and they will draw very likely from the membership all the good lives. Skilled trades will also have a very large membership, and, comparatively speaking, much less liability than we are likely to have, and we shall have no power of selection.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—You can form your own society.

Mr. Greig—Your liabilities will be very heavy, and will any provision be made to meet them?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—Have you read Clause 46?—Under that clause where there is excessive sickness in any particular industry provision will be made to deal with it.

Mr. Greig—You might have a high average, but it might be excessive.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—But there is no reason why industries of that kind should be unhealthy if the conditions are fair, though it is perfectly true some industries are more unhealthy than others. The most unhealthy of all is that of the Chancellor of the Exchequer dealing with an Insurance Bill; but there is no reason why, if you can improve the conditions in your trade, that the trade should not be less unhealthy. Clause 46 will enable you to improve very largely those conditions, because where an employer does not provide conditions which conduce to the health of the workers there is a right under that Bill to compel him to pay towards the extra sickness involved.

Mr. Dawson Gordon—Take the flax-dressers and roughers. Our men are choked up with dust; they are the two most unhealthy trades in the industry. The employers do all in their power to make the conditions as pleasant as possible for the workers, but still it does not improve the health of the workers.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—What is the percentage of ill-health amongst you?

Mr. Gordon—We have never tested it.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer—But you must make experiments. There are many things in this Bill which are pure experimental, and the Post Office Fund is one of them. If you find societies refusing trades of this kind the next thing will be that Parliament will have to deal with them, and so if they are very dangerous and unhealthy Parliament will have to give an extra grant towards them. But you must, first of all, feel your way in these cases, and not attempt too much at once. They will be all the better off then than before in any case.

On the following morning the deputation secured an interview with the representatives of the Labour Party in the House of Commons. At the interview, which took place on the Terrace, the deputation was introduced by Mr. Wm. Walker, J.P., Belfast. The Labour Party was represented by Messrs. G. N. Barnes, M.P., and Gill, M.P., the latter acting as Chairman. Your delegation placed before them the views of the Irish Trades Unionists on the measure, and were ably supported by Messrs. Walker, Murphy, McKeown, and the other members of the deputation.

The Chairman said on behalf of the Labour Party that they would do everything they could to give effect to the views given expression to by the various speakers, after which the deputation withdrew.

Your Committee desire to return to Messrs J. P. Nannetti, M.P., and J. Devlin, M.P., their grateful appreciation of the kindness they showed their representatives during their visit.



Immediately it was made public Ireland was likely to be excluded from the medical benefits, our Chairman proceeded to London to interview the various parties so as to have Ireland included. We regret that he was not able to effect the inclusion of Ireland. Some members of the Irish Party who were in favour of the provisions of the Act being applied to Ireland complained to him that the workers in Ireland were too apathetic with regard to the measure as a whole, and were too critical of its provisions. He further reported that a large section of the Irish Party wanted Ireland excluded altogether, and the inclusion of Ireland without medical benefits was the only compromise that could be arrived at inside the Party. The Chairman also submitted correspondence with various members of the Irish Party.

A circular letter was submitted, and ordered to be circulated, copies of which were sent to the various Labour bodies in the country.

Your Committee, however, cannot but feel disappointed that the medical benefits under the Insurance Act have not been extended to Ireland, and they hope that the approaching Congress in Clonmel will emphasise their demand for the inclusion of Ireland in this very important portion of the Act, and whilst they note with satisfaction that some of the amendments suggested have been given effect to, they cannot help expressing the opinion that if labour were properly represented we would not be excluded from this beneficent portion of the Insurance Act.

A further meeting of the Sub-Committee of Dublin members was held on 14th ulto., and they reviewed the position in which the Irish Trades Union movement was placed on the Joint Advisory Committee of the National Health Insurance Joint Committee, when the following resolution was passed:—

“That this meeting of the Parliamentary Committee of the Irish Trades Union Congress protests against the manner in which the claims of the Trades Unionists of Ireland for due and proper representation has been dealt with in the appointment of the Advisory Committee of the National Health Insurance Joint Committee. We desire to point out that, whilst the organised workers have only secured one representative, the other, and unorganised, interests, have secured the remainder of the representation. And we further protest against the inclusion of Lady Aberdeen, on the grounds that she has no claim to such representation, and has no direct interest in the work of the Commission.”

It was also decided to issue a special appeal to the various affiliated bodies to meet the heavy expenditure during the year.

The Sub-Committee held a further special meeting to consider a letter which the Chairman had addressed to the Secretary of the Joint Committee. The letter is as follows:—

27th April, 1912.

DEAR SIR,—On behalf of the Parliamentary Committee of the Irish Trades Union Congress, I desire to bring under the Notice of the

National Health Insurance Joint Committee a matter of great importance affecting the administration of the Insurance Act in Ireland. At the Trades Union Congress held at Galway last year, when the Insurance Act was under discussion, a resolution was passed unanimously demanding independent administration for Ireland, with a separate Irish Commission; this demand was followed up by a deputation, which waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer towards the end of July last, when the members of the deputation were given to understand that we were to have separate and independent administration in this country. In conversation with the Chairman of the Irish Commissioners, I have learned that a suggestion has been made that the benefits should be administered through a Clearing House in London; this we consider entirely contrary to the promises already given in regard to independent administration, and to such a course we are strongly and entirely opposed. The Trades Unionists of Ireland, and the Parliamentary Committee speaking on their behalf, desire and demand complete autonomy in the administration of the Insurance Act, and, in addition, I may point out that the people here generally accepted the Act on these conditions.

I am, dear Sir,

(On behalf of the Parliamentary Committee of the Irish  
Trades Union Congress),

Yours truly,

M. J. O'LEHANE, *Chairman.*

The Chairman said he had not received any reply to that communication, but that he had received the following memorandum from the Chairman of the Irish Insurance Commissioners.—

(1) INTERNATIONAL SOCIETIES.—In the case of Ireland the arrangements for Clearing Houses shall not apply. A Society doing business in Ireland should be required to send its cards to the Irish Commissioners and receive advances for payment of benefits from them.

(2) SURPLUS AND DEFICIENCIES.—It should be a requirement that International Society will arrange for consulting its members resident in Ireland with regard to the disposal of surplus and what steps are necessary to make good deficiencies arising in Ireland—the members resident in Ireland to have a deciding voice in the matter.

(3) In the case of big Societies the Joint Committee should inform the responsible people that the Irish Commissioners will require a separate office for the administration of benefits in Ireland, managed by a Sub-Committee of the Society under the general control of the whole Society. The Irish Commissioners to retain their right to satisfy themselves as to the amounts provided from the Irish National Insurance Fund to the central expenditure.

The Chairman's action in writing the Secretary of the Joint Committee was commended and the letter approved.



Having considered the memorandum, your Committee forwarded the following letter of protest:—

# IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE,

TRADES HALL, CAPEL STREET,

DUBLIN, 7th May, 1912.

DEAR SIR,—In further reference to the letter addressed to you by the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee of the Irish Trades Union Congress, on the 27th April, the Chairman of the Irish Insurance Commissioners has submitted to us a memorandum containing some suggestions in regard to the position of Trades Unionists in Ireland who are members of societies having their head office in Great Britain. This memorandum was considered last night at a special meeting of the Parliamentary Committee of the Irish Trades Union Congress, when it was unanimously decided to reiterate the statement contained in the letter referred to, dated 27th April.

This, as has been previously pointed out, is the unanimous demand of the Trades Unionists of Ireland, as expressed at last year's Trades Union Congress, and also by the representative deputation which waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 27th July last. We are to add that there will be serious disappointment and dissatisfaction amongst the workers of this country if any attempt is made to interfere with complete autonomy in the administration of the Insurance Act here.

We are further instructed to inform you that the Trades Unionists of Ireland, for whom we speak, are determined on refusing to accept any compromise of the principle upon which the Bill was accepted by them, and embodied in Section 81 of the Act.

Yours faithfully,

(On behalf of the Parliamentary Committee of the  
Trades Union Congress),

M. J. O'LEHANE, *Chairman.*

P. T. DALY, *Secretary.*

Replies were received from Mr. J. E. Redmond, M.P.; Joseph Devlin, M.P.; Wm. Field, M.P., and J. P. Nannetti, M.P., promising that the matters complained of would have their earnest attention.

In addition, the following resolutions on the matter were adopted:—

# INSURANCE COMMISSIONERS.

"That we are strongly of opinion that a representative of the Trades Union Movement should have been appointed on the Commission, as has been done in England, and in order to give Irish workers more confidence in the scheme we request that this be now done, and that copies of this resolution be sent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and to the Chief Secretary for Ireland.

### THE REGULATIONS.

With reference to the recently-appointed organisers and the Advisory Committee about being formed to draft regulations, the following resolution was adopted :—

“ That we demand direct representation on the Advisory Committee, now about being formed, to assist in drafting the regulations under the Insurance Act, and we are of opinion that the Irish Trades Councils should be asked to nominate suitable representatives in a similar manner to the Advisory Committee under the Labour Exchanges, and that copies of this be sent to the Chairman and Secretary of the Irish Insurance Commissioners.”

### RECENTLY-APPOINTED ORGANISERS.

“ That we note with extreme dissatisfaction the fact that in the recent appointment of organisers, outside the Province of Ulster, only one representative of the workers was selected; and that copies of this be sent to the Chairman and Secretary of the Irish Insurance Commissioners.”

### THE MEDICAL BENEFITS.

“ That this Committee expresses its dissatisfaction at the action of the Irish Party, in insisting on the elimination of medical benefits, as we are at a loss to know on what public opinion they base this decision, and we request that a one-clause Bill be introduced immediately, so as to remedy this grave defect; and that copies of this resolution be sent to Messrs. Redmond, Dillon, and Devlin, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Chief Secretary for Ireland.”

The question of the establishing of County Societies under the Act also engaged the attention of your Committee, and in connection with it and cognate questions affecting the position of Trades Unions, the following statement was circulated :—

“ FELLOW-WORKERS—Recently we took the liberty of issuing a statement to you in regard to the position of Trades Unionists under the Insurance Act, and we desire to again emphasise some points contained in that statement. If the Trades Union bodies in Ireland are to improve, or even maintain, their present position, they must display more activity in the work of organisation during the coming months. When we addressed you last we stated it should be possible, within the next six or nine months, to bring into the various societies every man and woman worker in the country who is worthy of membership; but unless there is immediate activity this cannot, and will not, be done. Remember there are many organisations now touting and catering for the workers under this Act—organisations which have hitherto done nothing in the interests of the workers. Remember it was the Trades Union Movement that made this and all other ameliorative measures possible. In addition, your Trade Society caters directly for your interests, your material welfare, and the maintenance of your privileges. We also stated on the occasion : ‘ We desire to take this opportunity of warning the workers against becoming members of societies inaugurated by, or in any way subject to the influence of, their employers.’ That warning did not come a bit too soon, and we are aware that efforts are even now being made to cajole the workers into joining organisations which will be dominated by



their employers and by those who belong to the capitalistic class. If the Trades Unionists of Ireland sell their birthright or their heritage for any promised 'mess of pottage,' then they will indeed deserve to be at the mercy of their masters for the remainder of their lives.

"An effort is also being made, and fostered prematurely from influential quarters, to establish County Societies; a thing which it will be impossible to do in England, because no such clause exists in the Act in its application there. Certain Trades Unions, especially the smaller ones, may have some difficulty as to how to act. We would advise all these to link up with the Trades Unions in the nearest city or town. By so doing they will not in any way lose or endanger their individuality as a Union; they will simply associate for the purpose of administration and for the purpose of maintaining the independence of Trades Unionism. For instance, Unions in Clonmel, Galway, Derry, Newry, Sligo, Limerick, Waterford, Tipperary, and elsewhere can join with the larger associations in Dublin, Belfast, or Cork, if in the places mentioned they have not sufficient to form an independent Approved Society; and it must be remembered that for a society to remain entirely independent, both in administration and in funds, it is necessary for such a society or association to have a membership of 5,000, otherwise the Trades Union surplus, or a large portion of it, will at the end of certain stated periods be utilised to make up the deficit in, perhaps, organisations composed of persons who may be entirely opposed to their interests.

"Any further information will be gladly given by the Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Irish Trades Union Congress, Trades Hall, Capel street, Dublin.

"Finally, we would impress upon you that whatever you do, do it at once.

"Signed on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee of the Irish Trades Union Congress :

"M. J. O'LEHANE, *Chairman*.

"JOSEPH CLARKE, *Vice-Chairman*.

"D. R. CAMPBELL, *Treasurer*.

"WM. O'BRIEN, *Acting-Secretary*."

The following resolution was also passed, and forwarded to the persons named:—

"That this Parliamentary Committee, representing the Trades Unionists of Ireland, strongly protests against the efforts which are being made, and the assistance which is being given by the Insurance Commissioners, to establish County Societies; this is contrary to the spirit of the Act, and altogether at variance with the promise given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer during the passage of the measure in Parliament; such procedure is impossible in England, this clause being inapplicable there; it was inserted in regard to Ireland 'to fill a want which might not be met by existing trades unions or friendly societies.' This want has not yet become apparent; and, further, we are strongly opposed to the extension of this clause, as it is contrary to Clause 22 of the Act. It gives power to the County Councils to be represented on the Management Committee, and the officers elected must be subject to the County Councils. Copies of this to be sent to the members

for the City and County of Dublin; Messrs. John E. Redmond, M.P.; Joseph Devlin, M.P.; Right Hon. Lloyd George, and the Chairman and Secretary of the Irish Insurance Commissioners."

A deputation waited on the Commissioners to press on them the various points which they considered necessary to safeguard the interest of the Trades Union movement in Ireland, including representation on the Advisory Boards.

A deputation from our Committee also waited on a Committee of the Irish Party in the United Irish League Rooms Central Office. The Party were represented by Messrs. J. P. Nannetti, M.P.; P. J. Brady, M.P.; Alderman W. F. Cotton, M.P.; William Field, M.P.; Wm. Abraham, M.P., and J. J. Clancy, M.P. Your Committee were represented by Messrs. M. J. O'Lehane, Chairman; Joseph Clarke, Vice-Chairman; D. R. Campbell, Treasurer; William O'Brien, Acting Secretary, and James Larkin.

The deputation discussed the question of Mr. Daly's release. The deputation pointed out the difference in treatment between what was meted out to Mr. Daly and that meted out to Messrs. Carson, and Craig, M.P.'s, for practically the same language. The Party's representatives promised to do all they could in the matter, but considered they should keep the matter quiet for the time. They were to approach the Government direct on the matter.

The deputation then discussed the various points under the Insurance Act, pointing out the inadequate representation on the Advisory Boards and referred to the fact that the Commissioners appointed, if not antagonistic to the Trades Unions, had no knowledge of their working and no sympathy with their objects. They demanded that a Commissioner should be appointed from amongst the organised workers. They repeated the demand for the extension of the medical benefits to Ireland.

Mr. Field intervened, and said it was the doctors who compelled the party to delete that portion of the Bill.

Mr. Clancy, who acted as Chairman, called him to order. He said they were there for the purpose of hearing what the deputation had to say, and not for the purpose of discussing the merits or demerits of the Bill, or who were responsible for the deletion of Ireland from it, but would bring our views before the Party, and try and get our views put into effect before the Act came into operation.

Dr. Seymour Stritch was introduced by Mr. Larkin, and stated that all the doctors were not opposed to working the Bill, that over 100 had written in that in their opinion the medical benefits should be extended to Ireland. He could not understand the action of the Government and the Irish Party on the matter, and was prepared to submit documents proving his case.



Your representatives, in bringing the conference to an end, said that the organised workers had demanded the extension at both indoor and outdoor meetings throughout the country, and having thanked the Committee they withdrew.

*Shops Act.*—Since last Congress this measure has been placed upon the Statute Book, but its provisions fall far short of the Trade Union demand—largely, we believe, because of the lack of organisation amongst shop assistants generally. Our Chairman, during his visit to London, secured an interview with the Right Hon. Winston Churchill, the President of the Board of Trade.

Your Committee forwarded the resolution in reference to the Sunday Closing of Hairdressers' shops, and our Chairman, in his interview with the President of the Board of Trade, pressed for the inclusion of hairdressers in the Bill. We regret that the views expressed by us were not given effect to, and we regret it all the more because of the consistency with which the representatives of the Journeymen Hairdressers pressed forward the question for many years. We have every hope, however, that this undoubted grievance will be remedied in the near future, more especially as we believe an amending Bill will be introduced.

The Act is altogether unacceptable to the bulk of the men engaged in the distributive trades, and more especially in what are termed rural district areas. There are, however, many provisions of great importance to shop assistants, but your Committee fear unless the administration of the Act is closely watched, there will be many evasions of its provisions.

*Military and Trades Disputes.*—Your Committee have observed with the deepest indignation the introduction of the use of the military during disputes in Ireland. They further desire to draw attention to the attitude of the Irish Government and the Board of Trade officials during the railway disputes, and their action in regard to the railway companies during the coal strike. In the former case they introduced military drivers, and alleged the Common Carriers Act in justification of their action, whilst during the coal strike they permitted railway companies with sufficient coal supplies to last twelve months to curtail their services in sympathy with the mine-owners without protest from either of the Government Departments. Your Committee feel that they would be failing in their duty if they did not call public attention to this differentiation against the workers.

*Public Bodies and Fair Wages.*—Since last Congress the Local Government Board in Ireland have issued a circular pointing out to the various Boards the advisability of inserting the Fair Wages Resolution of the House of Commons in their contract forms. We regret to report that in a number of cases local bodies—notably County Councils—have refused to put the suggestion in operation. This is also particularly noticeable with Rural District Councils,

and we regret to say that in some instances where a pretence has been made of adopting the resolution, it has been more honoured in the breach than the observance. Following our advice of former years, we must reiterate our request that the workers will try and secure adequate representation on all public Boards, and we hail with satisfaction the recent successful attempts in that direction which have been made in Dublin, Waterford, Sligo, and other places. We may say that the attitude of these Boards towards this Congress is a fair reflex of their action in regard to the Fair Wages Resolution.

*Truck Acts.*—Your Committee have nothing to report in this connection, and, as far as we can see, nothing has been done to give effect to the recommendations of the Departmental Committee appointed in 1906.

*The Osborne Judgment.*—The Trades Union Law Amendment Bill has been introduced, but we fear it will not be dealt with in the present session of Parliament.

*Break up of the Poor Laws.*—Your Committee have nothing to report in connection with this matter further than that in the event of legislation being introduced, the views of the Irish Trades Congress on the subject are promised favourable consideration.

*Address and Presentation to Mr. E. L. Richardson, J.P.*—At the first meeting of your Committee following the Galway Congress this very interesting function took place. The address, which was illuminated in Celtic scroll-work, took the shape of the resolution passed at the Congress at Dundalk as follows:—

### “ IRISH TRADES CONGRESS.”

“ That the best thanks of the Congress are due, and are hereby tendered, to Mr. E. L. Richardson, J.P., for his inestimable services as Secretary to the Parliamentary Committee for so many years, and his great and various services to the labour movement for the past quarter of a century; and that whilst this Congress is sincerely sorry to lose his services, we wish him a long and prosperous career in his new sphere of duties.

“ (Signed),

“ D. R. CAMPBELL, *Chairman.*  
 “ MARY GALWAY, *Vice-Chairman.*  
 “ M. EGAN, T.C., J.P.  
 “ WILLIAM MURPHY.  
 “ DAWSON GORDON.  
 “ JOSEPH CLARKE.  
 “ THOMAS McCONNELL.  
 “ M. J. O'LEHANE, *Hon. Treasurer.*  
 “ P. T. DALY, *Hon. Secretary.*”

The presentation, after consulting the wishes of the recipient, accompanying the address was a purse of sovereigns.

Mr. Richardson expressed his thanks, and the function was brought to a close.



*Dispute with the Kilkenny Woodworkers.*—Your Committee wrote Captain Cuffe at Kilkenny from the Congress at Galway, offering the intervention of Congress by deputation. Captain Cuffe replied that "he knew of no dispute." Your Committee wrote Captain Cuffe again on the 10th June last, pointing out the aims of the Trades Congress were to avoid disputes and strikes, and to settle them, if possible, where they occurred, and making further request for the reception of a deputation from the Committee of the Congress. We regret that no reply has been vouchsafed to that letter.

Since the above correspondence the death of Captain Cuffe has taken place, and your Committee have not been able to do anything further, as their letters have remained unanswered.

*The Commission on Sweating.*—With reference to the recently-appointed Commission to inquire into the conditions of sweating in Belfast, and Ulster generally, the following resolution was adopted:—

"That in our opinion the Commission appointed to inquire into the sweating conditions prevailing in Ulster should be empowered to extend its inquiries to the other three Provinces, more especially Leinster, and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Home Secretary, to Mr. Joseph Devlin, M.P., and to the President of the Board of Trade."

The Home Office replied that the inquiry was limited to the conditions of employment in the making of articles of linen, &c., and that it would not be practicable to extend it to the sweating in other trades. Your Committee in reply drew attention to the draft of the resolution submitted, and pointed out that they only asked that the Commission should extend its inquiry to the other three provinces.

*Organising Work in Clonmel.*—As directed by Congress, your Committee arranged to assist in organising the workers of Clonmel. A largely-attended meeting was held under the presidency of the Worshipful the Mayor, at which the Chairman and Treasurer attended on behalf of your Committee. The proceedings were most enthusiastic. A very energetic Committee took charge of the arrangements, and are doing everything possible to make the forthcoming Congress a success.

*Industrial Arbitration Boards.*—This matter engaged the attention of your Committee during the year, and they have secured a promise of the co-operation of the Irish Party in bringing it to a successful issue.

*Rival Farriers' Organisation in Dublin, etc.*—This question, which was referred to your Committee from last Congress, was fully discussed by them. Representatives of both societies were in attendance, and made their several statements. Your Committee decided to refuse recognition to the Amalgamated Society of Farriers as a result of their investigations, but offered their services to bring about an amicable settlement. Your Committee were also engaged in an attempt to bring about a settlement of the dispute between the rival Trades Councils in Cork through the Chairman, and they have hopes of bringing the matter to a satisfactory conclusion.

*Mr. Daly's Imprisonment.*—With reference to the arrest and trial of the Secretary (Mr. P. T. Daly), the following resolution was passed:—

"That we strongly protest against the unfair treatment meted out to Mr. P. T. Daly, a Trades Union official, he having been arrested at Wexford, tried in an Emergency Court in the police barrack in the absence of the public, returned for trial on a charge of inciting to riot, and on the same charge sentenced to a term of imprisonment in default of giving bail for his future behaviour, a mode of procedure characterised by Mr. Justice Gibson (the Judge who subsequently tried Mr. Daly) as unusual, and, as far as he knew, 'without precedent'; and that a full statement of the case be forwarded to the Chief Secretary, the Whips and Chairmen of the Irish and Labour Parties, with a demand for fair treatment and justice."

The resolution was forwarded to the various parties named, but Mr. Daly was not released until the sentence passed by Mr. Justice Gibson was completed—the remainder of the "bail" sentence passed by the R.M. being commuted.

*Other Bills.*—Introduced by the Labour Party:—Right to Work Bill; Education (Administrative Provisions); Education (Provision of Meals) Amendment, Representation of the People. Introduced by Labour Members unofficially:—Abolition of Vivisection (Lansbury); Amalgamation of Trade Unions (O'Grady). Character Note (Wardle); Cheap Trains (Bowerman); Civil Service (Women), (Snowden); Coal Mines Regulations (Haslam); Coroner's Inquests (Railway Fatalities), (Hudson); Cotton Factories (Fines), (Abolition), (Smith); Criminal Law Amendment (Crooks); Death Certificates (Charges), (Gill); Education (Girls), (Snowden); Education of the Blind (Bowerman); Factory and Workshop Act Amendment (Jowett); Factory and Workshop Amendment (Gill); Highways (Wilson); Holidays (Lansbury); Hours of Labour (Bakehouses), (Wilkie); Labour Disputes (Crooks); Luggage (Bicycles), (Bowerman); Ministry of Labour



(Lansbury); Motor Car Act Amendment (Bowerman); Nationalisation of Railways and Canals (Thorne); Offices (Regulations), (Bowerman); Pawning Industrial Tools (Wilson); Railway Offices (Wardle); Railways (Eight Hours), (Hudson); Road Traffic (Gill); Shop Clubs Act (1902) Amendment (Thorne); Small Holdings Act Amendment (Roberts); Summary Jurisdiction (Married Women), (Snowden); Workmen's Compensation Act Amendment (Hodge).

#### DEPUTATION TO INSURANCE COMMISSIONERS.

A deputation from your Committee secured an interview with the Insurance Commissioners on March 22. The deputation consisted of Messrs. M. J. O'Lehane, Chairman; W. O'Brien, acting Secretary; Joseph Clarke, Vice-Chairman; and J. Larkin, General Secretary, Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, waited upon the National Health Insurance Commissioners at their offices, Pembroke House, Upper Mount-street.

The deputation was received by Mr. Glynn, Chairman; Mrs. Dickie, and Mr. John Houlihan, Secretary to the Commissioners.

Mr. Glynn explained that the other Commissioners, Mr. Kinnear and Dr. Maguire, were absent in London on business in connection with the Joint Board. He very courteously explained that the resolution of the Irish Trades Congress Committee, with reference to the formation of approved societies under the management of the County Councils, was not justified. The Commissioners had not requested the County Council authorities to form approved societies under the Act. They had circularised them with reference to the Act as follows:—

National Health Insurance Commission  
(Ireland),

63, Dawson-street, Dublin,

February, 1912.

Sir—I am directed by the National Health Insurance Commissioners for Ireland to inform you that they are now in a position to send lecturers to the different districts in Ireland to explain the objects and provisions of the National Insurance Act.

The Commissioners express the hope that your society may be good enough to co-operate with them in spreading a knowledge of the Act amongst the people interested in its operation, and they will be very glad to receive any suggestions your society may be prepared to make, either directly to the Commission itself or indirectly through the Organising Lecturers, regarding the best means of holding meetings in order to enable the official lecturers to explain the Act and

give any detailed information regarding its working which those interested may require to know before taking steps, either to join or to form societies, to be approved under the Act.

In accordance with the notice which has already appeared in the Press, I am to add that the services of the lecturers will be given gratis, but the Commission trust your society will facilitate the work of the lecturers by placing your offices at their disposal or helping them to obtain some other suitable hall in the district.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

JOHN HOULIHAN,  
Secretary.

Members of the deputation pointed out that some of the County Councils were wrongly interpreting the circulars. The deputation raised the question of the Women's National Health Association and their methods; they also called attention to the pamphlets issued by that body, and the new title they had assumed, which was, to say the least, confusing, if not deliberately intended to mislead. The very serious question of the interference of the employers with their workpeople in connection with the Insurance Act was also discussed. Many other questions, with reference to the administration of the Act were gone into, and the deputation received very material information thereon.

We felt sure if the Commissioners framed and carried out the regulations under the Act in the spirit they met the deputation a very harmonious feeling and loyal co-operation would take place between the Commissioners and the officers of the various Trade Unions engaged in administering the Act in this country.

Mr. O'Lehane, on behalf of the deputation, thanked Mr. Glynn, Mrs. Dickie, and the Secretary, Mr. Houlihan, for the manner in which they received them, and the painstaking and sympathetic manner they had approached all the points raised by the deputation.

M. J. O'LEHANE, *Chairman.*

JOSEPH CLARKE, *Vice-Chairman.*

GEORGE GREIG.

R. P. O'CARROLL, T.C., P.L.G.

WM. O'BRIEN.

JAMES LARKIN.

MARY GALWAY.

D. R. CAMPBELL, *Hon. Treas.*

P. T. DALY, *Hon Sec.*



Mr. Thomas Johnson (Belfast) proposed, and Mr. Andrew Breslan (Dublin) seconded the adoption of the portion of the Parliamentary Committee's Report dealing with the National Insurance Act.

Mr. Joseph Clarke (Dublin) said that the committee referred principally to the society started by Lady Aberdeen. She occupied in Ireland the same position occupied by the Queen in England, and her social influence was being exerted to further the interests of the society referred to to the detriment of trade union societies. She even made an attempt to make use of the Labour Exchanges before her society was approved of, but in that attempt she had been frustrated by the Parliamentary Committee (hear, hear.)

Miss Galway (Belfast) said they in Belfast had to contend against burial societies and church societies, and, in addition, they had to meet the competition of so-called trades unionists who were making an attempt to further divide the workers (hear, hear.) They had organisers only recently arrived in Ireland increasing the trouble which sectarian and political bigotry were causing to the genuine trades unionists of Belfast (hear, hear.)

Mr. Quirke (Clonmel) said he knew that the clergy in the South of Ireland did not take the matter up until they saw the apathy of the workers themselves.

Mr. Larkin (Dublin)—May we take it that the gentleman who has just spoken is in the confidence of the hierarchy of Ireland?

Mr. Egan (Cork) said the workers in his city were doing their best to form a local trades union society under the Act.

Mr. Campbell (Belfast) said he was altogether against Insurance Companies or Burial Societies having anything to do with the administration of the Act. The introduction of the competitive spirit in regard to the Act was, he thought, to be deprecated. He instanced some cases which had been brought to his notice, and the agents in these cases refused to work the Act to the detriment of the Trades Unions (applause).

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

In accordance with Standing Orders Report No. 1. the following resolutions were taken out of their place:—

Mr. George Greig (Belfast) proposed:—

"Seeing that Ireland was deprived of the Medical Benefits because of the statements made in Parliament that such benefits were unnecessary owing to the existence of a universal Dispensary Medical Relief System, but as it is well known that only such persons who prove they are in necessitous circumstances can obtain such relief, this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to put the true position regarding Dispensary Medical Relief before the Government,

and request them to pass a measure restoring the Medical Benefits for which the Industrial Workers are willing to pay." He said that the Irish Party had in this matter acted in a most undemocratic fashion by arrogating to themselves the right to decide that Ireland was to be excluded from the Medical Benefits. They were told that there was no public opinion expressed in favour of the exclusion of those benefits, but the fact was that there was no public opinion, except theirs, expressed in any shape about the Act (applause.)

Mr. Flanagan (Belfast) seconded, and said the matter was a striking proof of the necessity for an Irish Independent Labour Party.

Proposed by Mr. William O'Brien (Dublin), seconded by Miss Larkin (Dublin):—

"That this Congress, speaking on behalf of the organised workers of Ireland, protest against the action of the Irish and Labour parties in allowing the Irish workers to be deprived of medical benefits under the National Insurance Act; and we now demand that a one-clause Bill be passed this session to remedy this grave injustice."

The resolutions were carried unanimously.

Mr. Joseph Mitchell, Chairman, presented

#### STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE (NO. 4) REPORT.

"Your Committee recommend that Resolutions 30 and 31 dealing with feeding of school children be grouped, Mr. Campbell to move, Mr. O'Brien to second. Also that 36 and 37, dealing with manning of ships and life-saving at sea, be grouped; also that Mr. Egan's name be substituted for Mr. Farrell's in resolution 29, and Mr. Milner's name for Mr. Farrell's in resolution 34. We also recommend that A.S.R.S. delegates be permitted to move resolution dealing with Railway Bill at present before House of Commons, at finish of supplemental agenda. We also recommend that Financial Statement be taken up at 3 o'clock to-day."

On the motion of Mr. Thomas Johnson (Belfast), seconded by Mr. Hill (Dublin), the Report was adopted.

Moved by Mr. J. Murphy (Belfast), seconded by Mr. Whitley (Belfast) and passed:—

"That this Congress urges upon the Government the desirability of extending the medical benefits in the Insurance Act to Ireland; and we believe that a one clause measure to secure that object should be at once passed."

Proposed by Mr. J. Murphy (Limerick), seconded by Mr. Walsh (Limerick) and resolved:—

"That this Congress desires to record its great dissatisfaction with the exclusion of Ireland from medical benefits under the National Insurance Act, and calls upon the Irish representatives of all parties,



and upon the Labour Party, to bring forward or support a one clause Bill to restore Ireland to its rightful position of being included under the whole scheme."

Moved by Mr. John O'Hanlon (Dublin), seconded by Mr. James Larkin (Dublin) and passed :—

"That as the National Insurance Act, as it applies to Ireland, is admittedly incomplete by the omission of the free medical benefits from same, this Irish Trades Congress is of opinion that unless there is an immediate amending Act passed to remedy this very material and vital grievance, the Act, in its application to the working population of Ireland, is unjust, and we call on the Parliamentary representatives to take the necessary steps so that the workers of this country will be placed on an equal footing with those of England and Scotland."

Mr. James Larkin proposed :—

"That this Congress, representative of the organised workers of Ireland, desires to place on record its strong disapproval of the attempted interference with the autonomous working of the administration of the National Health Insurance Act in Ireland; that we desire to call attention to the promise made by the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer on November 14, 1911, that 'not one penny of the funds would be taken out of Ireland,' either of the grant from the State or otherwise; and we furthermore reiterate our demand of last Congress for complete autonomy under the Act, and refuse to consent to any departure from the principle laid down and afterwards agreed to be embodied in the Act."

In moving his resolution, Mr. Larkin said Lady Aberdeen was going into every workroom in Dublin and, backed by the employers, was using her influence to get the workers, especially the women, to join her society.

Mr. White (Newry) seconded.

Mr. Greig (Belfast) feared that there was a great deal of misapprehension with regard to the Act. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made the statement mentioned in the resolution he said what he knew was untrue. He (Mr. Greig) was quite of the opinion that they should have complete local autonomy in the working of the Act in Ireland.

Councillor McCarron (Derry) opposed the motion. He did not hear any argument being advanced which would get him to believe it was a good thing to do, but it would assist the employers to split up their unions and make further divisions in their ranks (hear, hear). Labour had no country, but this was a resolution to take away from the executives of their amalgamated unions the right to deal directly with their members, and he appealed to the Congress to reject it. (Applause.)

Mr. Flanagan (Belfast), speaking in favour of the resolution, said it was not good business that the money collected in Ireland should be sent to a clearing house in England, and from that sent back to Ireland.

Mr. Rimmer (Dublin) thought it was an exaggeration to say that Ireland was not going to get the full benefits of the Act. He saw nothing to justify the statements in Mr. Larkin's resolution.

Mr. Nolan (Dublin) spoke against the resolution, and said that his union would prefer to remain independent, and that their own executive should administer the funds.

Mr. Larkin, in concluding the debate, said that his union, which was, perhaps, the largest in Ireland, was in favour of independent administration of the Act in Ireland (hear, hear). They believed in the principle of helping themselves first (hear, hear). If they in Ireland had the same power as the labour party across the water they would not have allowed the Act to pass as it did. We asked the Congress to help in bringing pressure to bear on the Insurance Commissioners, who were antagonistic, every one of them (hear, hear).

The Chairman said the resolution before them was, perhaps, the most important to be discussed at the Congress because it contained the very principles for which they had been fighting all along. The whole question was one of administration, and unless they acted immediately and in earnest the administration of the Act would be taken out of their hands for good. Section 83, to which objection was taken, was put into the Bill on pressure brought upon the Government by the big unions and friendly societies in England. The big unions in England were determined to hold the administration of the Act, and they went so far as to threaten to appeal to the House of Lords for the amendment of the Bill in this respect, which was like appealing to the ghosts of the foes they had slain. (Applause.)

On a division, 37 delegates voted *for*, and 17 *against* the motion, which was declared carried.

#### RIVAL COUNCILS IN CORK.

A short discussion on this subject took place. Mr. Larkin said he knew one of the Councils, and all the fault he had to find with it was that perhaps it was not sufficiently tolerant of people who were not from Cork. Political differences in Cork had a good deal to do with the dispute. (Laughter.)

Mr. Marsh (Cork) said that when Mr. Larkin came to Cork he was received with open arms and was assisted in every way. He thought it wrong of Mr. Larkin to charge Cork with intolerance. He further denied that the two Councils were conducted on political lines. The split, was in his opinion, caused by "Larkinism" (hear, hear).



Councillor M. Egan, J.P., said he repudiated the suggestion of intolerance in Cork. He had gone round with Mr. Larkin, and so had Mr. Lynch and others, and they had made his mission there a success; they all knew who was responsible for its failure in the end. He wanted to know what was meant by the paragraph, and what were the negotiations.

The Chairman said he had interviewed the secretaries of the two Councils (Messrs. Hegarty and Denehy), and they had agreed to hold a joint meeting, and from that he felt assured that the two Councils would be quite willing to come together in due course. He had done what he had done in the interest of the unity of the labour movement (applause).

Mr. Lynch said they were all convinced of that; but he did not think the matter called for any such reference as that contained in the report. He denied the accuracy of the statement that differences in politics had had anything to do with the division. It was because some of them objected to things that had been done in Cork by the labourers that the secession took place (hear, hear).

Mr. Hegarty also spoke.

#### THE SECRETARY'S (MR. P. T. DALY) IMPRISONMENT.

The clause having been submitted,

Mr. Campbell (Belfast) said they should express their strong disapproval of the way in which Mr. Daly had been treated—a disapproval which had been expressed by many who differed from Mr. Daly. It was sought to squeeze out any attempt to organise the Wexford workers by getting Mr. Daly out of the way.

Mr. McCarron drew attention to the fact that the secretary, Mr. Daly, had neglected his duty in not sending out copies of the report of the Parliamentary Committee. He was a friend of Mr. Daly's, and thoroughly appreciated the work done by Mr. Daly. He felt proud of his action in refusing to give bail, and so did every other trade unionist (hear, hear). But all former secretaries of the committee had their reports out in time, and Mr. Daly should not have allowed his duties as an organiser of the Transport Workers' Union to interfere with his duty to the Congress. He (Mr. McCarron) brought the matter forward to give Mr. Daly an opportunity of defending himself.

Mr. Rimmer (Dublin) thought they were entitled to an explanation from the Parliamentary Committee.

Mr. Joseph Clarke (Dublin) explained that the default was the result of Mr. Daly's imprisonment. Owing to Mr. Daly being engaged in Wexford and his being hurried off to jail so quickly, Mr. Wm. O'Brien acted as secretary and did the work with great assiduity and with an amount of credit to himself and the movement (hear, hear). He had conducted the correspondence and sent out circular after circular. Mr. Rimmer had asked for an explanation of the delay. Mr. O'Brien

had done his very best. They had applied to Mr. Daly's family to assist them in their difficulty, but they could do nothing. Mr. O'Brien had done all that was possible to be done, and he was sure the exceptional circumstances of the case must be their own excuse (applause).

Mr. Connolly said he had done all that was possible to get the necessary data. When Mr. Daly was arrested, he went to reside in the hotel where Mr. Daly had resided, but the woman who had charge of Mr. Daly's papers would not let him near them; and so faithful was she to her trust that she said on one occasion that she wouldn't let even his wife get them without getting specific instructions from Mr. Daly himself (laughter and applause).

Mr. Daly said he was prouder of the fight and the men and women of Wexford than of any position that lay in the gift of any assembly in Ireland. He was proud of the men in Wexford, and proud of the fight that was made in Wexford. He repudiated with indignation the accusations that had been made against him outside that Congress. Mr. McCarron had called their attention to the fact that he was a friend of his (the speaker's). Two years ago Mr. McCarron had made a charge against him which the report at present under discussion, as well as other matters prior to it, proved to be untrue (hear, hear). But Mr. McCarron had never withdrawn his statement nor apologised for it (hear, hear). Still, McCarron was his friend (laughter). He was, perhaps, sorrier than any of them that the Report was late—and certainly felt the reason more (laughter). He stood by everything he had done, and refused to apologise in the sense that Councillor McCarron and some other people wanted him to apologise. He would repeat everything he had already said, and he repeated that everything that he had done during the year he was proud of, and the fight he took part in, and the victory they had won, he believed, was better for the cause of Trades Unionism than even the report of last year's Congress (hear, hear).

Councillor McCarron—What victory?

Another Delegate—The victory in Wexford (applause).

Councillor Larkin—Such a victory as you could never win for the tailors (hear, hear).

Mr. O'Neill (Dublin) said they should feel grateful to Mr. McCarron for giving Mr. Daly an opportunity of defending himself against the accusations made against him outside—accusations which people outside had not the courage or the manliness to come there and make to his face (hear, hear).

#### INDUSTRIAL ARBITRATION BOARDS.

Messrs. Johnson (Belfast) and Hollywood (Belfast) raised the question as to what was done and intended to be done in connection with this question.



Messrs. Joseph Clarke and J. Larkin replied and stated that they had brought the matter under the notice of the Irish Party. The intention was to secure intervention and arbitration by a Board whose position would be practically of a permanent character, and not called in when the question had assumed a position when a settlement could not be settled except with a loss of dignity on either side.

#### RIVAL FARRIERS' ORGANISATIONS IN DUBLIN.

Mr. Whitley asked what were the circumstances under which affiliation was denied to the amalgamated society in this case.

Mr. Clarke said he had presided on the occasion on which this question was investigated owing to the absence of their Chairman in London in connection with the Insurance Bill—one of the many occasions on which the Chairman had displayed his interest in their affairs and for which they could never be too grateful (loud applause). The Committee found that the amalgamated society was started for the purpose of securing a Corporation contract for one of the Dublin employers who, under the Corporation bye-laws, could not obtain it unless it could be shown that he employed trade union labour. They also found that the new society was composed of men some of whom had been expelled from the old society for various reasons, of different degrees of notoriety, from defalcation to scabbing. For these reasons they decided to refuse them, but they offered their services to bring about a satisfactory fusion of both parties in the older society (applause).

Councillor McCarron (Derry) said he was indeed glad to observe that the Parliamentary Committee had decided to give no countenance to secessionist organisations (hear, hear). If that had to have been done some couple of years ago the labour movement in Ireland would have been in a great deal better position now (hear, hear).

Councillor Larkin (Dublin) said that if the Dublin Operative Farriers had to have left 700 of their men out on strike with £9 to pay them, whilst having money in plenty in reserve at their head office, they would have rejected their application and affiliated the new society (applause).

Mr. Hollywood (Belfast) protested against the attempted interruption of some of the delegates who had been addressing the Congress.

The Chairman said every delegate should get a fair hearing, and if there were any of the attempts which had been referred to by Mr. Hollywood persisted in he would be compelled to take action (applause).

On the motion of Mr. Moore (Belfast), seconded by Mr. Flanagan (Belfast), the Parliamentary Committee's Report was adopted unanimously.

#### BALANCE SHEET.

Mr. John Clark (Belfast) moved, and Mr. Benjamin Drumm seconded the adoption of the balance sheet.

Mr. Drummond (Loco. Engineers) objected to its adoption. There was no mention as far as he could see of the secretary's salary. He would move its rejection unless the salary was included.

Councillor McCarron said he had heard a lot about the Parliamentary Committee not taking any allowance for attending the meetings. If that were so, what did the entry, "P.C. Meetings and Deputations, £77 3s. 8d." mean?

Mr. Clarke said that during the year the Parliamentary Committee had had an extraordinary number of meetings. They had a Sub-Committee of the Dublin members sitting in Dublin who had gone on deputations, and, further than travelling expenses, &c., paid to members outside Dublin, the other members had not accepted any recompense for their services (hear, hear). When it was remembered that the item questioned included two deputations to London, he felt that they would agree with him that they had done more work on that year's Parliamentary Committee than was ever done before.

Councillor McCarron—Question?

Mr. Clarke—There is no question about it, and we defy contradiction. The Chairman had placed the staff of his office at their disposal. They had held meeting after meeting which had not cost the Congress one solitary penny, and he doubted very much if that could be said of any other committee who preceded them (applause).

Mr. Egan, T.C., J.P. (Cork).—Who ever asked them to do so? When the trade unionists of Ireland get work done, they are only too willing to pay for it (hear, hear).

Mr. Murphy (Belfast) said he took it that the Parliamentary Committee delegated their powers to the Dublin members. It was a strange proceeding, but these members were not paid. They had not had to travel; and, anyhow, the balance sheet showed that a pretty big sum was paid for Parliamentary Committee meetings.

The Chairman said that Mr. Clarke had only stated the bare facts. He agreed with what he had stated. He put the motion, which was carried unanimously.

#### NOMINATIONS FOR PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

Bennet, J. H., Sailor and Fireman (Belfast); Campbell, D. R., Insurance Agent (Belfast); Egan, M., T.C., J.P., Coachmaker (Cork); Galway, Miss M., Textile Operative (Belfast); Hill, W. E., Railway Clerk (Dublin); Johnson, T. R., Shop Assistant and Clerk (Belfast); Larkin, James, Transport Worker (Dublin); McCarron, James, T.C., Tailor (Derry); McConnell, Thos., Baker (Belfast); McNulty, Wm. J., Dock Labourer (Derry); McPartlin, Thos., Carpenter (Dublin); O'Brien, Wm., Tailor (Dublin); O'Carroll, Richard, T.C., Bricklayer



(Dublin); O'Lehane, M. J., Draper's Assistant (Dublin); O'Sullivan, John, Brewery Worker (Cork); Vaughan, John, Carpenter (Limerick); Walsh, Patrick, T.C., Plumber (Limerick); Whitley, Henry, Printer (Belfast).

Messrs. J. McCarron, T.C. (Derry); Michael Egan, T.C., J.P. (Cork); and W. E. Hill withdrew their names from nomination.

Mr. Wm. O'Brien proposed:—

#### THE LABOUR UNREST.

"That this Congress welcomes the growing discontent amongst the working class which has been shown in the recent labour disputes, and congratulates those Unions which were able to obtain increased wages and better conditions for their members. It trusts that all Trade Unions will continue their activities to organise the workers and to promote a stern fight for a more humane industrial and social life, and earnestly impressed on all workers the need for both industrial and political unity if the full freedom of our class is to be won."

Mr. Hill (Railway Clerks) seconded the resolution. He said that the *Irish Times* had expressed the fear, as a result of the Congress, that the labour unrest in England would extend to Ireland, but the *Irish Times* need have no doubt that there would be unrest. Restlessness, he said, meant life, and in the past the workers had been restless because there was the semblance of death upon them. The unrest of the workers was the unrest of the day, the unrest of dawn. Rest belonged to the night, and unrest to the day, and the workers of Ireland were marching forward to the full noontide of their opportunities (hear, hear). They had done with the night, and were about to march forward to the fuller life they had a right to enjoy (applause).

The motion was passed unanimously.

#### NATIONALISATION OF IRISH RAILWAYS.

Mr. Hill (Railway Clerks Association) moved:—

"That having regard to the unsatisfactory results of the present Company System under which the Irish Railways are worked, this Congress hereby expresses its conviction that there should not be any further delay in carrying out the recommendations of the Majority Report of the Viceregal Commission on Irish Railways dated 4th July, 1910, and thus nationalising the said Railways under a system of public control.

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

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

" 2. The adequate protection of the Clerical and Operative Staffs against reduction, dismissal, or other change in their conditions of service arising from such nationalisation, and that in cases where reduction of staff is absolutely necessary compensation shall be given to the displaced servants,

" 3. That the salaries, wages, and other conditions of service of the Clerical and Operative Staffs shall be approximated to those in existence in the Postal Service; but

" 4. They shall retain all the civil rights and privileges of the ordinary citizen, and these shall not be curtailed or interfered with in any way whatsoever by reason of their becoming servants of the Irish Railway Authority.

" Copies of this resolution to be sent to the Prime Minister, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Chairmen of the Irish Parties.

" Resolved—That this Trades Congress is of opinion that the Irish Railways, as public utilities, should be unified and nationalised under proper control, to be operated as the iron high road of commerce for the good of the community."

He said that there was no more important subject on the agenda and he welcomed the reference of the Chairman to the nationalisation of the railways in his address. The project was something that was quite practicable and something for which the country was yearning. He knew that a great constitutional issue overshadowed everything else, but that issue might not pass away for some two years, but during the whole of that time the railways of Ireland would be becoming more valuable, and the receipts would be becoming better (hear, hear). It would be harder for the workers to take possession of them then. The question was most insistent, and it could not be left over indefinitely. The terms of the Majority Report of the Viceregal Commission were splendid, and he did not see why they should not be pressed forward. (Applause.) The railway workers held the economic welfare of the whole country in their hands. He further urged that when the nationalisation of railways took place that railway servants should retain the civil rights that they at present enjoyed (applause).

Mr. Nolan (Dublin), seconded the resolution, and said that the railway system as it existed at present was detrimental to Irish interests. He dealt with the many anomalies in existence in connection with the management of Irish railways, and

The resolution was passed *nem. con.*

#### FRANCHISE REFORM AND ELECTIONS TO IRISH PARLIAMENT.

Proposed by Mr. J. Larkin (Irish Transport and General Workers' Union):—

"That we protest against the arrangements contained in the Government of Ireland Bill whereby the constituencies are so



arranged that the industrial workers in the towns are practically left without representation; that we demand that in any arrangement for representation the towns shall be left independent of the rural districts, as otherwise they will be at the mercy of the farming classes; that in all cases where borough members were returned before the redistribution of seats such borough representation shall be restored and so enable the workers in such constituencies to be properly represented by men of their own class.

"That copies of this resolution be forwarded at once to the Premier, the Chief Secretary, and the Chairman of the Irish Parties and the Labour Party."

He said that unless the workers got representation in the new Parliament they would be in a far worse position than before, because they would be under the power of the farmers—a class which, he said, had neither a soul to be saved nor a body to be kicked. Bad as the landlords were they were cultured and educated men, who spent their money freely. The farmers utilised the money, and the power of the workers to get their land, and in many instances the workers in the towns had to pay for the land for them. The townspeople having fought for the farmers and paid for the land for them, one would expect some kindly feeling to exist between them on both sides, but there was nothing of the kind on the farmers' side (hear, hear). Having got the land they turned round and dealt out farmers' justice to the men who had helped them. The average wages of an agricultural labourer in Ireland was 10s. 2d., in England it was 17s. 4d., and in Scotland, 18s. 3d. He (Mr. Larkin) knew the slums of Dublin, of Glasgow, and of Belfast, but he had never seen anything to equal what he saw in Carrick-on-Suir on the previous day, and what he saw in the very town in which they were in then. The land around these towns was fruitful and the country beautiful. The people seemed to have plenty of money, judging by the number of banks, but a great many of the people in the towns were living in most degrading surroundings. And in the borough itself the average wages for the worker was 13s. a week. They could imagine the condition of the labourer in the rural districts. If the towns did not get adequate representation in the new Parliament they would be far worse off under a nominal Home Rule than under an alien Government, because they would be under a few people ruling the country in a more vicious manner than it had been ruled. He said that as one who was a Home Ruler by birth, training and conviction (applause).

Mr. White (Newry) seconded the motion, which was carried, Mr. Drummond dissenting.

Mr. James Larkin (Dublin) proposed.—

"That this Congress demands that such changes shall be effected in the mode of election of members to any Parliament which may be established in Ireland as will secure adult suffrage and the payment of members, of election expenses, and of returning officers' fees."

Mr. O'Brien (Dublin) seconded the motion. He said they should secure that members of the Irish Parliament should be paid, and the saving of the £30,000 by the Exchequer should be allocated for the objects of the resolution (hear, hear).

Mr. Nolan (Dublin) said the effect of the resolution would be to tend to take away from the peace of home life. He jocosely remarked that the women of Ireland generally would be highly pleased if the Congress suggested a tax on bachelors (laughter). In his opinion, the effect of the resolution, if put in operation with regard to the women voting in parliamentary elections, would be the destruction of that nobility of character for which their women were prized—and rightly prized—all over the world. Let them raise the status of the women as wage-earners by all means, but do not countenance the action expressed through their organisation as they would be doing if they passed the motion before the chair.

Miss Galway (Belfast) said that though the majority of the women of Ireland had not demanded the vote, they had a right to it. She held that those who obeyed the laws of the land should have some part in framing them. She denied the assertion that the extension of the vote to women would have the effect of destroying home life. She held, on the contrary, that it would have the effect of making more intelligent and better mothers, and would cause them to take a greater interest in the welfare of their country.

Mr. James Connolly, in supporting the motion, dealt with the fallacy that this demand was originated outside of Ireland. It was one of the principal planks in the programme of the United Irishmen in 1793 (applause): and surely they were Irish (hear, hear). In regard to the statement that giving the vote to women would destroy home life, that was the silliest of silly statements. They should remember that under no set of circumstances would they be voting from the 1st January till the 31st December (laughter). One would imagine they would be pulled down to vote whether they liked it or not. They should have the right to vote as they had in other countries, and if they did not like to vote, of course they need not as in these countries.

The resolution was carried.

#### THE "LIVING-IN" SYSTEM.

Mr. T. Hegarty (Cork Trades Council) moved (on behalf of the Chairman):—

"That we call upon the Government to give effect to the Minority Report on the Truck Acts in regard to the 'Living-in' system, as its continuance is altogether at variance with the spirit of the age, it being inimical to the general interests of shop workers, and in addition deprives them of the ordinary rights of citizenship."

Mr. John Murphy (Belfast) seconded the resolution, which was passed unanimously.



## THE TRUCK ACTS.

Miss Mary Galway moved :—

"That we urge upon the Government the necessity of adopting the recommendation of the Minority Report of the Truck Committee—namely, the abolition of all fines, deduction for bad work or damaged material, and bonuses."

The resolution had been adopted every year for the past nineteen years, and she hoped that at last it would have some effect. She gave several instances of deductions from workers' wages, and said in some instances where work was alleged to be injured it was sold at high prices although the worker was not paid, but fined, for its production ("shame"). She represented a poorly-paid class of workers, and asked the Congress to assist her in improving their condition (applause).

Mrs. McCaughey formally seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

## THE WEXFORD LOCK-OUT.

Mr. William O'Brien (Dublin) moved :—

"That this Congress, representing the organised workers of Ireland, heartily congratulates our Wexford fellow-workers on the heroic and successful fight for the Right of Combination waged by them for twenty-five weeks against the Federated Employers."

Mr. J. H. Bennett (Belfast) seconded the motion which was carried by acclamation.

## WAGES PAID TO WORKERS IN HAULBOWLINE.

Mr. Cumming (Queenstown Trades Council) moved :—

"That the answer returned by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty to the Member for East Cork *re* the rates of wages paid to ordinary and skilled labourers in H. M. Dockyard, Haulbowline, was not satisfactory; and that we demand that the same rates of pay as exist in naval yards in England be extended to all classes of workmen in Haulbowline Dockyard."

This question was first raised by the Queenstown Labourers' Union. Answers had been given in Parliament that the rates paid compare favourably with the rates paid locally for similar work. He had no hesitation in saying that that was untrue (hear, hear). In Passage General Ship-repairing Works the wage averaged 24s. per week, whilst in the Haulbowline the wage was only 22s. and in some instances skilled labourers were only paid 21s. per week. In Home Naval Yards the wage is fixed at a 22s. minimum and 28s. maximum for skilled and 21s. for unskilled. These rates are not being paid in Haulbowline and he protested against any differentiation against the Irish worker and hoped that the Parliamentary Committee would raise the question and see that the workers in Haulbowline were put upon the same footing as their fellow-workers in Great Britain (applause).

Mr. McDonagh seconded the resolution, which was carried *nem con.*

APPOINTMENT OF MEDICAL REFEREES

Mr. George Greig (Belfast) moved :—

“(a) That this Congress condemns the present practice in the appointment of Medical Referees. These should be appointed and paid by the State, and should devote themselves exclusively to their duties as referees.

“(b) That the basis of compensation for all adult workers shall be a minimum of 15s. per week where the weekly wages exceed that sum and full wages where the weekly wages are less than 51s.

“(c) That a doctor connected with an institution of which an injured workman is a patient shall not, without the consent in writing of such injured workman, furnish to or for the employer or his insurers any report as to the condition of such workman; and that a copy of every report given shall at the time be furnished without charge by such doctor to the injured workman.

“(d) That Congress instruct the Parliamentary Committee to immediately press the Government to appoint a Departmental Committee to inquire into the working of the Compensation Act of 1906, with a view to the inclusion of these and other necessary amendments.”

Mr. John Flanagan (Belfast) seconded the motion.

Councillor Larkin said he could not understand why they should attempt to fix a minimum of fifteen shillings in a resolution of this kind. They all knew that when a man was sick he required more than when he was well, and at any rate they could always rely on the employer and the Insurance Company trying to do that without their assistance (hear, hear).

Mr. Greig replied and said that he was only trying to get things as they stood improved. Little by little they could get the lot, but his experience was if you asked a great deal you usually got nothing (hear, hear).

The resolution was put and carried.

THE RIGHT TO WORK.

The following resolution was adopted on the motion of Mr. O'Brien (Dublin), seconded by Mr. Hollywood (Belfast) :—

“That this Congress emphatically re-affirms its belief in the principle of the ‘Right to Work’ or public maintenance, and the corresponding responsibility of the community to afford to all the opportunity to work.”

The sitting then adjourned to 9.30 on Wednesday morning.



**THIRD DAY.—WEDNESDAY, 29th MAY, 1912.**

Congress resumed at 9.30 a.m., Mr. M. J. O'Lehane presiding. Minutes of second day's proceedings were read and confirmed.

**VACCINATION LAWS.**

Mr. Moore (Belfast) moved :—

“ That this Congress calls upon the Irish members to secure the extension to Ireland of the Conscience Clause of the Vaccination Acts, that parents who disbelieve in the efficiency or wisdom of vaccination, or who want to protect their children from what they believe to be an injurious practice, may be relieved from the penalties now imposed for non-compliance with the Vaccination Act.”

Miss Galway (Belfast) seconded the motion, which was passed.

Councillor Thomas Lawlor, T.C., P.L.G., moved, and Mr. Wm. O'Brien seconded :—

**GOVERNMENT CLOTHING CONTRACTS.**

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

The resolution was carried unanimously.

**FEMALE FACTORY INSPECTORS.**

Miss Galway moved :—

“ That we urge upon the Government the necessity for additional female inspectors of factories whose whole time would be devoted to the work of inspection in Ireland, as we believe such appointment essential for the protection of the women workers of the country.”

**FACTORY ACT AMENDMENT.**

“ That owing to the number of accidents of a serious character occurring in linen-weaving factories through the escape of shuttles from looms inefficiently fenced, and the unwillingness of many employers to

adopt the latest improvements in shuttle guards, this Congress is of opinion that the Factory Act should be amended so as to empower the Factory Inspectors to compel the adoption of any improvements in fencing approved of by the Home Office."

Speaking to the first resolution she said the Factory Act could not be properly carried out where there was only one woman Inspector for the whole of Ireland. The Government should not be so stingy in these matters. They had spent so many years framing an elaborate Factory Act, but had not then appointed anybody to see it properly carried out. They ought to appoint a sufficient staff. Speaking to the second resolution, she said shuttle accidents were very frequent, and many of the girls once they got a blow from a shuttle had their nervous systems so shocked that they never recovered (applause).

Mrs. E. McCaughey seconded the resolutions, which were passed by acclamation.

#### SUPPORT OF IRISH INDUSTRIES.

Mr. Nolan (Dublin) moved.—

"That this Trades Congress appeals to the various educational authorities in Ireland entrusted with Primary, Secondary, and University education, to consider the claims and competitive efficiency of those Irish publishing firms who employ trade union labour. We regret that the increased number of unemployed bookbinders during the past year is mainly due to the action of responsible people who import their literary productions."

Mr. Halpin (Dublin) seconded the resolution, which was passed.

#### IRISH-MADE BOTTLES.

Mr. Longmore (Dublin) moved.—

"That this Congress, representing the trades and other labour bodies of Ireland, call upon all users of bottles, licensed or otherwise, to support the home-manufactured bottle, as by doing so they would keep the employment and money at home, where it is so urgently needed to be circulated amongst our own. As an instance of what bottles are imported into Ireland—for the year ending December 31st, 1911, there was imported from Continental countries alone the enormous total of 75,396 gross, at the cost of £44,230, which would have given one year's constant employment to over eighty bottle-makers and one hundred skilled labourers and boys. We would also call on all traders to have the 'Irish Trade Mark' embossed on their bottles as a guarantee of 'home manufacture.'"

Mr. Larkin (Dublin) seconded the resolution, and said that some trades in Dublin had been driven out because of the want of work.

The resolution was passed.



## TINSMITHS' WORK.

Mr. McNamara (Dublin) moved .—

“That in the opinion of this Congress the Parliamentary Committee should use their influence with the farmers' and cowkeepers' associations, and all concerned, to have their dairy utensils and creamery fittings made and repaired in Ireland, instead of giving their orders to firms who send same across the Channel, and when giving their orders to inquire if they are to be manufactured on the premises by legitimate labour : also that the Parliamentary Committee communicate with the gas managers and public boards through Ireland to give their orders to firms who make and repair gas meters, gas lamps, &c., in Ireland by legitimate labour.”

Mr. Andrew Breslan seconded the motion, which was passed.

Mr. Joseph Mitchell, Chairman, presented

## STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE REPORT NO. 5.

“Your Committee recommend that Mr. W. A. Conlan, the Belfast Butchers' Delegate, be allowed to add addendum to resolution in supplemental agenda dealing with Irish Trade Mark. Your Committee recommend that the Electrical Trades Delegate be allowed three minutes to draw attention, under Resolution 25, to the question of systematic overtime.

“Miss Galway sought permission to raise a question as to the action of the Irish Transport Workers' Union, in organising women workers in Belfast during a dispute. We recommend that this matter be laid before the new Parliamentary Committee to investigate and, if possible, bring about more friendly feeling between the Unions.

“Your Committee recommend that the doors be closed from 11 o'clock until 11.30 for the purpose of the Election of Parliamentary Committee. They also recommend that movers and seconders of resolutions be limited to three minutes each.

“Your Committee recommend that the invitation of the Cork Trades Council be placed upon agenda.”

Mr. Rimmer objected to the report, which, he stated, was making allowances for the proposal of amendments which could have been sent in in time, according to the Standing Orders, whilst keeping back matters such as the resolution on the Railway Bill till the last moment of the Congress, which, he thought, was not fair, and was not in the best interests of the labour movement (hear, hear).

The report was adopted, on the motion of Mr. M. Somerville (Dublin), seconded by Councillor Rd. O'Carroll (Dublin).

# THE SHOPS ACT.

The Chairman (Mr. M. J. O'Lehane) formally moved :—

“ That whilst expressing our pleasure at the establishment by law of a weekly half-holiday for all shop assistants, we are very much disappointed that no provisions have been made for the limitation of hours or for the prohibition of Sunday trading ; and we protest against the exclusion of districts or towns in Ireland other those scheduled as urban or borough areas from the provisions of the measure, a decision which has created a most ludicrous anomaly, the Act being now applicable to towns with a population of something slightly over 1,500, and inapplicable to towns with a population of over 4,000. We demand that this be amended immediately. Copies of this to be sent to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and to the leaders of the Irish and Labour Parties.”

Mr. Moore (Belfast) seconded, and the resolution was passed.

## NATIONALISATION OF RAILWAYS.

Mr. Hill (Dublin) moved :—

“ That this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to draw the attention of the Irish members of Parliament to the recommendation of the Majority Report of the Viceregal Commission on Irish Railways, dated 4th July, 1910, to the effect that a grant be made annually from the Imperial Exchequer for the purposes of the proposed Irish Railway Authority. The Commissioners state that they are decidedly ‘ of opinion that the annual grant from the Exchequer, to be of appreciable practical utility, should be of considerable amount, and certainly not less than £250,000.’ The Congress, therefore, urges the necessity of carefully scrutinising the financial provisions of the Home Rule Bill, so as to ensure such £250,000 being included in any schedule adjusting the financial relations between the Imperial Exchequer and the National Parliament.”

He said that the railway workers were most anxious that the quarter of a million pounds should not be lost sight of. They simply asked that the attention of the Irish Party be drawn to the recommendation, and that they be asked to see that in whatever form the financial schedules were completed they should provide for the payment from the Imperial Exchequer to the Irish Railway Authority the quarter of a million per year when the railways were popularised.

Mr. O'Sullivan (Limerick) seconded the resolution, which was passed.

## LABOUR ON RAILWAYS.

Mr. O'Sullivan (Limerick) moved :—“ That in view of the inadequacy of the information at present supplied to Parliament in regard to the



actual conditions of employment on the various railways of Great Britain and Ireland and to the public necessity for up-to-date statistics upon this subject, this Congress urges the Government to appoint a Select Committee of the House of Commons to institute a thorough inquiry, and to report as early as possible upon the rates of pay, hours of labour, and all other conditions of employment of all grades of employes in the railway service; also to ascertain the amount of additional revenue received by railway companies as the result of increased charges to the public, and the amount of expenses saved by reductions in train service and other facilities during the past five years; further, to gather precise information as to the proportion of such increased receipts and decreased expenses that has been allocated to improvement of staff conditions, as compared with the proportion absorbed in increased dividends. That copies of this resolution be sent to the Prime Minister, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and the Chairmen of the Irish Parties."

He held the view that it is the duty of the Board of Trade to have instituted a full enquiry into all questions affecting Railway Employment three years ago, to ascertain the real conditions of employment in all the grades of the service. Up to the present that step has not been taken, and the Royal Commission set up after the August strike was instructed to avoid entering upon that ground (hear, hear). The attitude of the public on the whole to the claims of the Railway-men is one of indifference. When strikes took place, their attitude, in the inconvenience naturally caused by dislocation in the railway service, is one of bitter resentment against the workers. The reason of this is that the public possess no knowledge of the conditions under which Railwaymen work, and generally speaking their only source of knowledge is from a capitalistic press (hear, hear). The public are not, therefore, in a position to judge the just claims of the men as compared with the plausible contentions of the Company. The only way on which they can hope to do so is by the institution of an authoritative record embracing rates of pay, and hours of labour in the various grades of the different departments, as well as the number so paid in each grade. The resolution has a bearing on the Railway Bill, which Mr. Sydney Buxton presented in the House of Commons on April last. This Bill is to give railway Companies, amongst other things, facilities to increase rates and fares. The Government, while themselves proposing legislation which makes an improvement of wages and rates a valid reason for increasing rates and fares, gives no guarantee to the workers that all increased profits will be available to pay increased wages and salaries. Everything is left to the Railway Companies, and no means is left by which the public may be in a position to judge whether the increased wages derived from these increased profits are reasonable or otherwise, therefore a full and immediate inquiry by a Select Committee of the House of Commons is vitally important to the Railway workers, and the public (applause).

Mr. Kennedy (Belfast) seconded, and the resolution was carried.

# FEDERATION OF TRADES.

Mr. James Larkin proposed—"That in the opinion of this Congress it is essential that a closer union should exist between the various trades and labour bodies in Ireland, and for this purpose the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to draw up a constitution upon which an Irish Federation of Trades should be based, such constitution to be submitted to the Trades Unions of the country without delay."

Mr. Bennett seconded.

Mr. Rimmer said he must oppose the motion as the method of a federation of trades was an obsolete device.

Mr. Greig said that his experience of federation was not such as would justify him to support the resolution. Federation in the past had not been of much assistance to them.

Mr. McCarron (Derry) opposed the motion, and stated that a totally Irish organisation had been attempted several times. The employers were organised in a world-wide organisation (hear, hear), and Mr. Larkin now wanted the workers to confine themselves to Ireland alone. The speaker quoted a speech made by Mr. Larkin in the Phoenix Park, in which he said the world was not wide enough for the labour movement. Mr. Larkin had been striving for some time past for a complete Irish organisation. If this resolution was passed his Society or any other amalgamated Society would not send their delegates to any future Irish Trades Congress (hear, hear).

Mr. Drummond and Mr. Milner opposed, and Mr. Connolly supported the motion.

Messrs. Lynch (Cork), and Walsh T.C. (Limerick) also spoke.

Mr. W. O'Brien asked leave to move an amendment, which was refused by the Chairman.

Mr. Larkin, in reply, said he was advocating true industrial unionism. The body he spoke of should be one to rule trade unionism in Ireland.

On a division the motion was defeated by 29 votes *against* to 23 *for*.

The resolution was declared lost.

# ELECTION OF SCRUTINEERS.

Messrs. Greig (Belfast), Farren (Dublin), John Clarke (Belfast), Drumm (Dublin), Marsh (Cork), and Corish (Wexford) were nominated. The voting resulted as follows:—Messrs. Corish, 43; Farren, 42; Greig, 25; Marsh, 23; Drumm, 17, and Clarke, 10. Messrs. Corish, Farren and Greig were declared elected.



## AN EIGHT HOURS DAY

Mr. O'Brien (Dublin) proposed :—

“ That this Congress, believing that the only alternative to an endless succession of strikes is the prompt redress of working class grievances by legislative action, insists that Parliament should at once address itself to the removal of the glaring contrasts between riches and poverty. Among other measures of social justice the Congress declares in favour of a minimum living wage for all workers by legal enactment and the establishment by law of an eight hours' working day for all industries and trades.

“ That, in the opinion of this Congress, the time has arrived—owing to the increased cost of living and the fierce competition which exists—for the establishment by law of a minimum wage in all callings, and in none is this more essential or urgent than in the case of those engaged in the distributive trades ; and that copies of this resolution be sent to the leaders of the Irish and Labour Parties and to the Chief Secretary for Ireland.”

Mr. Hollywood (Belfast) seconded the resolution, and referred to the excessive overtime which men had to work in some of the Belfast Shipyards.

Mr. Rimmer (Dublin) opposed the motion.

Mr. D. Gilmour (Belfast) could not understand the opposition. What he objected to was the excessive overtime. They had held a mass meeting in St Mary's Hall to restrict it. He knew there were some men who would work all the hours that God would give them and two hours longer if possible (laughter). They should object to men working overtime so long as there were men signing the idle book (hear, hear). They lived in the hope that all workers would be able to refuse to work with non-society men, whilst the employer could not object if they refused to give their labour for excessive labour or for overtime so long as any of their brothers were idle (loud applause).

The motion was passed.

## STEAM-ENGINES (PERSONS IN CHARGE) BILL.

Moved by Mr. Tierney (Irish Stationary Engine Drivers).

Seconded by Mr. Moore (Belfast) and carried unanimously.

“ That inasmuch as the Steam-engines (Persons in Charge) Bill passed the ordeal of a Select Committee inquiry in 1901 without amendment, this Congress instructs its Parliamentary Committee to urge upon the Government and the Irish Party the necessity of having the measure placed upon the Statute Book at the earliest opportunity.”

RAILWAY CONCILIATION SCHEME.

On the motion of Mr. Rimmer, seconded by Mr. Cody, the following was passed unanimously :—

“ That this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to call the attention of the Irish Parliamentary Party to the action of the Irish railway companies in declining to accept the finding of the Royal Commission on the Railway Conciliation Scheme of 1907, as embodied in the report submitted to Parliament, and in ignoring the resolution of the House of Commons as adopted on November 22nd, 1911.”

SUPPORTING HOME TRADE.

Mr. Milner (Dublin) moved :—

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

In moving his resolution, Mr. Milner said 90 per cent. of the motor cars used in Ireland are made in England and other countries. Even labour representatives use these cars without inquiring where they came from (laughter). If the subject received the attention it deserved there would be work in Clonmel alone for at least one hundred men employed in the motor building industry (applause).

Mr. Egan (Cork) seconded.

Mr. Rimmer (Dublin) opposed, and said that the resolution was moved only for sentimental and not for economic reasons. It was not, he said, because he was an Englishman that he opposed the motion.

Mr. Longmore (Dublin) opposed on the grounds that the resolution was confined to motor car bodies (hear, hear). All the parts should be made in Ireland. He did not believe that motor car agents had much of a conscience to appeal to (laughter).

Mr. Milner replied, and on a division the motion was practically carried unanimously.

FEEDING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.

On the motion of Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast), seconded by Mr. W. O'Brien (Dublin), the following resolution was carried unanimously :—

“ That we call upon the Government to amend the Act for the Feeding of School Children by extending it to all necessitous children, whether attending school or not; and that such amended Act should be extended to Ireland.”



## INSPECTION OF RAILWAY OFFICES.

Mr. O'Sullivan (Limerick) proposed :—

“That having regard to the high death-rate from consumption amongst railway clerical workers, this Congress affirms its claim that railway offices should be subjected to statutory regulations as to sanitation, ventilation, cubic air space, limitation of hours of labour, night work, &c., as laid down in the Bill promoted by the Railway Clerks' Association, and presented to Parliament by Mr. G. J. Wardle, M.P., and urges the Government to give facilities for the passage of the Bill during the present session of Parliament.”

He said from statistics compiled last year in connection with the superannuation funds of a certain railway, it was found that 42 per cent. of the deaths were attributable to phthisis in one form or another. According to the Registrar-General's Returns, the deaths for the last seven years, as applied to males, ages 15 to 65, was 22·3 per cent. Now there must be something in the occupation of the Railway Clerk which renders him more liable to tuberculosis of the lung, than people in other walks of life. Poverty is, of course, a factor inasmuch as it militates against a clerk's ability to combat the disease. But there are more important factors which are these : close confinement, defective ventilation, defective air space and sunlight, dusty rooms, bad sanitary arrangements, long hours of duty. Now the only hope of getting rid of these very powerful obstacles which stand in the way of the physical health of the Railway Clerk is by subjecting Railway Offices to statutory regulations as to ventilation, cubic air space, limitation of hours of labour, night work, &c. This the Railway Offices Bill very effectively does. The passage into law of this Bill is the only chance we have of conquering the disease. Matters of this kind must not be left to the good-nature of Railways. We must, therefore, urge the Government to give facilities for the passage into law of this Bill. As sure as it does, to quote the words used by my friend Mr. Hill on a previous occasion it will become as great a Magna Charta of health for the Railway Clerks as the Magna Charta was one of liberty (applause).

Mr. Hill seconded, and the resolution was adopted.

## SUB-LETTING IN THE PLASTERING TRADE.

On the motion of Mr. Thomas Farren (Dublin), seconded by Mr. James Larkin, T.C., (Dublin), the following resolution was passed :—

“That the system of sub-letting in the plastering trade is most injurious and detrimental to its best interests, as work done under such conditions cannot be executed in a proper and workmanlike manner; and that this Congress again appeals to the Institute of Irish Architects, the heads of the various religious orders, and the public boards of this country to insist on clauses being inserted

in all contracts debarring the contractor from sub-letting the plastering work, a course that will ensure the work being done in a satisfactory and proper manner.

"And that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Institute of Architects, the Standing Committee of the Catholic Hierarchy and the public boards of Dublin."

#### CARRIAGES, WAGGONS AND VEHICLES IN USE IN ARMY

##### AND GOVERNMENTAL DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. Thomas Milner (Dublin), proposed, Mr. M. Egan, T.C. (Cork), seconded, and it was resolved :—

"That in the opinion of this Congress all carriages, waggons and other vehicles for the use of the Army and other Governmental Departments in Ireland should be made in Ireland by civilian labour under fair conditions; that if this were done it would help to solve the unemployment problem in the coachmaking and other trades; that the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to place this matter before the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the Irish Parliamentary Representatives."

#### MUNICIPAL WORKSHOPS.

Moved by Mr. John McNamara (Tinsmiths and Sheet Metal Workers):—

"That this Congress calls on all Municipal and Poor Law Boards throughout Ireland to establish workshops and have their work done by trades unionists instead of giving it out by contract, as the Fair Wages Resolution has so often been evaded by the different contractors. We believe this would be a benefit to the ratepayers, as well as having their work done in a more satisfactory manner."

Mr. James Nolan (Dublin) seconded the resolution which was passed unanimously.

#### THE MANNING OF SHIPS, AND LIFE-SAVING AT SEA.

Mr. Hayes (Seamen and Firemen's Union) moved :—

"That we, the representatives of the organised workers of Ireland, are of the opinion that the time has arrived—and it has been duly demonstrated by the 'Titanic' disaster, whereby there was great loss of life—when pressure should be brought not only by trade unionists, but also by the general public, upon the Government to take immediate steps to bring about an efficient manning scale both for the deck and stokehold.

"That this Congress considers that as the 'Titanic' disaster and the terrible loss of life occasioned thereby has clearly demonstrated to the whole world the insufficiency of boat accommodation in case of



accident, and the want of a sufficient number of skilled seamen, we call upon the Government to take immediate action to see that a sufficient number of efficient men are engaged for the proper manning of all British Ships to ensure the safety of every passenger and every members of the crew."

He said the matter was one which affected everyone in the community (hear, hear). In an accident like that of the "Titanic" the millionaires and the goldbugs got the fighting chance for their lives, but the passengers in the steerage were locked up and allowed to go down with the ship (loud applause).

Mr. White (Newry) seconded, and said he saw but three weeks before a man taken straight from the plough and placed on board ship as an A.B. (shame).

Mr. Mitchell (Belfast) thought the resolution did not go far enough.

Mr. Bennett said that there were cases of men committing suicide in the stoke-hold on account of the ship being under-manned. He mentioned that on a Cross-channel steamer in which he crossed on the preceding Friday, there were only six boats for 1,000 passengers and crew. The lives of the men who manned, and the passengers who sailed on their ships were evidently not much thought of by some of the ship-owners (hear, hear.)

The motion was carried unanimously.

#### REPORT OF CONGRESS.

Proposed by Mr. William O'Brien (Dublin Trades Council).

"That the present method of compiling the Report of Congress is unsatisfactory; and that the Parliamentary Committee is hereby directed to make the necessary arrangements to have the Report a more accurate summary of the proceedings."

Mr. James Larkin seconded, and said that a proper journalist should be employed to report the proceedings of Congress. He condemned the manner in which some of the daily papers reported the proceedings, and added that he never saw a Congress reported more fully, more accurately, or more impartially than it was reported by the local Press in Clonmel (hear, hear).

The motion was carried unanimously.

#### OUTWORKING IN TAILORING TRADE.

On the motion of Councillor Thomas Lawlor, P.L.G. (Dublin), seconded by Mr. P. Lynch (Cork), it was unanimously resolved:—

"That this Congress urges upon the Parliamentary Committee the necessity of having the Factory and Workshops Act so amended as to make it imperative on all employers in the tailoring trade to provide

sufficient and suitable workshops for all those in their employment, as, in our opinion, home working is the chief cause of the sweating system. Further, so long as employers are allowed to send their work to people's homes, complete and efficient workshop inspection is impossible without an enormous and absurd increase in the number of inspectors. It is also our opinion that where bed-rooms or living rooms are used as workshops they become a danger to the public health, and tend to demoralise those engaged therein"

PUBLIC CONTRACTS, THE "IRISH TRADE MARK" AND THE  
SALE OF FOREIGN MEATS AS IRISH.

Proposed by Mr. Hugh Gilmour, seconded by Mr. W. A. Conlan (Belfast Butchers), and carried unanimously :—

"That this Congress is of opinion that the necessary supervision is not exercised over the execution of contracts issued by the public Boards of Ireland, and that it be an instruction to the Parliamentary Committee to communicate with the different Boards with the object of representatives of the trades affected being allowed the privilege of inspecting the work in course of construction and thus ensuring the carrying out of the House of Commons fair wages resolution.

"That this Congress condemns the action of the Irish Industrial Development Association in issuing the 'Irish Trade Mark' stamp to firms in the furniture trade who do not pay recognised trade union wages, as by this action they are encouraging sweating and all the evils appertaining thereto.

"That this Congress is of opinion that any system of Irish Industrial Development that does not provide for fair wages being paid to the workers is unsound, and unworthy of the support of the trades unionists of Ireland.

"That the attention of the Irish Industrial Development Association be directed to a system which extensively prevails in this country of selling foreign frozen and chilled meats as Irish."

STANDING ORDERS COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Mr. Joseph Mitchell presented Standing Orders Committee (No. 6) Report.

"Your Committee recommend that Mr. James Larkin be given permission to move a resolution dealing with the dispute of the Transport Workers in London, at the finish of the supplemental Agenda."

The report was adopted unanimously, on the motion of Mr. R. B. McAuley, seconded by Mr. Nugent.



Proposed by Mr. James McCarron, T.C. (Derry) :—

Resolved—"That this Congress emphatically protests against the low minimum of 6d. per hour for adult males and 3½d. per hour for fully qualified females, as issued by the Trade Board; as this will be reduced by the loss of time during slack periods, to an impossible living standard. This Congress is further of opinion that the fixing of a 20 per cent. margin for non-efficients cannot be justified, and will lead to the general exploitation of this class of worker."

He said it was monstrous that a wage like that mentioned in the resolution should be fixed as a standard—not for, as in his trade, fixing a rate, but per hour of 60 minutes (hear, hear). He hoped that the matter would receive the attention of the Government and that the grievance would be remedied.

Mr. Lynch (Cork) formally seconded the resolution.

Councillor Larkin (Dublin) asked was not the mover of the motion on the Wages Board, and why did he not remedy it?

Councillor McCarron said it was the Board in Great Britain which did the "fixing" (laughter).

The motion was put and carried.

#### RAILWAY BILL.

Mr. N. Rimmer (A.S.R.S., Dublin), moved :—

"That this Congress enters a most emphatic protest against the passing into law of the Railway Bill at present before Parliament, believing that it is inimical to the interests of the workers and of the community at large. The absence of any protective clauses whereby the rights of all grades may be safeguarded; the proposed removal of the necessity for the direct sanction of Parliament in matters affecting working agreements, alleged improvements, acquisition of land, &c.; the transference of the onus of proof from the companies to the traders; all stamp it as a reactionary measure designed for the purpose of strengthening the position of the Railway Companies without any regard to the rights and privileges of the people of these countries. That the Parliamentary Committee be and are hereby directed to take such steps as they may deem necessary to effect the defeat of the measure."

He said that if the Irish Party had any strength or character they would get the Bill withdrawn.

Mr. W. E. Hill, who seconded, said the Bill from end to end was full of most dangerous concessions to the monopolists who had already got more than they should have (hear, hear).

The resolution was carried unanimously.

# THE LONDON STRIKE.

Mr. Larkin proposed :—

“ That this Irish Trades Congress extends to the Transport Workers in the dispute within the London area our moral, and, if necessary our material support, and wish them success.”

He said it was their duty when the men across the water were showing discontent that they should be on their side.

Mr. Bennet seconded, and the resolution was carried with acclamation.

## NEXT PLACE OF MEETING.

The Chairman announced that an invitation had been received by the Secretary from the Cork Trades Council to hold the Congress of 1913 in the “ City by the Lee.”

Councillor Jim Larkin moved :—

“ That the invitation be accepted, and that the thanks of the Congress be tendered to the Corkmen for their action.”

He, personally, would be very glad to renew his acquaintance with the men of Cork. They had been beaten there once, but they could not expect to win every time, and they would win there again (hear, hear).

Mr. Corrigan (Kilkenny) seconded.

The motion was put and carried unanimously.

Messrs. Lynch and Hegarty briefly replied.

## THE PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE.

The Scrutineers announced the result of the ballot as follows :—

	Votes.
Mr. M. J. O'Lehane (Dublin), Draper's Assistant ..	57
Mr. D. R. Campbell (Belfast), Insurance Agent ..	53
Mr. J. Larkin, T.C. (Dublin), Transport Worker ..	47
Mr. Wm. O'Brien (Dublin), Tailor .. ..	45
Mr. R. P. O'Carroll, T.C., P.L.G. (Dublin), Bricklayer ..	39
Mr. Thomas McConnell (Belfast), Baker .. ..	38
Miss Mary Galway (Belfast), Textile Operative..	37
Mr. Thomas McPartlin (Dublin), Carpenter .. ..	34



The above, with the Secretary, form the Committee. The unsuccessful candidates were :—Messrs. T. R. Johnson (who tied with Mr. McPartlin, but was defeated in an open vote as between the two), 34 ; Patrick Walsh, T.C., 29 ; Wm. McNulty, 26 ; John O'Sullivan, 21 ; H. T. Whitley, 16 ; J. H. Bennett, 10 ; John Vaughan, 7.

#### VOTES OF THANKS.

On the motion of Mr. Joseph Mitchell (Belfast), seconded by Mr. McAuley, E.T.U., Dublin, Mr. D. R. Campbell took the second chair.

Councillor McCarron proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. O'Lehane for the manner in which he had conducted the Congress. He had been in attendance at every Irish Trades Union Congress since the very first in Dublin, and he had never seen at any of them, nor, indeed, at any other place, a better chairman than they had sat under for the preceding three days (hear, hear).

Mr. Carroll (Dublin) seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. Rimmer and the Chairman, and passed amidst applause.

Mr. O'Lehane, replying, said the harmony and order of the Congress had been such that they might be proud of (applause).

Mr. Hill (Dublin) proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Reception Committee for the hearty *cead mile failthe* they had given the delegates all during their stay in Clonmel. They owed them a very deep debt of gratitude. He had been at many Congresses, and never saw better arrangements made for or greater hospitality extended to the delegates (applause).

Mr. Greig (Belfast) seconded, and said that in his twenty years' experience he never saw a better reception to the delegates than that given—and given from the heart—by the democracy of Clonmel. (Applause.)

The motion was passed amidst applause.

Mr. Quirke and Mr. McCormack acknowledged the vote on behalf of the Reception Committee.

Councillor Lawlor (Dublin) proposed, and Councillor Walsh (Limerick) seconded, a vote of thanks to the Corporation for the use of the Council Chamber.

The Chairman, in putting the motion, said he would like to refer to the regrettable incident which took place in reference to the place of meeting. The local Committee had made arrangements to have the Congress held in the Courthouse, but on Wednesday or Thursday week the Sub-Sheriff, who claimed to have a veto in the letting of the

building, said he would exercise his prerogative, and vetoed the holding of the Congress in the Courthouse without giving any definite reason. That placed the Reception Committee in a very awkward position, but the Mayor, Town Clerk, and Corporation rose to the occasion (hear, hear). The Town Clerk had placed his own private office at their disposal, and this merited the high appreciation and thanks of the delegates (applause).

The motion was passed amidst applause.

Mr. Nolan (Dublin) proposed a vote of thanks to the Press and complimented the local Press on the full and fair report of the proceedings given.

Mr. Whitley (Belfast) seconded the motion, which was passed.

Mr. B. J. Long briefly replied, after which

The Congress concluded.



# BALANCE SHEET, CLONMEL CONGRESS, MAY, 1912.

INCOME.							£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.							£	s.	d.
To Balance from last Congress	..	..	..	..	..	..	75	13	6	By Auditors' Fees (Galway)	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	0	
„ 87 Delegates' Fees	..	..	..	..	..	..	65	5	0	„ Two Secretaries' Fees (Galway)	..	..	..	..	..	3	0	0	
„ Affiliation Fees	..	..	..	..	..	..	79	8	11	„ Standing Order Committee (Galway)	..	..	..	..	..	2	10	0	
„ Special Appeal	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	8	6	„ Three Tellers (Galway)	..	..	..	..	..	0	15	0	
„ Short Credit Affiliation Fees (1911). Dublin Trades Council	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	10	0	„ Rent of Town Hall (Galway)	..	..	..	..	..	5	5	0	
										„ Hall Attendant—Door	..	..	..	..	..	0	15	0	
										„ Printing Balance Sheet, &c.	..	..	..	..	..	1	4	0	
										„ Refund Workers' Union	..	..	..	..	..	2	5	0	
										„ Refund Amalgamated Farriers	..	..	..	..	..	1	0	0	
										„ Refund Amalgamated Workers' Union, Cork Branch	..	..	..	..	..	0	15	0	
										„ P. C. Meetings and Deputations	..	..	..	..	..	77	3	8	
										„ Sealy, Bryers and Walker (Printing)	..	..	..	..	..	7	0	0	
										„ Dublin Trades Sports	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0	
										„ British Association Labour Legislation	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	0	
										„ Secretary's Petty Cash	..	..	..	..	..	8	10	3	
										„ Secretary's Honorarium	..	..	..	..	..	20	0	0	
										„ Treasurer's Petty Cash	..	..	..	..	..	0	5	0	
										„ Treasurer's Honorarium	..	..	..	..	..	5	0	0	
										„ Hall Caretaker	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	0	
										„ Balance in Bank	..	..	..	£32	16	0			
										„ Cheques and P. Orders in hand	..	..	..	36	8	4			
										„ Cash in hand	..	..	..	20	11	8			
														89				16	0
														£228				5	11

We have examined the foregoing Statement of Accounts and compared the figures with the Vouchers produced, and found same correct.

JOHN CLARKE,  
ANDREW BRESLAN, } Auditors.

# AFFILIATION FEES.

	£	s.	d
Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants .. .. .	4	10	0
Postmen's Federation .. .. .	3	10	0
Typographical Association (Belfast Branch) .. .. .	1	10	0
National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades .. .. .	1	10	0
National Insurance Agents (Belfast) .. .. .	0	5	0
Royal Liver Assurance Agents .. .. .	0	11	4
Kilkenny Trades Council .. .. .	1	0	0
Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association .. .. .	4	10	0
Typographical Association .. .. .	2	10	0
Irish Linen Lappers (Belfast Branch) .. .. .	0	10	0
Amalgamated Carpenters, Dublin, 3rd Branch .. .. .	0	5	0
Amalgamated Carpenters, 5th Branch .. .. .	0	10	0
Amalgamated Carpenters, 6th Branch .. .. .	0	5	0
Operative Plumbers Amalgamation, E.C. .. .. .	1	10	0
Queenstown Trades Council .. .. .	1	0	0
Operative Plasterers .. .. .	0	12	6
Amalgamated Tramway and Vehicle Workers .. .. .	1	10	0
Dublin Typographical Association .. .. .	2	10	0
Railway Clerks' Association .. .. .	1	10	0
Belfast Journeymen Butchers' Association .. .. .	0	15	0
Lithographic Artists (Dublin) .. .. .	0	5	0
National Amalgamated Painters .. .. .	1	10	0
National Sailors and Firemen (Irish Branches) .. .. .	1	10	0
National Union Shop Assistants .. .. .	0	6	10
National Union of Dockers (Derry) .. .. .	1	5	0
Wexford Iron Workers .. .. .	1	8	4
Irish Stationary Engine Drivers .. .. .	0	14	0
Irish Transport Workers (Belfast) .. .. .	1	10	0
Irish Transport Workers (3rd Branch) .. .. .	1	10	0
Electrical Workers' Union (Belfast Branch) .. .. .	0	11	4
Irish Glass Bottle Makers .. .. .	1	0	0
Limerick Trades Council .. .. .	1	0	0
Belfast Trades Council .. .. .	3	0	0
Bookbinders (Dublin Branch) .. .. .	0	16	8
Amalgamated Tailors and Tailoresses .. .. .	3	10	0
Waterford Trades Council .. .. .	1	0	0
Flax Roughers' Society (Belfast) .. .. .	1	0	0
Flax Dressers' Society (Belfast) .. .. .	1	10	0
General Union of Carpenters .. .. .	0	12	6
National Amalgamated Union of Labour .. .. .	1	10	0
Amalgamated Union of Cabinet-makers .. .. .	0	4	2
Textile Operatives of Ireland .. .. .	1	10	0
Lurgan Hemmers and Veiners' Society .. .. .	0	10	0
Ancient Guild of Brick and Stonelayers .. .. .	1	9	7
Belfast Bakers .. .. .	0	15	0
Dublin Operative Farriers .. .. .	0	8	0
Amalgamated Union Co-Operative Employees .. .. .	1	0	0
U. K. Society Coachmakers .. .. .	1	10	0
Association Loco. Engineers and Firemen .. .. .	1	15	0
Clonmel Trades Council .. .. .	1	0	0
Cork Trades Council .. .. .	1	0	0
Dublin Trades Council .. .. .	3	0	0
Irish Transport Union Executive .. .. .	4	10	0
City of Dublin Tinsmiths .. .. .	0	7	0
Electrical Trades Union (Dublin) .. .. .	0	8	4
Amalgamated Carpenters (4th Dublin) .. .. .	0	5	0
Irish Women Workers .. .. .	1	10	0
National Union Dockers (Drogheda) .. .. .	0	15	0
Dublin Bakers .. .. .	1	8	4





# STANDING ORDERS.

**1. Opening Proceedings.**—The Congress shall assemble at 9.30 a.m. (except the first day, when the proceedings shall commence at 11 a.m.), prompt, adjourn at 1 p.m., reassemble at 2 p.m., and adjourn at 5 p.m. each day.

**2. Delegates' Qualifications.**—The Congress shall consist of (1) Delegated members or officials from *bona fide* trade and labour unions who are or have been practical workers at the trade or calling they represent; (2) delegated members or officials from recognised trades councils or similar bodies; and (3) any person qualified to represent a trade or labour union on any Irish trade or labour council duly affiliated to Congress, shall be eligible to represent such trade or labour union at Congress. The Delegates' fees (15s. 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.**—That the minimum Annual Contribution from affiliated societies (assessed on their Irish membership) payable to the Treasurer not later than fourteen days previous to the meeting of Congress, shall be One Penny per member from all Societies of 250 members or under; over 250 and up to 500, £1 8s. 4d.; over 500 and up to 1,000, £1 10s. 0d., and £1 for each 1,000 or fractional part thereof, after the first 1,000 members, assessed on Irish membership. Trades Councils shall pay £1 for each 5,000 members or part thereof represented.

**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 re-count. *Scrutineers* (3) shall be appointed before the distribution of the ballot papers for the election of the Parliamentary 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 Parliamentary Committee at least SIX WEEKS before the meeting of Congress in Whit week, and shall be at once printed and sent out by the Secretary of the Parliamentary 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 Parliamentary 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 Parliamentary 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 and each succeeding speaker shall be allowed 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. Parliamentary Committee.**—A Parliamentary Committee of nine, including Secretary, shall be elected on the last day of the Congress, whose duties shall be—(1) to endeavour to give practical effect to the resolutions of Congress; (2) to watch all legislative measures directly affecting the question of Labour in Ireland; (3) to initiate such legislative and other action as Congress may direct; and (4) generally to support the Parliamentary Committee of the United Trades Congress upon all questions affecting the Workers of the United Kingdom. The Committee shall meet quarterly or at such times as, in the opinion of the Chairman and Secretary, the exigencies of the Labour Movement in Ireland call for immediate action, and shall present a report of their proceedings to the next Congress. No candidate shall be eligible for election on the Parliamentary Committee unless he is a Delegate from his own trade society, labour union, or trades council. In no case shall more than one member of the same trade or occupation, or more than one representative of the same trades council, be allowed to sit, but this condition shall not apply to the election of Secretary. The Secretary shall be elected by Congress, and be *ex-officio* a member of the Congress and the Parliamentary Committee, and shall remain in office so long as his work and conduct give satisfaction to the Parliamentary Committee and the representatives attending the Congress. Should a vacancy occur between the annual meetings of the Congress the Parliamentary Committee shall have power to fill the vacancy. At least two meetings of the Parliamentary Committee (or a sub-committee of Parliamentary Committee) shall be held in the locality selected for the next year's Congress, such meetings to be arranged in conjunction with local Trades Council or organised trades unionists.

**11. Parliamentary Committee's Report.**—Report of the Parliamentary Committee, 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 Parliamentary Committee 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.**—That at least one General Labour Meeting shall be held, under the auspices of the Parliamentary Committee in each town during the sittings of the Annual Congress—the local trades council to render such assistance in arranging for halls, advertising, &c., 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.

## LIST OF DELEGATES.

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*Amalgamated Association of Tramway and Vehicle Workers*—Charles Lee, 59 Burnaby Street, Belfast.

*Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, Dublin 5th Branch*—E. J. O'Neill, 35 Lower Gloucester Street, Dublin.

*Dublin 3rd Branch*—Andrew Breslan, 33 Emerald Street, Dolphin's Barn, Dublin.

*Dublin 6th Branch*—M. Somerville, 23 Armstrong Street, Harold's Cross, Dublin.

*Dublin 4th Branch*—Thomas McPartlin, 7 Shamrock Street, Dublin.

*Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants*—N. Rimmer, 7 Lower Abbey Street, Dublin; J. Cody, 45 Strandville Avenue, Dublin, and J. Kennedy, 32 Lower Clonard Street, Belfast.

*Amalgamated Society of Tailors*—James McCarron, T.C., 48 Stanley Walk, Derry; Patrick Lynch, 2 Crosses Green, Cork.

*Clonmel Branch*—Joseph Power and Thomas McCormack.

*Dublin Branches*—Michael Ryan and Thomas Lawlor, T.C., P.L.G.

*Amalgamated Union of Cabinetmakers*—James Costello, 13 North Summer Street, Dublin.

*Amalgamated Union of Co-operative Employes*—Samuel Bankhead, 21 Toronto Street, Ravenhill Road, Belfast.

*Ancient Guild of Incorporated Brick and Stonelayers*—R. P. O'Carroll, T.C., P.L.G., 49 Cuffe Street, Dublin, and Denis Lonergan, Clonmel.

*Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen*—John Drummond, 28 Fontenoy Street, Dublin.

*Bakers, Belfast Operatives' Society*—Thomas McConnell, 58 Oldpark Avenue, Belfast.

*Bakers and Confectioners, Dublin Operatives*—John Barry, 8 Upper Bridge Street, Dublin.

*Belfast Journeymen Butchers' Association*—W. A. Conlon, 25 Crocus Street, Springfield-road, Belfast.

*Belfast Trades and Labour Council*—D. R. Campbell, 11 Kimberley Street, and Joseph Mitchell, 45 Harrybrook Street, Belfast.



*Carpenters, General Union*—Richard Brophy, 55 Ring Street, Inchicore, Dublin.

*City of Dublin Operative Farriers*—Benjamin Drumm, 53 Bolton Street, Dublin.

*Clonmel Trades Council*—Robert Byrne and William Quirke, Clonmel.

*Cork United Trades Council*—Cornelius Hobart, John O'Sullivan and Timothy Hegarty.

*Dublin Tinsmiths and Sheet Metal Workers*—John McNamara Trades Hall, Dublin.

*Dublin Trades and Labour Council*—William O'Brien, Trades Hall, Dublin, and Thomas Farren, T.C., Trades Hall, Dublin.

*Dublin Typographical Provident Society*—Thomas Halpin, 35 Lower Gardiner Street, Dublin.

*Electrical Trades Union, Belfast Branch*—Thomas Hollywood, 25 Hourley Street, Belfast.

*Dublin Branch*—R. B. McCauley, 27 Nelson Street, Dublin.

*Irish Drapers' Assistants' Association*—M. J. O'Lehane, 56 Henry Street, Dublin, and W. P. O'Keeffe, 39 Dublin Street, Clonmel.

*Irish Foundrymen's Union*—Richard Corish, 4 William Street, Wexford.

*Irish Glass Bottle Makers*—John McLaren and James Longmore.

*Irish Stationary Engine Drivers*—Michael Tierney, 20 Boyne Street, Dublin.

*Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, Dublin Executive*—James Larkin, Liberty Hall, Beresford Place, Dublin.

*Dublin No. 7 Branch*—Joseph Metcalfe, Michael Brohan, Joseph Byrne, and William Fairclough, Liberty Hall, Beresford Place, Dublin.

*Belfast Branch*—James Connolly, 123 Corporation Street, Belfast.

*Dublin No. 3 Branch*—John Bohan, 15 Basin Street Upper, Dublin; Thomas Burke, 62 Queen's Street, Dublin.

*Irish Women Workers' Union*—Miss D. Larkin, Liberty Hall, Dublin.

*Kilkenny Trades Council*—William Corrigan, Trades Hall, Kilkenny.

*Limerick Trades and Labour Council*—Patrick Walsh, T.C., Mechanics' Institute, Limerick; John Vaughan, Mechanics' Institute, Limerick.

*National Union of Bookbinders and Machine Rulers (Dublin Branch)*—James Nolan, 10 North King Street, Dublin.

- National Union of Dock Labourers and Carters*—W. J. McNulty, 74 Long Tower Street, Derry, and R. Nugent, Drogheda.
- National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades (Irish Branches)*—Hugh Gilmour, 135 Cupar Street, Belfast.
- National Amalgamated House and Ship Painters and Decorators*—H. Marsh, St. Mary's Avenue, St. Mary's Road, Cork.
- National Amalgamated Union of Labour (Belfast District)*—George Greig, 41 Elgin Street, Belfast; John Flanagan, 21 Michael Street, Belfast, and Albert Lockett, 71 Witham Street, Belfast.
- National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks*—Thomas R. Johnson, 13 Ranfurley Drive, Belfast.
- National Sailors and Firemen's Union*—J. H. Bennett, 15 Gamble Street, Belfast; A. O'Hea, 249 Bishop Street, Derry; G. W. Hayes, 8 Upper Barrack Street, Waterford; and J. White, 32 Kilmorey Street, Newry.
- Operative Plasterers (Dublin)*—George Leahy, 23 Blackhall Place, Dublin.
- Operative Plumbers (Irish Branches)*—Thomas Lynch, 10 Newenham Street, Limerick.
- Postmen's Federation*—T. Donovan, 18 South View, Cork, and John Smith, 233 Helmsley Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
- Queenstown Trades Council*—John Dowling and Thomas Cummins, 22 Roche's Row, Queenstown, and Lower Midleton Street, Queenstown, respectively.
- Railway Clerks' Association*—W. E. Hill, 337 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C., and P. O'Sullivan, 14 Sexton Street, Limerick.
- Royal Liver Agents and Employes*—John Hanlon, 2A Millmount Avenue, Drumcondra.
- Textile Operatives of Ireland*—Miss Mary Galway, Avenue Hall, Lower Garfield Street, Belfast, and Mrs. Elizabeth McCaughey, 10 Abyssinia Street, Belfast.
- Typographical Association*—John Murphy, 12 Frederick Street, Belfast, and T. Cassidy, 1 Clifton Street, Waterside, Derry.
- \* *Belfast Branch*—John Clarke, 2 Curzon Street, Belfast, and H. T. Whitley, Florida, Ardenlee Parade, Belfast
- Limerick Branch*—John Gleeson, Athlunkard Street, Limerick.
- United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers*—M. Egan, J.P., T.C., Cork, and Thomas Milner, Dublin.
- Waterford Trades Council*—Richard Keane, T.C., Morrison's Road, Waterford.



# IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS, 1894-1912.

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

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