

LABOR OMNIA VINCIT

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

OF THE

AMERICAN  
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA  
NOVEMBER 14 TO 26 INCLUSIVE  
1904



WASHINGTON, D. C.  
THE LAW REPORTER PRINTING COMPANY  
1904

# DELEGATES

## TO THE

### TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION.

Organizations.	No of delegates	No. of votes for each delegate.	Name and address of delegates.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union.....	1	162	Emil Schaefer, 146 Fourteenth st., San Francisco, Cal.
		59	W. E. Klapetzky, Box 770, Los Angeles, Cal.
Journeyman Barbers' International Union.....	4	59	Frank X. Noschang, Box 397, Albany, N. Y.
		59	George K. Smith, 1016 Twelfth st., Oakland, Cal.
		59	James C. Shanessy, 810 Olive st., St. Louis, Mo.
National Alliance Bill Posters and Billers of America.....	1	13	George Abernethy, 310 Dawson st., Allegheny, Pa.
International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths.....	2	53	John Slocum, 580-585 Monon Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
		52	James J. McDade, 20 Eleventh st., San Francisco, Cal.
Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America.....	2	95	Wm. J. Gilthorpe, 406 Portsmouth Bldg., Kansas City, Kans.
		95	A. D. Porter, 121 New Montgomery st., San Francisco, Cal.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	5	64	John F. Tobin, 434 Albany Bldg., Boston, Mass.
		64	Collis Lovely, 434 Albany Bldg., Boston, Mass.
		64	Emmet T. Walls, Box 499, Brackton, Mass.
		64	Chas. E. Lowell, Box 834, Wiltman, Mass.
		64	John F. Meade, 70 Centre st., Brockton, Mass.
		77	Louis Kemper, Odd Fellows' Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio.
International Union of United Brewery Workmen.....	4	76	Edmond F. Ward, 1117 Columbus ave., Boston, Mass.
		76	August Priestersbach, Cor. Third and Elm sts., St. Louis, Mo.
		76	Fred Zepp, 538 1/2 Pearl st., Cleveland, Ohio.
		37	Chas. Hank, Room 12, 151-53 Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance.....	2	36	Frank Butterworth, 711 Preston st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		39	Frank Buchanan, 464 Racine ave., Chicago, Ill.
International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.....	3	38	E. V. Hoeneck, 927 Mission st., San Francisco, Cal.
		38	John Brady, 362 Baltic st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
		11	J. F. Curren, 308 Sutter st., San Francisco, Cal.
International Broom Makers' Union... International Union of Building Employes of America.....	1	8	Herman Brockowsky, 566 Howard st., San Francisco, Cal.
		222	Frank Duffy, Box 520, Indianapolis, Ind.
		222	James F. Grimes, 1012 McKinney st., Houston, Tex.
		222	A. M. Swartz, 1410 Sandusky st., Allegheny City, Pa.
United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.....	7	222	Samuel Yarnell, Douglas, Arizona.
		222	William B. Macfarlane, 286 Potomac ave., Buffalo, N. Y.
		222	John Zaring, Room 5, Odd Fellows' Temple, Springfield, Ill.
		222	T. M. Guerin, 437 Fourth st., Troy, N. Y.
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.....	1	50	William Fyfe, 257 W. Sixty-ninth st., New York City.
International Carriage and Wagon Workers.....	1	55	Matthew Canavan, 309 Fifth st., San Francisco Cal.

Organizations.	No. of delegates.	No. of votes for each delegate.	Name and address of delegates.
American Brotherhood of Cement Workers.....	2	{ 22 22	F. C. Genzenbach, 44 La Salle st., Chicago, Ill. O. A. Tveitmo, 305-6 Clunie Bldg., San Francisco, Cal.
Cigar Makers' International Union of America.....	4	{ 102 101 101 101	Samuel Gompers, 423-25 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C. Thos. F. Tracy, 11 Appleton st., Boston, Mass. James Wood, 1316 Walnut st., Cincinnati, Ohio. J. Mahlon Barnes, 232 N. Ninth st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Retail Clerks' International Protective Association.....	4	{ 125 125 125 125	J. R. O'Brien, 31½ W. Eagle st., Buffalo, N. Y. Max Morris, P. O. Box 1581, Denver, Colo. J. R. Devine, 1510 Jackson st., Scranton, Pa. Herman Robinson, 25 Third ave., New York, N. Y.
United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America.....	1	29	L. J. Gordon, 227 Fifth st., San Francisco, Cal.
The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America.....	1	20	Allen T. Baum, care "Examiner," San Francisco, Cal.
Coopers' International Union of North America.....	2	{ 36 35 33	S. J. Cook, P. O. Box 77, Kansas City, Kans. P. J. Donnelly, 14 Bickford ave., Boston, Mass. H. W. Sherman, 510 Corcoran Bldg., Washington, D. C.
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America.....	4	{ 52 52 52	M. J. Sullivan, 233 Fulton st., San Francisco, Cal. George Burns, 349 Magnolia ave., Detroit, Mich. Chas. Nelson, 123 Liberty st., New York City.
International Union of Elevator Constructors.....	1	22	Frank Feeney, 819 Pierce st., Philadelphia, Pa.
International Union of Steam Engineers.....	4	{ 44 44 44 44	Henry Ketter, 821 Oliver st., Cincinnati, Ohio. Joseph Hammill, 38 W. One Hundred and Nineteenth st., New York City. John J. Glass, 514 E. Eagle st., Buffalo, N. Y. Frank B. Monaghan, 706 Parker st., Roxbury Crossing, Boston, Mass.
International Association of Watch Case Engravers.....	1	{ 3 45	Bert Beadle, 409 Gilmore ave., Canton, Ohio. Timothy Healy, 193 Bowery st., New York City.
International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.....	4	{ 45 45 45 45	C. L. Shamp, 2502 N. Eighteenth st., Omaha, Neb. J. W. Morton, 276 E. Madison st., Chicago, Ill. J. B. Conroy, 1026 Franklin ave., St. Louis, Mo.
International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employes.....	1	21	A. E. Kellington, 406 Corn Exchange, Minneapolis, Minn.
International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes.....	1	10	George Bechtold, 1310 Franklin ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Interior Freight Handlers and Warehousemen's Union of A.....	1	33	J. E. Kentzell, care of Labor Council, 927 Market st., San Francisco, Cal.
United Garment Workers of America..	3	{ 152 151 151	T. A. Rickert, 167 Dearborn st., Chicago, Ill. Sarah Hagan, 927 Market st., San Francisco, Cal. Nathan Wolff, 29 Avenue B, New York City.
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.....	1	{ 22 33	Isidor Jacoby, 25 Third ave., New York City. D. A. Hayes, Witherspoon Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the U. S. and Canada.....	2	{ 33 33	James J. Beegan, 616 Elizabeth st., San Francisco, Cal.
Window Glass Snappers' National Protective Association of America.....	1	11	George Farrell, Kane, Pa.
Glass Workers' Intl. Assn., Amal.....	1	17	John J. Morris, 2321 Carr st., St. Louis, Mo.
International Glove Workers' Union	1	20	Thos. J. Mahoney, 119 Fourteenth st., San Francisco, Cal.
Granite Cutters' National Union.....	3	{ 33 33 33	James Duncan, Hancock Bldg., Quincy, Mass. Thomas J. Lyons, Vinal Haven, Me. William J. O'Brien, 411 E. Fifty-seventh st., New York City.

Organizations.	No. of delegates	No. of votes for each delegate.	Name and Address of Delegates.
United Hatters of North America.....	3	29	John A. Moffitt, 11 Waverly Place, New York City.
		28	Martin Lawlor, 11 Waverly Place, New York City.
		28	James P. Maher, 11 Waverly Place, New York City.
Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' Union.....	2	43	Herman Lillen, Garden City Block, Chicago, Ill.
		42	John W. Smith, Cleveland ave., Trenton, N.J.
International Union of Journeymen Horseshoers of U. S. and Canada.....	2	21	Roady Kenehan, 1548 Wazee st., Denver, Col.
		21	John Fitzpatrick, 509 Garden City Block, Chicago, Ill.
		99	T. J. Sullivan, 82 Franklin ave., Hartford, Conn.
Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.....	5	99	Jere L. Sullivan, Commercial Tribune Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		99	Robert A. Wharton, Brunswick Hotel, Scranton, Pa.
		99	Paul Reichenbacher, 147 E. Fifty-third st., New York City.
		98	C. B. Wiseman, Box 639, St. Louis, Mo.
Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers.....	1	135	Daniel P. Sullivan, Smithfield & Water sts., House Bldg., Pittsburg, Pa.
International Union of Wood, Wire, and Metal Lathers.....	2		William Mesorley, 518 Superior Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.
		29	T. C. DeVilliers, 825 Twenty-second st., Oakland, Cal.
International Union Shirt, Waist, and Laundry Workers.....	2	33	J. L. Hutchinson, 1623 F st., Fresno, Cal.
		32	Lester A. Greenlaw, 1042 Minna st., San Francisco, Cal.
United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods.....	1	46	Frank Sweeney, 927 Mission st., San Francisco, Cal.
International Longshoremen's Association.....	3	167	Daniel J. Keefe, 601 Elks' Temple, Detroit, Mich.
		167	Henry C. Barter, 603 Elks' Temple, Detroit, Mich.
		166	John J. Joyce, 151 Sandusky st., Buffalo, N.Y.
		157	James O'Connell, 402-407 McGill Bldg., Washington, D. C.
		157	George H. Warner, 123 Liberty st., New York City.
Int. Association of Machinists.....	4	157	A. E. Ireland, Room 13, Office Block, Topeka, Kans.
		156	John Hamerstrom, 1338 N. Capitol st., Washington, D. C.
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.....	2	172	Herman May, 10 Walnut ave., San Francisco, Cal.
		172	C. E. Schmidt, 310 O'Farrell st., San Francisco, Cal.
Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers, and Brass Workers' Union of North America.....	1	128	E. J. Lynch, Germania Bank Building, New York City.
Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, Amalgamated.....	3	51	P. J. Downey, 45 Myrtle ave., Albany, N. Y.
		51	Richard Pattison, 211 W. Twenty-fourth st., New York City.
		51	D. B. Heron, 1251 Arch st., Philadelphia, Pa.
Metal Workers' International, United.	1	96	D. J. Murray, 1239 Folsom st., San Francisco, Cal.
		369	John Mitchell, 1101 State Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		368	W. B. Wilson, 1106 State Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
		368	T. L. Lewis, 1122 State Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Mine Workers of America, United.....	7	368	W. D. Ryan, Marine Bank Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
		368	W. H. Haskins, 77 Ruggery Bldg., Columbus, Ohio.
		368	John Fahy, Exchange Hotel, Shamokin, Pa.
		368	John T. Dempsey, 407 Pauli Bldg., Scranton, Pa.

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Organizations.	No. of delegates	No. of votes for each delegate.	Name and address of delegates.
Molders' Union, Iron.....	3	{ 100 { 100 { 100 { 74	M. J. Keough, 38 Jane st., Green Island, N. Y. R. H. Metcalf, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio. James H. O'Neill, Box 917, Providence, R. I. Joseph N. Weber, 1344 Broadway, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Musicians, American Federation of....	3	{ 73 { 73 { 122 { 122	Owen Miller, Room 20, Allen Bldg., St. Louis, Mo. D. A. Carey, 95 Markham st., Toronto, Can. J. C. Bahlhorn, Drawer 199, Lafayette, Ind. Jas. H. Sullivan, 343 N. Calvert st., Baltimore, Md.
Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of .....	5	{ 121 { 121 { 121	George C. Campbell, 704 N. Second st., Clinton, Iowa. John M. Finan, 57 N. Clark st., Chicago, Ill. Frank C. Lowe, 711 Fourth ave., N. Seattle, Wash.
Paper Box Workers' International Union.....	1	12	Mason Thomas, 1711½ Mason st., San Francisco, Cal.
Papermakers, United Brotherhood ....	1	88	George Mackey, 22 Smith Bldg., Watertown, N. Y.
Patternmakers' League.....	1	37	James Wilson, 25 Third ave., New York City.
Photo-Engravers' International Union	1	17	Jas. G. Cain, 215 Pearl st., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Piano and Organ Workers' International .....	2	{ 50 { 49	Chas. Dold, 849 N. Irving ave., Chicago, Ill. Frank Helle, 2110 Greshaw st., Chicago, Ill.
Plate Printers, Steel and Copper.....	1	10	Jeremiah P. Murphy, 1416 Pa. ave. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Plumbers, Gasfitters, Steamfitters, etc., United Association.....	3	{ 55 { 55 { 55	Wm. J. Spencer, Box 7, Dayton, Ohio. John Clark, 40 E. Mohawk st., Buffalo, N. Y. J. J. McKee, 822 Fifth ave., Pittsburg, Pa.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	2	{ 29 { 29 { 40 { 40	T. J. Duffy, Box 50, E. Liverpool, Ohio. Harry Hales, 62 Twenty-third st., Wheeling, W. Va. Martin P. Higgins, 35 Washington st., Charlestown, Mass.
Printing Pressmen's International.....	4	{ 40 { 40 { 40	Thomas Mulcahey, 320 Sansome st., San Francisco, Cal. T. J. Dinan, 1217 Green st., San Francisco, Cal. George Sauer, 2482½ Market st., San Francisco, Cal.
Quarry Workers' International Union	1	26	W. W. Woodward, Sites, Cal.
Railroad Telegraphers, Order of.....	2	{ 75 { 75	L. A. Tanquary, C'otopaxi, Colo. D. G. Ramsay, 1005 Unity Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Railway Employes, Street and Electric Amalgamated Association.....	3	{ 100 { 100 { 100	W. D. Mahon, 45 Hodges Bldg., Detroit, Mich. Rezin Orr, 45 Hodges Bldg., Detroit, Mich. Richard Cornelius, 310 O'Farrell st., San Francisco, Cal.
Seamen's International Union.....	4	{ 51 { 50 { 50	Wm. H. Frazier, 1½a Lewis st., Boston, Mass. Walter Macarthur, cor. East and Mission sts., San Francisco, Cal. Andrew Furuseth, cor. East and Mission sts., San Francisco, Cal.
Shingle Weavers' Union.....	1	14	J. G. Brown, Hoquiam, Wash.
Shipwrights, Joiners, and Caulkers of America, National Union of.....	1	34	Thomas Westoby, 434 Forty-fifth st., Oakland, Cal.
Slate and Tile Roofers' Union of America, International.....	1	7	Edward A. White, 301 Polk st., San Francisco, Cal.
Stage Employes' International Alliance, Theatrical.....	2	{ 25 { 25	Lee M. Hart, 358-355 S. State st., Chicago, Ill. Patrick Maloney, cor. Waltham and Harrison aves., Boston, Mass.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union, International .....	1	24	J. P. Fitzsimmons, "Examiner," San Francisco, Cal.
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	3	{ 53 { 53 { 53	John B. Lennon, Box 597, Bloomington, Ill. Austin F. Keane, Box 142, Little Rock, Ark. O. F. Lindow, 363½ Twelfth st., Oakland, Cal.

Organizations.	No. of delegates	No. of votes for each delegate.	Name and address of delegates.
		140	Edward Brown, 407 Morgan st., St. Louis, Mo., care A. L. St. Clair.
		140	Emmett T. Flood, 302 W. Congress st., Chicago, Ill.
Teamsters, International Brotherhood	6	140	Martin McGrau, 104 E. Randolph st., Chicago, Ill.
		140	H. J. Wendelken, 919 Thompson st., Philadelphia, Pa.
		140	William Cohen, 177 Washington st., N. Boston, Mass.
		140	C. P. Shea, care 147 Market st., Indianapolis, Ind.
Textile Workers, United	1	105	John Golden, Fall River, Mass.
		28	Henry Fischer, Room 54, Amer. Natl. Bank Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
Tobacco Workers' International Union	2	28	Anthony McAndrews, 440 Pioneer st., Cincinnati, Ohio.
		94	James M. Lynch, Newton Claypool Bldg., Rooms 640-650, Indianapolis, Ind.
		94	Frank Morrison, 423 G st. N. W., Washington, D. C.
Typographical Union, International	5	93	Max S. Hayes, 193 Champlain st., Cleveland, Ohio.
		93	Frank K. Foster, 116 Elliot st., Boston, Mass.
		93	Victor L. Berger, 614 State st., Milwaukee, Wis.
Upholsterers' International Union	1	30	B. B. Rosenthal, 403 Leavenworth st., San Francisco, Cal.
		71	D. D. Mulcahy, 101 Magnolia st., Detroit, Mich.
		71	Thos. I. Kidd, 615 Garden City Block, 56 Fifth ave., Chicago, Ill.
Wood Workers' International Union	4	71	Richard Braunschweig, 615 Garden City Block, Chicago, Ill.
		70	E. W. Miller, 151 E. Washington st., Chicago, Ill.
California State Federation of Labor	1	1	John Davidson, 801 Louisiana st., Vallejo, Cal.
Florida State Federation of Labor	1	1	S. J. Triplett, Box 271, Jacksonville, Fla.
Georgia Federation of Labor	1	1	W. S. Harris, 21 Bay st., E. Savannah, Ga.
Illinois State Federation of Labor	1	1	M. B. Madden, 103 Fifth ave., Chicago, Ill.
Iowa State Federation of Labor	1	1	L. M. Jaeger, Burlington, Iowa.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor	1	1	Jas. R. Crozier, 25 Blue Hill ave., Boston, Mass.
Missouri State Federation of Labor	1	1	E. T. Behrens, 1200 E. Third st., Sedalia, Mo.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor	1	1	John T. Cosgrove, 826 E. Jersey st., Elizabeth, N. J.
New York Workingmen's Federation	1	1	William White, 905 Michigan st., Elmira, N. Y.
Porto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, 43 Cruz, San Juan, P. R.
Texas State Federation of Labor	1	1	C. W. Woodman, Union Banner, Fort Worth, Tex.
Utah State Federation of Labor	1	1	J. T. Lavery, 68 E. First South st., Salt Lake City, Utah.
Washington State Federation of Labor	1	1	W. Frank Moyer, Eleventh and Cowgill sts., Bellingham, Wash.
Bakersfield (Cal.) Council of Labor	1	1	J. J. Goodwin, Bakersfield, Cal.
Baltimore (Md.) Federation of Labor	1	1	Edward Hirsch, Maryland Theater, W. Franklin st., Baltimore, Md.
Boston (Mass.) Central Labor Union	1	1	Denis D. Driscoll, 78 E. Canton st., Boston, Mass.
Buffalo (N. Y.) United Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Archy Grant, 55 Hayward st., Buffalo, N. Y.
Chicago (Ill.) Federation of Labor	1	1	W. G. Schardt, 503 Garden City Block, Chicago, Ill.
Cleveland (Ohio) United Trades and Labor Council	1	1	Harry D. Thomas, 83 Prospect st., Cleveland, Ohio.
Fort Worth (Tex.) Trades Assembly	1	1	Lem Husted, care Labor Temple, Fort Worth, Tex.
Fresno (Cal.) Trades and Labor Council	1	1	T. C. Seaward, Fresno, Cal.

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Jefferson City (Mo.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Henry F. Sarman, Jefferson City, Mo.
Kansas City (Mo.) Industrial Council..	1	1	John T. Smith, 823 Central st., Kansas City, Mo.
Lawrence (Mass.) Central Labor Union.	1	1	Robert S. Maloney, 115 Jackson st., Lawrence, Mass.
Lincoln (Neb.) Central Labor Union...	1	1	Jesse Michel, 1905 S. Sixteenth st., Lincoln, Neb.
Los Angeles (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Wm. S. Smith, 2127 City View ave., Los Angeles, Cal.
Napa (Cal.) Federated Trades Council..	1	1	Matthew J. Brennan, 37 Elm st., Napa, Cal.
New Orleans (La.) Central Labor Union.....	1	1	J. E. Porter, 1116 Perdido st., New Orleans, La.
New York City Central Federated Union.....	1	1	Morris Brown, 192 Bowery st., New York, N. Y.
Oakland (Cal.) Central Labor Council..	1	1	C. W. Petry, 926 Seventh st., Oakland, Cal.
Petaluma (Cal.) Central Labor Council	1	1	R. F. Harris, Petaluma, Cal.
Pittsburg (Pa.) Central Trades Council	1	1	George A. Hess, 224 Watson Boulevard, Allegheny, Pa.
Portland (Oreg.) Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	G. E. Shaver, 1023 Commercial st., Portland, Oregon.
Poughkeepsie (N. Y.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Jas. A. Lavery, 30 N. Clover st., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Sacramento (Cal.) Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	M. T. Hudson, San Bernardino, Cal.
San Bernardino (Cal.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	Chas. E. Walker, 268 Fourth st., San Bernardino, Cal.
San Diego (Cal.) Federated Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. P. Dunn, San Diego, Cal.
San Francisco (Cal.) Labor Council.....	1	1	Louis Rentelman, 107 Mason st., San Francisco, Cal.
Santa Clara Co. (Cal.) Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	Frank J. Hepp, Box 835, 975 Vine st., San Jose, Cal.
Scranton (Pa.) Central Labor Union....	1	1	Hugh Frayne, 420 Oak st., Scranton, Pa.
Seattle (Wash.) Central Labor Union...	1	1	Fred Hudson, 210 Twentieth ave., Daily Star office, Seattle, Wash.
St. Louis (Mo.) Central Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	David Kreyling, Walhalla Hall, St. Louis, Mo.
Stockton (Cal.) Federated Trades.....	1	1	James Wood, Stockton, Cal.
Tacoma (Wash.) Trades Council.....	1	1	P. W. Dowler, 3819 S. Yakima ave., Tacoma, Wash.
Vallejo (Cal.) Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	L. B. Leavitt, Vallejo, Cal.
Whatcom (Wash.) Central Labor Council.....	1	1	R. D. Sawyer, Bellingham, Wash.
Baggage Messengers and Transferrers, 10,167	1	1	C. M. Moffitt, 651 Fillmore st., San Francisco, Cal.
Barber Shop Porters and Bath House Attendants, 10,849.....	1	1	Dennis O'Shea, Sutro Heights, San Francisco, Cal.
Cemetery Employes, 10,634.....	1	1	John Ryan, Holy Cross Cemetery, San Mateo County, Cal.
Cotton Yardmen's, 9143.....	1	1	W. D. Morris, care of 1116 Perdido st., New Orleans, La.
Federal Labor, 7426.....	1	1	Thomas Burke (third floor), Marine Bank Bldg., Springfield, Ill.
Federal Labor, 8921.....	1	5	A. A. Stewart, Box 2222, San Pedro, Cal.
Federal Labor, 9611.....	1	1	P. J. McSherry, Second st., Watsonville, Cal.
Federal Labor, 9614.....	1	1	John Murray, 1501 Kearney st., Los Angeles, Cal.
Federal Labor, 10,185.....	1	1	Cary D. Hyde, 25 Main st., Santa Rosa, Cal.
Federal Labor, 11,440.....	1	1	M. T. Dunn, Sausalito, Cal.
Federal Labor, 11,533.....	1	1	T. Patterson, Abilene, Tex.
Federal Labor, 11,624.....	1	1	James J. Daley, City Comptroller's Office, Spokane, Wash.

Organizations.	No. of delegates	No. of votes for each delegate.	Name and address of delegates.
Firemen's Protective Association, 11,431	1	3	Frank G. Jones, 53 Maple ave., Pittsburg, Pa.
Fish Cleaners, 11,353.....	1	1	Joseph Catania, 1110 Mason st., San Francisco, Cal.
Gas Workers, 9840.....	1	3	George W. Bell, 990 Minnesota st., San Francisco, Cal.
Gas Workers, 10,678.....	1	1	John Forrest, 263 E. Eighteenth st., Oakland, Cal.
Gardeners and Florists, 10,615.....	1	1	John Mangan, 5737 Lowe ave., Chicago, Ill.
Hospital Employes, 10,038.....	1	1	O. W. McCaslin, State Hospital, Napa, Cal.
Hospital Employes, 10,768.....	1	1	J. W. Bailey, Eldridge, Cal.
Laborers' Protective, 8944.....	1	10	Michael O'Leary, 541 Linden ave., San Francisco, Cal.
Lumber Handlers, 11,474.....	1	1	Arthur T. Hinton, 1117 Second st., Sacramento, Cal.
Milkers, 8861.....	1	2	Frank Bricker, San Francisco, Cal.
Newsboys and Route Carriers, 11,524.....	1	1	Warren H. Pillsbury, 675 Thirty-second st., Oakland, Cal.
Ordance Men's, 9585.....	1	1	Holly Bell, 1202 York st., Vallejo, Cal.
Oyster Workers, 10,497.....	1	1	M. O. Keefe, San Francisco, Cal.
Paste Makers, 10,567.....	1	1	John L. Damazonio, 1787 Stockton st., San Francisco, Cal.
Paving Dept. Workers, 6751.....	1	1	James P. Timilty, Sumner Place off Cabot st., Roxbury, Mass.
Riggers' Protective, 10,298.....	1	1	Manuel Alves, 728 Clementina st., San Francisco, Cal.
Rockmen's Protective, 10,631.....	1	3	Tito Pacelli, 305 E. One Hundred and Thirtieth st., New York City.
Shipkeepers' Protective, 8970.....	1	1	J. B. Dale, Vallejo, Cal.
Ship Drillers, 9037.....	1	1	Wm. P. Schrader, 124 A Juniper st., San Francisco, Cal.
Soap, Soda, and Candle Workers, 10,385	1	1	Charles Schilling, 7 Oak Grove avenue, San Francisco, Cal.
Stablemen's, 8760.....	1	5	John F. Killian, 12 Eighth st., San Francisco, Cal.
Stablemen's, 9026.....	1	1	W. M. Morey, San Jose, Cal.
Stenographers, Bookkeepers, and Typewriter Operators, 11,597.....	1	1	Miss E. C. Morris, 1101 State Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers, and Assistants, 11,773.....	1	1	Miss J. T. Kelly, 152 E. st., N. E., Washington, D. C.
Sugar Workers, 10,519.....	1	3	Chas. A. Meinert, 2407 Twenty-third st., San Francisco, Cal.
Undertakers, 9049.....	1	1	B. J. Dowd, 1239 Market st., San Francisco, Cal.
Agricultural Workers, 11,689.....	1	1	} Esteban Padilla, Arecibo, P. R.
Agricultural Workers, 11,695.....	1	1	
Agricultural Workers, 11,697.....	1	2	
Agricultural Workers, 11,708.....	1	1	
Bricklayers, 11,659.....	1	1	
Federal Labor, 11,734.....	1	1	
Laborers, 11,649.....	1	1	} W. Abraham Bryn-y-Bedu, Pentre, Pontypridd, South Wales, England.
British Trades and Labor Congress.....	2	1	
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress..	1	1	John A. Flett, 414 Bay st., N., Hamilton, Ont., Canada.
Women's International Union Label League.....	.....	1	Mrs. D. A. Smith, care of 505 E. Market st., Elmira, N. Y.
National Women's Trade Union League.....	.....	.....	Mrs. M. K. O'Sullivan, 5 Dudley st., Roxbury, Mass.

Number of Unions.	Name.	Number of Delegates.	Number of Votes.
78	National and International.....	182	15,558
13	State.....	13	13
33	Central.....	33	33
45	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	39	72
4	Fraternal Organizations.....	5	4
173		272	15,675



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1904

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

FIRST DAY—Morning Session.

LYRIC HALL, SAN FRANCISCO, November 14, 1904.

Pursuant to the regular meeting of the twenty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, President Gompers called the convention to order at 10 A. M., in Lyric Hall, San Francisco, Cal.

President Gompers: It becomes my privilege as well as my duty to call to order this twenty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. I doubt the wisdom at this moment of extending a welcome when, as a matter of fact, we are about to be welcomed. I have the pleasure and honor of introducing to you Mr. J. O. Walsh, President of the San Francisco Labor Council.

Mr. Walsh:

Mr. President, Delegates and Visitors: In the name of the organized workers of San Francisco I bid you a hearty welcome to our city and State. Our homes are entirely at your disposal, and we trust that you will do us the honor to consider yourselves not our guests but members of our family and household.

To the delegates representing the American Federation of Labor in this convention, to the fraternal visitors representing our fellow trade-unionists in Canada and Great Britain, and to the representatives of those kindred organizations now assembled in the common cause of labor, the trade-unionists of San Fran-

cisco extend fraternal greetings, coupled with the assurance that although you may have traveled far from your own firesides you are still at home in the hearts and by the hearths of your co-workers in the labor movement.

Trade-unionism knows no distinctions of race, color or creed; neither does it know any geographical limitations. North, South, East and West, in every country and every clime, in this year of grace, as in all the years that have passed away, the hearts of the organized workers beat in unison to the music of that noblest inspiration of the human race, industrial liberty and equality.

San Francisco has never failed to raise her voice in the grand chorus of the world's workers, nor to lend her ear in sympathy to the voices raised from the uttermost corners of the earth. As we have been with you in spirit throughout the past, so we are with you in the flesh to-day—comrades in arms, brothers and sisters in the noble cause. Long may your meeting last, and when the parting comes may the fraternal handshake place a firmer seal upon the union of our hearts!

During your visit with us it will be our pleasure to show you some of the beauties of California, a State in which nature has combined the elements in the production of her choicest handiwork. The citizens of California are proud of their heritage of mountain and valley, of river and field. We are proud, too, of our people, the children of the hardy pioneers of '49. But above and before all,

we are proud of our labor movement, that structure of our own hands which in extent and potency so fittingly complements the physical characteristics of our surroundings.

The seeds of that movement were planted by the giants of the early days, and through sunshine and storm the crop has prospered exceeding well. It is our boast, and a justifiable one, I hope you will admit, that San Francisco is one of the most thoroughly organized cities in the United States. We owe that fact to the soundness of the principles upon which our work is founded and upon which it has been conducted. Those principles, I hardly need remind you, are the principles of the American Federation of Labor.

It is now sixteen years since the San Francisco Labor Council, then known as the Federated Trades, secured a charter at your hands, a charter which bearing the name of your, and our, honored President, Samuel Gompers, still graces the hall of the Labor Council, a charter which has never been disgraced, and which, God willing, shall forever remain with us as the emblem of our faith and the inspiration of our hearts and hands.

In 1888, when that charter was granted, the Labor Council stood here upon the shores of the Pacific, the solitary outpost of the labor movement, separated by a thousand miles from the nearest company of our friends. To-day we stand in the midst of the great army of organized labor, the lines of which extend north, south, east, aye and west, in unbroken phalanx, ready to do battle for the cause in which we are enlisted.

During these years many stirring events have occurred, but the principles of organized labor have triumphed over all opposition, whether from without or from within. In all this we do not claim any special merit in ourselves. We recognize, and we here make personal acknowledgment of the fact, that but for the support of our fellow trade-unionists in other parts of the country, organized and federated under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, we could not possibly have prospered so gloriously as we have.

Mr. President and Delegates to the Convention, I feel that no words of mine, no words, however eloquent, of the human tongue, can express the pride and gratification with which the trade-unionists of San Francisco greet you upon the eve of your labors. I feel, too, that no formal expression of our regard is needed. Let me ask you in all sincerity to take the deed for the word.

Again I bid you welcome, thrice welcome, within our gates. Stay as long as you can, and may the all-seeing One guide and bless you in your deliberations on behalf of the high and holy cause of labor.

President Gompers introduced Mr. Harry Knox, President of the California State Federation of Labor, who spoke as follows:

Mr. President, Brother Delegates and Friends: It is a pleasant duty to welcome you on behalf of the California State Federation of Labor to our beau-

tiful State. This is a representative body of about two million people. You carry in your hands the welfare of people all through the United States, and, in fact, throughout the entire world. The work this convention will do will be of great moment to the world in general.

We welcome you to California for several reasons. First, we want your good fellowship, we want you to see our beautiful State and also to receive the hospitality of the organized workers of California. We want you to become thoroughly posted on labor conditions on the Pacific Coast. It is a matter of great moment to the workers here, and we ask you, while in our city and in our State, to become thoroughly posted on the Chinese and Japanese question, and then when you are called upon to work for an Exclusion Act we want it to be one that will exclude, not one that Commissioner Sargent recommends. I was speaking to a delegate from New York yesterday, and he said: "I never for one moment thought I would see Chinamen doing the work they are doing here, on the section, on cars and everywhere." Let me tell you, brothers and sisters from the far East, and from the Middle East, that you do not realize the conditions that exist on the Pacific Coast through the non-exclusion of the Chinese and Japanese. We want you to post yourselves while here. Then when you go home you will be ready to spread the truth among our fellow-workers and be ready to act when the State of California calls upon you.

Organized labor in the State of California is expanding all the time. No matter what opposition we meet we keep on growing and growing—the light of liberty and the thought of organization is in the air. People are getting together and organizing for their own protection who in the past had no use for organization. Now they realize they must get into an organization before they can do anything to better their condition. No conditions have ever been bettered through any other organization except organized labor. Organized labor has always bettered the conditions of the laboring people, and it will continue to do so, notwithstanding such organizations as the Citizens' Alliance.

I do not intend to make a long speech this morning, but simply to say that you are welcome here. We extend a thousand welcomes to you. There is another thing I wish to say, and that is that while you are in our beautiful city we want the men to look at our beautiful ladies. This is one of the things San Francisco is noted for. San Francisco has the most beautiful ladies on the face of the earth, and while you are here we want you to look the matter square in the face.

The American Federation of Labor is a great organization. President Gompers has succeeded in doing something few men could possibly have done; he has gathered around himself in a large circle, as it were, nearly two million people. That is a tremendous thing for one man to accomplish, but he certainly has done wonderful things for the working people of the United States.

I shall say nothing further now except to bid you again a thousand welcomes in behalf of the State Federation of Labor of California. Our headquarters are open to you, and if you wish anything in the way of shorthand and typewriting done our stenographers there are at your service. You are entirely welcome to all the conveniences there, and anything organized labor can do for you will be cheerfully done by the State Federation and the City Federation of San Francisco.

President Gompers introduced Mr. J. Williams of the City Front Federation, who said:

Mr. President and Delegates to the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor: As President of the City Front Federation I welcome you to this city in behalf of that organization. We believe in the principles advocated by the American Federation of Labor for advancing the movement and for bettering the conditions of the wage workers.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you here, and to tell you that we have one of the largest and one of the best fighting organizations in the world. We have gone up against it pretty hard, but are still living and prospering, and we think we are doing the best work that can be done by any labor organization in the world. You are here for the purpose of straightening out matters connected with organized labor. We have a great deal of work for you here, and we hope before you leave you will arrange matters satisfactorily to all of us. I thank you for your attention.

President Gompers introduced Mr. P. H. McCarthy, President of the State Building Trades Council of California. Mr. McCarthy spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a very great pleasure to me to welcome you, not only to San Francisco, but to California. I am one of those who believe there are three countries, three localities where people live and live as they ought to—California, Kentucky and Ireland. I fancy it is more of a pleasure to me to welcome you because of that belief, brought about by reason of that chain of thought which I must necessarily have gone through to reach that point, than to say it is a duty to welcome you to California.

I hope and trust that many of you will find it convenient, when you get through with your official business, to remain in California. We want all of you to recollect one thing, and that is that we are desirous of having California built up. We are going to build it up, but we want the best people to come here, not men of the character desired by our friends under the management of that most notorious scoundrel, Herbert George. Many times have we sought to bring to California a desirable class of labor, but there is a condition of things peculiar to and known only to the Parryites of this country, and you people in the East are now confronted in your homes by that brace of scoundrels who only barely escaped

the penitentiary—Murray and Ready. Many times has the State Building Trades Council advertised throughout the Eastern cities for men who were competent workers and good citizens. But, my friends, there is no inquiry made as to the citizenship of the men induced to come here by our friends of the Citizens' Alliance. All they want is a class of men who are notorious strike-breakers in order to institute the open shop. Let me tell you, however, that if all the Parryites between here and that place where it is always summer—not meaning heaven—were to come to California the open shop will not prevail in our State. (Applause.) Organized labor, representing as it does, the best citizenship of our nation, or of any nation, cannot be set aside because some scoundrel institution endeavors to do it, not only for the purpose of robbing organized labor, but for the purpose of robbing the millionaire as well. That was plainly demonstrated recently in Colorado. Their own people have come forward and made affidavit that they were organized—the job being done by three people, the Governor of the State, the general in charge and his subordinate—to shoot the men after they had left their work, and had done the dirty work for the mine-owners, so that the owners might come up with more money. If there was any doubt about this at first there can be none now. This thing is bad for the workingman and the millionaire alike, and we do not want this method of doing things to spread.

Brothers, it will be your duty to pass on many things during this convention, and I ask you, as one who has no fear of the open shop, no fear of the Citizens' Alliance, no fear of Herbert George—not that he is on earth as far as I am concerned—I ask you to do one thing, and that is to see to it that we ourselves do not pass a non-union thing and try to sell it to a union man. There is nothing between here and heaven that makes me boil with rage more than this, and if I were ever to be divorced from my family it would be because they persisted in doing this thing.

One thing further I ask you to do, and that is to make organized labor useful as well as ornamental. You must be able to secure the sinews of war when it is necessary to fight, or your fight will not be successful. You are talking about your thousands and millions of men, but it is all nonsense unless you have the sinews of war when you go into a fight. I would rather have one hundred thousand trained, disciplined men with the sinews of war than to have two million men without. It is within your hands to have this sort of a trained body. The rank and file of the organization placed this matter in your hands, they have passed it up to you, and they will ask you why you do not do this. In many instances we will be told it is impossible. You talk about autonomy and all that sort of rot! You ought to have the same degree of discipline in organized labor that we usually find in the healthy home, in the healthy municipality, in the healthy State and nation, and until that condition is brought about, until we make of organized labor an institution that can fight instead of talk, Herbert George and the

Parryites will have something to say in other States outside of California.

I want to say to you, brothers, that you are in a city that is probably the best organized of any city in the world to-day. You are also in a State—speaking for the building industry—the equal of which is not in the world in so far as organized labor is concerned. I have purchased for your particular benefit 372 fine-tooth combs. I intend to present each of you with one of those combs and ask you to scrape up this entire city, and then I stand ready to give you one hundred dollars for each and every scab mechanic you can find. I am speaking now for the building trades. I am not one of those who spread my wings over the entire union proposition, but I ask you to deal with those questions while you are here, and I ask you not to suffer me to receive the pang I did yesterday on two occasions. See to it that no union man is allowed to pass out non-union goods, unless at least he has the manhood to tell the other fellow they are scab-made. We don't do that in the building trades.

We look for great things from this Convention. We are willing to do anything you ask us to, and we always have been willing, so long as you do not ask us to do something not in line with the most approved business methods that can be applied to organized labor in California.

President Gompers: I now take great pleasure in presenting to you the Chief Magistrate of the City of San Francisco, who is also President of the Musicians' Union, the honored Mayor of San Francisco, the Hon. E. E. Schmitz.

Mayor Schmitz:

Mr. Chairman, Visiting Delegates, Delegates and Union Men: In behalf, not only of organized labor of this city, but on behalf of the entire population of San Francisco, as their Chief Magistrate, I appear here to-day to extend to you, the representatives of the great body of organized labor of America, a welcome to San Francisco, which dwells not alone in words, but which you will find deeply embedded in the hearts of every man, woman and child who believes in the advancement of our country, and of her citizenship, and who entertains the conviction that through organization labor is accomplishing much, not only for itself but also for the building-up of our entire nation.

It has been my privilege and pleasure to address and to extend the people's welcome to many Conventions in San Francisco in the past three years of my official terms. I have addressed a Convention of Bankers representing millions of capital. I have addressed Conventions representing in

numbers possibly larger memberships than this organization, but it has never been my honor or privilege to address and to extend a welcome to this great city of the West to an organization that stood for greater possibilities or for greater achievements than does this Convention, that stood for larger or wider benefits to our common country or to the entire civilization of the world than does this which I now address.

As we meet here this morning the hands of organized labor in England and in Canada are extended to clasp those of its brother organization in America. You have here to-day delegates who have come thousands of miles across sea and land to attend this Convention, to join you in furthering and protecting the interests of those who toil, wherever civilization and industrial enterprise holds her sway.

While your meeting to-day is held on this far western seaboard, in our common cause we know neither East, nor West, neither South nor North; we are banded together in a mutual bond of unity for the benefit of all our people, indeed of all our fellow men.

I welcome you, especially to-day in this metropolis of our Golden State. You have come at a most opportune time. You are confronted at present by an organization here known as the Citizens' Alliance, the sole object of which—although perhaps not so expressed by them in those very words—is if possible to defeat and to destroy the efforts of organized labor. This Convention is therefore most opportune and my pleasure is the greater in welcoming you here, because I know that by your conservative deliberations, by your wise and well-considered action, you will give notice and assurance not only to all the people of San Francisco, but also to the people of our whole United States, that you stand not for radical action, but for conservative treatment and fair consideration of every interest involved in your proceedings; that you stand not only for the up-building and advancement of the wage earners of our country, but that you also stand for a better citizenship; for the education of our children that they may become the foundation of a highly advanced citizenship in the future development of this great and beloved country of ours;

that you stand unequivocally and unreservedly for every principle and every thought which underlies our great American institutions and for the true patriotism symbolized by the emblem which floats so conspicuously here to-day—the Stars and Stripes, the flag of the United States. (Applause).

I am proud to welcome you, not only as the Mayor of San Francisco, but I am proud also to be able to stand here as a union man, as the President of a trades union, as one interested in the social betterment of his fellow men, and to say as a colleague and well-wisher that you are welcome to a city, which though hardly fifty years old has behind it most wonderful achievements and before it a future of limitless possibilities.

This city, rich in the palaces of wealth and in the comfortable homes of wage-earning prosperity blossoming as the rose, was built up on barren sand dunes by the heroic band of men whom history shall know as the daring Pioneers, men who had within them when they set their eyes toward California, when they arrived here and when they went to the mines, the same principles which you have before you to-day.

They had the same principles when they made the earth yield its golden treasures, when they turned the lands of California into gardens and orchards of gold, when they established great manufacturing and commercial industries although without the organization that this gathering to-day stands for, and their children and children's children recognizing the changing necessities of changing conditions will by peaceful organization and concerted action maintain those principles and enlarge their application to the prosperity and progress of the State and city which was left to them as their heritage.

This welcome, I have told you, is not one of words alone. The latch string will be found hanging always and everywhere outside. Our doors are open to you with warm-hearted greeting, and I now officially, Mr. President and members of this Convention, turn over to you for cordial use the keys of the City of San Francisco. Some misguided persons banded together in a certain organization may not look with favor upon this convention or its work, but believe me they do not

represent the large majority of the good people of this city, and I say to you, as the Chief Magistrate and on behalf of the entire people of San Francisco, that the majority of our citizens are proud and glad to have you with us, are proud and pleased to welcome you; and I feel sure that on all sides, whether they be members of unions or not, the people feel honored by your presence among us, are glad to extend the hand of welcome and to say with truest California hospitality, "Welcome, thrice welcome."

And in this welcome join our women, famed as the most beautiful in the world, whose hearts are just as true to the cause in which you serve as are the hearts of our men.

And when this Convention shall have completed its work I hope you will feel that you have not only done good for your membership, but that in so doing you will have also established rules and principles, policies and ideas, that will be the foundation for a better feeling between employer and employee, for a better understanding between these two great elements of our population, and that when you leave it shall be said on all sides that the American Federation of Labor Convention has been a conservative body whose only action and interest was for the upbuilding of the wage earners of this country, for the establishment of a better citizenship, a citizenship that will make for the advancement and prosperity of the United States as a free country, leading in civilization and marked by the intelligent and advanced condition of the toiling masses as long as it shall be numbered among the nations of the earth.

In closing let me say that if our true Western welcome shall at all equal for you the welcome that was accorded me when, as a representative of the union men of San Francisco I made a visit East two years ago, I shall feel that we have certainly done our duty to you and I trust that you will go from San Francisco realizing that you are leaving behind friends, staunch and sincere, if new, and friends to whom at all times you will feel pleased to return.

President Gompers:

Gentlemen, Representatives of Organized Labor of San Francisco and of California, Mr. Mayor: I beg to assure you that the delegates to this Convention appreciate your sincere words

of welcome far, far beyond any ability on my part to express. It has been a yearning hope for years and years among the delegates to the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor to come some time to California, to San Francisco, to hold one of their Conventions. One after the other the early years of the organization passed by and representative trade unionists came to the Coast, at first few in numbers, but soon followed by others in larger numbers and at shorter periods. Two years ago or more the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the first time in the history of our movement held a session in this city. Now the development has reached its full fruition, and the American Federation of Labor is holding its Twenty-fourth Annual Convention in the city by the Golden Gate.

It has seemed to me as I turned this over in my mind in the past few minutes that the organized labor movement is typical of the growth of this great city and State. As the old maxim indicated that "Westward the course of empire takes its way," and as the men of the early '40's, the sturdy pioneers who fought against tremendous odds, found their way through the pathless wilds and established a camp and thereafter a boom town, a village, a city and then the great State of California, I say it was impressed upon my mind as of a parallel character, typical of the great national advance of the men who made the first effort at civilizing influence in this part of the continent, that there has followed in its wake the necessary handmaid of civilization, the organized labor movement.

We are honored by your words of welcome, gentlemen, fellow unionists and Mr. Mayor, and I believe we are not vain when we say that we in turn bring honor to the State of California and to the City of San Francisco. The men who make up the conventions of the American Federation of Labor are men who have graduated from the factory, the workshop, the mill and the mine, and through their local unions, have stood the test of their fellow workmen, their shop mates, if you please—and there is not a better way to find out the characteristics of a man than in the shop and the factory. If there is anything mean in a man's make-up it will develop at

his work, and be evident to his shop-mates. The Convention is made up of men who have graduated out of that realm and out of the realm of their International Unions, after they have shown some special adaptability to do some good work for their fellow men.

Oftentimes, when worn out mentally and physically, to meet the delegates to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor gives me inspiration and gives me also the opportunity to drink at the fountain of the elixir of life.

I might say that we shall be conservative in our deliberations here, but only just so conservative as is essential to the success of our movement. We have learned the meaning of that term, and we have learned the various constructions that different people put upon it. To know what you want, to know that you are right in wanting it, to be conservative in everything that will help to conserve the success of the achievement of that purpose—that is the height of wisdom and is, in my conception, the very best construction we can place upon it. I believe in being moderate in our demands, but absolutely radical in our determination to achieve them. There is not a thing, however, we can do, there is not a thing we may leave undone, that is going to please our opponents. We do not intend to conform our course to please our opponents and adversaries. The men who paved the way for civilization in this great city had to overcome obstacles, and contend with the prejudice and ignorance of its former inhabitants. I say again, there is not a thing we may do, not a thing we may leave undone, but that our motives will be misconstrued and our efforts contended. There is not a charge under the sun, there is not a crime in the calendar, with which the men in the labor movement have not been charged by our opponents and antagonists.

I do not pretend to say that every union man is innocent of every offense, or that by becoming a union man he immediately become an angel or an arch-angel.

We have no choice; we must take the workmen as they are. If our opponents charge us with having ignorant men, with having men of vicious propensities in our ranks, all we can answer is that if they be so it is not our fault, that the fault lies with the

greed of the modern capitalist who does not care where he goes for men. The modern capitalist will rake the four corners of the earth for men, and will bring in anyone, so long as he will work cheap and be docile. So long as these men work cheap, for long hours, and are docile, you will always find the employers claiming that their men are perfectly contented. If these men are good enough to be employed by these employers, they are good enough for us to organize and to help better their condition.

No one can say truthfully that in becoming a member of organized labor a vicious man will become more depraved. No one can truthfully assert that when a man becomes associated with his fellows for the purpose of his material and social and moral advancement, that that mitigates against his mental development.

Now I want to let you into either a bit of confidence or a joke. On my way out from the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor to the Coast I stopped over at Indianapolis with Secretary Morrison. I intended to call upon some of the officials of the international unions whose offices are in that city. Mr. Morrison and I were walking up the street in earnest conversation when three men approached, and one of them nodded to me. I recognized the face, but, for a moment, could not identify the man. He broke away from the other men and said: "Good day, Mr. Gompers. I am sure you know me; my name is Parry." I said: "Oh, yes, I remember you now. How are you, Mr. Parry? This is Mr. Morrison, Secretary of the American Federation of Labor."

Mr. Morrison didn't "catch on" for a moment. Then Mr. Parry asked how long we were to remain in the city. I told him we expected to remain a train or two, but that we would leave some time that day. Then he said, "I would like to have a chat with you." I answered that nothing would give me greater pleasure, and he asked if we would come to his office. My answer was that I preferred not to do that, but that we might meet some time during the day. He then suggested that we might call him up over the telephone and make arrangements for meeting him.

When we left Mr. Parry we went up

to Mr. Mitchell's office at the headquarters of the United Mine Workers. We asked Mr. Mitchell the best place to meet Mr. Parry. He felt that the office of the United Mine Workers might not be the most congenial place under the circumstances, but assured us that if it would be agreeable to Mr. Parry we might have a private chat in his office. He said also that he would be very glad to be present.

I called Mr. Parry up and informed him that we would be at the office of the United Mine Workers at four o'clock, and that we could have the interview there if it would be agreeable to him. He said he did not mind. Secretary Morrison and I visited the other headquarters and returned to Mr. Mitchell's office at four o'clock. Mr. Mitchell informed me that in my absence Mr. Parry had called him up to express his regret that he could not keep his appointment because the club house of a club in which he held a membership was on fire. Now the reason I have related the incident to you is this: I have not seen Mr. Parry nor any of his representatives since then, but I am not sure that I won't be charged with setting fire to that club house.

Brothers, the labor movement stands for the very best of which we can conceive. There is no institution that is worth maintaining that we propose to tear down or destroy. The labor movement is constructive in its character, not destructive. To build up manhood and citizenship is the hope, the work and the mission of organized labor. Our achievements are too numerous to mention in a response to an address of welcome. Our homes and our firesides are the demonstration of the achievements of our movement. You are placed here most fortunately, as is always the vanguard, honored and fortunate in pressing forward in the battle for right. It has been our lot for many, many years to be compelled to defend the invasion of elements of danger at the East. Thanks to our lucky star, as well as to the splendid intelligence that organized labor has placed at the Golden Gate, the vanguard of civilization and the labor movement is at San Francisco. It is your mission, San Franciscans and Californians, to guard the western gate

from the invasion of those who would undermine and destroy our very civilization. We are not opposed to the Chinaman because he is a Chinaman, because he happens to have been born in China. Call him by any other name, and he is just as dangerous to our welfare. It is not because he is a Chinaman, but because he is a cheap man. No civilization, no progress is possible, made up of cheap men.

Meeting here on the outpost of western civilization and overlooking this great, vast world of ours, taking a cursory view, not only of the working men in the great chain of States east and north and south and west, but of the continent, we find that the labor movement of the United States and Canada is one, that the labor movement of the United States and Porto Rico is one, that the labor movement of the continent of America and Great Britain is practically one. Its full development will come in a very short time. We hope that it will extend, and we have no doubt but that it will extend, beyond the borders of Great Britain and her possessions to Continental Europe. We have heard a great deal about peace, about international peace, but I can conceive of no peace that will be lasting unless it is based upon the federation of the working men of the civilized world.

I want to say, brothers and friends, that if I were only capable of expressing that which is in my mind I am sure I should say something very much more valuable than anything I have said. Let me advise you, brothers, that neither directly nor indirectly should you construe in a liberal sense the invitations that have been extended to you, nor the suggestions that have been made to you. It is a good thing to be able to see the beautiful, and yet the best poetic expression I know that applies to this is "distance lends enchantment to the view."

There are two ways in which you must interpret the handing over to you, metaphorically speaking, of the keys of the city. You must bear in mind that though the keys unlock, they also have another purpose. If the latch string is on the outside, you must bear in mind that if that niche is broken off in the inside, and you are

not on the outside, you cannot reach the latch string. It does not hurt to keep these things in mind.

I want to assure you, brothers and friends, that we appreciate very much your kind words of welcome as well as your words of advice and suggestion. We will give them all the consideration of which we are capable. You will find when we leave that we have not stolen your Seal Rock, and that your City Hall will be in its usual place. We shall take away with us nothing except, we hope, your good will and good wishes, your respect and confidence, and in their place leave a record of work well done in the interest of the people of San Francisco, of California, of our entire country and the people of the world. We hope they will appreciate the efforts made by the men and women in the labor movement of America.

Delegate Grimes, for the Committee on Credentials, made the following report:

To the Officers and Members of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen: Your Committee on Credentials respectfully presents the following: We have examined the credentials submitted and find delegates representing 79 Nationals, 14 State Branches, 29 Central Bodies, 46 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and 5 Fraternal Delegates as follows, and recommend that they be seated:

Actors' National Protective Union of America, James L. Barry, 11 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, Emil Schaerer, 162 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen W. E. Klapetzky, Frank X. Noschang, George K. Smith, George C. Shanessy, 236 votes.

Bill Posters' and Billers' International Alliance of America, George Abernethy, 13 votes.

Blacksmiths' International Alliance of America, John Slocum, James J. McDade, 105 votes.

Boilermakers' and Iron Ship Builders', Brotherhood of, Wm. J. Gilthorpe, A. D. Porter, 190 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, John F. Tobin, Collis Lovely, Emmet T. Walls, Chas. E. Lowell, John P. Meade, 320 votes.

Brewery Workmen, International Union of United, Louis Kemper, Edmond F. Ward, August Priestersbach, Fred Zepp, 305 votes.

Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, Charles Hank, Frank Butterworth, 73 votes.



Building Employes of America, International Union of, Herman Blockowsky, 8 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of, Frank Duffy, James F. Grimes, A. M. Swartz, Samuel Yarnell, Wm. B. Macfarlane, John Zaring, T. M. Guerin, 1,554 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated Society of, Wm. Fyfe, 50 votes.

Carriage and Wagon Workers, International, Matthew Canavan, 55 votes.

Cement Workers, American Brotherhood of, F. C. Gengenbach, O. A. Tveitmoe, 44 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America, Samuel Gompers, Thos. F. Tracy, James Wood, Mahlon J. Barnes, 405 votes.

Clerks, Retail, International Protective Association, J. R. O'Brien, Max Morris, J. R. Devine, Herman Robinson, 500 votes.

Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of North America, United, L. J. Gordon, 23 votes.

Commercial Telegraphers Union of America, Allen T. Baum, 20 votes.

Copers' International Union of North America, Henry Babilitz, P. J. Donnelly, 71 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood, H. W. Sherman, M. J. Sullivan, George Burns, Chas. Nelson, 210 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of, Frank Peeney, 22 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam, Henry Ketter, Jos. F. Hammill, John J. Glass, Frank B. Monaghan, 176 votes.

Engravers, Watch Case, International Association, Bert Beadle, 3 votes.

Firemen, Stationary, International Brotherhood of, Timothy Healy, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton, J. B. Conroy, 180 votes.

Flour and Cereal Mill Employes, International Union of, A. E. Kellington, 21 votes.

Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of, George Bechtold, 10 votes.

Garment Workers United, of America, Sarah Hagan, Nathan Wolff, 454 votes.

Garment Workers, Ladies' International, Isidor Jacoby, 22 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of United States and Canada, D. A. Hayes, James J. Beegan, 66 votes.

Glass House Employes, International Association, Harry H. Wilson, 6 votes.

Glass Snappers, Window Protective Association of America, George Farrell, 11 votes.

Glass Workers, International Association Amalgamated, John J. Morris, 17 votes.

Glove Workers, International Union of America, Thos. J. Mahoney, 20 votes.

Granite Cutters' National Union, James Duncan, Thos. J. Lyons, Wm. J. O'Brien, 99 votes.

Hatters, United of North America,

John A. Moffitt, Martin Lawlor, Jas. P. Maher, 85 votes.

Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' International Union of America, Herman Lilien, John W. Smith, 85 votes.

Horseshoers, Journeymen International, Roady Kenenah, John Fitzpatrick, 42 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Alliance, T. J. Sullivan, Jere L. Sullivan, Robt. A. Wharton, Paul Reichenbacher, C. B. Wiseman, 494 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of, Danl. P. Sullivan, 135 votes.

Lathers, Wood, Wire and Metal International Union of, Wm. McSorley, T. C. Devilliers, 59 votes.

Laundry Workers, Shirt Waist, International, J. L. Hutchinson, Lester A. Greenlaw, 65 votes.

Leather Workers on Horse Goods, Frank Sweeney, 46 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International, Daniel J. Keefe, Henry C. Barter, John J. Joyce, 500 votes.

Machinists, International Association of, James O'Connell, George H. Warner, A. E. Ireland, John Hamerstrom, 627 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated, Herman May, C. E. Schmidt, 344 votes.

Metal Polishers', Buffers', Platers' and Brass Workers' Union of North America, E. J. Lynch, 128 votes.

Metal Workers, Sheet, Amalgamated Association, P. J. Downey, Richard Pattison, D. B. Heron, 153 votes.

Metal Workers, International United, D. J. Murray, 96 votes.

Mine Workers, United of America, John Mitchell, W. B. Wilson, T. L. Lewis, W. D. Ryan, W. H. Haskins, John Fahy, John T. Dempsey, 2,577 votes.

Molders' Union, Iron of North America, M. J. Keough, Jas. H. O'Neil, 300 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of, Jos. N. Weber, Owen Miller, D. A. Carey, 220 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of American, Brotherhood of, J. C. Bahlhorn, Jas. H. Sullivan, Geo. C. Campbell, John W. Finan, Frank C. Lowe, 607 votes.

Paper Box Workers' International Union, Mason Thomas, 12 votes.

Papermakers of America, United Brotherhood of, Geo. Mackey, 88 votes.

Patternmakers' League of North America, Jas. Wilson, 37 votes.

Photo Engravers' Union of North America, International, Jas. G. Cain, 17 votes.

Piano and Organ Workers' Union of America, International, Chas. Dold, Frank Helle, 99 votes.

Plate Printers' Union of North America, International, Steel and Copper, Jeremiah P. Murphy, 10 votes.

Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers of

United States and Canada, Wm. J. Spencer, John Clark, J. J. McKee, 165 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative, T. J. Duffy, Harry Hailes, 58 votes.

Print Cutters' Association of America, National, Ernest J. Dix, 3 votes.

Printing Pressmen's International, Martin Higgins, Thomas Mulcahey, T. J. Dinan, George Sauer, 160 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America, W. W. Woodward, 26 votes.

Railroad Telegraphers, Order of, L. W. Quick, D. G. Ramsay, L. A. Tanquary, 150 votes.

Railway Employes, Street and Electric, Amalgamated Association of, W. D. Mahon, Rezin Orr, Richard Cornelius, 300 votes.

Seamen's International Union of America, Wm. H. Frazier, Walter MacArthur, Andrew Furuseth, Wm. Penje, 201 votes.

Shingle Weavers' International Union of America, J. C. Brown, 14 votes.

Shipwrights', Joiners' and Caulkers' National Union of America, Thos. Westoby, 34 votes.

Slate and Tile Roofers' International Union of America, Edward A. White, 7 votes.

Stage Employes' Theatrical International Alliance, Lee M. Hart, Patrick Maloney, 50 votes.

Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, International, J. P. Fitzsimmons, 24 votes.

Tailors' Union, Journeymen, John B. Lennon, Austin F. Keane, O. F. Lindow, 159 votes.

Teamsters, International Brotherhood of, Edward Brown, Emmet T. Flood, Martin McGrau, H. J. Wendelken, Wm. Cohen, C. P. O'Shea, 840 votes.

Textile Workers, United of America, John Golden, 105 votes.

Tin Plate Workers' Protective Association of America, International, George Powell, 16 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union, Henry Fischer, Anthony McAndrews, 56 votes.

Typographical Union, International, Jas. M. Lynch, Frank Morrison, Max S. Hayes, Frank K. Foster, Victor L. Berger, 467 votes.

Upholsters' International Union of North America, B. B. Rosenthal, 30 votes.

Wood Workers' International Union of America, Amalgamated, D. D. Mulcahy, Thos. I. Kidd, Richard Braunschweig, E. W. Miller, 283 votes.

Arkansas State Federation of Labor, John Morgan, 1 vote.

California, John Davidson, 1 vote.

Florida, S. J. Triplett, 1 vote.

Georgia, W. S. Harris, 1 vote.

Illinois, M. B. Madden, 1 vote.

Iowa, L. M. Jaeger, 1 vote.

Massachusetts, Jas. R. Crozier, 1 vote.

Missouri, E. T. Behrens, 1 vote.

New Jersey, John T. Cosgrove, 1 vote.

New York Workingmen's Federation, William White, 1 vote.

Porto Rico Free Federation of Workingtons, Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor, G. W. Woodman, 1 vote.

Utah State Federation of Labor, J. T. Lavery, 1 vote.

Washington State Federation of Labor, W. Frank Moyer, 1 vote.

Bakersfield (Cal.) Council, M. T. Kean, 1 vote.

Baltimore (Md.) Federation, Edward Hirsch, 1 vote.

Boston (Mass.) Central Labor Union, Dennis D. Driscoll, 1 vote.

Buffalo (N. Y.) United Trades and Labor Council, Archy Grant, 1 vote.

Cleveland (O.) United Trades and Labor Council, Harry D. Thomas, 1 vote.

Fort Worth (Texas) Trades Assembly, Lem Husted, 1 vote.

Fresno (Cal.) Federated Trades and Labor Council, Tom C. Seaward, 1 vote.

Jefferson City (Mo.) Central Labor Union, Henry F. Sarman, 1 vote.

Kansas City (Mo.) Industrial Council, John T. Smith, 1 vote.

Lawrence (Mass.) Central Labor Union, Robert S. Maloney, 1 vote.

Lincoln (Neb.) Central Labor Union, Jesse Michol, 1 vote.

Los Angeles (Cal.) Central Labor Council, Wm. S. Smith, 1 vote.

Napa (Cal.) Federated Trades Council, Matthew J. Brennan, 1 vote.

New York City Central Federated Union, Morris Brown, 1 vote.

Niagara Falls (N. Y.) Central Labor Council, George E. Lock, 1 vote.

Oakland (Cal.) Central Labor Council, C. W. Petry, 1 vote.

Petaluma (Cal.) Central Labor Council, R. F. Harris, 1 vote.

Pittsburg (Pa.) Central Trades Council, George A. Hess, 1 vote.

Portland (Ore.) Federated Trades Council, G. E. Shaver, 1 vote.

Poughkeepsie (N. Y.) Trades and Labor Council, Jas. A. Lavery, 1 vote.

Richmond Borough, Staten Island (N. Y.) Central Trades and Labor Council, Christopher Ward, 1 vote.

San Bernardino (Cal.) Central Labor Council, Chas. E. Walker, 1 vote.

San Diego (Cal.) Federated Trades and Labor Council, J. P. Dunn, 1 vote.

San Francisco (Cal.) Labor Council, Louis Rentelman, 1 vote.

Santa Clara Co. (Cal.) Federated Trades Council, Frank J. Hepp, 1 vote.

Seattle (Wash.) Central Labor Union, Fred Hudson, 1 vote.

St. Louis (Mo.) Central Trades and Labor Union, David Kreyling, 1 vote.

Springfield (Ill.) Federation of Labor, R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.

- Vallejo (Cal.) Trades and Labor Council, L. B. Leavitt, 1 vote.
- Asphalt Pavers and Helpers, No. 10513, Theo. Payne, 1 vote.
- Barber Shop Porters and Bath House Attendants, No. 10849, Dennis O'Shea, 1 vote.
- Baggage Messenger and Transferrers Union, No. 10167, San Francisco, Charles M. Moffitt, 1 vote.
- Cemetery Employees, No. 10634, John Ryan, 1 vote.
- Cotton Yardmen's, No. 9143, W. D. Morris, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 7426, Thomas Burke, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 9611, P. J. McSherry, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 9614, John Murray, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 10185, Cary D. Hyde, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 10337, H. T. Coffey, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 10621, James P. Dunn, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 11533, T. Patterson, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 11620, R. Q. Edmonson, 1 vote.
- Federal Labor Union, No. 11624, James J. Daley, 1 vote.
- Firemen's Protective Association, No. 11431, Frank G. Jones, 3 votes.
- Gas Workers, No. 9840, George W. Bell, 3 votes.
- Gas Workers, No. 10678, John Forrest, 1 vote.
- Hospital Employees, No. 1038, O. W. McCaslin, 1 vote.
- Hospital Employees, No. 10768, J. W. Bailey, 1 vote.
- Laborers' Protective Union, No. 8944, Michael O'Leary, 10 votes.
- Lumber Handlers' Union, No. 11474, Arthur T. Hinton, 1 vote.
- Milkers' Protective Union, No. 8861, Frank Bricker, 2 votes.
- Newsboys' and Route Carriers' Union, No. 11524, Warren H. Pillsbury, 1 vote.
- Ordnance Men's Union, No. 9595, Holly Bell, 1 vote.
- Oyster Workers' Union, No. 10497, M. O. Keefe, 1 vote.
- Paste Makers' Union, No. 10567, John L. Damozonio, 1 vote.
- Paving Department Workers' Union, No. 6751, James P. Timilty, 1 vote.
- Riggers' Protective Union, No. 10298, Manuel Alves, 1 vote.
- Rockmen's Union, No. 10631, Tito Pacelli, 3 votes.
- Shipkeepers' Protective Union, No. 8970, J. B. Dale, 1 vote.
- Ship Drillers' Union, No. 9037, William P. Schrader, 1 vote.
- Soda, Soap and Candle Workers' Union, No. 10385, Charles Schilling, 1 vote.
- Stable Employees' Union, No. 9878, M. T. Hudson, 1 vote.
- Stablemen's Union, No. 8760, Thomas F. Flinn, 5 votes.
- Stablemen's Union, No. 9026, W. H. Morey, 1 vote.
- Stenographers', Bookkeepers' and Typewriter Operators' Union, No. 11597, Miss E. C. Morris, 1 vote.
- Stenographers', Typewriters', Bookkeepers' and Assistants' Union, No. 11773, Miss J. T. Kelly, 1 vote.
- Sugar Workers' Union, No. 10519, Charles A. Meinert, 3 votes.
- Undertakers' Union, No. 11689 (1 vote); Undertakers' Union, No. 11695 (1 vote); Undertakers' Union, No. 11697 (2 votes); Undertakers' Union, No. 11708 (1 vote); Bricklayers' Union, No. 11659 (1 vote); Federal Labor Union, No. 11734 (1 vote); Laborers' Union, No. 11734 (1 vote), Estaban Padilla, 8 votes.
- Laborers' Union, No. 11649, 1 vote.
- British Trades and Labor Congress, W. Abraham, 1 vote, and James Wignall, 1 vote.
- Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, John A. Flett, 1 vote.
- Women's International Label League, Mrs. Dora Smith, 1 vote.
- National Women's Trade Union League, Mrs. Mary Kenney O'Sullivan.
- Creditentials from the following organizations indebted for per capita tax:
- Oklahoma and Indian Territories Federation of Labor, Peter Hanraty, owe for September, 1904.
- Birmingham (Ala.) Trades Council, B. H. Ryder, owe for November, 1903, and succeeding months.
- Dallas (Tex.) Trades Assembly, J. W. Parks, owe for June, 1904, and succeeding months.
- Kewanee (Ill.) Trades and Labor Assembly, B. Cohen, owe for August and September, 1904.
- Stockton (Cal.) Federated Trades, Thomas O. Owens, owe for May, 1904, and succeeding months.
- Tacoma (Wash.) Trades Council, P. W. Dowler, owe for September, 1904.
- Tampa (Fla.) Central Trades and Labor Assembly, James A. Roberts, owe for August and September, 1904.
- Whatcom (Wash.) Central Labor Council, R. D. Sawyer, owe for June, 1904, and succeeding months.
- Fish Cleaners, No. 11353, Joseph Catania, owe for August and September, 1904.
- Agricultural Workers, No. 11687, Estaban Padilla, owes for July, 1904, and succeeding months.
- Agricultural Workers, No. 11688, Estaban Padilla, owes for September, 1904.
- Agricultural Workers, No. 11693, Estaban Padilla, owes for September, 1904.
- Agricultural Workers, No. 11696, Estaban Padilla, owes for August and September, 1904.
- Agricultural Workers, No. 11698, Estaban Padilla, owes for September, 1904.
- Coffee Selectors, No. 11660, Estaban Padilla, owes for September, 1904.

The following credentials have been protested:

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, E. V. Hoeneck, John Brady, by Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders.

Federal Labor Union, No. 8921, A. A. Stewart, by International Longshoremen's Association.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the Committee on Credentials be adopted, and the delegates named against whose seating no protest was entered, and the delegates of those organizations reported clear upon the books of the organization be seated.

Mr. Schardt, Chicago—I should like to know if the Credentials Committee has a report to make on the Chicago Federation of Labor?

President Gompers—The Secretary of the committee announces that on any credentials so far unreported a further report will be made at a later session.

Delegate Giltorpe—As the committee has recognized the names read as being entitled to seats, and as there is a protest against the Structural Iron Workers' delegates, I should like to know if that recommendation of the committee will be adopted if this motion is carried?

President Gompers—The motion distinctly states that the delegates against whom no protest has been made, and also the delegates of organizations reported as being in good standing are to be seated. Separate action will be taken on the others.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was voted on and carried.

President Gompers announced the following committees:

Rules and Order of Business.—L. A. Tanquary, John Fitzpatrick, James H. Sullivan, T. J. Duffy, Patrick Maloney, Martin McGraw, Anthony McAndrews, B. B. Rosenthal, Isador Jacoby, Jeremiah P. Murphy, John Clark.

Report of President.—A. Furusest, H. W. Sherman, D. A. Carey, Henry C. Barter, Collis Lovely, Martin Lawlor, John Fahy, Thomas F. Tracy, C. W. Petrie, William S. Smith, James C. Shanessy.

Report of Secretary.—James Wilson, John Golden, Charles Doid, Fred Zepp, A. D. Porter, John Brady, J. B. Conroy, E. J. Lynch, L. W. Quick, George H. Warner, William H. Frazier.

Report of Treasurer.—Louis Kemper, F. G. Genzenbach, Timothy Healy, A. E. Kellington, D. J. Murray, Richard Pattison, Frank Sweeney, Ernest Dicks, Frank Helle, Harry Hailes, Frank C. Lowe.

Committee on Resolutions.—James Duncan, W. D. Ryan, J. C. Balhorn, Frank K. Foster, William Cohen, R. H. Metcalf, Frank B. Monaghan, D. D. Mulcahy, Santiago Iglesias, Archy Grant, John Slocum.

Committee on Laws.—John B. Lennon, James M. Lynch, W. H. Haskins, Max A. Hayes, Max Morris, August Priestersbach, Samuel Yarnell, Edward Brown, George Sauer, James H. O'Neil, J. T. Lavery.

Committee on Organization.—John Mitchell, J. R. Crozier, Charles Hank, John Zaring, John Devine, C. L. Shamp, Nathan Wolff, Thomas J. Mahoney, Herman May, John J. Joyce, A. E. Ireland.

Committee on Labels.—Martin Higgins, Charles E. Lowell, Edmond F. Ward, John R. O'Brien, Emil Schaefer, Max S. Hayes, Morris Brown, Sarah Hagan, O. F. Lindow, E. W. Miller, Henry Fischer.

Committee on Grievances.—James O'Connell, John A. Moffitt, W. D. Mahon, T. L. Lewis, Walter Macarthur, James C. Cahn, William J. O'Brien, W. E. Klapetzky, James Wood, Edward Hirsch, Emmett T. Walls.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.—W. E. Wilson, William J. Giltorpe, George K. Smith, William B. Macfarlane, David Kreyling, J. Mahlon Barnes, Mathew Canavan, J. W. Merton, P. J. Downey, Joseph N. Weber, Jere L. Sullivan.

Committee on Education.—Thomas I. Kidd, John F. Tobin, Owen Miller, D. G. Ramsay, P. M. Guerin, Rody Kennehan, Daniel P. Sullivan, T. C. DeVilliers, Lester Greenlaw, T. J. Dinan, George Powell.

Committee on State Organization.—James J. Beegan, D. D. Driscoll, Robert Wharton, Herman Robinson, George Burns, John Davidson, William White, C. W. Woodman, John T. Cosgrove, M. D. Madden, L. M. Jaeger.

Committee on Boycotts.—Daniel J. Keefe, Frank X. Noschang, A. M. Swartz, Austin F. Keane, Victor L. Berger, Emmett T. Flood, John P. Meade, James P. Maher, M. J. Keough, John W. Finan, J. J. McKee.

Committee on Building Trades.—William J. Spencer, Herman Lilien, O. A. Tveit-moe, Frank Duffy, Frank Feeney, E. V. Hoeneck, Thomas J. Lyons, George C. Campbell, Charles Nelson, Joseph Ham-mill, Edward A. White, Theodore Paine, W. W. Woodward, William Fyfe, Henry Ketter.

Delegate Canavan—The case of the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union has a grievance to come before the Committee on Grievances. As a delegate from that organization is on the committee, will he be entitled to a vote on that grievance?

President Gompers—The chair has had considerable difficulty in selecting members of committees by reason of that very fact. I have endeavored to appoint committees in which there will be the least

possible conflict, or in which the members are least interested in any question that will come before them. The delegate whose organization is involved in any matter coming before the committee will probably have the self-respect to refrain from voting.

The President appointed, subject to the confirmation of the Convention, Mr. Will J. French, President of Typographical Union No. 21 of San Francisco, Assistant Secretary of the Convention. There being no objection to the appointment, Mr. French assumed the duties of Assistant Secretary to the Convention.

The chair appointed as Sergeant-at-Arms Mr. Michael Casey of San Francisco, and as Messenger, Mr. A. E. Smith.

Mr. Owen Miller of the American Fed-

eration of Musicians asked permission to introduce a resolution. Permission was granted.

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate Owen Miller of American Federation of Musicians:

RESOLVED, That in addition to the regular committees already provided for the President shall appoint a special committee of eleven, to be known as the "Universal Label Committee," to whom shall be referred all resolutions relating to the adoption of a universal label. The members of this committee shall comprise delegates representing trades directly interested in the use of a label; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this committee shall report before the adjournment of the Convention, ways and means for the adoption of such an universal label.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

The session was then adjourned until 2 o'clock P. M.

## FIRST DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 o'clock P. M., President Gompers in the chair.

Absentees: Barry, Slocum, Priestersbach, Butterworth, Yarnell, Macfarlane, Gengenbach, Tracy, O'Brien (J. R.), Robinson, Baum, Wilson (H. H.), Farrell, Moffitt, Smith (J. W.), Warner, Lynch (E. J.), Downey, Pattison, Ryan (W. D.), Mason, Dix, Quick, Ramsey, Macarthur, Westoby, Maloney (Patrick), Flood, Cohen, Golden, Powell, Fischer, McAndrews, Morgan, Davidson, Triplett, Hanratty, Ryder, Driscoll, Ketter, Parks, Cohen (B), Michel, Smith (W. S.), Lock, Harris, Lavery (Jas. A.), Ward (Chris), Walker, Dunn (J. P.), Woodmansee, Owens, Roberts, Payne, O'Shea, Burke (Thos.), Coffey, Dunn (Jas. P.), Patterson, Edmondson, Bailey, Pillsbury, Keefe (M. O.), Damazonio, Timilty, Hudson (M. T.), Dowd.

First Vice-President Duncan was called to the chair, and President Gompers read his report, which was received with great interest and much applause. At the conclusion of the reading the report was referred to the Committee on President's Report.

Secretary Morrison and Treasurer Lennon read their reports, which were listened to with interest by the delegates and were referred to the proper committees.

The Convention adjourned at 5:50 to meet at 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The following are the reports of the President, Secretary and Treasurer:

## PRESIDENT GOMPERS' REPORT.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., November 14, 1904.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:*

**FELLOW TRADE UNIONISTS:** Another year in the annals of organized labor has come and gone; a year filled with momentous events for us all. The cycles of time which roll so swiftly by and which are so infinitesimal when counted in connection with the history and development of the human race, find the people confronting new conditions and new problems. The past has been fraught with pain and travail; it has been an inarticulate yearning and a constant struggle for new light and the realization of new hopes.

From the dark days of slavery and serfdom to the era of wage-labor was in itself a great progress; the entrance of the wage earners into the realm of the larger, broader, and brighter vision of associated effort, has been fraught with achievements commanding the admiration and the wonder of students and observers. Dispute it as some may, we are conscious, and history will accord us the credit, of being the natural and rational crystallized effort of the masses to abolish wrong and injustice; to attain justice and right by the most peaceful, evolutionary and humane method.

The immediate future is pregnant with good or ill for the people of our country. It devolves upon the organized labor movement to determine by its course the form which it shall assume.

The constant improvement in machinery, the division, subdivision, and specialization of labor, the wonderful development in industry, and the concentration of wealth, give to the wealth possessors such extraordinary power, which, when coupled with the cunning and greed for gain, unless intelligently and comprehensively met by a well organized labor movement, will tend to the deterioration of our race, the destruction of all our achievements, and the dissipation of all our hopes.

On the other hand, if we are faithful to the history and traditions of the struggling masses in the past, if we shall prove true to the interests and the welfare of the hosts of labor of our day, the power calculated to injure will be diverted to the common weal, and thus open up vistas of larger opportunities and a broader conception of human rights and ennobling aspirations.

As the course of enlightenment and liberty wends its way westward, so the American Federation of Labor brings its host of enlightened and liberty-loving exponents to the entrance of the Golden Gate, there not only to stand guard against any threatening foe, but to pledge anew its unflinching devotion to the uplifting cause of all our people.

From workshop, factory, mill, and mine comes the appeal to you for comfort, aid, and relief. The yearning cry of the children of labor for emancipation from the drudgery of incessant toil to the freedom of home, the playground, and the sunshine is not heard in vain by you. The sufferings of the past, the struggles of today, and the hopes for a brighter and a better day for all are represented by the united and federated labor movement of our time and of our country.

While the eyes and hearts of our fellow workers are fervently turned toward this convention, hopeful and confident that the broadest and best interests of the working people will be safeguarded and forwarded, the scrutinizing vision of our opponents and antagonists is concentrated upon our gathering and our work, ready to turn to our disadvantage and discomfiture any error of judgment of speech and action. May we not hope so to conform our course as to satisfy and gratify our friends, confound and disarm our would-be despoilers?

With an abiding faith in the justice and nobility of the cause with which we have the honor to be associated, with confidence fortified by a lifetime's experience, there are no misgivings in my heart or mind that this convention of the American Federation of Labor will do aught to darken the horizon of labor's future, or in the least jot to halt in the movement for labor's disenfranchisement. In that faith, in that confidence, in that hope, it is my proud privilege to welcome you to this gathering of labor's hosts at San Francisco in the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The law requires, and custom has approved, that the president shall submit an annual report of his acts and doings and of the work in connection with our movement; review the events of the preceding year, and make such recommendation as his judgment and experience warrant. It has been my pleasure and privilege to have submitted a number of such reports. Time has only demonstrated that but few of the most important incidents can be laid before conventions. The history of the movement can not be fully written in these reports. We who are engaged in the

struggle and are making history have little time or opportunity to write it. Some men less engrossed with the work now or in the future can, and should, write a comprehensive history of organized labor, its philosophy, its struggles, its achievements, and its aspirations. Our history now consists of the acts of our busy, work-a-day lives and the documents which lie in the archives of our offices. Conscious of how meagre and unsatisfactory are such reports as I have been enabled to make, and the report I am about to make, the following is submitted to you for your careful and fraternal consideration.

#### ORGANIZED LABOR'S LAW OF GROWTH.

Much gleeful speculation has been indulged in by our opponents in what they are pleased to characterize as a "slump" in the organization of the wage earners in the trade union movement of our country. They would hail with joyous acclaim, could they record the total extinction and destruction of our movement. With them the wish is father to the thought that they might bring about what their chief spokesman, Parry, lately declared their purpose to be, "the annihilation of labor unions." They take unctious to their souls that the slight falling off in membership in the trade union movement for a brief period within the past year was the beginning of the decline of the organized labor movement of our country.

The law of growth in organized labor is as little understood by them as it is by others who lack the experience, or who have not had the time, opportunity, or inclination to inquire and study. From the formation of the first bona fide trade union movement in modern times it has grown with each era of industrial activity and receded to some degree with each industrial depression, but with each recurring revival in industry the degree of growth has been greater, and with each recurring period of depression it has receded to a lesser degree than its immediate predecessors. All students of our movement appreciate these facts and count with them. The antagonists and the ignorant view these natural economic changes with exultation or alarm.

The wage earners have come to realize that their only hope for the protection of their material interests in our time, the only opportunities for the promotion of these interests in the future, as well as the mainstay for the rights and liberties in the present to which they and those who may follow are entitled, lie in unity, organization, and federation. And they have recognized, too, to a greater extent than heretofore, that their cohesion during a period of industrial reaction is the effectual check upon the material deterioration in their condition with all that that implies. To these reasons and causes, together with greater intelligence and a fair conception of their rights, may be attributed the almost infinitesimal decline in membership within the recent past.

When it is borne in mind that the trade union movement of America is, comparatively speaking, still in its infancy; when there is taken into consideration the vast extent of territory as well as the makeup of different nationalities speaking foreign tongues, the great development in industry and the concentration of wealth, using its powers to prevent or crush out organizations; when all these things are given due consideration, that we have brought about any degree of fraternity and homogeneity should be counted to our credit rather than to our detriment.

It is not necessary here to recount the advantages which have been secured by our movement in the interests of our fellow workers. Not only are our records of achievements available to all, but the better results in the home, the more material improvement, the social and moral advancement, as well as political independence, and the character and manhood of our working people, are the best attestation, demonstration, and proof of the efforts, the work, the aims, methods, and ennobling purposes of our movement.

Our opponents must lamentably fail to prove to the toilers that their freedom is curtailed or impaired in becoming organized when the workers themselves have the indisputable proof of their enjoyment of larger vision, occasioned by fewer hours of daily, burdensome toil, as our antagonists must also fail to impress upon the wives and the children of workmen that the freedom of action of their husbands and fathers is impaired when they themselves enjoy the fruits of brighter homes, more material improvements, and the opportunities of leisure and education.

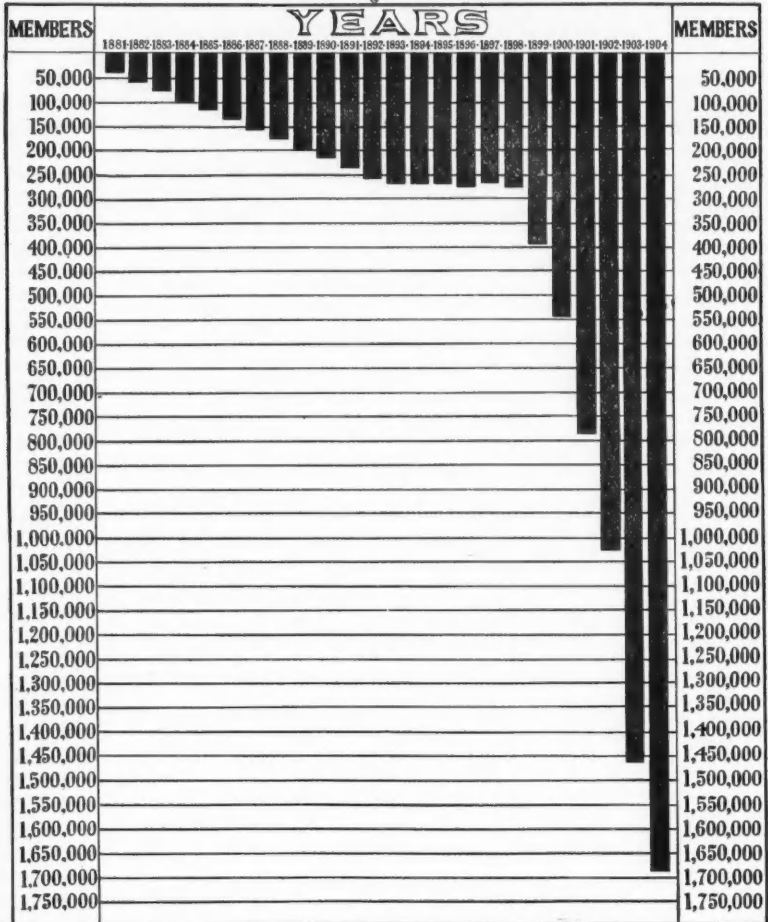
But, despite the destructive purposes of labor's antagonists, I am in a position to report that, with the exception of a slight recession already indicated, there has been a sum total of great gain in the membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

From October 1, 1963, to September 30, 1964, we issued from the American Federation of Labor the following charters:

International Unions.....	11
State Federations .....	5
Central Labor Unions.....	99
Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions.....	328
Total.....	443

Eight of these international unions were organized by us from formerly affiliated chartered local unions during the past year. A number of international unions have become amalgamated

# MEMBERSHIP OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR 1881 <sup>to</sup> 1904





with other international unions kindred to their trade. At the end of this fiscal year, September 30, 1904, there were affiliated to the American Federation of Labor:

International Unions.....	*120
State Federations.....	32
Central Labor Unions.....	589
Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions.....	1,271
Total.....	1,992

The average membership of our affiliated unions upon which per capita tax has been paid to the American Federation of Labor for the year ending September 30, 1904, is 1,676,000.

The average membership of our affiliated unions upon which per capita tax was paid to the American Federation of Labor for the year ending September 30, 1903, was 1,465,800.

The original chart prepared for our St. Louis exhibit indicated the growth and development of the Federation up to October 1, 1903. I have extended this chart so as to bring it up to the close of the present fiscal year, October 1, 1904, and for convenience and ready reference, reproduce it on the preceding page of this report.

We shall no doubt be confronted with the keenest opposition in the near future. There are those who will not understand the purposes of the organized labor movement and the good work which it is doing, and which it can and will do, and it therefore behooves us to devote our attention and to concentrate our efforts more largely in bringing to the attention of the yet unorganized how necessary it is for the protection of themselves and those dependent upon them to secure and maintain the vantage ground already gained, and not only to save all from the inevitable downward path that leads from a lack of comprehensive and united effort, but to secure and realize the hopes and aspirations of the toiling masses. Therefore, with unbounded faith in the ultimate triumph of our great cause, the logical and natural development of our great movement, we may all take on new obligations and assume new vows to leave no effort untried which shall bring within the beneficent fold of the trade union movement the wage workers, the wealth producers of America.

So long as there is a wrong unrighted, or a right denied to the people, so long is there work for the trade union movement to do.

#### INDUSTRY, REACTION, RESISTANCE, REVIVAL, POWER.

In my report to the last convention occasion was taken to call attention to what was then apparent to but few, that we were then confronted with an impending industrial reaction. It was stated that though the reaction was then not pronounced yet it was impending, and that if a wise course was pursued by us the reaction could and would be prevented from developing into an industrial crisis or panic. The Boston convention, readily realizing the situation, promptly adopted the suggestion made to meet and overcome it; and the toilers, organized and unorganized, responded in a manner that should cause us not only great gratification, but should receive the lasting gratitude of all the people of our entire country. The recommendations we made to our fellow workers consisted of six important features:

First. Organize, unite, and federate.

Second. Have faith and confidence in themselves and each other.

Third. Stand shoulder to shoulder in stress and strife; to help bear each others burdens and perfect the bonds of brotherhood.

Fourth. Endeavor to maintain industrial peace by trade agreements with employers.

Fifth. Voluntarily and faithfully abide by and fulfill the terms of agreements and the awards of arbitrators thereunder.

Sixth. Prevent industrial conflicts wherever possible, and particularly to resist all attempts to reduce wages.

Of course, no one who understands the complex conditions of industry, economics, and the makeup of modern society, and who aided in the formulation of this policy of our movement expected to escape criticism, denunciation, and condemnation from labor's opponents. It was expected and anticipated. It would have given us cause to inquire as to the accuracy of our course had the position we took met the approval of those who do not understand, and those whose sordid, short-sighted, mad rush for immediate gain and greed blind them to a beneficent movement, not for labor alone, but for the common weal.

In former periods when an industrial reaction was manifest, employers generally viewed the situation from their own immediate standpoint only, without regard to their own broad interest or the general good. Their first recourse was to that which to them seemed the easiest course to continue

\*These 120 affiliated international unions consist of, approximately, 27,000 local unions of their respective trades and callings.

the operation of their plants—to find markets. They reduced wages. Reduction of wages followed in quick order; the consuming power of the masses was curtailed and still more limited, entailing wholesale discharges of workmen who were formerly employed in producing the things the masses, the workers, formerly consumed, inducing and giving the further cause to still further entailment of consumption and production and still more discharges of workmen, until millions were unemployed; the wheels of industry and commerce paralyzed; until men were walking the highways and byways of our country in idleness, while poverty, hunger, and misery stalked through our land.

It is held now that there can be no real natural famine in the world because of the easy facilities with which the remotest corners of the earth can be reached. Surely if this be true, and no informed, sane, reasonable being disputes it, there is an utter absence of excuse for non-employment, hunger, poverty, or misery in our land, a land so richly and bountifully blessed. When idleness and its consequent misery are permitted to come among our people it is due entirely to rapacious, sordid avarice, mismanagement, and incompetency on the one hand, or to ignorant indifference and culpable pilyancy on the other. The employers generally typify the one and the workers formerly typified the other.

If the employers followed their policy of wage reductions in previous years as a supposed way out of industrial stagnation, and thereby simply accentuated the situation and made it worse, is it not a logical inference that the same ruinous policy would be pursued in the present era?

Are all the dire experiences and sufferings of our people to go for naught? Should we permit ignorant indifference on our part to make us culpable for a repetition of the awful conditions which followed in the wake of the former mischievous and wrongful course of our employers, or shall we continue the course which we last year declared when we had the prescience to foresee the danger with which we were threatened? Organized labor then called a halt and declared the entire policy of wage reductions unwise, wrongful, and dangerous to the well being of labor and of all our people.

We were fully aware that it would be impossible to prevent all wage reductions, but we can view the result of our last year's declaration of policy of resistance to wage reductions with satisfaction and pride. We can challenge our critics and opponents to compare the past year, when we were confronted with an industrial reaction, with a year of a similar industrial situation, and it will demonstrate beyond cavil or doubt that—

First. Wage reductions have been checked.

Second. The industrial situation has not become acute, as was the uniform course formerly.

Third. Much idleness, poverty, suffering, and misery have been prevented.

Fourth. The era of industrial stagnation, as compared with former like conditions, has been shortened.

Fifth. The prospect for a revival in industry and commerce in the future is brighter, as compared with any similar previous period.

Sixth. There is less acute feeling of unrest among workmen and employers generally, business men and all our people.

Seventh. There are more workmen and employers in agreement and understanding.

Eighth. There is a more general effort to bring about more rightful relations between workmen and employers.

Ninth. There is a better conception of the rights and duties of man to man, a more general satisfaction among our people with the present, and a more gratifying and hopeful outlook for the future.

The results of labor's policy are our best justification, and even though contemporary comment may not generally accord us the credit and commendation which are justly our due, we have the knowledge and satisfaction of the lasting service and benefit which we have rendered our fellow man.

In considering this entire subject in its economic and social aspect, we dare not fail to realize the difference between resistance to wage reductions and the movements for wage advances during periods of industrial reactions.

It is a science becoming more generally understood by labor to know when to strike and when not to strike; to know for what to strike and for what not to strike. It is said that it is not wise to strike on a so-called "falling market." It can not, however, successfully be gainsaid that a strike or preparedness to strike in resisting an offer of wage reduction will prevent the market from falling still lower. It may not be, and undoubtedly is not, wise or prudent to strike for wage advancement on a downward industrial trend, yet it is better that even this economic error be committed than a complacent acceptance of wage reductions.

May I use the homely phrase of saying that we are not yet "out of the woods," and that the advice and watchword should go forth from this convention of the American Federation of Labor

to the toilers of our country to resist by every honorable and lawful means at their command any and every attempt to reduce wages. At the risk of criticism I repeat last year's paraphrase that in the offer of wage reductions it is better to resist and lose than not to resist at all. The resistance will at least demonstrate that labor is an equation and factor which must not be ignored in the material, economic, industrial, commercial, and social affairs and welfare of our people and our country.

During the past year some strikes occurred, and among them some were lost; that is, they were not crowned with the immediate success for which they were inaugurated. And it is not only just, but timely, to say that each of these failed of its object by reason of the fact that the men did not profit by the experience of others and take time by the forelock. In times of industrial tranquillity and while they were employed, they failed to contribute anything like commensurate dues in their unions, and to provide themselves with the ammunition of industrial contest, a good treasury. There was not one strike which failed during the entire year but which the leaders and management were confident could and would have been crowned with victory if but a good, round sum had been in the treasuries of their organizations.

Of course, no one pretends or believes that all strikes can be won, but that greater victories will be won and fewer defeats will occur when our unions have accumulated funds, not even our most rabid antagonists will dispute.

#### INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

But apart from strikes concretely considered and the accumulation of funds with which to win them when undertaken, there is another important side to this question to be considered, and that is, the maintenance of industrial peace. It is a condition for which we may devoutly pray and work; but so long as private greed or short-sighted interests dominate the judgment and actions of employers, just so long will strikes, or better still, the preparedness of labor to strike, be the determining factor to bring about industrial peace on a more equitable basis, and to prevent an industrial rupture.

Wealth and the combination of wealth are the means and the power of the employers in any difference or dispute with labor as to the conditions of employment. Those possessing means and power yield little or nothing to those of opposite interests, when the latter possess little or no means or power to resist oppression. We must come to realize what a prominent newspaper recently frankly, even if brutally, uttered, that "there is no sentiment in business," and that "industrial plants are not eleemosynary institutions." Altruism, though more generally preached, is not practised; and particularly does this apply in the relations of employers to workers. Though we may contend that ethical considerations should enter into the discussion of the wage workers' demands for a better return for their labor, their rightful demand for a higher and a better life, we should all realize that the conception and desideratum in the industrial problem will receive a magnificent impetus when labor is better organized, federated, and equipped with means and power to enforce its rights.

We would abolish war, industrially as well as internationally; but its abolition must come, and it will come from conscious power, intelligent and broader humanity. May the day never come when peace is proclaimed or maintained because of the inaction of the workers. Peace, to be desirable, to be lasting, advantageous, and humane, must come from a virile and intelligent manhood. We want no peace, and there never will be peace, founded upon the servility and degradation of the workers.

The vantage position now occupied by labor was not brought to it on a silver platter, but was contended for and won by the unity of the workers, by the burdens which they have borne, and the sacrifices they have made. More thorough organization, a greater willingness to accumulate funds in the unions, the spirit of fraternity and solidarity, will bring their own reward and the recognition not only of employers, but of the world. It may be safely asserted that as a rule, in our time, those who have no power to insist upon and maintain their rights have no rights to maintain.

#### UNION SHOP—TRADE AGREEMENT VERSUS "OPEN SHOP."

In many cities employers, antagonistic to labor, have formed themselves into so-called citizens' alliances, and have undertaken to propagate the policy of the destruction of organized labor, their first effort being directed to what they are pleased to term the "open shop," and to attack the union shop under the false assertion that it is a "closed shop." In my last report I had occasion to give this subject considerable attention. Since then some have pretended that the entering into an agreement of an employer with a union by which exclusively union men are to be employed by him, is in violation of law; that it denies the right to employment of workmen who are not members of the unions.

In the first instance the claim is absurd, when it is known that the union not only opens wide its doors, inviting all to join, but sends out its organizers and missionaries to induce by every honorable means within their power the non-unionists to share in the advantages that come from united and associated effort. But quite apart from this consideration is this fact, that an employer may give a contract to a dealer to furnish him his with raw material, or to erect a plant, or to furnish him with machines, the contractor to have the exclusive right to furnish and provide these things. Such a contract implies and provides the exclusion of all other dealers, builders, or machinery manufacturers. Is such a contract held to be improper or unlawful? Are not hundreds of thousands of contracts of this character made daily? The agreement between an employer and a union is for the members of the union to furnish that employer with labor of certain qualifications for a specific period of time, the consideration being the payment of stipulated wages as a minimum. That others are by their own short-sighted policy or indifference excluded from the provisions and benefits of such an agreement is their own fault and against which they have neither the legal nor the moral right to contend.

The organized labor movement is the associated effort of more than two million of adult wealth producers. It is the unselfish action of the most intelligent, and the earnest manifestation of the most enlightened self-interest which sees that interest best served by helping to protect and promote the interests of others.

The open-shop cant and hypocrisy aim at organized labor with the full knowledge that it, and it alone, stands between the toilers with those dependent upon them and the greed and avarice that would force down the conditions of labor to a bare subsistence, lengthen the hours of daily toil, and make the home wretched and desolate.

The division and subdivision of labor and its specialization, brought about by inventions of machines and new tools of labor, have robbed workmen of their power of individual freedom of contract with their employers. Their only opportunity for anything like fair or advantageous terms under which to sell their labor is in associating themselves with their fellow workmen in making a collective bargain, a working agreement; in other words, a union and a contract by the union with employers for their labor and the conditions under which it shall be sold.

The union shop in no sense involves a denial of the right of every man to sell his labor as he may see fit, nor the employer to hire such labor. In fact, it is an affirmation of that right. Employers have the lawful right to hire any labor they may choose, but it does not give them the right to impress workmen or to enslave them, or to drag them into a factory on any terms the employer may choose to grant as an expression of his "kindliness."

Employers have the right to make contracts for labor. This right carries with it, also, the same rights of the workmen. It, therefore, follows that if the workers have the right to sell their labor as they see fit, they have also the right *not* to sell it to employers, unless it be through the collective bargain of the union shop. As an illustration, I recently asserted that every man has the right to say, "I will not work for you unless you make a contract with the union to which I belong and agree to employ none but members of that union." To claim that he may not say this is equivalent to saying that he must sell his labor, not as he sees fit, but as the employer sees fit. Can any reasonable answer be made, or criticism indulged in, when employers find it to their advantage to make a contract with a reputable body of men to employ union labor exclusively and thus eliminate the possibility of strikes, disputes, factions, and losses? To this our opponents, the so-called citizens' alliances, can make no answer. Their policy consists of evasion and wilful misrepresentation of the aims and purposes of organized labor, of the collective bargain, of the working agreement, of the union shop.

#### OUR CANADIAN BROTHERS.

It is a matter of keen gratification to be enabled to state that the labor movement of Canada has advanced and is progressing, keeping full pace with the movement of the remainder of the American continent. At the recent congress held in Montreal the officers were enabled to report an increase in the membership of the unions of 5,932 over the preceding year; that there was then in existence in Canada 1,567 local unions. We have continued the salaried organizer for Canada exclusively, and also the corps of volunteer organizers, and have contributed from our funds the annual grant of \$500 for legislative purposes to the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress. The congress, I have been advised, was entirely harmonious and successful in its work, and has honored us by electing as its fraternal delegate its former president and our general organizer, John A. Flett.

In my last report I took occasion to refer to a number of detail matters in connection with the labor movement of Canada affiliated to that of the United States, which, though appropriate today, need not be recounted here, but simply referred to as a matter of information and continuity. I am pleased to add that the kindly and fraternal relations heretofore existing hav

been cultivated to the fullest, and, if possible, been more firmly cemented. Let us hope and work to the end that as time goes on we may be helpful to each other in every way to further the common interests of the workers of both countries.

#### PORTO RICO.

In compliance with your thrice repeated instructions I at last forced myself from my duties at home and made the visit to Porto Rico, examined into the conditions of its people, and particularly the working people. From my own observation I determined to learn the true state of affairs, rather than have to depend upon statements made by others; and, therefore, I visited every section and almost every city, town, or village on the island. Everywhere poverty and misery abounded, and the dread disease of anemia, another name for slow starvation (want of nourishing food), was carrying to the grave monthly more than five hundred souls.

I shall not attempt here to recount or to describe the conditions which I found to exist in Porto Rico. That was fairly and fully done in my letters, editorials, and speeches upon the subject published in the April and May, 1904, issues of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST. It is an imperative duty now to repeat the fact that the reports made to us of the awful conditions prevailing there among the people, and, of course, particularly the working people, were fully verified. Spain, during her domination, discouraged many industries and prohibited several lines of agriculture, yet she afforded opportunities for special lines of agriculture. Coffee, sugar, and fruits were encouraged. Since the American occupation the markets for Porto Rican products have been closed out from Spain and her other former dependencies, Cuba and the Philippine Islands, and these channels of trade now closed, a corresponding advantageous market has not been opened up to them in the United States. As a consequence all the people are poor, very poor indeed, the only difference being that the working people are more so, and so much more so that their condition is really pitiable.

The greeting received by your representative at the hands of these warm-hearted, generous people was enthusiastic, aye, overwhelming. They had so often been misrepresented to the American people; the truth as to their condition and claims had so frequently been misrepresented or suppressed, that they nearly lost hope of having some one voice their wrongs and urge their rights. For some reason, more than likely their recognition of the fact that our movement has established for itself the character and reputation of not meekly brooking injustice but always standing for the right, they gave me the passport into their hearts and confidence, feeling sure that I would report the truth of the facts as I found them, and that at all events they would have my sympathetic cooperation in any effort to aid them in every way within my power.

The number of unions in Porto Rico directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor the first of the year were, 1 insular or state organization, 3 centrals, 7 locals, making a total of 11. September 30, 1904, there were affiliated 1 insular or state organization, 4 centrals, 38 locals, making a total of 43. In addition to the above Organizer Iglesias reports that 42 locals were organized and attached to international unions during the twelve months. A comparison of the figures and dates shows that a large majority of these unions were organized after my visit to Porto Rico.

The people of Porto Rico are intensely sympathetic with the institutions of our republic, and universally desire the recognition of the principles of equality with the sovereign citizenship of the United States. These rights they are eminently qualified to exercise; these rights they are entitled to, and it should be our aim to aid them in achieving them.

When the subject is considered by the committee to which this report will be referred, and by any student of the subject, I ask that reference be had to the issues of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST already referred to herein.

Porto Rico literally translated into English reads, "Port of Riches," the name given by a monarch of Spain. Now the misnomer of their island mocks the people in their grim and grotesque misery.

I strongly urge that every effort be made, not only by this convention, but also by every union, union member, and sympathizer, to help to the very best of his ability the worthy workers of Porto Rico to a realization of a better and brighter day.

#### PRINTERS' EIGHT HOUR MOVEMENT.

Taking cognizance of the vast progress in the development of the printing trade, the International Typographical Union at its last convention adopted a resolution declaring that on January 1, 1906, a general eight hour workday shall be enforced. The effort is to be made to secure the cooperation of the printing employers and to bring about the change by mutual agreement.

These propositions were submitted to a referendum vote of the membership of the International Typographical Union. No official information has yet been given me as to the final result of the vote. From information received, however, it is certain that the proposition has

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

been favorably decided. The membership at the same time voted in favor of assessing themselves to accumulate a defense fund in the meantime, to stand the members in good stead should necessity require them to enforce their demands by a cessation of work.

The American Federation of Labor has been of incalculable benefit to a large number of international unions and local unions in the introduction and enforcement of the eight hour workday, as attested by the large number of our fellows who now work under that rule. Inasmuch as the International Typographical Union has taken the initiative of its own accord in the matter of introducing and enforcing the eight hour workday, I submit for your consideration and recommend that this movement of the International Typographical Union receive the sincere and hearty endorsement and cooperation of this convention of the American Federation of Labor, and of every union member as well as every wage earner and those who sympathize with practical, evolutionary, economic progress.

It is not now known whether there will be any contest against the eight hour day; whether any antagonistic action will be taken by the employers to the men. We do know, however, that at the last convention of the employing printers of the United States, organized under the name of the Typotheta, a resolution was adopted declaring against that movement. In any event, it seems clear to me that every action should be taken by this convention and by our organizations generally, not only to pledge the support of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions to the International Typographical Union in its effort to enforce the eight hour day, but that a special committee be appointed by this convention to give the subject-matter consideration; that the committee should consult with the officers and representatives of the International Typographical Union during the convention and report thereto before adjournment; that either that committee or another committee be authorized to be appointed for purpose of cooperating with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the Typographical Union, so that the best possible aid can be rendered to our fellow workers in the great movement that they have undertaken and in which they have the hopes, wishes, prayers, and cooperation of every one interested in the welfare of the human family and the progress and civilization of our people.

Of course, in the effort to help one particular organization, especially in the laudable purpose it has mapped out for itself to achieve, we are not circumscribed or limited in our effort to help any and all of our fellow workmen who are in a position to make any effort for the advancement or promotion of their interests. We shall, therefore, welcome not only the initiative of our fellow unionists to obtain improved conditions, and particularly the improved conditions that come from a shorter workday, but we shall be glad to help in the initiation of any movement that will contribute in any way toward the protection, the promotion of the conditions and interests of our fellow workmen, and to render them every assistance within our power.

#### JURISDICTION.

Notwithstanding every effort to help in the solution of the disputes relative to trade union jurisdiction, much progress can not be reported. In the case of the International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics and the other machinery and metal trade unions, you will be gratified, I am sure, to be officially advised that by a conciliatory spirit manifested by all directly interested, in addition to the voluntary self-effacement of the officers of the Allied Metal Mechanics, that international association, November 1, 1904, amalgamated with, and became part of, the International Association of Machinists.

It also affords me pleasure to be enabled to report to you that the effort to eliminate a source of constant friction and conflict in the carpentry trade will in a short time, I firmly believe, be crowned with success. At our recommendation the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the American District of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners submitted their matters of difference to arbitration, selecting Mr. A. Strasser as umpire. His award made provision for a rational and advantageous form of amalgamation, providing in the meantime for a working agreement, which in the main has been faithfully complied with. I am advised that the United Brotherhood has instructed its president to appoint a committee to meet a like committee of the Amalgamated Society for the purpose of arranging the details of the amalgamation and to submit the same to a referendum vote of the membership of the Brotherhood for ratification; that the Amalgamated Society is now voting upon the proposition, the highest authority in that organization having favorably recommended it to the membership. If this be ratified and amalgamation occur, which we earnestly hope will be done, one great source of content on will have disappeared from labor's field of usefulness. The matter is more fully covered in the Executive Council's report.

In several cases, after conferences, many matters of jurisdiction have been adjusted with good results to all parties concerned. A number of the jurisdictional disputes which have largely

occupied the attention of former conventions have, if possible, become still more acute, and have entailed upon your officers an enormous amount of work, expenditure of time, as well as expense to the Federation, without bringing a compensatory advantage to the men or to the organizations engaged in such controversies.

No observing, experienced, and faithful trade unionist believes that a hard and fast rule of jurisdiction can be proclaimed and enforced which will apply with exactitude to all trade unions alike. There are different conditions, circumstances, and environments in most instances, and each must be approached, considered, and determined with particular reference to its immediate and kindred trade, occupation, and development.

The Scranton convention appointed a special committee, consisting of James Duncan, John Mitchell, John Mulholland, T. M. Hughes, and myself, to consider and report upon the question of trade autonomy and jurisdictional disputes. The report of that committee was unanimously adopted. Perhaps it was then, as it is now, the best expression of the judgment of our movement upon these subjects, and it is commended anew to your very serious consideration. It stands out in significant contrast to the logical disastrous consequences which would result to the interests of labor were it possible to introduce what some are pleased to term Industrialism.

If a policy of so-called industrial form of organization be justifiable and advantageous, as against that of the trade union form, with its constant development, with changing conditions in industry, then an organization formed a few months ago in San Antonio, Tex., is the best expression and exponent of that notion, for that organization sneers contemptuously at the organization of the different unions of the building trades, and styles itself "The United Brotherhood of Builders of America." It denounces roundly the trade unions, and in the usual language of the so-called industrialists invites to membership in the one organization carpenters and plumbers, painters and bricklayers, plasterers and bridge and structural iron workers, electrical workers and hod carriers, building laborers and machinists, and every man who is either directly or remotely employed in the preparation of the material for a building or in the construction of the building itself. It necessarily follows that if such a form of organization is most advantageous to the workmen employed in the building trades, it will apply with equal advantage to all others. This is the logical result of the reasoning of some of our mistaken fellow trade unionists who, with more enthusiasm than clearness of vision, urge what they euphoneously call an industrial form of organization.

Our trade union movement, which deals with conditions as they arise and takes advantage of experience to turn it to the best account of our fellow workmen, may not be so alluring; it may not bear the apparent glamour and dash which some would have the labor movement assume, but ours is the movement of labor, founded upon the historic development of the toilers' associated effort; it battles in labor's interests today, and is marshaling the forces of united labor in its regiments and battalions the better to defend, the better to withstand, the better to maintain, the better to clear the pathway for a safer and more successful advance tomorrow and tomorrow.

To the fanciful that movement may be slower than that which they conjecture, but it is the most rapid because it is the most natural, rational, and safe. Students and observers of our movement do not regard it as of slow progress. They are astonished at the rapidity and comprehensiveness with which we are moving onward and forward.

May the day never come when, by an attempt at overrunning, we miss or lose our goal, and rent asunder, weak and helpless, become the victims of the cupidity and rapacity of labor's foes.

For convenience as well as because of its importance, the report of the special committee upon the subject of trade autonomy to the Scranton convention is printed herein as an appendix.

#### DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNION STRIKES.

The local trade unions and federal labor unions unattached to national or international unions and directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor come under the immediate jurisdiction of the president, particularly in so far as their trade disputes, strikes, and lockouts are concerned. It has been my aim that the American Federation of Labor should be of the best possible assistance to our directly affiliated local unions. Experience has confirmed the wisdom of the prompt presence of an intelligent, faithful organizer or other American Federation of Labor representative in the field where a dispute may be impending or threatened, which has generally resulted in the prevention or advantageous adjustment of disputes. Some of the strikes which occurred and were approved were for the enforcement of wage scales, but most of them were more particularly to defend attacks upon the organization.

The expenditures for the fiscal year for these difficulties were \$15,972. The balance on hand in the defense fund at the close of the fiscal year was \$31,146.95, showing a net increase in that fund for the year of \$17,750.55.

A detailed financial statement of the income and expenditures will be furnished by Secretary Morrison in his report.

The defense fund has been of vast benefit to our directly affiliated unions, not only in sustaining our members in any difficulty, but particularly in preventing employers' attacks. The realization that the men of organized labor have a defense fund which can be concentrated upon any given point to protect the rights and interests of our fellow-workers has had a palpable and beneficent effect.

Experience has shown that our present law upon this subject is somewhat defective, and which it has been necessary by administrative acts to overcome. I suggest, however, that they be remedied by their legal enactment into our constitution, and therefore recommend the adoption of the following changes and amendments:

Article 13, section 1: Strike out the entire section and substitute the following:

"The moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of local trade and federal labor unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, endorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this article."

Section 2: Amend the last clause so as to read as follows:

"Unless the strike or lockout shall have been authorized and approved by the president and the executive council," etc.

Section 3: Amend the first clause so as to read as follows:

"When a strike has been authorized and approved by the president and the executive council," etc.

Section 3: Amend the two last clauses so as to read:

"The president of a local union shall immediately notify the president of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union. Also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved."

Section 6: Strike out the words "any member refusing work while on strike shall not be entitled to any benefits," and substitute the following:

"Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits."

Section 9: Between the words "paid" and "and," add the following:

"Furnishing individual receipts to the secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid."

#### UNION LABEL.

The union labels have been a source of great advantage to labor and to all the people. It is at once an assurance and a guarantee that the conditions under which an article is produced have been comparatively fairer and better; that the labor of children has not entered into its production; that convict, Chinese, sweat shop, or other inferior labor is no component part entering into the production of the article; that the sanitary conditions attending its production are of the highest order, thus affording the friends of our movement the opportunity to sympathize with its purposes, as well as giving our own constituent membership the opportunity of exercising their power of patronage, that they may give their material as well as their moral support and encouragement.

In order that the best information upon the history, philosophy, and purposes of the union label may be available to the uninformed and the opponent, as well as to afford our own membership the better opportunity to answer the whys and wherefores of the union label, the Executive Council gave me its assent to offer prizes for the three best essays upon the subject of the union label. Impartial examination and awards were made of the essays submitted, the judges being Henry W. Sherman, general secretary of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Arthur E. Holder, assistant editor of the International Association of Machinists' Journal, and Joseph M. Johnson, then president of Columbia Typographical Union, No. 101. The judges made the following awards:

First prize, Walter Macarthur, of San Francisco.

Second prize, P. H. Shevlin, of Cincinnati.

Third prize, Charles D. Hemming, Scranton, Pa.

These essays were printed in the July, 1904, issue of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, and are published together now in pamphlet form, forming part of the literature printed by the American Federation of Labor. These essays, in pungent phrase and cogent reasoning, set forth the cause of the union label and for what it stands, and it is urged that the widest possible publicity be given these pamphlets upon this subject.



**THE COLORADO SITUATION.**

The iniquitous policy of the so-called citizens' alliances has had its fullest fruition in Colorado. In that state it has not only of itself had full sway, but it has been aided in the execution of its edicts by the executive with the full power of the military. Indeed, the citizens' alliance had but the simple declaration to make as to its wishes and what in its judgment constituted the law, to have the governor of the state order the troops to the most convenient point to execute what was accepted as a decree. Civil government has been set at naught, and constitutional and natural rights and guarantees wantonly trampled under foot.

A brief resume of events leading up to and in connection with the outrage against not only the rights of labor but civilized society, may not here be amiss. Four years ago the Colorado legislature passed a law limiting the hours of labor of men who worked in the mines and in the smelters to eight per day. The courts of the state declared that inasmuch as there was no constitutional authority vested in the legislature for the enactment of such a law, the act was void. The subsequent legislature adopted an amendment to the constitution giving the legislature that needed authority, and made it mandatory upon the legislature to enact such a law. The amendment was submitted to a vote of the people of Colorado, and it was ratified by more than 47,000 majority, and thereby became a part of the state constitution.

The legislature which had this direct mandate from the people utterly failed to comply therewith, and it is authoritatively asserted, and not denied, that Governor Peabody owed his nomination and election to the office he occupies upon the distinct understanding and agreement with the prime movers of the so-called citizens' alliance that he would prevent, if possible, an agreement by the two houses of the legislature upon any eight-hour bill; or that if agreement was reached, despite his effort, that he would veto such a bill. It was unnecessary for him to exercise his right of veto, inasmuch as his efforts to prevent agreement in the passage of the bill made the exercise of that function unnecessary.

The indignation of the people generally, particularly the working people, at this political manipulation and trickery, was emphatic, and a keen sense was clearly manifested that their rights and their interests had been flagrantly betrayed. Disputes arose resulting in the effort to enforce by private agreement what the lawmakers, the misrepresentatives of the people, had failed to do; that is, the establishment of an eight hour workday.

In several instances strikes occurred; some directly for the eight hour day, others in sympathy. At once a system of persecution was inaugurated by the employers' associations which assumed the title of citizens' alliances. Men against whom no charge of wrongdoing could be made were dragged from their homes and deported to other districts and to other states. Public officials, elected by the people, were summoned before secret meetings of these greedy monopolists, and simply because they refused to acquiesce in the employers' outrageous conduct, were summarily deposed from office and the agents of the employers directed to usurp these offices and perform their functions and duties. In one instance a rope with a noose at the end was tossed at the feet of an officer of the local government, elected by the people, with the choice given him of peremptorily resigning his office or to take the consequences of the other silent, yet effective, alternative presented to him.

The governor has aided and abetted this criminal procedure, and utilized the military forces of Colorado to violate every vestige of human right recognized for more than seven centuries, as wrung from an unwilling monarch in the magna charter, asserted in the declaration of independence, guaranteed by the constitution of our country and of our states, and fortified by every statute in our land.

Governor Peabody not only declared martial law and military rule, applying to districts, without authority of law and in conflict with the plain provisions of the constitution of Colorado, but he even demeaned himself to the exercise of that great power to apply to a single individual. Men charged with no crime or offense against the laws were corralled, and with the butt end of a gun or at the point of a bayonet driven like cattle into a bull pen, while others were bodily carried or driven into another state.

We assert that under no circumstances had the governor of Colorado, without the consent of the legislature, the right or authority to declare martial law or military rule; that holding men in duress in that brutal military prison, the bull pen; that depriving men of their liberty without due process of law, was not only a brutal outrage of the rights of the men themselves but an unblushing wrong to all men. If the miners in the disturbed districts of Colorado were guilty of any crime, if they violated any law of the land, there are in existence upon the statute books laws for their apprehension and trial before the duly constituted courts by a jury of their peers according to the due processes of law as made and provided in such cases.

The tyrant of old exercised his spleen with those from whom he differed, and deported, banished, or exiled them. Civilized man has come to recognize such punishments as unjust and

unnatural. Even Russia has recently abolished the decree. It has remained for the unspeakable Peabody, governor of the great state of Colorado, to revive and put this benighted punishment into execution; and this, too, in spite of the fact that there is not in our country one scintilla of law authorizing any court or any officer, to deport, banish, or exile a citizen from his state or from the country.

We have not, can not, and will not condone crime or unlawful conduct. We love liberty and justice; we revere the institutions, the history, and the traditions of our republic; the blush of shame surmounts our faces, and our sense of honor and dignity rises in protest against so foul a blot that a recreant public officer, creature, and puppet of sordid greed, should have so besmirched and defiled the proud record and honored name of a sovereign state.

It was the evident purpose of that unholy combination of the citizens' alliance with Governor Peabody to destroy the independence and manhood of the workmen of Colorado by making an attack upon the effort to destroy organized labor of the state. Their declaration that their attack was not directed at the American Federation of Labor is disproved by their bitter antagonism to, and assault upon, the affiliated coal miners of that state. That they will fail in their destructive tactics, aye, that they have already failed, is evident from the fact that there are more workmen organized in Colorado today than at any time in its previous history; that organizations formerly in rivalry with each other have amalgamated, and a greater bond of unity and fraternity has been effected.

By direction of the Executive Council I prepared and issued a circular to our affiliated unions, appealing for financial aid, so that the officers of the Western Federation of Miners might have the means to bring before the highest federal courts of our country the assertion and the test of the natural and constitutional questions and right involved in the outrageous conduct of Colorado's officials. We are firmly of the opinion that the highest judicial tribunal of our country will inevitably reverse a course so destructive of the very fundamental principles upon which our republic is based.

We urge upon our fellow workmen still greater unity and federation. They should not only insist upon the punishment of the wrong-doers, the officials who have so violently defiled the good name of that state, but they must insist upon an effective eight hour law, and better than all, be so united in numbers, purpose, and spirit as to inaugurate and enforce for themselves the eight hour workday.

May we not also entertain the hope that inasmuch as unity and associated effort are recognized as essential to the well-being and progress of the workers of our country, that the lesson so costly learned may bring the metalliferous miners and all other international unions in closer affiliation and brotherhood under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

#### SPECIAL CONVENTION REQUESTS.

During the past year I have been requested on two separate occasions to call a special convention of the American Federation of Labor, and also to call all labor and all "reform" forces of the country to hold a congress "to make," in the language of the applicants, "the position of labor clear," "to attack conditions and denounce officials," "to devise ways and means" out of certain exigencies, etc., etc.

These special conventions, or so-called congress, were not called. My colleagues of the Executive Council were in entire accord as to the utter futility and unwisdom of any such course. The labor movement of America is an orderly, regularly conducted movement, and though an extraordinary emergency may arise where a special convention or a special general conference may be advisable and necessary, the more frequent such special conventions or conference would be held the less potent and influential would each succeeding one become, until the whole labor movement would degenerate and come to be regarded as a grotesque farce. Nor is our movement to be perverted by the fads, fancies, and fantasies of a heterogeneous gathering of men who would come without authority, who would have no responsibility, and who could be careless or indifferent as to the consequences of their utterances and actions upon the interests and welfare of the working people of our country.

Thousands of meetings of unions are held nightly in which the men of labor give expression to their judgment upon all questions affecting them and their fellows. There are not less than 700 conventions (city central labor union meetings) held every week or two in as many cities and towns in the United States. The central labor unions are made up of delegates from the different unions in their respective localities, men coming from the factory, shop, mill, and mine duly credentialed by their most intelligent organized fellow craftsmen, who there, in joint council, in central bodies, which hold regular meetings or conventions, express and manifest in no uncertain or mistaken tones the best opinions upon labor's rights and just indignation against any wrongs committed against their fellow man.

Our international unions in turn are in the exact same potential position, while in the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, regularly and orderly held, the best opinions and judgment find their expression in the filtered, digested, and crystallized thought of all.

We can not afford to permit the orderly progress, growth, and development of our movement to be risked, and perhaps destroyed, or at any rate retarded, by the sporadic, haphazard outgivings of thoughtless and irresponsible men. The pages of the early history of the labor movement are darkened by the dire results of such planless, chaotic gatherings.

The American Federation of Labor, organized in 1881, is the first instance of not only a constantly growing general movement of labor of America, but with each recurring day of its entire existence it has striven to earn and to deserve the good will, confidence, and respect of our fellow workmen, who realize in our movement that its splendid efforts and opportunities are constantly utilized and influenced to their good.

The labor and travail, the pains and sufferings, the burdens and sacrifices given, made, and borne to attain this advantageous position for the American labor movement, have been too dearly bought to admit even a remote possibility of the impairment of our progress, the blemish of our good name and work, or the forfeiture of the good will and confidence that may weaken the bonds of unity and fraternity and lead to disintegration and possible disruption.

Had I complied with every request to call a "special meeting of the Executive Council" we would have been practically in perpetual session. With my colleagues I preferred to be of the very best possible service to our fellow unionists and our fellow workers by issuing appeals in their behalf, to avail ourselves of every circumstance within our power to be helpful to them in their contentions for the rights and protection and promotion of their interests.

#### INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

True to the highest and best conception of human life the trade union movement, from its first inception, has been opposed to war. It recognizes that though others may fall, the brunt of war is borne by the working people; not only upon the battlefield itself, but the burdens thereafter which war entails. We can not be indifferent to, restrain our feeling of horror at, nor withhold our sympathies from, the slaughtered thousands of human beings, even in the far east, regardless of the country toward which our predilections lie.

International wars have become so destructive of human life and property that the world is shocked from center to circumference at the holocausts now witnessed in battle. While it may not be a practical proposition to ask for immediate disarmament of all countries, the time and the intelligence of our peoples surely demand that the extraordinary increase in the armed naval and military forces be limited and restricted rather than expanded and extended. We welcomed the establishment of the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague. May we not entertain the hope that its benign influences may be extended and make for universal peace? We recognize that in the last analysis, and in order to prevent any reaction that may lead to greater and more repeated wars and bloodshed, the success for international peace by arbitration must come from higher intelligence and a better conception of the sacredness of human life. Out of these well-springs will flow that kindred and humane spirit that will recognize the best maintenance of our own rights by conserving the rights of others. In the broad domain of human activity there is no force so potent and which will be so powerful to establish and maintain international peace and human brotherhood as the fraternization of the workers of the world in the international labor movement.

Every year witnesses more comprehensive understanding and agreement among the organized workers of the civilized world. International congresses of trade unions bring about a greater recognition of the identity of the interests of all. The last International Miners' Congress, the Seamen's Congress, and the Marine Workers' Congress, and others, have all tended to, and have already had, a beneficent influence. The financial aid of British workmen to our anthracite miners in their strike, the aid which our American glass workers gave their English fellow craftsmen, and that aid which is now being given by the Cigarmakers of our country to their striking fellow craft-men in England, fully attest that the spirit of unity and solidarity has been cultivated for the potent good of all. It has been my aim to stimulate to the fullest the very best spirit and conception of brotherhood among the workers of the world.

As it was a pleasant duty to attend and participate in a national conference, held last January, for the promotion of an international arbitration treaty between the government of Great Britain and our own, and also with Vice-President Duncan to attend the International Peace Congress, held at Boston last month, and there to meet the fraternal delegate from Great Britain, Pete Curran, and other men with broad minds and of large hearts, representing the best that is in the manhood of the civilized countries of the world in the noble effort to efface from the drama of our lives the horrors of bloodshed in human warfare. In that spirit and for that great and holy purpose, we

send and receive the fraternal delegates of the international trade union movement. Into that realm of human activity we welcome heartily and cordially the fraternal delegates from the British Trade Union Congress, W. Abraham and James Wignall; the fraternal delegate from the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, John A. Flett. We fervently express the hope that out of our combined effort may come the full fruition of our highest hopes and aspirations for human brotherhood.

It is a pleasure to report that the representatives of our government have negotiated treaties with the representatives of several European governments, by the terms of which disputes, which can not be settled by diplomacy, may be determined by arbitration rather than the arbitrament of the sword. We hail with keen gratification this forward step of humanity, and we shall give to the movement every aid which the American Federation of Labor can exert and every influence it can wield.

#### WOMAN'S LABEL LEAGUE.

For some time past correspondence has been had with some of the representatives of the Women's International Union Label League. The opinion expressed by some of its officials is to the effect that much better results could be accomplished in the interests of the working people if the organization were remodeled and its purposes directed as the following suggested title would imply: "Women's Auxiliary International Union of America." We cordially attest our appreciation of the splendid work performed by the existing organization, but if it shall be manifest to the women who sympathize and who are cooperating with us to advance the interests of labor that a change of programme or of detail and of title is prompted by their judgment and experience, and that a change of title should be made, surely they will meet with our hearty approval and endorsement, and that we will in turn do what lies in our power to make their efforts and their organization most effective.

#### ANTI-INJUNCTION BILL.

Our anti-injunction bill (H. R. 89 ) was introduced in the House by Congressman Grosvenor, and referred to the Judiciary Committee. Several hearings of an extensive character were had upon it. Although the hearings were closed, no report thereon has been made. I commend to your favorable consideration a continued effort to secure the enactment of this bill, and thus curb the judge-made law invasive of our constitutional and natural right.

The process of injunction has its necessary and proper application, and was designed to supply the guarantee of a right as well as the prevention of a wrong when there is no other remedy at law. The use or, more properly speaking, the misuse of the writ of injunction in labor disputes, is a perversion of the very principles involved in the injunction process. There is not an act, if that be an unlawful act, enjoined by an injunction issued in a labor dispute for which there is not already a law upon the statute books and for which a proper penalty is not provided. Those acts for which workmen are enjoined for which there is no penalty provided are not unlawful, and, therefore, an injunction should not be issued enjoining men from doing the things they have a lawful right to do.

We reiterate and emphasize the declaration that we have no desire to be immune for the commission of any unlawful acts, for we discountenance and denounce them, and recognize their commission as wrongful and prejudicial to our own interests as well as to the public good. But we must insist that if any man connected with our movement be charged with an unlawful act that he should, like any other man, be put upon his defense and before a jury of his peers meet his accusers and abide by the verdict rendered.

We protest against the class distinction made in these cases, so far as they apply to labor, which even upon an *ex parte* allegation of our opponents renders a workman punishable for an act which is held as perfectly lawful when committed by others. Surely we have the right to demand the constitutional guarantee of equality before the law. This guarantee is being daily violated by injunctions. If labor is but true to itself, if we but more thoroughly organize our feeble workers, become more steadfast and true to the great cause of labor, we shall force home upon our opponents as well as politicians and recreant statesmen the demand for that protection, justice, and fair dealing to which we are entitled.

#### EIGHT HOUR BILL.

Our eight hour bill was introduced in the Senate by Senator L. E. McComas, of Maryland, and in the House by Congressman R. R. Hitt, of Illinois. Extensive hearings were had on the bill before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor and the House Committee on Labor. As the hearings upon this bill before the committees in previous Congresses were so extensive, and are in print, we decided, therefore, not to present any further argument until our opponents had concluded.

The opposition followed their usual tactics of procrastination and of prolonging the hearings.

The Legislative Committee, Vice-Presidents Duncan, O'Connell, and myself rebutted the statements and arguments of our opponents, and insisted that there should be neither waste of time nor the report of the committee deferred. We were justified in believing that inasmuch as both committees of Congress had reported this bill favorably at several previous Congresses, there ought to have been no further delay. To our disappointment, the House committee acquiesced in the proposition of our opponents and referred to the Department of Commerce and Labor an investigation of the subject by adopting the following resolutions:

Be it resolved by the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives, that the Secretary of Commerce and Labor be, and he hereby is, requested to investigate and report upon the bill now pending in the House (H. R. 4064), entitled "A bill to limit the hours of daily service of laborers and mechanics employed upon work done for the United States, or for any territory, or for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," his said report to state his conclusions with regard to the following questions:

1. What would be the additional cost to the United States of the various materials and articles which it customarily procures by contract, which would be governed by the limitations set out in the said bill?
2. What damage, if any, would be done to the manufacturing interests affected by the provisions of the bill, if enacted?
3. Whether manufacturers who have heretofore furnished materials and articles to the government under contract would continue to contract with the government if such contracts were within the peremptory eight hour limitation provided by the said bill?
4. What would be the effect of the enactment of the said bill upon the shipbuilding industry?
5. What effect would it have on any export trade?
6. Are the laborers of the country, organized and unorganized, who would be affected by the proposed legislation, willing to have taken away from them the right to labor more than eight hours per day, if they desire to do so?
7. What effect will this proposed legislation have, if any, upon the agricultural interests of the country?

A report upon this bill along the lines indicated is respectfully requested at the commencement of the next session of Congress.

It will be observed that it is absolutely impossible for any living person to give an intelligent, comprehensive, and definite answer to at least four of these questions; that question number six is absurd and contradictory in its very terms. If the laborers would be "willing to have taken away from them the RIGHT to labor more than eight hours a day," they certainly can have no desire to work more than eight hours a day. If they are unwilling to have taken away from them "the RIGHT to labor more than eight hours a day," then they will have no desire to have that so-called "right" taken away from them. Imagine submitting for investigation a question to relieve workmen from more than eight hours of daily labor.

It seemed to me to be the purpose of the committee on labor to shirk its duty and shift it upon another department in the hope of burying the bill or receiving some report upon which a negative action or no action at all might be taken upon the measure. And in further view of the fact that the bill had been reported favorably by both committees several times in previous Congresses, that the House had passed the bill three times, I submitted to the Executive Council a request from the Department of Commerce and Labor for information upon the subject, and the conclusion reached was that the American Federation of Labor as such should not participate in that investigation. It was felt that no intelligent or satisfactory result could be reached and that our participation in the investigation would give countenance to the committees' shiftiness.

Senator McComas, chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, was desirous of pressing the consideration of the bill and making a favorable report from his committee to the Senate; but this could not be done by reason of the action of the House Committee on Labor. The bill, of course, has not lost its position, and will come before the committees at the forthcoming short session of this Congress. Of course, the Federation will make every effort to secure favorable action thereon.

#### NEW CHINESE EXCLUSION LAW.

In the early part of the year it was learned that the Chinese government had given six months' notice of its desire that its treaty with the United States covering Chinese immigration should terminate. That the condition which we contended two years ago would exist, should the Chinese government denounce the treaty, was plainly apparent; that is, that there was neither law nor treaty that would in any way limit, restrict, or prohibit the free entry of Chinese into the United States and its possessions. We immediately brought this to the attention of Congress, particularly through the aid of Senator Patterson, of Colorado, and Congressman Livernash, of California. The question aroused intense interest, and though the condition which presented itself was denied and contended against by many, an investigation of the subject by a congressional committee, and pressing home the facts in the case, resulted in the passage of an amendment to

the general deficiency bill remedying the defect. The amendments to the bill, approved April 17 1904, read as follows:

SEC. 5. That section 1 of the act of congress approved April 29, 1902, entitled "An act to prohibit the coming into and to regulate the residence within the United States, its territories, and all territory under its jurisdiction, and the District of Columbia, of Chinese and persons of Chinese descent," is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"All laws in force on the 29th day of April, 1902, regulating, suspending, or prohibiting the coming of Chinese persons or persons of Chinese descent into the United States, and the residence of such persons therein, including sections 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, and 14 of the act entitled "An act to prohibit the coming of Chinese laborers into the United States," approved September 13, 1888, be and the same are hereby reenacted, extended, and continued, without modification, limitation, or condition; and said laws shall also apply to the island territory under the jurisdiction of the United States, and prohibit the immigration of Chinese laborers, not citizens of the United States, from such island territory to the mainland territory of the United States, whether in such island territory at the time of cession or not, and from one portion of the island territory of the United States to another portion of the said island territory: Provided, however, that said laws shall not apply to the transit of Chinese laborers from one island to another island of the same group; and any islands within the jurisdiction of any state or the district of Alaska shall be considered a part of the mainland under this section."

Approved April 27, 1904.

#### NEGOTIATING A NEW TREATY WITH CHINA?

As the first intimation that the Chinese government had denounced the treaty came from a "leak" in the State Department, so has there recently been published a statement that there is now being negotiated between representatives of our government and that of China a new treaty, which, it is said, will deal "more liberally" with the subject of Chinese immigration.

Inasmuch as experience has demonstrated that the largest number of Chinese laborers and coolies have been brought to this country under the pretense that they were "merchants and students," and inasmuch as any treaty which may be made will take precedence over and supplant any law upon the statute books, it will be well for us to manifest in no uncertain manner our determined and unalterable opposition to any move calculated in the remotest degree to render us liable to the danger of Chinese immigration, an immigration which has been fraught with peril to every people with which it has come in contact.

Our immigration department recognizes and declares the difficulties now experienced with an effective law in enforcing its provisions for Chinese exclusion. Surely, then, nothing should be done by treaty, law, or regulation to lessen the effectiveness to the bar against this overwhelming sentiment and conviction of all our people.

The danger from Chinese immigration is not alone to the working people; it is to all our people. It is a menace to the institutions of our country; it is destructive of our very civilization. The toilers of our country must not, and will not, submit to be Chinelized.

#### CONVICT LABOR.

Though little progress has been made in securing an effective federal law against convict labor coming into competition with free labor, a beginning has been made in the recognition of that principle by Congress in one department of the government. In an amendment to the post-office appropriation bill, the following was adopted:

"Provided, that hereafter no contract shall be entered into by the Postoffice Department for purchase of material or supplies to be manufactured by convict labor."

The same provision should be pressed into enactment so as to apply to all the departments of the Government.

Hearing were had upon the convict labor bill, and the Committee on Labor of the House reported the same favorably. An effort was made to have it adopted as an amendment to one of the pending appropriation bills, but this did not meet with success, a single objection being sufficient. The bill, however, will come up for consideration at the short session of Congress.

Apart from our efforts to aid in the extension of the principle that no convict labor shall enter into competition with that of free labor in the several states, we should endeavor to secure a federal law that shall prohibit the products of convict labor in one state coming into competition with free labor of such states as have provided themselves with wise, beneficent, and protective legislation upon this subject. We recognize the unwisdom, aye, even the brutality, of permitting convicts to serve out their terms in idleness. The states which have solved this problem of convict labor best, New York and Pennsylvania, are clear demonstrations that, from the standpoint of economy and the public welfare, the prisoners' good, both while incarcerated and thereafter, is promoted to the highest degree by some form of work. Attention is called to an editorial in the September issue of the *AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST*, 1904, under the caption of "Sanity in Solving Prison Labor Problem."

Recently a rule went into effect in the state of New York providing that first term convicts shall not be required to wear uniforms that indicate degradation. This is simply cited as a fact that the result of wise, economic action tends to influence the public conscience to more humane consideration and action.

#### NATIONAL ARBITRATION BILL.

A so-called national arbitration bill was introduced in Congress, which, upon the face of it, appeared to be a voluntary measure, yet the hearings developed the fact that in the last analysis it would be a species of compulsory compliance with the award. Our movement is sincerely in favor of the arbitration of disputes which can not be determined otherwise; but we are strongly committed against the policy of compulsory arbitration in any form, particularly compulsory arbitration by the State. When conciliation fails, we favor voluntary arbitration with employers, and if necessary a disinterested party as an *arbitrator*. We emphatically declare the necessity for faithful compliance with the terms and awards made by such arbitration; but we are equally insistent that the arbitration shall be voluntarily entered into and voluntarily and faithfully fulfilled.

Nothing can be fraught with so much danger, resulting in rank injustice and injury, as compulsory arbitration by the state in any form with its practically compulsory enforcement of an award.

It is not amiss to reassert our conviction that in the one case it may result in confiscation of property, and in the other involve involuntary servitude; in other words, the slavery of man. We, therefore, opposed this bill before both committees of Congress, recognizing in it the entering wedge of what would inevitably lead to complete compulsory arbitration.

#### OTHER BILLS.

Congressman Gillette, of Massachusetts, introduced two bills: one, H. R. 11680, the provisions of which are that the United States Government, when operating any manufacturing establishment within the borders of a state which regulates by law the time, manner, or period of payment of wages to any employe, shall conform to the said laws, so far as they would apply, as if it were a private corporation in said state.

The other bill, H. R. 13676, provides for the jurisdiction of the Court of Claims to receive and adjust complaints of workmen who have in the past been required to work in excess of eight hours, and who were not compensated therefor.

#### EVENING LECTURES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

In several cities provision is made for lectures in the public schools during certain evenings in the week. At its last session I cooperated with others to secure an appropriation from Congress for lectures in Washington City. Wherever this system of lectures has been introduced it has been fraught with beneficent results. Where these lectures are most generally applied they are regarded as the workmen's universities. I commend to your favorable consideration a demand for the extension of this system of lectures in our public schools.

#### PUBLIC SCHOOL BUILDINGS FOR MEETING ROOMS.

It is not only the aim, but the trend, of our movement to make men more moderate and temperate regarding the use of intoxicants. Through the influence of our movement the so-called labor bureau, that is, the places where unemployed workmen could seek employment, have been removed from the drinking saloon, as has also the place of the payment of wages been removed from that influence.

Years ago saloon proprietors would give their meeting rooms free, or offer a bonus to such associations of workmen as could be induced to become tenants. This rule often applied years ago to the unions of labor. Gradually, but constantly, the unions have sought meeting places in buildings in which intoxicants are not on sale; but despite their best efforts a sufficiency of halls and meeting places was not and is not available.

I commend the thought to your consideration, whether we have not the right to insist that our unions in the various cities and towns throughout the country shall not have the right and the opportunity for the use of our public school buildings in which to hold their evening meetings.

#### INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

There is no doubt that of the ills of our governmental life not one is more prejudicial to the interests of the people than our present political partisan form of determining the peoples' judgment. Apart from the corruption incident thereto is the fact that political parties are guilty of larger or minor offenses against the interests of the people, or are more or less indifferent to their

constantly growing need. The political party system deprives the people of the opportunity of manifesting their judgment upon great and important public questions. There can be no question but that there is an overwhelming sentiment among the people for an eight hour day on work for the government; for the restriction or abolition of the abuse of the writ of injunction. There is a well-defined diversity of opinion of the policy of expansion or so-called "imperialism," of protection and free trade, as there was of gold and silver and other important questions too numerous to enumerate; yet the people have no alternative but to vote for one or the other of the parties, regardless of how distasteful many of the propositions in their platforms may be to them. The party successful at the polls takes for granted that not only its position but every proposition that it has put forth in its platform and every action that it has taken has received the endorsement of the people.

As rational men we understand that it is impossible to remove all the ills or impediments at once from our national life and progress, and for that reason we apply ourselves to the natural and gradual process of elimination and construction. It is for this reason, therefore, that the convention of the American Federation of Labor advocates the introduction of the initiative and the referendum, for its establishment will give the opportunity for the best intelligent expression of the people upon any definite, important question.

In conformity with the declaration and by the advice and consent of the Executive Council, a special issue of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST was issued July 15, 1904, and devoted to the following subjects:

- Anti-injunction bill,
- Eight hour bill, and the
- Initiative and the referendum,

and the cooperation of our fellow unionists was asked to ascertain the stand which candidates for congress assumed toward them. In many instances our organizations report gratifying results. The effort is new, and it has not been an altogether easy task. Time will undoubtedly afford more experience, better methods, and greater cooperation. As it was not possible to prepare this report after the elections the results of the effort can not now be stated.

#### PRETEXTS FOR INCORPORATION.

We still frequently hear the proposition urged for the incorporation of trade unions, the evident purpose of many advocates being honorable and sympathetic, notwithstanding how unwise and injurious the results would unquestionably be to labor. Others, again, who advocate and insist upon the incorporation of the trade unions know full well the purpose they have in view and the schemes they could then hatch to harass organized labor still more with suits at law, regardless of the flimsiness of the cause or the pretext for civil suits.

They would not only divert our attention from the effort at economic improvement to a defense against every species of civil suits brought by our opponents against any officer of organized labor, but they would make every effort "under the forms of law" to mulct our unions in damages for supposed injurious results from trade union action. We would be forced to defend suits without regard to the merit or lack of merit in the complaint in order to prevent our organization from being mulcted in damages; and this, after all, is the ultimate desire and purpose of our opponents for trade union incorporation, for necessity would require the expenditure of large sums of money in attorneys' fees and other costs and expenditures incident to litigation.

The most important point apparently urged by our opponents in advocacy of trade union incorporation is, as they claim, that employers have tangible property and in any violation of terms of agreement or breach of contract they are responsible, and in cases of breach of contract on their part they can be held in damages and payment enforced, while labor organizations not having tangible property, they say, are unincorporated bodies, and violation of contract by them would not afford the same facilities for bringing them within the jurisdiction of the courts in a suit for damages for breaches of contract, and that therefore the unions should be incorporated to bring about equality of responsibility. The chief merit in this claim is that it has no foundation in fact or in practice.

Of course, employers entering into contractual relations with business men and committing a breach thereof are liable to damages. This also applies where employers enter into contractual relations with workmen for labor for a specific period; but in spite of the innumerable violations of contract entered into by employers and organized workmen, we challenge the advocates of compulsory incorporation to point out a single instance in which employers have been, or how they could have been, mulcted in damages for violation of the terms of an agreement with labor in its collective capacity. This is referred to, not as justification of or an encouragement to an organized labor breach of contract. On the contrary, it is the constant aim of our movement to instill upon the minds of all our fellow workers to bring about working agreements with employers,



and to a faithful adherence to the spirit and letter of their terms, but this is cited to prove the fallacy of the latest pretense urged by our opponents for trade union incorporation.

In previous reports and elsewhere have been clearly met the various specious arguments set forth from time to time of those who, under the euphonious guise of trade union incorporations, hide their real purpose, in our time and in connection with our movement, a repetition of the confiscation of the funds of the old time workmen's guilds. We will not submit to this new snare for labor's despoliment.

#### **A. F. OF L. EXHIBIT AT ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION.**

In pursuance of the instructions of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor I prepared a most exhaustive exhibit for the St. Louis Exposition. Although I had some little experience in preparing the exhibit for the Paris Exposition of 1900, yet that exhibit was comparatively insignificant and incomplete, despite the fact that the American Federation of Labor was awarded the Grand Prize for its exhibit. All who have honored us by visiting our St. Louis exhibit are uniform in their high commendation and congratulation, and assert that never in the history of labor has any exhibit in so comprehensive a form been made.

The charts prepared and exhibited conveyed to the average mind the growth in our movement and its achievements, the good it has done the working people and the people generally.

A twenty-four page pamphlet is freely distributed to all visitors. Copies of our publications, constitutions, laws, rules, official journals, pamphlets, and leaflets have been on exhibition, and the thinking men of the world, regardless as to whether they are friend or foe, are invited to examine into our organization and the methods we employ for the protection and promotion of the interests of the working people. We have had, and have now, nothing to hide from the world. If for no other reason than to challenge commendation or condemnation, criticism or advice, our exhibit has done, and will do, much in disarming our opponents and gaining the good opinion of intelligent, thinking men. We have had not only visitors in all stations in life of our own country, workmen, farmers, and business men, students of colleges and universities, and other thinkers, but we have had professors and students from other countries who came to our exhibit, and after investigating all they could learn there have been in communication with our office or visited it to learn much more detail than could be given in our exhibit, despite the effort made to have it as comprehensive and complete as possible.

I desire to express my appreciation and gratitude to the international union officers who cooperated with me and gave their efforts in completing the exhibit and making of it what it really has become, a magnificent representation of the aims, the purposes, and methods of organized labor. It will be a lasting tribute to the intelligence and practicability as well as the effectiveness of our movement. I desire, also, to attest my appreciation of the services of the men who have been in attendance at our exhibit to give full information to visitors, Mr. Harry Blackmore, of the St. Louis local union of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, who officiated for the first few months, and Mr. C. P. Connolly, who is now acting in that capacity, and who is a member of the St. Louis local of the International Typographical Union of America.

Mr. Connolly reports that a great many visitors are under the impression that only members of organized labor are permitted to register at our exhibit; that large numbers of people have stopped at the entrance to look at the exhibit, but did not enter, but these latter visit the fair on schedule time and devote to a minute or two to exhibits in social economy. In the 157 days that the exposition has been opened, the first 30 days of which the booth for our exhibit was not completed, we have had 40,820 visitors, 5,100 of which registered.

#### **GRAND PRIZE AWARDED A. F. OF L.**

Of course it affords me pride and gratification to be enabled to report to you that I have been officially informed by the superior jury of the St. Louis Exposition that the American Federation of Labor has been awarded the grand prize for its exhibit.

An invitation has been received from the management of the Lewis and Clark Exposition, to be held at Portland, Oregon, in 1935, for the American Federation of Labor to have an exhibit there. Organized labor of Oregon has urgently requested that our St. Louis exhibit be transferred, and that such additions as may be deemed necessary be made thereto. This subject is referred to you for such directions as you may make.

#### **THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.**

It has been my purpose and effort to maintain, and, if possible, excel above its predecessors each issue of our official monthly magazine, the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST. The articles, generally gratuitously contributed, are from the most gifted thinkers upon the economic and sociological questions of our time; and these, not only from our own country, but also from those in other lands.

The reports from our secretaries and organizers are the latest and most accurate news from the industrial field of activity. Editorially I have endeavored to put labor's best foot front, to defend labor against wrong and persistently advocate its rights; to tear the mask of hypocrisy from our opponents, and to encourage our fellow workmen to a more intelligent understanding of their duties, a higher and better conception of their rights, and the means by which they can be achieved. There is not a word that I have uttered through its columns or upon the platform that I would retract except to say it with greater emphasis; I am not conscious of taking one step that I would retrace, except to make its impress deeper and more lasting.

Though the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST is regarded as the textbook and the authoritative expression of trade union sentiment and our movement, yet there should be a much wider field for its usefulness, and we should aim to bring it more largely into the homes of our fellow workmen and particularly of our fellow unionists. We have the right to ask for better cooperation on the part of trade union officials. The AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST does not, and can not, enter into any competitive field with any official trade journal or with any *bona fide* labor paper.

We have aimed to place the subscription price for the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST within the range of all, and the officers of affiliated organizations, as well as our organizers, could certainly aid in securing a larger circle of subscribers and readers. Apart from this the American News Company handles and distributes copies. The AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST is, therefore, on sale at the news stands and by newsdealers when there is a demand for the same. There is no reason why our fellow unionists should not make it essential that the magazine would be on sale by every newsdealer in the country. It should be added that the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST is supplied to nearly all libraries, universities, and colleges in the United States and to quite a number in Europe.

It is a source of gratification to be enabled to report to you that the publication of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, with its educational influence, has for the past year not only been without cost to the American Federation of Labor, but that, on the contrary, it has yielded a slight revenue.

#### LABOR PRESS.

The labor press has always been an influential and potent force for the good of the workers; but at no time has it been in measurable distance of the power it exerted during the past year. The bitter antagonism of labor's unfair foes, the open threats and covert plans of our opponents to crush out organized labor, have quickened the pulsebeats of our brave labor editors and aroused them to the exercise of their fullest powers to protect and defend the rights of the toilers of our country. Although it is cause for great gratification to know that the cause of labor has so large, intelligent, and representative a galaxy of papers devoted to the labor cause, yet it is mortifying to know that many suffer from that lack of support to which they are so justly entitled at the hands of our fellow workmen. It should be the aim of every union member as well as every sympathizer with our great cause to be helpful in every way to extend the beneficent influence of the labor press. A cause is frequently judged by the number and the character of the publications which represent it.

#### ORGANIZERS.

No less is my keen appreciation of the splendid and self-sacrificing services rendered to our movement by our volunteer organizers. No words can adequately convey the debt of gratitude we owe these modern pioneers, this vanguard of our movement, who often suffer odium because they dare do right and who become the victims of employers' spleen because they are anxious to help others to lighten their burdens and to make their lives better and brighter. Upon no other hypothesis can the estimate of their work and worth be founded than that they are deeply conscious of the wrongs which have been too long borne by the workers, and a devout conviction to exert their abilities to the fullest, that justice and right shall be achieved for all. And I may be permitted to add that the faithful services of our salaried organizers, the ability with which they have fulfilled their duties, add not only to the achievements but to the good name and glory of the cause of labor, the cause of humanity.

#### CONCLUSION.

It has been possible to report upon but comparatively few of the things I have done, or attempted to do, or the incidents in connection with our movement during the past year. Much more is enumerated in the Executive Council's report, while a detailed record will be too voluminous for your consideration. It is, however, but fair to say to you who have extended to me your confidence, kindness, and courtesy, that I have endeavored at all times and under all circumstances to say the word and do the thing that would best serve the interests of our people, which is the highest

hope of our great movement. In my effort to help my fellows I have had the sympathetic cooperation of my colleagues of the Executive Council, the assistance and respect of the officers and members, the rank and file of the great trade union movement of the country. Organized labor is not ungrateful; it has been more than kind to me. It has given me the opportunities for the acquirement of experience and some degree of worldly wisdom. My highest aspiration in life is to return in a measure the obligation I feel, and give to the workers the very best of whatever ability I may be possessed. If we approach our work with keen conviction, deep sympathy, and brave resolve, we can not help but imbue these characteristics into the manhood of today, and shall constantly try to achieve and strive to reach that time when man to man the world over shall brothers be. With this fervent prayer upon my lips, this report is respectfully submitted, in defiance of our traducers, to the kindly consideration of you, to the world of workers and those others who love their fellow men, and aim to aid them,

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
*President, American Federation of Labor.*

## APPENDIX A.

SCRANTON, PA., December 14, 1901.

*To the Officers and Delegates to the Twenty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:*

The undersigned, your special committee appointed to consider the question of the autonomy of the trade unions, beg leave to say that it is our judgment the future success, permanency, and safety of the American Federation of Labor, as well as the trade unions themselves, depends upon the recognition and application of the principle of autonomy, consistent with the varying phases and transactions in industry.

We realize that it is impossible to define the exact line of demarcation where one trade or form of labor ends and another begins, and that no hard and fast rule can be devised by which all our trade unions can be governed or can govern themselves.

We emphasize the impossibility of the establishment of hard and fast lines; but if history and experience in the labor movement count for aught we urge upon our fellow workmen that toleration and forbearance which are proverbial of our movement; for, without the recognition and application of these qualities any decision we may formulate will be futile. We, therefore, recommend as follows:

1. As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor is conceded by all students of economic thought to be the result of organization on trade lines, and believing it neither necessary nor expedient to make any radical departure from this fundamental principle, we declare that, as a general proposition, the interests of the workers will be best conserved by adhering as closely to that doctrine as the recent great changes in methods of production and employment make practicable. However, owing to the isolation of some few industries from thickly populated centers where the overwhelming number follow one branch thereof, and owing to the fact that in some industries comparatively few workers are engaged over whom separate organizations claim jurisdiction, we believe that jurisdiction in such industries by the paramount organization would yield the best results to the workers therein, at least until the development of organization of each branch has reached a stage wherein these may be placed, without material injury to all parties in interest, in affiliation with their national trade unions. Nothing contained in this declaration is intended or shall be construed to mean a reversal of any decision rendered by former executive councils or previous conventions on questions of jurisdiction.

2. We hold that the interests of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allying the subdivided crafts, giving consideration to amalgamation and to the organization of district and national trade councils to which should be referred questions in dispute, and which should be adjusted within allied crafts' lines.

3. The American Federation of Labor being a voluntary association, can not direct and should not adopt methods antagonistic to or in conflict with established trade union laws, and in order to carry the above recommendations into effect, and in full recognition of its logical position the American Federation of Labor pledges its officers to aid and assist in the adjustment of such craft encroachments as disputants may be willing to submit to its arbitration.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
JAMES DUNCAN,  
JOHN MITCHELL,  
JOHN MULLHOLLAND,  
C. N. HUGHES,

*Committee.*

Adopted.

## SECRETARY'S REPORT.

To the Officers and Members of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

FELLOW WORKMEN—I have the honor to submit to you report of receipts and expenditures for the past twelve months, beginning October 1, 1903, and ending September 30, 1904.

The steady and marked increase received from per capita tax is encouraging and indicates a marked and substantial growth in membership. The receipts from per capita tax are \$136,941.74 against \$124,950.58 received last year—an increase of \$12,991.16. Receipts from supplies show a decrease of \$17,848.31. Amount received from the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST shows an increase of \$4,941.46, with a decrease of \$12,183.76 in expenses, giving the FEDERATIONIST a surplus of \$1,939.97 to its credit for the first time in several years. Receipts from defense fund are \$3,722.55; strike benefits paid, \$15,972; surplus for defense fund, \$17,750.55.

The following is a summary of the receipts and expenses for twelve months, ending September 30, 1904:

## RECEIPTS.

Months.	Tax.	Supplies.	Federationist.	Defense fund.	Pre-mium.
1903.					
October.....	\$23,061 83	\$1,588 91	\$3,289 17	\$3,817 95	\$20 50
November.....	6,189 61	2,111 82	2,177 94	3,427 20	7 50
December.....	9,833 12	1,822 60	2,910 95	3,570 15	18 75
1904.					
January.....	11,529 27	2,517 03	2,003 30	3,282 15	48 00
February.....	9,039 56	1,574 43	2,835 15	3,004 70	47 75
March.....	13,164 63	1,518 66	1,957 90	2,936 25	49 00
April.....	8,824 95	886 78	2,839 55	2,789 85	51 25
May.....	13,136 20	1,248 12	1,739 25	2,369 80	50 50
June.....	8,805 96	951 08	1,492 30	2,190 85	26 25
July.....	5,747 09	806 35	1,968 61	2,164 40	20 00
August.....	12,438 38	1,288 98	2,330 28	1,820 80	28 00
September.....	15,171 14	978 28	7,075 49	2,348 45	31 25
Totals.....	136,941 74	17,293 04	32,639 89	33,722 55	398 75

## EXPENSES.

Months.	General.	Federationist.	Defense Fund.	Pre-mium.
1903.				
October.....	\$13,574 82	\$2,491 49	\$1,560 00	\$104 20
November.....	13,071 03	921 52	480 00	.....
December.....	15,435 91	2,835 04	1,148 00	29 80
1904.				
January.....	11,715 65	1,904 42	96 00	13 00
February.....	12,907 90	2,869 59	544 00	21 40
March.....	16,960 54	3,434 59	1,168 00	47 20
April.....	15,063 29	2,211 97	860 00	2 00
May.....	15,543 08	1,885 80	328 00	77 20
June.....	11,175 30	2,714 33	1,424 00	47 40
July.....	12,321 31	3,086 65	4,700 00	25 00
August.....	9,763 52	2,785 48	1,532 00	.....
September.....	9,184 28	3,548 44	1,812 00	35 40
Totals.....	156,916 63	30,099 92	15,972 00	402 60

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand October 1, 1903.....		\$86,013 12
Per capita tax.....	\$136,941 74	
Supplies.....	17,293 04	
American Federationist.....	32,639 89	
Defense fund.....	83,722 55	
Premium.....	308 75	
	<u>220,995 97</u>	
		<u>307,009 09</u>

## EXPENSES.

General.....	\$156,016 63	
American Federationist.....	30,609 92	
Defense fund.....	15,972 00	
Premium.....	402 60	
	<u>203,001 15</u>	
Balance on hand, October 1, 1904.....		<u>103,017 94</u>
In General Fund.....		\$21,870 99
In Defense Fund.....		81,146 95
		<u>\$103,017 94</u>

The following is the grouping under their several heads of the detailed monthly expenses:

<b>Appropriations:</b>		
Horseshoers' International.....	\$1,078 00	
Western Federation of Miners.....	1,000 00	
Metal Trades Council.....	300 00	
Brotherhood of Foundry Employes.....	200 00	
International Glove Workers' Union.....	200 00	
Stable Employes, No. 10041.....	130 00	
Broommakers' International.....	64 06	
Cloth Examiners and Spongers, No. 10420.....	35 00	
Legislative Committee, State Federation of Alabama.....	25 00	
Bottle Carriers, No. 10535.....	14 70	
Federal Labor Union, No. 10437.....	6 20	
Federal Labor Union, No. 9508.....	3 50	
Federal Labor Union, No. 9793.....	2 80	
Rent.....	2,035 75	
Refund of charter fees returned, customs duties, supplies returned, and excess per capita tax, etc.....	298 81	
<b>Premiums:</b>		
Bonds, locals.....	402 60	
Treasurer's bond.....	205 00	
Fire insurance.....	45 00	
Secretary's bond.....	20 00	
<b>Legal Services.....</b>	231 97	
Newspapers and magazines.....	47 95	
Stamped envelopes.....	1,027 20	
Freight and express.....	1,414 91	
Telegrams, etc.....	912 76	
Supplies for affiliated unions.....	9,253 40	
Postage stamps.....	4,017 71	
Legislative expenses.....	2,787 30	
Office fixtures.....	693 93	
Organizing literature and printing.....	1,662 25	
St. Louis exhibit, including salary of attendant.....	2,117 18	
Expenses of fraternal delegates to Great Britain and Canada.....	989 50	
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....	240 78	
<b>Boston Convention:</b>		
Printing proceedings.....	2,249 30	
Badges, decorations, telegrams, etc.....	412 36	
Committee rooms.....	385 60	
Stenographers.....	193 40	
Printing and supplies.....	168 75	
Services as messengers.....	137 00	
Services as assistant secretary.....	100 00	
Services as sergeant-at-arms.....	80 00	

Printing proceedings.....	\$1,144 33
Binding proceedings.....	140 00
Expenses committee attending Brother Marsden's funeral.....	19 90
Expenses secretary, trip to Boston in reference to rent of hall, etc.....	42 75
Expenses secretary, attending convention.....	77 80
Salary:	
President.....	3,000 00
Secretary.....	2,500 00
Treasurer.....	200 00
Clerk hire.....	6,942 67
Stenographers.....	13,309 64
Janitor service.....	15 00
Office supplies and printing.....	4,783 22
Printing officers' reports for Boston convention (president's, secretary's, Executive Council's).....	1,479 52
Expenses:	
Executive Council meetings.....	3,301 85
President.....	1,467 41
Auditing and credential committee.....	312 54
Secretary.....	210 00
Defense fund.....	15,572 00
Organizing expenses.....	83,242 23
Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i> .....	3,000 92
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>\$23,991 15</b>

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES 1881 TO 1904.

I herewith furnish a table, giving the receipts and expenditures for the past 24 years.

Year.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1881.....	\$174 95	\$136 20
1882.....	125 00	252 25
1883.....	690 19	532 32
1884.....	336 22	365 07
1885.....	584 43	450 58
1886.....	474 11	510 63
1887.....	1,930 82	2,674 39
1888.....	4,512 55	3,933 67
1889.....	6,838 40	6,578 33
1890.....	23,849 74	21,070 57
1891.....	17,702 36	13,190 07
1892.....	17,834 51	18,324 69
1893.....	20,864 62	21,383 36
1894.....	15,346 43	17,302 08
1895.....	13,751 75	15,612 42
1896.....	16,230 18	15,452 95
1897.....	18,630 92	14,113 83
1898.....	18,804 15	19,197 17
1899.....	36,757 13	30,509 22
1900.....	71,125 82	68,373 39
1901.....	115,220 89	118,708 39
1902.....	144,498 21	119,086 74
1903.....	247,802 06	196,015 57
1904.....	220,935 97	203,991 15

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HEADQUARTERS.

The following statement shows that during the twelve months ending September 30, 1904, there has been issued from headquarters an average of 924 letters, circular letters, and packages per day, as follows:

Packages of supplies forwarded by express and post.....	5,062
Packages of literature and miscellaneous supplies for organizers and others.....	15,752
Official and circular letters in two-cent envelopes.....	83,858
Circulars and circular letters in one-cent envelopes.....	171,327
	<hr/>
	280,999

## CHARTERS.

During the twelve months ending September 30, 1904, fees have been received for 443 charters issued to National, State, Central, Local Trade, and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number 11 were granted to the following National and International Unions:

Tack Makers' International Union.

International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

International Union of Paper Box Workers.

International Union of Building Employes of America.

International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes.

International Compressed Air Workers' Union.

Brushmakers' International Union.

Mattress, Spring, and Bedding Workers' International Union.

International Association of Fur Workers of the U. S. and Canada.

International Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A.

National Association of Heat, Frost, General Insulators, and Asbestos Workers of America.

State Branches as follows: Minnesota, Indiana, Arkansas, Maine, Indian and Oklahoma Territories.

City Central Bodies as follows:

Alabama,	Indiana—Continued.	Mississippi,	Oklahoma Territory,
Birmingham,	Crawfordsville,	Water Valley.	Shawnee.
Selma.	Frankfort,	Missouri,	Ontario, Canada,
Arkansas,	Marion,	Jackson,	Fort William.
Hartford,	Muncie,	Marceline,	Pennsylvania,
Huntington.	Petersburg,	Poplar Bluff.	Bangor,
California,	South Bend,	Montana,	Belleville,
Los Angeles,	Whiting,	Butte.	Corry,
Mendocino County,	Winslow.	Nebraska,	Johnstown,
Monterey and Pacific Grove,	Indian Territory,	Fremont.	Lebanon,
Napa County,	Ada,	New Hampshire,	Nanticoke,
Redlands,	Hartshorne,	Franklin Falls.	Port Allegheny,
San Mateo.	Muscooge,	New Jersey,	Sayre (Waverly and Athens, N. Y.)
Connecticut,	South McAlester.	Morrisstown.	Porto Rico,
Norwich.	Idaho,	New York,	Arcadio,
Florida,	Pocatello.	Cortland,	Guayama.
Jacksonville,	Iowa,	Oswego,	South Carolina,
Pensacola.	Burlington.	Port Chester,	Charleston,
Georgia,	Kansas,	Richmond Borough,	Columbia.
Augusta,	Hutchinson,	Staten Island.	Texas,
Savannah.	Kansas City.	North Carolina,	Denton,
Illinois,	Louisiana,	Charlotte,	Ennis,
Evanston,	Shreveport.	Greensboro.	Marshall,
Granite City,	Maine,	Ohio,	Thurber.
Herrin,	Lewiston & Auburn,	Akron,	Virginia,
Highwood,	Millinocket,	Barberton,	Alexandria.
Marissa,	Massachusetts,	Barnesville,	Washington,
Pontiac,	Southbridge.	Findlay,	Aberdeen,
Sterling and Rock Falls,	Michigan,	Gallion,	Hoquiam,
Virdeen.	Albion,	Jackson County,	Spokane.
Indiana,	Cheboygan.	Kent,	West Virginia,
Alexandria,	Minnesota,	Lancaster,	Clarksburg.
Bicknell,	Mankato,	Niles,	Wisconsin,
	Minneapolis,	Salem,	Sheboygan.
	Winona.	Steubenville.	

## CHARTERS ISSUED, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904.

	In-ternational.	State.	Central.	Federal and Trade Unions.	Total.
1897.....	8	2	18	189	217
1898.....	9	0	12	182	203
1899.....	9	1	35	405	450
1900.....	14	5	96	734	849
1901.....	7	4	123	782	916
1902 (eleven months).....	14	6	127	877	1,024
1903.....	20	3	171	1,139	1,333
1904.....	11	5	99	328	443
Total.....	92	26	681	4,636	5,435

Federal Labor Unions issued..... 149

Local Trade Unions issued..... 179



AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

MEMBERSHIP.

To more forcibly bring to the attention of the delegates the remarkable growth in the membership during the past eight years, I have prepared the following table, showing the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1896 up to and including 1904. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor by affiliated organizations:

Organization.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Actors' National Protective Union.....						3	5	11	11
Allied Metal Mech. Int.....		6	7	9	22	45	61	113	74
Amal. Asso. of Marine Water Tenders, etc.....	12							†	*
American Agents' Association.....	13	11	7	9					
Bakers and Confectioners' International.....	39	20	21	31	45	64	102	154	162
Barbers' National Union.....	18	22	30	40	69	116	160	208	236
Bill Posters.....								10	13
Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of.....		3	3	5	15	35	43	70	105
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.....	25	18	22	27	51	73	95	178	190
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	120	125	94	43	47	88	146	267	320
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....			26	28	36	53	70	81	65
Bottle Blowers' Asso. of U. S. and Canada.....				42	42	47	59	61	66
Brass and Composition Metal Workers.....		7							*
Brewery Workmen, National Union.....	75	100	100	107	183	235	291	300	305
Brickmakers' Alliance, National.....	10	8	5	10	14	17	41	55	73
Broommakers' Union, International.....	1	1	1	3	4	8	9	11	11
Brushmakers' International Union.....									7
Building Employes of America, Int. Union of.....									8
Carpenters and Joiners, Amalgamated.....	16	16	16	18	20	26	32	45	50
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.....	200	200	200	200	200	400	800	1,090	1,554
Carriage and Wagon Workers.....	8	5	5	7	13	25	31	49	55
Carvers' Union, International Wood.....			9	12	18	20	23	24	21
Car Workers, International Association of.....						10	24	128	102
Cement Workers.....								55	6
Chainmakers' National Union.....					2	4	6	8	6
Cigarmakers' International Union.....	280	239	266	270	321	336	347	383	405
Clerks, Order of Railway.....					5	6		†	†
Clerks, International Protective Asso., Retail.....	16	27	50	75	200	250	300	500	500
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United.....							20	25	29
Clothingmakers, Special Order of.....							60	*	*
Commercial Telegraphers.....								10	20
Compressed Air Workers' Union, Intl.....									12
Coopers' International Union.....	9	9	15	27	38	49	57	72	71
Cornmakers' International Union.....		5	7	10	12	12	12		5
Curtain Operatives, Amalgamated Lace.....	2	2	3	3	4	4	5		6
Electrical Workers, International Bro.....	13	17	20	20	48	73	115	183	210
Elevator Constructors.....								21	22
Engineers, National Union of Steam.....		7	12	18	27	48	65	142	176
Engineers, Amalgamated Society of.....			19	18	18	18	19	*	*
Engineers, National Bro. of Coal Hoisting.....				5	7	10	8	9	9
Firemen, International Bro. of Stationary.....				11	24	41	62	143	180
Freight Handlers and Warehousemen.....								48	33
Flour and Cereal Mill Employes.....								21	21
Foundry Employes, International Bro. of.....									10
Furniture Workers of America, Intl.....	11								†
Furriers' Union of U. S. and Canada.....	5								†
Fur Workers of the U. S. and Canada, International Association of.....								††	††
Furnace Workers and Smelters of America.....						14	9	15	15
Garment Workers of America, United.....	53	40	43	42	74	154	243	457	457
Glass Workers' Union, Flint.....		78	70	75	80	72	71	**	**
Glass Flatteners' Asso. of N. A., Window.....			5	6	6				†
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window.....			8	8					†
Glass Workers' International Asso., Amal.....					2	3	7	20	17
Glass House Employes.....									6
Glass Snappers, Window.....									9
Glove Workers.....									30
Gold Beaters' Protective Union, National.....		5	5	5			3	3	3
Grinders' National Union, Table Knife.....	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	3	3
Granite Cutters' National Union.....	41	45	46	48	59	70	82	94	99
Hatters of North America, United.....	60	60	60	60	60	73	80	85	85
Heat, Frost, General Insulators and Asbestos.....									83
Hod Carriers and Building Laborers.....									6
Horseshoers of United States and Canada.....	20	20	20	20	21	23	28	44	42
Hotel and Restaurant Employes.....	13	15	25	20	48	103	191	391	494
Iron and Steel Workers, Amalgamated.....	80	80	80	80	80	80	150	150	135
Iron Workers, Bridge and Struct., Intl. Asso.....						60	†	160	115
Jewelry Workers' International.....					9	9	10	24	24
Ladies' Garment Workers, International.....						20	21	30	22
Lathers, Intl. Union of, W. W. and Metal.....					6	14	23	44	59
Leather Workers on Horse Goods.....	1	1	4	10	21	32	42	48	46
Leather Workers of America, Amal.....						3	22	36	25
Longshoremen's Asso. of United States.....	40	50	80	130	200	250	347	400	500

Organization.	1886.	1897.	1888.	1890.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Machinists' Union of America, International.	140	1 40	100	136	225	325	355	488	557
Machine Printers and Color Mixers								4	4
Maintenance of Way Employes, Intl. Bro. of.							46	87	123
Marble Workers, International Association of							5	12	6
Matress, Spring, and Bedding Workers									15
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen		11	10		32	55	84	253	344
Meat Workers' Intl. Assn., Amal. Sheet				15	29	45	66	126	153
Metal Polishers, Buffers and Platers, etc.	35	36	42	48	50	56	84	128	128
Metal Workers' International Union, United					10	21	43	87	96
Mine Workers of America, United	154	140	160	400	1,010	1,891	1,854	2,173	2,577
Miners, Western Federation of	150							†	†
Mine Mgrs. and Assts. Mutual Aid Asso.							4	4	4
Mineral Mine Workers, United	35	28	7	6	5	4	3	7	a
Moulders' Union of N. A., Iron	120	120	120	150	150	150	259	300	300
Musicians, American Federation of	40	46	60	60	62	81	97	140	200
Oil and Gas Well Workers' Union, Intl.					4	5	3	4	4
Painters of America, Brotherhood of	50	50	43	45	280	280	348	586	607
Paper Box Workers, International Union of									12
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of						18	41	107	88
Patternmakers' National League	9	10	13	15	22	23	23	29	37
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. A.						1	2	9	12
Photo-Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl.									17
Piano and Organ Workers' Union							57	65	99
Pilots' Association								5	5
Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters, etc.	1	40	40	40	45	87	128	152	165
Potters, Stonewares	1	1	1	1				††	††
Powder and High Explosive Workers							49	7	7
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative				13	22	29	49	61	58
Potters' National Union of America	1	2	2						c
Printing Pressmen, International	34	50	58	72	91	100	119	144	160
Printers, Plate of U. S. A., National			4	4	6	7	7	9	10
Print Cutters								3	3
Printers, Machine Textile								4	4
Quarrymen's National Union		4	4					††	††
Quarrymen's National Union, Slate	2	1	1					††	††
Quarry Workers' International								12	26
Railway Clerks								13	6
Railway Employes' Amal. Asso., Street	40	28	30	30	35	43	98	258	300
Railway Expressmen								14	3
Rubber Workers								10	2
Saw Smiths' Union of America							3	3	3
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.	40	40	40	40	42	82	99	139	201
Shingle Weavers								13	14
Shipwrights								26	34
Shirt, Waist, and Laundry Workers						21	42	80	65
Slate and Tile Roofers								5	7
Slate Quarrymen								8	8
Spinners' Association, Cotton Mule	24	24	24	21	24	27	26	25	25
Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers				20	18	15	15	*	*
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of N. A.							18	21	24
Stove Mounters' International Union	20	7	6	6	9	13	16	16	17
Tackmakers								1	2
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen	50	50	50	50	73	93	100	138	159
Teamsters, International Brotherhood of				17	47	94	138	320	840
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad				80	80	80	80	95	150
Textile Workers of A., National Union of	36	27	25	22	34	27	16	150	105
Theatrical Stage Employes, National	20	20	23	30	30	38	44	45	50
Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union			2	3	4	7	11	14	17
Tin Plate Workers, International Protective				17	21	20	21	18	16
Tip Printers								2	2
Tobacco Workers' Union of America	35	41	46	41	60	43	41	52	56
Trunk and Bag Workers					3	3	5	16	15
Tube Workers of United States and Canada							5	15	15
Typographical Union, International	283	284	289	310	329	365	393	435	467
Upholsterers, International Union of				13	13	13	13	25	30
Watch Case Engravers, International				5	5	5	4	4	3
Watch Case Makers, International								4	5
Weavers, A. Amalgamated Association of Web.	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	1
Wire Weavers' Protective, A. American				2	2	2	2	3	3
Wire Drawers of America, Fed. Asso. of	4	5	3	5				††	††
Wood Workers, Amalgamated	26	33	51	68	121	151	184	273	283
Centrals	61	78	81	117	218	324	425	549	569
Locals	200	142	146	163	349	469	678	828	553
State Branches	10	11	10	11	16	21	27	29	32
Total votes of affiliated unions	2,806	2,747	2,881	3,632	5,737	8,240	10,705	15,238	17,363

\* Charter revoked. † Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. †† Disbanded. a Merged with Amalgamated Wood Workers. b Merged with Iron Molders. c Merged with Operative Potters d Merged with Jewelry Workers. \*\* Withdrew.

**CHARTERS.**—Reports from the Secretaries of 117 of our 120 International Organizations furnish us with the information that there has been issued during the past year 4,010 charters; 2,643 charters surrendered—1,469 of the charters surrendered were locals of International Unions and 1,234 affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor. Of the latter number 704 were suspended for non-payment of per capita tax; 32 were ordered to join newly formed International Organizations, 178 disbanded and 6 charters revoked.

**STRIKES.**—Full and complete reports have been received from 109 International Organizations and from a small number of local unions, which show that there were 1,806 strikes, in which there were 245,174 involved. Of that number 121,340 were benefited and 18,829 not benefited. The total cost of strikes reported on was \$2,860,620.63. The following tabulated statement of reports from International Organizations show that there was a total gain in their membership of 253,845.

ORGANIZATIONS.	Char- ters issued.	Char- ters surren- dered.	Gain mem- ber- ship.	No. of strikes.	Strikes won.	Strikes com- pro- mised.	Strikes lost.	Reduc- tion in hours per day.	Increase in wages.	No. in- volved.	No. ben- eited.	No. wors- ed.	Dona- tions to other unions.	Cost of strikes.
A. F. of L.	443	1,234	.....	46	28	8	2	8	.....	6,197	2,724	529	\$4,853 30	\$18,339 15
Actors	65	80	829	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,000	.....	.....	2,000 00	1,000 00
Bankers and Confectioners	62	14	.....	31	10	.....	16	5	7/8	2,154	388	100	1,326 00	36,640 00
Barbers	9	.....	400	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10% a	.....	.....	.....	1,150 00	.....
Bill Posters	50	50	3,500	7	5	2	1	.....	5%	600	600	.....	600 00	10,000 00
Blacksmiths	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	800	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bottle Makers	91	65	1,216	155	83	14	52	6	.....	3,931	8,100	300	.....	63,852 45
Bread Bakers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Boot and Shoe Workers	27	6	2,372	4	3	.....	.....	1	1 b	1,700	1,425	275	15,000 00	18,530 67
Brewery Workmen	32	5	560	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	950	900	50	23,500 00	5,600 00
Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Wks	.....	.....	1,815	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Bridge and Structural Iron Wks	12	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100 00	7,000 00
Broommakers	4	1	28	7	2	1	.....	1	10%	172	100	25	.....	200 00
Brushmakers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Building Employes	13	.....	800	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Carpenters, Brotherhood	800	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	85,000	.....	.....	400 00	80,000 00
Carpenters, Organ d	84	21	46,308	225	220	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	102,202 36	58,700 00
Carpenters, Wagon	21	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Carriage and Wagon Workers	21	4	625	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,000	7,000	4,000	.....	.....	12,000 00
Carvers, Wood	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Car Workers	22	54	.....	5	1	.....	2	2	.....	1,400	400	500	5,000 00	5,000 00
Cement Workers	33	.....	.....	4	3	.....	1	.....	10%	1,000	950	50	2,000 00	2,500 00
Chainmakers	15	3	324	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50	4,000 00
Cigarmakers	150	40	2151	49	52	8	23	9	10 to 20%	m 17,652	n 5,355	35	20,000 00	31,000 00
Clerks	10	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7 P. w.	250	250	.....	500 00	1,200 00
Cloth Hat and Cap Makers	10	3	400	65	58	.....	7	4	.....	894	791	.....	975 00	10,500 00
Commercial Telegraphers	32	5	253	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	159	59	.....	.....	1,000 00
Compressed Air Workers	.....	.....	400	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	225 00	.....
Coppersmiths	10	16	.....	29	14	4	7	45	8%	1,717	872	300	.....	6,350 00
Curtain Operatives, Lace	.....	.....	87	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	36	.....	4	50 00	.....



	10	1	161	11	2	3	3	6	3	10%	6,000	3,000	3,000	2,000 00	40,000 00
<b>Paper Box Makers.</b>															
Papermakers.....	16	3	765	3	2	3	3	6	3	10%	15	15	3,000	2,000 00	8,000 00
Patternmakers.....	8	2	329	3	3	1	1	1	1		57	54	3	44 00	
Paving Cutters.....	12	4	450	4	3	1	1	1	1		450	58	58	289 15	
Photo-Engravers.....	9	3	3408	3	1									28,000 00	
Piano and Organ Workers.....	50	12	1,371	1	123	3	18	6	3		**** 7			80,000 00	
Platers.....	6	3	214	1	1						94	all	94	3,295 50	
Powder and High Exp. Wkrs.....	2	3	20											320 00	
Print Cutters.....	14										28	28	320 00		
Printers, Machine Textile.....	20	1	1,600	1	1	1	1	1	1	10% <sup>1</sup>	87	87	800 00	6,404 00	
Printing Pressmen.....	67	1	2,097	7	6	1	1	1	1	+++	720	+++	800 00	3,000 00	
Quarry Workers.....	24	16	4,417	9	3	1	1	4	1		2,883	2,476	284	25,000 00	
Railroad Clerks.....	2	1	5,500	2	6	1	1	1	1	+++	1,200	50	1,000	2,200 00	
Railway Employes, St. and Elec.....	2	1	6,279	5	3	1	1	1	1	5%	25	20	20	13,010 00	
Barbers.....	2	1	781	8	2	3	2	1	1	10%	1,000	600	100	4,000 00	
Seamen.....	1	12	87	5	3	1	1	1	1		1,080	600	370	247 00	
Shipwrights.....	14	5	781	8	2	3	2	1	1					1,500 00	
Slate and Tile Roofers.....	2			1	1	1	1	1	1		16	16	60 00	10,000 00	
Slate Quarrymen.....	5	1	500	3	1	1	1	1	1		700	150	18	8,000 00	
Stage Employes, Theatrical.....	5	1	293	20	15	5	5	5	5	25 to 50%	1,000	1,500		415 00	
Stereotypers and Electroytprs.....	10	5	20	2	2						38				
Tackmakers.....	33	16	2,168	24	15	3	2	2	2		36				
Tailors.....	121	25	51,970	37	31	1	3	6	6	*****	1,142	340	4,100 00	44,315 00	
Teamsters.....	28	36	2	3	1	1	1	2	2	av 10%	5,741	5,076	695	83,120 00	
Textile Workers.....	5	2	350	7	5	1	1	1	1	\$23,300	25,000	865	30	60,000 00	
The Layers and Helpers.....	2													2,000 00	
Tin Plate Workers.....	2										100	100	600 00	1,000 00	
Tin Printers.....															
Tobacco Workers.....	6	1	385	8	6	2	2	2	2	7 to 10%	980	955	350 00	4,500 00	
Treaders, Woods and Leather.....															
Trenching Workers.....	60	67	2,344	25	13	6	6	6	6	q	674	8	8	73,420 26	
Tube Workers.....	28	36	475	3	2	2	2	2	2		150	80	500 00	15,000 00	
Typographical Union.....	5	2	350	7	5	1	1	1	1					55	
Upholsterers.....	22													180 00	
Weavers, Elastic Goring.....	1,042	28	10	7	11	7	11	11	11		4,380	1,200	3,000	147,977 50	
Weavers, American Wire.....															
Wood Workers.....	4,910	2,643	253,485	1,806	1,193	233	178	194	194		256,838	121,340	39,829	309,906 46	2,964,642 13

<sup>a</sup> For two locals, <sup>b</sup> For 5,000 members, <sup>c</sup> For local unions, <sup>d</sup> Many instances Saturday half holiday, <sup>e</sup> accident benefit, \$1,775, <sup>f</sup> In 10 branches, <sup>g</sup> 481 re-employed, <sup>h</sup> 141 displaced, <sup>i</sup> Maintained old rates, <sup>j</sup> By local unions, <sup>k</sup> Includes 3,088 non-union men, <sup>l</sup> Includes 1,861 non-union men, <sup>m</sup> Includes sick benefits, <sup>n</sup> Lockouts, <sup>o</sup> Includes 6,000, <sup>p</sup> 1/2 hour per day, <sup>q</sup> 9 1/2 hrs, for \$50 at Chicago; 9 hrs, for 400 at St. Louis, <sup>r</sup> Established 8 hr. day, <sup>s</sup> From 12 to 8 for 4,000, <sup>t</sup> 15 cents per hour, <sup>u</sup> \$52,000 per yr, <sup>v</sup> 13 to 7 hours per wk, <sup>w</sup> One hr. on Saturday, <sup>x</sup> From gain, \$25,200, <sup>y</sup> \$4,000 per day, <sup>z</sup> Eight hour day, three cities, <sup>aa</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>ab</sup> One hour, six cities, <sup>ac</sup> \$4,000 year in Chicago, <sup>ad</sup> \$1,300 per day, <sup>ae</sup> Including lockouts, <sup>af</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>ag</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>ah</sup> One hour in some localities, <sup>ai</sup> \$20 to 50 in each city, <sup>aj</sup> \$10 to 20% each, <sup>ak</sup> 10 to 20% each, <sup>al</sup> 1 hour for 30 men, <sup>am</sup> 8, 9, 9 1/2 hour day, <sup>an</sup> 50c a week, <sup>ao</sup> 8, 9, 9 1/2 hour day, <sup>ap</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>aq</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>ar</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>as</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>at</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>au</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>av</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>aw</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>ax</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>ay</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>az</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>ba</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bb</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bc</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bd</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>be</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bf</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bg</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bh</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bi</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bj</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bk</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bl</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bm</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bn</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bo</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bp</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bq</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>br</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bs</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bt</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bu</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bv</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bw</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bx</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>by</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>bz</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>ca</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>cb</sup> 15 per cent, six cities, <sup>cc</sup> 15 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**BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS  
DURING THE PAST YEAR.**

Organizations.	Death benefits.	Death benefits, members wives.	Sick benefits.	Traveling benefits.	Tool insurance.	Unemployed benefits.
Bakers and Confectioners.....	\$850 00	\$450 00	\$1,040 98			
Barbers.....	7,920 00		42,860 00			
Bill Posters.....	715 00		1,200 00			
Boot and Shoe Workers.....	10,075 00		88,391 41			
Bridge and Struct. Iron Wkrs.....	15,000 00					
Building Employes.....	200 00					
Carpenters, Brotherhood.....	190,069 38	24,675 00	75,000 00			
Carpenters, Amalgamated.....	3,341 50		7,225 12		\$2,078 76	\$11,655 85
Cement Workers.....				\$1,600 00		
Cigarmakers.....	148,120 00	6,880 00	156,000 00	55,000 00		28,000 00
Chainmakers.....				1,000 00		
Clerks.....	10,800 00					
Compressed Air Workers.....	800 00	150 00	900 00	50 00	494 00	
Curtain Operatives, Lace.....	775 00	100 00		1,000 00		
Electrical Workers.....	13,000 00					
Elevator Constructors.....	2,500 00			500 00		5,186 00
Engravers, Watch Case.....	480 20			2,084 95		13,783 28
Flour and Cereal Mill Empls.....						
Foundry Employes.....	4,850 00		2,375 00			
Freight Handlers.....	65,000 00	175 00	300 00			1,000 00
Fur Workers.....	250 00		500 00	350 00		100 00
Glass Bottle Blowers.....	45,500 00					
Glass Snappers.....	200 0 0		2,500 00	900 00		500 00
Glass Workers, Amalgamated.....	575 00					
Granite Cutters.....	13,720 00					
Grinders, Table Knife.....	80 00					
Hod Carriers & Bldg Labrs.....				1,500 00		
Hatters.....	20,000 00					
Hotel & Restaurant Empls.....	36,004 75		24,650 00			
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.....			1,020 00			
Jewelry Workers.....	300 00					
Lathers.....	5,400 00					
Leather Wkrs. on Horse Goods.....	4,835 00		17,470 00	7,703 15		
Machine Printers & Color Mixers.....	100 00		1,000 00	60 00		1,200 00
Machinists.....	26,000 00		60,000 00			
Marble Workers.....						
Mattress, Spring & Bed. Wkrs.....			27 00	393 80		420 00
Metal Polishers.....	9,450 00					
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.....	9,500 00					
Metal Workers, Sheet.....	750 00					
Metal Workers, United.....	54,400 00					18,708 12
Molders, Iron.....				1,150 00		
Oil and Gas Well Workers.....						
Painters.....	38,686 25	9,475 00				
Paper Box Makers.....	100 00					
Patternmakers.....	7,700 00				3,300 00	
Paving Cutters.....	675 00	525 00				
Photo-Engravers.....		525 00				
Piano and Organ Workers.....	5,400 00		15,380 00			
Plumbers.....	7,200 00		25,000 00			
Print Cutters.....	500 00		25 00			20 00
Printers, Machine Textile.....	800 00					
Printing Pressmen.....	13,000 00					
Quarry Workers.....	850 00					
Railway Empl., Street & Elec.....	13,975 00		13,984 34			
Shipwrights.....				280 00		
Slate Quarrymen.....				70 00		
Spinners, Cotton Mule.....	900 00	250 00				
Stereotypers and Electrotypers.....	900 00					
Stove Mounters.....	1,500 00					
Tackmakers.....						2,500 00
Tailors.....	11,250 00	100 00				
Tile Layers and Helpers.....	2,300 00		2,000 00	1,000 00		
Tobacco Workers.....	1,000 00		5,944 75			
Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.....			1,500 00			
Typographical Union.....	38,925 00					
Weavers, American Wire.....	300 00		626 00			
Total.....	782,382 08	43,305 00	750,762 83	73,441 90	5,872 76	78,473 25

a Local unions.

b Locals.

NOTE.—In addition to the benefits paid by the International Unions as above stated, in most cases, the local unions attached to internationals expend larger sums in benefits to their members than do the parent bodies. As these investigations develop, efforts should be made in the near future to obtain this data.

## INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

- Actors.**—Number of strikes, 1; won, 1; number of persons involved, 1,000. General improvement in the conditions of employment of the members in the past ten years. Donations to other unions, \$2,000. Cost of strike, \$1,000.
- Allied Metal Mechanics, International Association of.**—No report.
- Asbestos Workers of America.**—No report.
- Bakery and Confectionary Workers.**—Charters issued, 65; surrendered, 80. Gain in membership, 829. Number of strikes, 31; won, 10; pending, 16; lost, 5; number of persons involved, 2,154; benefited, 338; worsted, 100. Total gains in wages, about 15 per cent; total reduction in hours, average one-half hour. Gains in other respects, day work in two towns and recognition of label in three-fourths of local unions. In the past 10 years hours of labor reduced from 14 to 10 per day, and wages increased from \$8 to \$14 per week. Many places have instituted day work for night work. Death benefits, \$650; death benefits members' wives, \$1,040.96. Donations to other unions, \$1,326. Cost of strikes, \$36,600.
- Barbers.**—Charters issued, 62; surrendered, 14. Gain in membership, 2,853. Reduction in hours and gain in all respects. Death benefits, \$7,920; sick benefits, \$42,860. Donations to other unions, \$1,150.
- Bill Posters.**—Charters issued, 9; gain in membership, 400. Ten per cent increase in wages for two locals. Death benefits, \$715; sick benefits, \$1,200. Donations to other unions, \$600.
- Blacksmiths.**—Charters issued, 50; surrendered, 50; gain in membership, 3,500. Number of strikes, 7; won, 5; compromised, 2; number of persons involved, 400. Strikes were to maintain wages. Gains in other respects, improved conditions in many cases. General improvement in the wages, hours, and working conditions for the members in the past 10 years. Cost of strikes, \$10,000.
- Blast Furnace Workers.**—Number of strikes, 6; won, 4; compromised, 1; pending, 1; number of persons involved, 800; benefited, 600. Advantages gained without strikes, 10 per cent increase for 100 men. General condition is much improved for the past year, as well as more than 50 per cent gain in wages for that time.
- Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders.**—Charters issued, 91; surrendered, 65. Gain in membership, 1,216. Number of strikes, 155; won, 83; compromised, 14; lost, 6; pending, 52. Number of persons involved, 3,931; benefited, 8,100; worsted, 300. Total gains in wages, average of 15 cents per hour for each member involved. Gains in other respects, better working conditions in many cases. Advantages gained without strikes, 13 old contracts renewed. Offers of reductions have been resisted successfully except in 15 cases now pending. Twenty to 40 per cent improvement in wages and hours in the past 10 years. Cost of strikes, \$53,852.48.
- Bookbinders.**—No report.
- Boot and Shoe Workers.**—Charters issued, 27; surrendered, 6. Gain in membership, 2,372. Number of strikes, 4; won, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,700; benefited, 1,425; worsted, 275. Five thousand members gained a reduction of one hour per day. General improvement in the conditions of the members in the past 10 years. Death benefits, \$10,075. Sick benefits, \$88,391.41. Donations to other unions, \$15,000. Cost of strikes, \$18,530.67.
- Brewery Workmen.**—Charters issued, 32 local unions and 14 branches; surrendered, 5. Gain in membership, 500. Number of strikes, 8; won, 8. Number of persons involved, 950; benefited, 900; worsted, 50. Total gains in wages, \$52,000 per year. Gains in other respects, recognition of the union in two cases. Advantages gained without strikes, general advance in wages of 5 per cent for the entire membership. Offers of reductions were resisted with success. Conditions of the members have improved 50 per cent in the past 10 years. Total reduction in hours, 220,000 hours per year on a membership of from 30 to 31,000. Donations to other unions, \$23,500. Cost of strikes, \$5,600.
- Brick, Tile, and Terra Cotta Workers.**—Gain in membership, 1,815.
- Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.**—Charters issued, 12. General increase in wages and reduction of hours for the members in the past 10 years. Death benefits, \$15,000. Donations to other unions, \$100. Cost of strikes, \$7,000.
- Broommakers.**—Charters issued, 4; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 28. Number of strikes, 7; won, 2; compromised, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 172; benefited, 100; worsted, 25. Total gains in wages, 10 per cent. Gains in other respects, better shop conditions. Advantages gained without strikes, 20 locals gained advances in wages. Offers of reductions have been resisted, which are still pending. General improvement in the conditions of the members in the past 10 years, 35 per cent increase in wages; shop conditions improved 50 per cent. Cost of strikes, \$200.
- Brushmakers.**—Charters issued, 12. Total gains in wages, 5 to 15 per cent to some locals.

- Building Employees.**—Charters issued, 13. Death benefits, \$200. Donations to other unions, \$400. 33 per cent increase in wages and reduction in hours.
- Carpenters' Brotherhood.**—Number of charters issued, 841; surrendered, 241. Gain in membership, 46,368. Number of strikes, 225; won, 220; lost, 5. Number of persons involved, 35,000. Offers of reductions resisted in all cases successfully. Reduction in hours and increase in wages in past 10 years. Death benefits, \$190,069.38; death benefits members' wives, \$24,675; sick benefits, \$75,000. Donations to other unions, \$102,202.36. Cost of strikes, \$80,000.
- Carpenters' Amalgamated.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 2. Improvement in the conditions of the members in the past 10 years, general reduction to eight hour day, many instances half holiday Saturday, 10 cents per hour increase in wages. Unemployed benefits, \$11,655.85; sick benefit, \$7,225.12; death benefit, \$3,341.50; accident benefit, \$1,775. Tool insurance, \$2,078.76. Superannuation benefit, \$7,126.50. Grants from contingent and benevolent fund, \$1,065. Cost of strikes, \$28,794.52.
- Carriage and Wagon Workers.**—Charters issued, 21; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 625. Number of strikes, 3; number of persons involved, 7,000; benefited, 4,000. Total gains in wages, \$3,000. Total reduction in hours, 3 to 7 hours per week. Gains in other respects, recognition of the union. Advantages gained without strikes, reduction in hours. Cost of strikes, \$10,000 to \$12,000.
- Carvers, Wood.**—No report.
- Car Workers.**—Charters issued, 22; surrendered, 54. Number of strikes, 5; won, 1; compromised, 2; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 1,400; benefited, 400; worsted, 500. Total gains in wages, 10 per cent. Reduction of 1 hour in a number of shops. Gains in other respects, better shop conditions in many places. Advantages gained without strikes, better working conditions in 90 per cent of shops. Offers of reductions in wages have been resisted successfully in many cases. General improvement in wages and working conditions for the members. Cost of strikes, \$5,000.
- Cement Workers.**—Charters issued, 33. Number of strikes, 5; won, 3; compromised, 2. Number of persons involved, 1,000; benefited, 950; worsted, 50. Resistance against reductions, successful except in one case. 200 per cent improvement in the conditions of the members in the past 10 years. Traveling benefits, \$1,600. Donations to other unions, \$2,000. Cost of strikes, \$2,500.
- Chainmakers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 324. Number of strikes, 5; compromised, 2; lost, 3; number of persons involved, 58; worsted, 58. Reductions were resisted, resulting in compromise on 5 per cent. Traveling benefits, \$1,000. Cost of strikes, \$4,000.
- Cigarmakers.**—Charters issued, 15; surrendered, 10. Gain in membership, 2,151. Number of strikes, 93; won, 52; compromised, 3; obtained employment elsewhere, 7; lost, 9; pending final report, 23. Number of persons involved, 7,572 unionists, 3,080 non-unionists; benefited, 3,494 unionists, 1,861 non-unionists; worsted, 35. Total gains in wages, 10 to 20 per cent. Total reductions in hours of labor, eight-hour day since 1886. Gains in other respects, better shop conditions. Advantages gained without strikes, over half. Reductions in wages have been resisted successfully. General improvement in the conditions of the members in the past 10 years, greatly improved condition of health. Death benefits, \$148,120. Death benefits members' wives, \$6,880; sick benefits, \$156,000. Traveling benefits, \$55,000. Unemployed benefits, \$23,000. Donations to other unions, \$20,000. Cost of strikes, \$34,000.
- Clerks.**—Charters issued, 130; surrendered, 40. Number of strikes, 3; won, 3. Number of persons involved, 250; benefited, 250. Total reduction of hours, 7 hours per week; death benefits, \$10,800. Donations to other unions, \$500. Cost of strikes, \$1,200. Advantages gained without strikes, reduction of hours.
- Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 400. Number of strikes, 65; won, 53; lost, 7. Number of persons involved, 894; benefited, 791. Wages maintained; reduction in hours, one hour on Saturday. Gains in other respects, legal holidays and union shop. Advantages gained without strikes, about seventy shops settled prices; offers of reductions in wages were successfully resisted. Organization formed four years ago of three locals, at present consists of 40; 35 per cent gain in wages and recognition of union throughout the trade. Cost of strikes, \$19,500.
- Commercial Telegraphers.**—Charters issued, 32; surrendered, 5; gain in membership, 223. Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 150; benefited, 50. Gains in other respects, recognition of the union. Cost of strikes, \$1,000.
- Compressed Air Workers.**—Gain in membership, 400. Advantages gained, good will of employers, No reduction in wages offered. General improvement in the conditions of the members in the past ten years. Death benefits, \$300; death benefits members' wives, \$150; sick benefits, \$900; traveling benefits, \$50. Tool insurance, \$494. Donations to other unions, \$225.



- Coopers.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 16. Number of strikes, 29; won, 14; compromised, 4; lost, 7. Number of persons involved, 1,767; benefited, 872; worsted, 300. Total gains in wages, 8 per cent. Total reduction in hours, 4 per cent. Attempts to reduce wages have been successfully resisted. Thirty per cent increase in wages and reduction of one hour per day have been secured in the past 10 years. Cost of strikes, \$6,350.
- Curtain Operatives, Lace.**—Gain in membership, 87. Number of strikes, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 36; worsted, 4. Improvement in the conditions of the members in the past 10 years. Death benefits, \$775; death benefits members' wives, \$100; traveling benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$50.
- Cutting Die and Cutter Makers' International Union.**—No report.
- Electrical Workers.**—Charters issued, 70; surrendered, 25. Gain in membership, 2,750. Number of strikes, 15; won, 5; compromised, 7; lost, 3. Number of persons involved, 12,000; benefited, 8,000; worsted, 4,000. Total reductions in hours, 1. Advantages gained without strike, many agreements reached through arbitration. Death benefits, \$13,000. Cost of strikes, \$11,091.
- Elevator Constructors.**—Charters issued, 2. Gain in membership, 76. Number of strikes, 4; compromised, 4. Number of persons involved, 1,296; benefited, 1,296. Total gains in wages, \$29,200. Advantages gained without strikes, increased wages. Death benefits, \$2,500.
- Engineers, Steam.**—Charters issued, 46; surrendered, 18. Gain in membership, 3,452. Number of strikes, 7; lost, 4; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 918. Advantages gained without strike, shorter hours and increase in wages. Donations to other unions, \$300. Cost of strikes, \$5,000.
- Engravers, Watch Case.**—Number of strikes, 2; won, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 115; benefited, 20; worsted, 70. Total gains in wages, 5 per cent. Gains in other respects, better treatment and recognition. Advantages gained without strike, an average of 5 per cent increase in wages. Attempt to reduce wages in Chicago was successfully resisted. General improvement in the conditions of the members in the past 10 years; have elevated the trade to a higher standing, increased the wages about twenty per cent and secured better consideration for the members. Death benefits, \$480.20; traveling benefits, \$500; unemployed benefits, \$5,186. Donations to other unions, \$250. Cost of strikes, \$5,186.
- Firemen, Stationary.**—Charters issued, 29; surrendered, 10. Number of strikes, 7; won, 5; compromised, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 3,200; benefited, 3,165; worsted, 35. Total gain in wages, 5 per cent. Total reduction in hours, over 4,000 work 8 hours instead of 12; gained without strike. One reduction in wages of 10 per cent affecting 40 men. Donations to other unions, \$1,000. Cost of strikes, \$7,500.
- Flour and Cereal Mill Employees.**—Charters issued, 21; surrendered, 3. Number of strikes, 1 pending. Number of persons involved, 1,600; worsted, 400. One firm signed contract and uses label. Advantages gained without strike, eight hour day in three cities; 15 per cent increase in wages in six cities. Traveling benefits, \$2,084.95; unemployed benefits, \$13,783.28. Cost of strikes, \$19,700.21.
- Foundry Employees.**—Charters issued, 17. Number of strikes, 2; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 47; worsted, 47. Attempts to reduce wages have been successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$350; sick benefits, \$2,375. Donations to other unions, \$85. Cost of strikes, \$645. The foundry employees have in the past 10 years (in places where they are organized) increased their pay from \$1.15 per day to \$2 per day, and in nearly all cases had their hours reduced from 10 to 9 per day.
- Freight Handlers and Warehousemen.**—Charters issued, 19; surrendered, 25. Number of strikes, 2; lost, 2. Number of persons involved, 3,200; worsted, 3,200. In the three and a half years of existence secured 29½ per cent increase in wages and reduced the hours from 14 to 10. Death benefits, \$5,000; death benefits members' wives, \$175; sick benefits, \$300; unemployed benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$7,000. Cost of strikes, \$8,000.
- Fur Workers.**—Charters issued, 9. Total gain in wages, 5 per cent. Total reduction in hours, from 10 and 9½ hour day to 9 and 8½ hour day. These concessions gained without strike. Death benefits, \$250; sick benefits, \$500; traveling benefits, \$350; unemployed benefits, \$100. Donations to other unions, \$100. Gains in other respects, cleaner work rooms and better systems.
- Garment Workers, United.**—No report.
- Garment Workers, Ladies.**—Charters issued, 27.
- Glass Bottle Blowers.**—Gain in membership, 500. In the past ten years have increased the wages for about 2,000 members from 25 to 40 per cent, and marked improvement generally. Death benefits, \$45,500. Donations to other unions, \$3,325. Cost of strikes, \$75,000.
- Glass House Employees.**—Charters surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 43. Number of strikes, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 250.

- Glass Snappers, Window.**—Charters issued, 8. Gain in membership, 234. Number of strikes, 7; won, 6; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 200; benefited, 200. Total gain in wages, 20½ per cent. Established eight hour day. Nearly all concessions gained without strike. General improvement in conditions of members. Death benefits, \$200; sick benefits, \$2,500. Traveling benefits, \$900. Unemployed benefits, \$500. Donations to other unions, \$250. Cost of strikes, \$2,000.
- Glass Workers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 8. Number of strikes, 8; won, 1; compromised, 3; lost, 4. Number of persons involved, 1,000; benefited, 150. Reductions in wages have been successfully resisted, but with loss to membership. Have reduced hours to 9 per day, and increased wages about 15 to 20 per cent in the past 10 years. Death benefits, \$375. Cost of strikes, \$4,945.
- Glove Workers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 6. Number of strikes 3, and 1 lockout; won, 1; compromised, 1; lost, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 2,150; benefited, 560; worsted, 1,900; 225 in strike pending. Total gains in wages, about \$54,000 per year in Chicago. Strike won was against reduction in wages. Cost of strikes, \$27,000.
- Gold Beaters.**—Reductions in wages have been resisted. Seventy-five per cent increase in wages in the past 10 years.
- Granite Cutters.**—Charters issued, 8. Gain in membership, 491. Number of strikes, 30; won, 28; pending, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 3,000; benefited, 3,560. Total gains in wages, 7 per cent increase in 10 of our branches. Advantages gained without strikes, improved shop regulations. General improvement in the conditions of the members of our organization in the past 10 years, working day reduced one hour and wages increased 18 per cent. Death benefits, \$13,720. Donations to other unions, \$3,040. Cost of strikes, \$3,120. A perplexing question during the year in quite a number of localities has been the overbearing actions of shop foremen, who apparently, either bent upon showing the firm their usefulness "at getting work out of men", or considering it a concomitant of the reduction of the hours of labor in our trade a few years ago that workmen should be driven beyond their usual gait, resort to methods unbecoming to good workmen, and who in many instances are disciplined by firms when journeymen carry their grievances through committees to the manager for mutual adjustment. The clamor for fast men after an increase of wages or a reduction of the daily hours of labor may be looked for, as employers need time to get acquainted with the new conditions, and until they do so endeavor to get increased returns by a selection of workmen through the cold-blooded theory of "the survival of the fittest", but while workmen expect such a condition, they are never in a mood "to be driven" by a fellow workman temporarily advanced to the position of foreman, who may consider his chief mission to be an effort to drive workmen in an effort to produce a little more each week of their employment. More strikes have taken place during the past year in our trade on this account than for any other one cause, and in almost each case the offending foreman has again become a high private in our ranks and in some instances can witness through different spectacles his own objectionable tactics applied by another.
- Grinders, Table Knife.**—Secured increase in wages. Death benefits, \$80. Donations to other unions, \$40.
- Hatters.**—Number of strikes, 1; pending, 1; number of persons involved, 500. Reductions in wages have been successfully resisted. Improvement in the conditions of the members in the past 10 years; hours of labor reduced from 10 to 8, and wages increased 40 per cent. Death benefits, \$20,000. Cost of strikes, \$12,000.
- Hod Carriers and Building Laborers.**—Number of charters issued, 59; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 238. Total gain in wages, from \$1.50 to \$2.70; reduction in hours from 9 to 8. Traveling benefits, \$1,500. Donations to other unions by local unions, \$5,000.
- Horseshoers.**—Number of strikes, 4; won, 3; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,200; all benefited. Total gains in wages, about \$200 per day. Improvement in the conditions of the members in the past 10 years has been most gratifying. Cost of strikes, \$40,000.
- Hotel and Restaurant Employes.**—Charters issued, 135; surrendered, 32; gain in membership 10,249. Number of strikes, 55; won, 35; compromised, 8; lost, 12. Number of persons involved, 11,323; benefited, 5,691; worsted, 5,632. Total gains in wages, average 55 cents a week. Total reduction in hours, 5 per cent. Gains in other respects, recognition of union and agreements. Advantages gained without strikes, sanitary improvements. All attempts to reduce wages have been successfully resisted. Steady decrease in working hours during past 10 years and improved conditions. While the net increase in membership seems small in comparison to the showing made a year ago, the fact that almost 10,000 members were suspended for non-compliance with our laws, chiefly in calling unauthorized strikes, would materially affect our ratio of increase and compare favorably with previous year's record. Death bene-

fits, \$36,004.75; sick benefits, \$21,650. Donations to other unions, \$22,815. Cost of strikes, \$21,316.58.

Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers.—No report.

Jewelry Workers.—Number of strikes, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 800; worsted, 800. Advantages gained without strikes, label put in eight shops. Improvement in conditions of members during past 10 years, reduction of 1 hour and pay for overtime. Death benefits, \$300; sick benefits, \$1,020. Donations to other unions, \$432.75. Cost of strikes, \$8,240.70.

Lathers.—Charters issued, 30; surrendered, 29. Gain in membership, 1,532. Improvement in the conditions of the members in the past 10 years has been marked in reduction of hours, increased wages, and general welfare of the members. Death benefits, \$5,400.

Laundry Workers.—Charters issued, 34. Number of strikes, 14; won, 5; compromised, 4; lost, 2; pending, 3. Number of persons involved, 248; benefited, 204; worsted, 44. Cost of strikes, \$3,415.94. Attempts to reduce wages have been resisted, in some cases, with success.

Leather Workers on Horse Goods.—Charters issued, 7; surrendered, 9. Number of strikes, 24; won, 16; compromised, 2; pending, 6. Number of persons involved, 723; benefited, 1,200. Total gains in wages, \$98,000; benefited entire jurisdiction indirectly and strikers materially. Total gains in reduction of hours of labor, 1 hour in some localities. Advantages gained without strikes, 5 per cent increase. In the past 10 years have built up an international organization, secured recognition and general improved conditions. Death benefits, \$1,835; sick benefits, \$17,470; traveling benefits, \$7,703.15. Donations to other unions by locals, \$1,800. Cost of strikes, \$27,043.

Leather Workers.—Charters issued, 1; surrendered, 20. Number of strikes, 5; won, 1; lost, 4. Number of persons involved, 2,000. Increased wages gained without strike. Attempt was made in Chicago to force on members a 10 hour day, but attempt failed.

Longshoremen.—Charters issued, 118. Gain in membership, 10,000. Offers of reductions in wages have been successfully resisted in many localities. Improvement in the conditions of the members, 60 per cent advance in wages, 33 per cent reduction in hours, with other improved conditions in the past 10 years. Donations to other unions, \$20,000.

Machine Printers and Color Mixers.—Gain in membership, 29. Advantages gained without strikes, 17 shops signed contract. Conditions of the members have improved 50 per cent in the past 10 years. Death benefits, \$100; sick benefits, over \$1,000; traveling benefits, \$60; unemployed benefits, \$1,200. Donations to other unions, \$300.

Machinists—Charters issued, 117; surrendered, 6; gain in membership, 6,908. Number of strikes, 202; won, 90; compromised, 60; lost, 25; pending, 27; number of persons involved, 5,000; benefited, 3,000; worsted, 1,000. Advantages gained without strikes, renewal of old agreements. Offers of reductions in hours have been successfully resisted, except in a few cases, where compromise was made and 5 per cent reduction was accepted. General improvement in conditions of members in past 10 years, 25 per cent in wages; 100,000 men gained one hour reduction without loss of wages. Death benefits, \$26,000; sick benefits, \$60,000. Donations to other unions, \$30,000. Cost of strikes, \$187,000.

Maintenance of Way Employees.—No report.

Marble Workers.—No report.

Mattress, Spring and Bedding Workers.—Number of strikes, 1; won, 1; persons involved, 75; benefited, 74; worsted, 1. Total gains in wages, about 15 per cent. Gains in other respects, union shop. Advantages gained without strikes, 25 per cent gain in wages. Offers of reductions in wages have been resisted successfully in all cases. Improvement in the conditions of the members in the past 10 years, healthy workshops, reasonable wages, and shorter hours. Sick benefits, \$27; traveling benefits, \$393.80; unemployed benefits, \$420. Donations to other unions, \$207.75. Cost of strikes, \$372.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.—Charters issued, 34; surrendered 3. Gain in membership, 9,084. Number of strikes, 17; won, 14; compromised, 2; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 55,000; benefited, 80 per cent; worsted, 20 per cent. Total gain in wages, average 5 per cent in some localities. Total reduction in hours, average 1 hour per day in some localities. Gains in other respects, improved conditions and better treatment by employers. Advantages gained without strikes, shorter hours and steadier time. Cost of strikes, \$250,000.

Metal Polishers.—Charters issued, 23; surrendered, 39. Number of strikes, 25; won, 10; compromised, 5; lost, 10. Number of persons involved, 1,500; benefited, 500. Attempts to reduce wages have been successfully resisted. Death benefit, \$9,450. Cost of strikes, \$39,358.40.

Metal Workers, Sheet.—Charters issued, 78; surrendered, 40. Number of strikes, 40; won, 26; compromised, 6; lost, 8. Number of persons involved, 3,000; benefited, 2,500; worsted, 500. Members employed in the building trades have maintained the improved conditions in all localities.

- Nearly all have gained the eight hour day and wage scales have been increased from 10 to 40 per cent in the past 10 years. Death benefits, \$9,500. Cost of strikes, \$10,000.
- Metal Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 26; surrendered, 15. Gain in membership, 917. Number of strikes, 12; won, 9; compromised, 2; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,500; benefited, 1,200; worsted, 125. Total gain in wages, average 4 per cent. Gains in other respects, better shop rules. General improvement in hours and wages since 1900. Death benefits, \$750. Donations to other unions, \$1,000. Cost of strikes, \$3,000.
- Mine Managers and Assistants.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 4. Advantages gained without strikes, increased wages and improved conditions. Donations to other unions, \$100.
- Mine Workers, United.**—Charters issued, 371; surrendered, 129. Gain in membership, 40,442. Donations to other unions, \$2,153. Cost of strikes, \$830,099.62.
- Molders, Iron.**—Charters issued, 17; surrendered, 14. Number of strikes, 41; won, 11; compromised, 5; lost, 6. Advantages gained without strikes, prevented a general reduction in the wages of stove plate molders, demanded by the foundrymen, by conference. Cost of strikes \$253,468.52.
- Musicians.**—Charters issued, 75; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 8,000. Attempts to reduce wages successfully resisted. Increased wages, shorter hours, and improved conditions generally in the past 10 years.
- Oil and Gas Well Workers.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 7. Number of strikes, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 200; worsted, 200. Sick benefits, \$1,150. Donations to other unions, \$100. Cost of strikes, \$200.
- Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.**—Charters issued, 125; surrendered, 114. Gain in membership, 7,050. Number of strikes, 200; won, 185; compromised, 50. Number of persons involved, 10,000; benefited, 90 per cent. Total reduction in hours, 10 per cent. Total gains in wages, 15 per cent. Gains in other respects, better conditions. Advantages gained without strikes, increased wages, shorter hours. General improvement in conditions of the members in past 10 years. Death benefits, \$38,686.25; death benefits members' wives, \$9,475. Donations to other unions, \$17,559.75.
- Paper Box Workers.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 161. Advantages gained without strike, nine hour day in several shops. Death benefits, \$100.
- Papermakers.**—Charters issued, 16; surrendered, 3. Number of strikes, 11; won, 2; compromised, 3; lost, 6. Number of persons involved, 6,000; benefited, 3,000; worsted, 3,000. Total gain in wages, 10 per cent. Total reduction in hours, 3. Advantages gained without strikes, 8 hours in three mills. Members have gained 15 per cent increase in wages and reduced working hours 7 hours per week in the past 10 years. Donations to other unions, \$2,000. Cost of strikes, \$40,000.
- Patternmakers.**—Gain in membership, 765. Sick and death benefits, \$7,700. Tool insurance, \$3,300. Cost of strikes, \$8,000.
- Paving Cutters.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 329. Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 21; benefited, 15. Total reduction in hours, 1 hour per day. Gains in other respects, better working conditions. Advantages gained without strike, 10 per cent increase in wages for 300 men. General improvement in the conditions of the members in the past 10 years. Total gain in wages, a gain of 50 cents per thousand for cutting. Death benefits, \$675; death benefits members' wives, \$525. Cost of strikes, \$44.
- Photo-Engravers.**—Charters issued, 12. Gain in membership, 450. Number of strikes, 4; won 3; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 57; benefited, 54; worsted, 3. Total reduction in hours, three strikes for 48 hour week, one for 46½ hour week, all gained. Gains in other respects, increased wages, pay for overtime, union shop, reduced the number of apprentices. Advantages gained without strikes, 12 agreements signed. Material improvement in the conditions of the members in the past four years. Death benefits, \$525. Cost of strikes, \$299.15.
- Piano and Organ Workers.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 3,408. Number of strikes, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 450; worsted, 58. Advantages gained without strikes, renewal of agreements. Hours of labor have been reduced and secured about 10 per cent increase in wages in the past 10 years. Death benefits, \$5,400 sick benefits, \$15,380. Donations to other unions, \$5,000. Cost of strikes, \$28,000.
- Plate Printers, Steel and Copper.**—Gain in membership, 117. Number of strikes, 1; won, 1. Number of persons involved, 7. The issue was the "open shop." General improvement in the conditions of the members in the past ten years.
- Plumbers.**—Charters issued, 50; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 1,334. Number of strikes, 150; won, 123; compromised, 3; lost, 6; pending, 18. Number of persons involved, two to three hundred in each case; benefited, all. Marked improvements in the conditions

- of the members in the past 10 years. Death benefits, \$7,200; sick benefits, \$25,000. Cost of strikes, \$80,000.
- Potters, Operative.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 3. Gain in membership, 214. Number of strikes, 1; won, 1. Number of persons involved, 94; benefited, 94. Donations to other unions, \$3,500. Cost of strikes, \$3,215.
- Powder and High Explosive Workers.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 3. General improvement in conditions of members in past 10 years.
- Print Cutters.**—Gain in membership, 20. Gain in wages in the past 10 years has been from \$12 and \$14 to \$20 per week. Death benefits, \$500; sick benefits, \$25; unemployed benefits, \$20. Donations to other unions, \$320.
- Printers, Machine Textile.** Gain in membership, 14. Number of strikes, 1 pending. Number of persons involved, 28. Voluntary reduction in hours in two shops and unionizing non-union shop. Death benefits, \$800.
- Printing Pressmen.**—Charters issued, 20. Gain in membership, 1,600. Number of strikes, 1; lost 1. Number of persons involved, 87. Reduction of hours, about 800 secured the eight hour day. Advantages gained without strike, 6,000 secured an increase of 10 per cent. General improvement in the conditions of the members in the past 10 years. Death benefits, \$13,000. Cost of strikes, \$6,404.
- Quarry Workers.**—Charters issued, 67; surrendered, 1. Gain in membership, 2,097. Number of strikes, 7; won, 6; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 720; benefited, the entire membership. Total gains in wages, 10 to 20 per cent per member. Total gains in reduction of hours, one hour per day in all localities but one. Gains in other respects, regular pay days, wages in cash, union shop. Advantages gained without strikes, eight hour day, nine hours' pay, union shop; workday reduced from 10 to 8 hours; wages increased about 40 per cent; elimination of truck stores in the past ten years. Death benefits, \$850. Donations to other unions, \$800. Cost of strikes, \$3,000.
- Railroad Telegraphers.**—Number of strikes, 2; number of persons involved, 510. Advantages gained without strikes, \$800,000 per year increase. Offers of reductions have been resisted successfully. Average increase \$9.50 per month in past 10 years. Cost of strikes, \$25,000.
- Railway Clerks.**—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 22. Conditions of members considerably improved in past 10 years.
- Railway Employes, Street and Electric.**—Charters issued, 24; surrendered, 16. Gain in membership, 4,417. Number of strikes, 9; won, 3; compromised, 1; lost, 4; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 2,883; benefited, 2,476; worsted, 284. Death benefits, \$13,975; sick benefits, \$13,984.34. Reduction from 14 to 9 hour work day, increase of wages, minimum pay from 14 to 20 cents per hour secured in past 10 years.
- Rubber Workers.**—Charters issued, 2; surrendered, 7. Number of strikes, 3; lost, 1; compromised, 1; pending, 1; lockout. Number of persons involved, 1,200; benefited, 50; worsted, 1,000.
- Sawsmiths.**—Charters surrendered, 1. Number of strikes, 3; won, 1; compromised, 1; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 25; benefited, 20; worsted, 5. Attempts to reduce wages have been successfully resisted. Material improvement in conditions of the members in the past 10 years. Increased wages by reason of enforcing an effective apprentice clause. Cost of strikes, \$2,200.
- Seamen's Union.**—Charters issued, 1. Gain in membership, 6,279. Number of strikes, 1; lockout, 1; compromised, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,000; benefited, 500. Gains in wages, 5 per cent. Advantages gained without strike, agreements. General improvement in the conditions of the members in past ten years. Cost of strikes, \$13,000.
- Shingle Weavers' Union.**—Charters issued, 9; surrendered, 12. Gain in membership, 87. Number of strikes, 5; won, 3; lost, 1; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,000; benefited, 900; worsted, 100. Advantages gained without strikes, unionizing of plants, 50 per cent increase in wages in past 10 years. Cost of strikes, \$4,000.
- Shipwrights, Joiners, and Caulkers.**—Charters issued, 14; surrendered, 5. Number of strikes, 6; lockouts, 2. Strikes won, 2; pending, 2; compromised, 3; lost, 1. Number of persons involved, 1,080; benefited, 600; worsted, 370. Attempts to reduce wages have been resisted with success in a majority of cases; reduction of hours, 1 hour per day. Gains in wages, about 10 per cent. Advantages gained without strikes, 9 hour day at Milwaukee, Wis. Traveling benefits, \$230. Donations to other unions, \$247.
- Slate and Tile Roofers of America, International.**—No report.
- Slate Quarrymen, Splitters, and Cutters.**—Charters issued, 2. One lockout, lost; number of persons involved, 16; worsted, 16. Traveling benefits, \$70. Donations to other unions, \$60. Cost of strikes, \$1,500.
- Spinners' Association.**—Number of strikes, 3; won, 1; pending, 1; lost, 1; number of persons in-

- involved, 700; benefited, 150; worsted, 18. Advantages gained without strikes, improved conditions in many cases. General improvement in conditions of members in past 10 years. Death benefits, \$900; death benefits members' wives, \$250. Cost of strikes, \$10,000.
- Stage Employes' International.**—Gain in membership, 500. Number of strikes, 20; won, 15; pending, 5; number of persons involved, 1,000; benefited, 1,500; total gains in wages, 25 to 50 per cent. Gains in other respects, absolute recognition; gains without strikes, general recognition. Cost of strikes, \$8,000.
- Stereotypers and Electrotypers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 1; gain in membership, 23. Death benefits, \$960.
- Stove Mounters.**—Charters issued, 10; surrendered, 5; gain in membership, 20. Number of strikes, 2; pending, 2; number of persons involved, 28. Better wages and shorter hours in past 10 years. Death benefits, \$1,500. Cost of strikes, \$415.
- Tackmakers.**—Lockout, 1; number of persons involved, 36. Unemployed benefits, \$2,500.
- Tailors.**—Charters issued, 33; surrendered, 16; gain in membership, 2,166. Number of strikes 24; won, 15; compromised, 3; lost, 6; persons involved, 1,142; benefited, 340; total gains in wages, 6 per cent for 340. Advantages gained without strikes, 3,500 members secured advance of 6 per cent. Increase of wages, free workshops, and increased general intelligence of members in past 10 years. Death benefits, \$11,250; death benefits members' wives, \$100. Donations to other unions, \$4,100, approximately. Cost of strikes, \$14,315.
- Teamsters.**—Charters issued, 121; surrendered, 25; gain in membership, 1,970. Number of strikes, 37; won, 31; compromised, 1; pending, 3; lost, 2; number of persons involved, 5,741; benefited, 5,076; worsted, 665. Ten per cent gain of wages. Cost of strikes, \$83,120.90.
- Textile Workers of America.**—Charters issued, 28; surrendered, 36. Gain in membership Number of strikes, 1 pending; number of persons involved, 25,000. Cost of strikes, \$60,000.
- Tile Layers and Helpers.**—Charters issued, 5; surrendered, 2. Gain in membership, 350. Number of strikes, 7; won, 5; compromised, 1; lost, 1; number of persons involved in strikes, 895; benefited, 865; worsted, 30. Total gains in wages, \$23,300. Total reduction in hours, 1 local reduced hours from 9 to 8, affecting 30 men. Advantages gained without strikes, 4 unions gained good increases. General improvement in the conditions of members during past 10 years. Death benefits, \$2,300; sick benefits, \$2,000. Traveling benefits, \$1,000. Donations to other unions, \$500. Cost of strikes, \$2,000.
- Tin Plate Workers.**—Advantages gained without strikes, improved conditions, making possible a greater output with very little more exertion. An attempt to put an 18 per cent reduction in wages in effect was resisted, resulting in a compromise on a 5 per cent reduction. For the first time in its history, which covers a period of six years, our association was this year, like many another one, called upon to accept a reduction in wages. The original demands ranged as high as 18 per cent. This was fought by us to the very last ditch in a conference with the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company covering a period of eight days of almost continuous session, the final result being a settlement on a basis of 5 and 3 per cent. In view of the bad condition of affairs generally, and particularly in the tin plate business, we regarded this settlement as victory for our association. Had it not been for the influence and power of our organization, at least if there had been no protection for the employes as in former years, the original demand for 18 per cent would undoubtedly have become effective. Since the settlement we have experienced absolutely no difficulty in getting our people to appreciate that it was the very best that could be done. The advances in wages have ranged all the way from 20 to 100 per cent and the improvements in working conditions have been quite as marked.
- Tip Printers.**—Number of lockouts, 2; lost. Persons involved, 100; worsted, 100. During the past 10 years have gained about 40 per cent in wages. Donations to other unions, \$600. Cost of strikes, \$1,000.
- Tobacco Workers.**—Charters issued, 8; surrendered, 4. Gain in membership, 335. Total gains in wages from 7 to 10 per cent. Reduction in hours, agreements for eight, nine, nine and a half hour day. Advantages gained without strikes, gains in wages and hours in some instances. A general improvement in conditions of members in past 10 years. Death benefits, \$1,000; sick benefits, \$5,944.75.
- Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers.**—Charters issued, 6; surrendered, 1. Number of strikes, 8; won, 6; pending, 2. Number of persons involved, 990; benefited, 955. Total gains in wages, 20 received increase from 5 to 25 per cent. Reduction in hours at Chicago, 350 gained nine and a half hour day; St. Louis, 400 gained nine hour day. The firms in New York tried to go back to the ten hour day, which attempt was successfully resisted by the members there, affecting 300 men. Advantages gained without strikes, some of the smaller

locals gained shorter hours and union shop. General improvement in past 10 years. Sick benefits, \$1,500. Donations to other unions, \$300. Cost of strikes, \$4,500.

Tube Workers.—No report.

Typographical Union.—Charters issued, 60; surrendered and suspended, 67. Gain in membership, 2,344. Number of strikes, 25; won, 13; pending, 6; lost, 6. Number of persons involved, 674; reemployed, 481; displaced, 141; involved in pending disputes, 52. Death benefits, \$38,925. Donations to other unions, \$500. Paid from defense fund, \$78,420.26.

Upholsterers.—Gain in membership, 475. Number of strikes, 3; won, 2; pending, 1. Number of persons involved, 150; benefited, 80. Total reduction in hours, one hour per day. Cost of strikes, \$15,000. General improvement during past 10 years in conditions of members.

Weavers, Elastic Goring.—Attempts to reduce wages have been successfully resisted. Death benefits, \$100. Donations to other unions, \$55.

Weavers, American Wire.—Gain in membership, 22. Death benefits, \$300; sick benefits, \$625. Donations to other unions, \$189.

Wood Workers.—Number of strikes, 28; won, 10; compromised, 7; lost, 11. Gain in membership, 1,042. Number of persons involved in strikes, 4,360; benefited, 1,200; worsted, 3,000. Advantages gained without strikes, many agreements, reduction of hours, and increases in wages. Attempts to reduce wages have been resisted with general success. Cost of strikes, \$147,977.50.

UNION LABELS.

There are now 50 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations, which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS.

- |                                 |                                    |   |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| American Federation of Labor.   | Glove Workers.                     | Pressmen, Printing.                           |
| Bakers and Confectioners.       | Gold Beaters.                      | Print Cutters.                                |
| Boilermakers.                   | Hatters.                           | Rubber Workers.                               |
| Blacksmiths.                    | Horseshoers.                       | Sawsmiths.                                    |
| Boot and Shoe Workers.          | Jewelry Workers.                   | Shirt, Waist, and Laundry Workers.            |
| Brewery Workers.                | Lathers.                           | Stove Mounters.                               |
| Brickmakers.                    | Leather Workers.                   | Tailors.                                      |
| Broommakers.                    | Leather Workers on Horse Goods.    | Textile Workers.                              |
| Brushmakers.                    | Machine Printers and Color Mixers. | Tip Printers.                                 |
| Carriage and Wagon Workers.     | Machinists.                        | Tobacco Workers.                              |
| Carvers, Wood.                  | Metal Polishers.                   | Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers. |
| Cigarmakers.                    | Metal Workers, Sheet.              | Typographical.                                |
| Cloth Hat and Cap Makers.       | Molders.                           | Upholsterers.                                 |
| Coopers.                        | Painters.                          | Weavers, Goring.                              |
| Engravers, Watch Case.          | Papermakers.                       | Weavers, Wire.                                |
| Flour and Cereal Mill Employes. | Piano and Organ Workers.           | Wood Workers.                                 |
| Garment Workers, United.        | Plate Printers.                    |   |
| Garment Workers, Ladies'.       | Powder Workers.                    |   |
| Glass Bottle Blowers.           |                                    |   |
| Glass Workers.                  |                                    |   |

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

- |                   |                                 |                             |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Actors.           | Firemen, Stationary.            | Musicians.                  |
| Barbers.          | Hotel & Restaurant Employes.    | Stage Employes, Theatrical. |
| Clerks.           | Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen. | Teamsters.                  |
| Engineers, Steam. |                                 |                             |

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Artificial Limb Makers, Costumers, Badge and Lodge Paraphernalia Workers, Baking Powder Workers, Bottlers (Soda and Mineral Water), Cigarette Paper Workers, Coffee and Spice Workers, Cloth Spongers and Refinishers, Distillers and Rectifiers, Medicine Workers, Nail (Horse Shoe) Workers, Neckwear Cutters and Makers, Oyster Workers, Photographic Supply Workers, Salt Workers, Soap Workers, Soda and Mineral Water Workers, Starch Workers, Suspender Makers, Umbrella Makers Wine and Liquor Workers.

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

## COST OF ORGANIZERS FOR 12 MONTHS, ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1904.

The following list of 99 organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended for organizing work during the past 12 months \$83,242.23 against \$60,000 during the previous 12 months of 1903, and \$28,186.11 during 1902.

Name of Organizer.	State where work was done.	Amount received.
1. T. H. Flynn.....	Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois.....	\$2,950 00
2. A. E. Ireland.....	Missouri, Illinois, Texas, Kansas.....	2,060 44
3. M. Grant Hamilton.....	Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Montana, Washington.....	2,782 70
4. J. D. Pierce.....	Missouri, New Jersey.....	2,506 30
5. Emmet T. Flood.....	Illinois, Missouri, Ohio.....	2,429 21
6. J. J. Keegan.....	Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maine, Michigan.....	2,428 90
7. Jacob Tazelaar.....	Pennsylvania, New York.....	2,350 00
8. Stuart Reid.....	New York, Ohio, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania.....	2,350 00
9. Henry M. Walker.....	Colorado, Pennsylvania, Arkansas, Texas.....	2,334 00
10. Herman Robinson.....	New York City.....	2,300 00
11. R. Braunschweig.....	Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Illinois.....	2,200 00
12. Thomas F. Tracy.....	Massachusetts, Connecticut, Washington, D.C., Illinois, Kentucky.....	2,200 00
13. John A. Flett.....	Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Massachusetts, New York.....	2,150 00
14. James Leonard.....	Louisiana, Georgia, Florida.....	2,115 10
15. P. H. Strawhun.....	Illinois, Missouri.....	2,046 47
16. H. N. Randall.....	Alabama, Mississippi.....	2,009 00
17. Santiago Iglesias.....	Porto Rico.....	1,986 50
18. Cal Wyatt.....	Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio.....	1,860 00
19. C. W. Woodman.....	Texas.....	1,771 46
20. P. H. Cummins.....	Pennsylvania, New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts.....	1,756 70
21. C. F. Davis.....	Ohio, Missouri.....	1,665 00
22. J. J. Towey.....	Pennsylvania, Ohio.....	1,421 20
23. C. O. Young.....	Washington.....	1,400 00
24. Charles J. Duke.....	Pennsylvania.....	1,351 69
25. Edward L. Daley.....	Massachusetts.....	1,266 24
26. O. P. Smith.....	Indiana.....	1,255 56
27. James A. Gray.....	California.....	1,250 00
28. J. H. Nightingale.....	West Virginia.....	1,249 93
29. Hugh Frayne.....	Pennsylvania.....	1,168 07
30. A. C. Cattermull.....	Illinois.....	1,135 64
31. B. W. Nichols.....	Ohio.....	1,127 63
32. A. H. Garfield.....	Minnesota, Illinois, Ohio.....	1,100 00
33. F. A. Kennedy.....	Nebraska.....	1,041 40
34. W. E. Terry.....	Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York.....	1,040 90
35. E. J. Nugent.....	New York.....	959 00
36. James Fitzpatrick.....	Illinois.....	938 40
37. G. Y. Harry.....	Oregon.....	887 80
38. W. M. Dines.....	New York.....	776 15
39. W. F. Habel.....	Texas.....	768 90
40. E. A. Perkins.....	Indiana.....	762 15
41. F. L. Vanderhoof.....	Washington.....	723 50
42. Charles H. Gram.....	Oregon, Washington.....	700 00
43. F. E. Modie.....	Texas.....	680 80
44. Cornelius Ford.....	New York.....	637 67
45. R. L. Harper.....	Florida.....	541 90
46. H. D. Thomas.....	Ohio.....	153 69
47. Henry Streifer.....	Ohio, New Jersey.....	510 88
48. E. E. Smith.....	Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky.....	480 59
49. Ben Schlesinger.....	New York, Illinois.....	449 90
50. Peter Larsen.....	Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York.....	419 90
51. Alex. Rosenthal.....	Pennsylvania.....	392 80
52. M. J. Sullivan.....	Massachusetts.....	400 00
53. P. J. Cooney.....	Illinois.....	378 61
54. R. E. Currie.....	Utah.....	360 00
55. F. G. R. Gordon.....	Massachusetts.....	334 00
56. W. S. Harris.....	Georgia, South Carolina.....	332 30
57. O. E. Barlow.....	Georgia.....	292 66
58. M. Wait.....	Wisconsin, Illinois.....	269 00
59. James H. Donnelly.....	Pennsylvania.....	267 75
60. G. S. Brower.....	California.....	267 30
61. H. Blackmore.....	Missouri.....	232 80
62. Daniel Stampfer.....	Minnesota, Wisconsin.....	225 85
63. James Sexton.....	New York.....	230 25
64. D. W. Richmond.....	Illinois.....	225 00
65. F. C. Wheeler.....	California.....	183 90
66. W. O. Powell.....	Illinois.....	174 62



## Cost of Organizers—Continued.

Name of Organizer.	State where work was done.	Amount received.
67. F. H. McCarthy .....	Massachusetts.....	\$169 75
68. Dudley Van Dyke ..	New York, Pennsylvania.....	169 40
69. Jerome Jones .....	Georgia.....	165 56
70. F. L. Rist .....	Ohio.....	158 50
71. Charles Neitman .....	Wisconsin.....	158 50
72. J. M. Diale.....	California.....	156 50
73. Alexander Reid .....	Pennsylvania.....	153 53
74. W. S. Smith.....	California.....	150 00
75. P. J. Downey.....	New York.....	139 00
76. James McMahon.....	Ohio, Missouri.....	136 05
77. William B. Wilson.....	Indiana.....	134 01
78. Daniel M. Coughlin ..	New York.....	128 00
79. W. F. Miller.....	Illinois.....	125 15
80. C. S. O. Boudreaull.....	Canada.....	123 25
81. Tito Facelli.....	New York.....	116 47
82. W. H. Gregg.....	Illinois.....	115 20
83. W. H. Mullen.....	California.....	96 00
84. W. J. Clark.....	Ohio.....	89 38
85. Adam Menebe.....	Illinois.....	81 69
86. B. Cohen.....	Illinois.....	80 00
87. Samuel Hackett.....	Washington.....	79 58
88. F. J. Weber.....	Wisconsin.....	73 53
89. R. M. Ruiz.....	Louisiana.....	73 45
90. A. E. Lincoln.....	Massachusetts.....	70 42
91. Jas J Kreutzinger.....	Indiana.....	61 50
92. R. M. Hendreick.....	New York.....	60 56
93. John D. Bruyn.....	Pennsylvania.....	55 00
94. J. P. Hammond.....	Indiana.....	53 41
95. F. F. Benson.....	Ohio.....	51 55
96. W. H. Mumby.....	Michigan.....	51 50
97. E. J. Ratigan.....	Washington, D. C.....	51 50
98. D. D. Driscoll.....	Massachusetts.....	50 10
99. C. J. Latterman.....	New York.....	2,372 33
Paid to dist. organizers .....		
		\$83,242 23

## DEFENSE FUND.

The increase in the defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions from \$63,396.40 on October 1, 1903, to \$31,146.95, October 1, 1904, is most satisfactory when you consider that \$15,972, less \$560 returned, was paid during the year to members on strike in the various unions. The fund is ample to support members on strike for an indefinite period.

The average membership of the local unions has decreased during the past year from 82,800 to 55,257. This is due, in part, to the formation of affiliated local unions into nine international organizations. There were 352 local unions instructed to join the newly-formed international organizations.

An unusual number of unions were suspended for non-payment of per capita tax by the three months limit being strictly enforced.

The laws governing the distribution of the defense fund are ample, but I strongly advise against amendments which would permit a union chartered less than one year to receive strike benefits. The requirement that members of a local union should have a continuous membership of one year to be entitled to strike benefits should not be interfered with. If either, or both, of the above requirements were amended it would endanger the stability of the defense fund and encourage newly-organized unions to enter into hasty and ill-advised strikes. The number of strikes this year has been greater than heretofore. An unusual number of settlements were made through the agency of the paid organizers. The fact that the American Federation of Labor had from 25 to 50 organizers in the field during the year resulted in the adjustment of innumerable

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

controversies that would have resulted in strikes and an unusual drain upon the defense fund. There has been paid out of the defense fund during the year \$15,972 to the following unions:

	Average Membership.	Weeks.	Amount.
No. 8760, Stablemen's Union, San Francisco, Cal.....	229	9	\$8,192
No. 724, Steel Cabinet Workers, Jamestown, N. Y.....	45	10	1,820
No. 10,584, Women Can Workers, Maywood, Ill.....	39	6	936
No. 8557, Tackmakers, Fairhaven, Mass.....	17	13	924
No. 10917, Federal Labor Union, Ft. Bragg, Cal.....	33	6	804
No. 9069, Japanners and Finishers, Jamestown, N. Y.	15	10	584
No. 9560, Suspender Makers' Union, New York City...	22	6	528
No. 9843, Federal Labor Union, New London, Conn...	20	6	480
No. 9985, Federal Labor Union, Midvale, Ohio.....	9	10	360
No. 9932, Rag Selectors, Chelsea, Mass.....	42	2	336
No. 7413, Iron Molders' Helpers, St. Louis, Mo.....	20	4	320
No. 10442, Tar, Felt, and Waterproof, Paterson, N. J.	27	3	312
No. 7023, Button Workers, Rochester, N. Y.....	12	6	288
No. 10284, Laborers Prot. Union, Stockton, Cal.....	4	4	64
No. 10160, Rock Drillers, Niagara Falls, N. Y.....	6	1	24
			<u>\$15,972</u>

The following unions returned \$568, which our organizers in charge decided they were not justified in retaining:

No. 7294, Steel Cabinet Workers, Jamestown, N. Y.....	\$288.00
No. 9069, Japanners and Finishers, Jamestown, N. Y.....	112.00
No. 10917, Federal Labor Union, Ft. Bragg, Cal.....	108.00
No. 10584, Women Can Workers, Maywood, Ill.....	36.00
No. 7023, Button Workers, Rochester, N. Y.....	24.00
Total .....	<u>\$568.00</u>

## CHARTERS REVOKED.

Coal Hoisting Engineers, International Association of Pilots, Federal Labor Union, No. 7295; Hard Floor Layers and Helpers, No. 9075; Tuck Pointers Union, No. 10,382; Tuck Pointers Union, No. 10,384; Tuck Pointers and Front Cleaners Union, No. 10,804; Beer Pump Workers' Union, No. 8671.

## DISBANDED AND SUSPENDED.

CENTRALS—Disbanded, 6; suspended, 68. STATE—Disbanded, 1. LOCALS—Disbanded, 171; suspended, 636; ordered to affiliate with international unions, 352.

## THE AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

The following report of receipts and expenses for the 12 months ending September for the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST show that the receipts exceeded the expenses by \$1,939.97. The surplus will be greater next year, providing our advertising patronage is equal to what was received this year.

RECEIPTS.	
Advertisements.....	\$29,446 89
Subscriptions.....	3,193 00
	<u>\$32,639 89</u>
EXPENSES.	
Commissions.....	\$14,350 34
Printing "FEDERATIONIST".....	11,578 14
Salaries.....	2,711 90
Postage.....	785 08
Washington News Company.....	445 56
Printing for "FEDERATIONIST".....	216 75
Cuts.....	183 06
Attorney's fee.....	133 26
Contributions.....	113 00
Hauling "FEDERATIONIST".....	66 20
Clippings.....	60 00
Printing Hangers.....	27 75
Car tickets.....	14 00
Supplies.....	9 00
Stencils and frame.....	6 88
Total.....	<u>30,699 92</u>
RECAPITULATION.	
Receipts.....	\$32,639 89
Expenses.....	30,699 92
Surplus.....	<u>1,939 97</u>

A resume of the progress made numerically and financially by the American Federation of Labor, during the past eight years, can not but encourage the trades unionists in their efforts to educate, organize, and federate the wage workers. The growth of the American Federation of Labor has been phenomenal; particularly so in many localities. Where organizations spring up within a few months, it must be expected that in adjusting the members into unions, the membership must decrease somewhat from the highwater mark which it reached during the time that the organization wave held sway. A careful investigation and tabulation of the membership of the affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor show an increase of over one-fifth of a million of members. My report last year showed an average membership of 1,465,800, while the average membership this year is 1,676,200, a clear gain of 210,400. A remarkable increase, when you consider the number of strikes that have taken place, and the organized effort of the citizens' alliances to retard organization and disrupt unions now in existence.

The following is the average membership reported or paid upon during the past eight years:

1896.....	272,315
1897.....	264,825
1898.....	278,016
1899.....	349,422
1900.....	548,321
1901.....	787,537
1902.....	1,024,399
1903.....	1,465,800
1904.....	1,676,200

In conclusion, I desire to express my appreciation of the splendid effort put forth by the organizers, and the assistance and encouragement received from the officers of international organizations, and from my colleagues on the Executive Council, during the period that I have served as secretary of the American Federation of Labor.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK MORRISON,  
*Secretary, American Federation of Labor.*

## REPORT OF TREASURER.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.*

GREETING: In submitting this my fourteenth annual report, I desire to wish you one and all a kindly and fraternal greeting.

The year just passed has been more than usually trying to the officers and members of trade unions. As never before, the opponents of our movement have used all possible means, both fair and unfair, more particularly the latter, to defeat our efforts for the betterment of the conditions of labor and the wages of the toilers. The press has been very largely used to bring our movement into disrepute by charging trade unionists with being murderers, thugs, and general violators of law and government. The agitation of employers' organizations and the Business Men's Alliances for what they term the open shop has been most persistent and unscrupulous. An examination of the court records of our nation, state and municipalities will clearly and positively disprove the charge of lawlessness so often reiterated regarding trade unionists, and we invite all who are desirous of knowing the truth to make an examination of the criminal record of our members and compare it with that of the non-unionist. We are willing to be judged by the real facts, not by alleged ones that have no foundation in reality. We know the schooling and influence of the trade union is elevating morally, socially, and intellectually, and we are sure a fair investigation will so prove.

We do not claim that trade unionists commit no crimes, but we assert that when they do, it is because they forget trade union principles and teachings, and temporarily fall back into the lack of principle and intelligence which dominates the non-union workers. The open shop of employers is a misnomer as well as a deliberate misrepresentation of facts. Our unions do not close the shops where they are employed to the honorable non-union workers. All are welcome; our doors are closed to no competent, honorable man or woman, and the employers of union labor can not deny this statement without stating a deliberate falsehood. The employer can give work to the non-unionist at any time, and this they do every day. We hold that when a non-unionist is employed by a firm where the union has established the conditions of labor, that it then becomes incumbent upon such employe to join the union and at least help to maintain the trade union standard of

## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

living, which has been established by our efforts alone. The employers who shout for open shop have demonstrated that what they mean is a shop closed to union men and women. We do not stand for a closed shop, as all are welcome, both union and non-union, but we do and will stand for the maintenance of union conditions, insisting that all employes help in keeping the standard of living and consequent moral and social condition of the working class constantly improving, sure, even though it be slow, and this is possible only in the union shop. And when the non-unionist secures employment in a union shop, we insist that they cast their lot with us, not to narrow their opportunities or belittle their manhood or womanhood, but to enlarge and magnify both.

While opposition has been keen, there has been consequent growth in the solidarity of our movement; despite all efforts to crush the unions, we are numerically stronger today than one year ago. No member should be despondent, none should quit the fight, if there is hope for the future, and who, with knowledge of the past achievements, can doubt it, that hope lies in the success of organized labor, the only element of substantial strength engaged in the work of amelioration of the conditions of the workers.

To the members of the Executive Council I extend my regards for their uniform and continued kindness and confidence so often made manifest toward myself, and to all members of our great army of peace in the trade union. I am under obligations that words fail to give even a remote expression of. To you, one and all, I say, be of good cheer; the days to come will surely be brighter in the main than the ones behind, if we are true to the principles of the trade union.

Below I give a statement of the finances of the Federation as covered by the work of the treasurer for the past year:

INCOME		EXPENSE.	
Balance October 1, 1903.....	\$34,013 12	Warrants paid October, 1903.....	\$18,080 51
Receipts for October, 1903.....	31,778 36	“ “ November, 1903.....	14,472 55
“ “ November, 1903.....	13,914 07	“ “ December, 1903.....	19,449 35
“ “ December, 1903.....	18,155 57	“ “ January, 1904.....	13,729 07
“ “ January, 1904.....	19,579 75	“ “ February, 1904.....	16,342 89
“ “ February, 1904.....	16,521 59	“ “ March, 1904.....	21,610 33
“ “ March, 1904.....	19,626 44	“ “ April, 1904.....	18,137 26
“ “ April, 1904.....	15,392 38	“ “ May, 1904.....	17,834 08
“ “ May, 1904.....	18,543 87	“ “ June, 1904.....	15,361 03
“ “ June, 1904.....	13,466 44	“ “ July, 1904.....	20,342 96
“ “ July, 1904.....	10,706 45	“ “ August, 1904.....	14,101 00
“ “ August, 1904.....	17,906 44	“ “ September, 1904.....	14,580 12
“ “ September, 1904.....	25,604 61		
	\$305,009 09		\$203,991 15
Total funds.....		Total funds.....	\$305,009 09
Total expenses.....		Total expenses.....	203,991 15
Balance in hands of treasurer.....		Cash in hands of secretary.....	101,017 94
Cash in hands of secretary.....		Total funds.....	2,000 00
Total funds.....			103,017 94

The funds under the control of the treasurer are deposited as follows in Bloomington, Ill., banks:

Six certificates of \$5,000 each, Third National Bank.....	\$30,000 00
Six certificates of \$5,000 each, McLean County Bank.....	30,000 00
Two certificates of \$5,000 each, German-American Bank.....	10,000 00
Two certificates of \$5,000 each, Corn Belt Bank.....	10,000 00
Open account, State National Bank.....	16,387 98
Open account Third National Bank.....	4,629 96
Total.....	\$101,017 94

The sixteen certificates, amounting to eighty thousand dollars, are held by President Gompers subject to order of the Executive Council, and can not be cashed except upon their order with the indorsement of the president and treasurer. The open accounts are subject to check of the treasurer. The treasurer's bonds are for \$25,000, issued by one of the leading surety companies.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) JOHN B. LENNON,

Bloomington, Ill., October 1, 1904.

Treasurer.

## SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 o'clock A. M., Tuesday, November 15th, President Gompers in the chair.

**Absentees:** Barry (J. L.), Slocum, Kemper, Priestersbach, Hank, Brady, Macfarlane, Gengenbach, Barnes, O'Brien (J. R.), Nelson, Feeney, Jacoby, Wilson (H. H.), Farrell, Lawlor, Maher, Smith (J. W.), Waffner, Ireland, Lynch (E. J.), Downey, Pattison, Ryan (W. D.), Finan, Mason, Wilson (James), Cain, Dix, Dinan, Sauer, Quick, Ramsay, Cornelius, Maloney (P.), Powell, Fischer, McAndrews, Foster, Berger, Morgan, Triplett, Hanratty, Ryder, Parks, Husted, Gallmann, Smith (J. T.), Cohen (B.), Michel, Brennan, Brown, Morris, Lock, Harris, Lavery, (J. A.), Ward, Walker, Dunn (J. P.), Hepp, Woodmansee, Owens, Roberts, Leavitt, Payne, O'Shea, Ryan (John), Morris, Burke, Coffey, Dunn (J. P.), Patterson, Edmondson, Catania, McCaslin, Bailey, Hinton, Bricker Pillsbury, Keefe (M. O.), Damozonio, Dale, Schilling, Meintert, Dowd.

On motion of Delegate Hart the reading of the minutes of the previous day's sessions was dispensed with.

Delegate L. A. Tanquary of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business read the following report:

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

**Rule 1**—The Convention shall be called to order at 9 A. M., adjourn at noon, to reassemble at 2 P. M., and to continue in session until 5:30 P. M.

**Rule 2**—If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, announce his name and organization he represents.

**Rule 3**—Should two or more members rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

**Rule 4**—No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless it shall be to call him to a point of order.

**Rule 5**—If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall at the request of the chair take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.

**Rule 6**—A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same subject or question, until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so, nor more than twice without permission from the Convention, nor any longer than ten minutes at a time without permission.

**Rule 7**—A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of five members.

**Rule 8**—When a question is before the Convention no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall severally have precedence in the order named.

**Rule 9**—A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

**Rule 10**—A motion for a reconsideration shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall require a majority vote.

**Rule 11**—Any delegate not presenting a card within thirty minutes after Convention is called to order, shall be marked absent; but in the event of being unavoidably absent, shall have the privilege of reporting to the Secretary.

**Rule 12**—The previous question can only be put when called for by at least twelve members.

**Rule 13**—Before a resolution is received by the chair for reference to a committee it shall bear the signature of the delegate introducing it, with the title of his union.

**Rule 14**—No motion or resolution shall be finally passed without opportunity to speak is afforded the delegate making or introducing the same.

**Rule 15**—No resolution shall be received after Thursday's session, November 17, without unanimous consent.

**Rule 16**—All questions not herein provided shall be decided according to Roberts' Manual.

**Rule 17**—The main body of the hall to be reserved for delegates.

### ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Reading Minutes of Previous Session.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Reports of Officers.
4. Reports of Regular Committees.
5. Reports of Special Committees.
6. Unfinished Business.
7. New Business.
8. Election of Officers.
9. Good of the Federation.
10. Adjournment.

Order of Business No. 1 to be dispensed with unless called for. Any alteration or

correction shall be made to the Secretary in writing.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

F. A. TANQUARY, Chairman,  
J. P. MURPHY,  
B. B. ROSENTHAL,  
ISADOR JACOBY,  
MARTIN McGRAW,  
T. J. DUFFY,  
JOHN FITZPATRICK,  
JOHN CLARK,  
JAS. A. SULLIVAN,  
PATRICK MALONEY,  
ANTHONY McGRAW.

It was moved by Treasurer Lennon, and duly seconded, that the report of the committee be approved and the rules adopted.

Delegate Frank Duffy of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters objected to holding two sessions on Saturday. He stated that the rank and file of the labor organizations advocated a half-holiday on Saturday, and that most of the international headquarters were closed on Saturday afternoon. Mr. Duffy offered as an amendment to the motion the following: That for the first five days of the week two sessions a day be held, and on Saturday but one session, from 9 to 12, be held. (Seconded.)

Delegate O'Connell spoke in opposition to the amendment.

The amendment was voted on and lost.

Delegate T. M. Guerin asked what provision had been made in regard to holding night sessions. President Gompers replied that no provision had been made by the committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was then voted on and carried.

President Gompers: The chair desires to bring a matter to the attention of the Convention which I believe will be greeted with a great deal of pleasure. Brother Max Morris handed to me this morning a dispatch from Denver, Colo., in which it is shown that notices were posted at the mills of the five big mines of the Telluride district last night that in the future the eight-hour day would prevail in the mills. The plants concerned are those of the Smuggler-Union, Liberty Bell, Tom Boy, Nellie and Alta. It was the demand for this concession in the mills in the State of Colorado that precipitated the strike in the mills and mines. The minimum wage promised under the new arrangement is three dollars a day. At one time the Western Federa-

tion of Miners offered to accept \$2.75 for an eight-hour day. While no authorized announcement to the effect has yet been made, the general opinion is that under the new order no discrimination will be made against the employment of union men.

I think this is one of the indications verifying the claim of organized labor that, despite a set-back here and there which may occur, the future is ours. There is no escape from the beneficent influences of a movement founded upon the well being and the welfare of the working people, and of all the people. It seemed to me this information should be formally presented to this Convention.

The remarks of President Gompers were received with applause, and on motion of Delegate Giltorpe were ordered made a part of the printed proceedings of the Convention.

Delegate D. A. Carey of the Committee on President's Report made the following preliminary report:

To the Officers and Members of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen: Your Committee on President's Address beg to submit the following partial report:

First—That we endorse that part of the President's Address in the appointment of a special committee to confer with the officers of the Typographical Union on the eight-hour work day, but that a special committee be appointed by this convention to give the subject matter consideration; that the committee should consult with the officers and representatives of the International Typographical Union during the Convention and report thereto before adjournment; that either that committee or another committee be authorized to be appointed for purpose of co-operating with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the officers of the Typographical Union, so that the best possible aid can be rendered to our fellow-workers in the great movement that they have undertaken and in which they have the hopes, wishes, prayers and co-operation of every one interested in the welfare of the human family and the progress and civilization of our people.

Second—That that part of the report dealing with the defense fund be referred to the Committee on Laws.

The defense fund has been of vast benefit to our directly affiliated unions, not only in sustaining our members in any difficulty, but particularly in preventing employers' attacks. The realization that the men of organized labor have a defense fund which can be concentrated upon any given point to protect the rights and interests of our fellow-workers has had a palpable and beneficent effect.

Experience has shown that our present law upon this subject is somewhat defective, and which it has been necessary by administrative acts to overcome. I suggest, however, that they be remedied by their legal enactment into our constitution, and therefore recommend the adoption of the following changes and amendments:

Article 13, Section 1: Strike out the entire section and substitute the following:

"The moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of local trade and federal labor unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, endorsed and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this article."

Section 2: Amend the last clause so as to read as follows:

"Unless the strike or lockout shall have been authorized and approved by the President and the Executive Council," etc.

Section 3: Amend the first clause so as to read as follows:

"When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and the Executive Council," etc.

Section 3: Amend the two last clauses so as to read:

"The president of a local union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality and the number of persons involved, union and non-union. Also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved."

Section 6: Strike out the words "any member refusing work while on strike shall not be entitled to any benefits," and substitute the following:

"Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits."

Section 9: Between the words "paid" and "and" add the following:

"Furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid."

Third—That section of President's report dealing with Women's Label League be referred to the Committee on Labels.

#### WOMEN'S LABEL LEAGUE.

For some time past correspondence has been had with some of the representatives of the Women's International Union Label League. The opinion expressed by some of its officials is to the effect that much better results could be accomplished in the interests of the working people if the organization were remodeled and its purposes directed as the following suggested title would imply: "Women's Auxiliary International Union of America." We cordially attest our apprecia-

tion of the splendid work performed by the existing organization, but if it shall be manifest to the women who sympathize and who are co-operating with us to advance the interests of labor that a change of programme or of detail and of title is prompted by their judgment and experience, and that a change of title should be made, surely they will meet with our hearty approval and endorsement, and that we will in turn do what lies in our power to make their efforts and their organization most effective.

Respectfully submitted,

A. FURUSETH, Chairman.  
H. C. BARTER,  
CHAS. W. PETRY,  
WM. S. SMITH,  
H. W. SHERMAN,  
T. F. TRACY,  
COLLIS LOVELY.

Delegate Lee M. Hart moved the adoption of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded and carried.

President Gompers—Vice-President Jas. Duncan will read the report of the Executive Council. Such parts of the report as require action at the hands of this Convention will be referred to the various committees, and the Convention so notified.

#### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.,  
November 14, 1904.

Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor—  
Greeting:

In conformity with custom and our duty, we herewith submit to you a report of the Executive Council covering such subjects as have had our consideration and action.

The Executive Council has held six meetings during the year—one in Boston immediately after the close of the Convention there; the second at A. F. of L. headquarters, Washington, D. C.; the third at Denver, Colo.; the fourth at A. F. of L. headquarters, Washington, D. C.; the fifth on the train from Chicago to San Francisco; the sixth in San Francisco.

In this city we shall hold such meetings during the Convention as may be essential to consider matters which may be referred to us, but we should prefer that all matters which have no direct bearing upon the present Convention should be deferred until a meeting which we shall have immedi-

tely after the close of the Convention's deliberations.

In all, the Executive Council has devoted twenty days in joint meeting to the consideration of the subject matter before us. In a few instances unfinished business was referred to the Washington resident members of the Executive Council, Messrs. Gompers, Duncan, O'Connell and Morrison, to determine questions of importance, of course subject to the ratification of the entire Executive Council.

Much of the work was necessarily transacted by correspondence through the mails and by telegraph, since it would be a financial and practical impossibility for the Executive Council to be in continuous daily session throughout the year.

In all, 115 circular letters were submitted to the Executive Council during the year, and action taken thereon.

In compliance with the instruction of the Boston Convention to hold a meeting west of the Missouri River, one was held in Denver, Colo., in April.

#### ORGANIZATION.

It is a matter of gratification that the reports of our officers and of all affiliated unions show that though we have had to contend against greater opposition and antagonism, yet the movement of organized labor has with the slightest recession for a very brief period, fully maintained its own, and has made considerable progress. Detailed statements in regard to these matters have already been submitted to you in the reports of the President and Secretary.

Complying with your instructions, as well as following the bent of our own desires for greater unity among the wage-earners of our country, every effort has been made among the unorganized to bring them within the beneficent fold of the trade union movement, and to unite and federate the already organized workers. We appointed committees and divided ourselves into such committees to appear at some of the conventions of unaffiliated internationals, the sum total of all of which has already brought good results and will, in the no distant future, bring its full fruition.

It is a regrettable fact that there

are any international unions unaffiliated to the American Federation of Labor. It is true that there are but few, but that there should even be one unaffiliated does not lessen our cause for regret; for there is not one tangible, good reason for remaining aloof from the family of trade unions, upon the broad platform of the American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor has not only demonstrated its right to existence, but its constantly increasing achievements and power for good entitle it to the good will and confidence of the people, and particularly the working people of our continent. Organized in 1881, it has ever since, without deviation, served the cause of labor. It is the first general federated movement of America's workers that has not deteriorated, or been destroyed, or diverted into improper channels or to improper purposes. Its life has been of vast use and great advantage to the cause of labor, and can be made immeasurably more so by still greater unity and federation with the resultant increase in numbers, influence and the added intelligence of the yet unaffiliated organizations. We therefore earnestly recommend that the efforts to organize the yet unorganized, to affiliate the yet unaffiliated, be renewed and continued.

To the full limit of our financial resources we have placed organizers in the field who have energetically and intelligently fulfilled their mission, and we stand committed to the continuance of this policy.

#### JURISDICTION DISPUTES AND CONFERENCES.

Pursuant to the instructions of the Boston Convention, a conference of representatives of the various machinery and iron trades unions was held at Washington, where President Gompers, Vice-President Duncan and Secretary Morrison represented the American Federation of Labor, the purpose being to determine the "line of demarkation" of the various unions' jurisdiction. Each of the organizations made its respective claim to jurisdiction; and by reason of an enlightened spirit of the organizations' representatives, a number of claims were immediately satisfactorily adjusted, while in other



cases agreement was impossible. For convenience, a copy of the report of this conference is submitted herewith, although not forming part hereof. Further conferences were arranged and held, the result of one, the Allied Metal Mechanics and Machinists, already having been referred to in this report.

Being unable to finally determine the line of demarcation of the jurisdiction between the Brotherhood of Boiler-Makers and Iron Ship Builders and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union, Vice-Presidents Duncan, O'Connell and Spencer were appointed as a committee to make personal investigation and study of buildings and structures of all kinds regarding the matters in dispute. The committee fulfilled its duties and submitted a report containing its findings in the following language:

First: Smokestacks are awarded to the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America.

Second: Gasometers, steam, air, gas or water-tight tank work, with the frame work to the coping of the outer tank, is awarded to the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America, and the guide frame work above the coping of the outer tank is awarded to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

Third: Erection of rib, girder and angle iron work in connection with coal hoppers and ash chutes in buildings is awarded to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

Fourth: Assembling and erection of the frame and plates on safety deposit vaults is awarded to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

The findings of the committee were ratified by the Executive Council, but we cannot say that they have given entire satisfaction or that they have been fully enforced by the organizations in interest.

In the dispute between the United Metal Workers and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, several conferences were held, at which President Gompers, Vice-President O'Connell and Secretary Morrison participated, and subsequently Vice-President Spencer

and Mr. John A. Flett were selected as the representatives of the Executive Council to determine the questions at issue between these organizations. The conference was held at Toronto, Canada, in connection with the Convention of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and Mr. Flett was for that reason selected by the Executive Council as Mr. Spencer's associate. The report of this committee is as follows:

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers vs. United Metal Workers.

September 29, 1904.

To the Officers and Members of the Executive Council, A. F. of L.:

Greeting: In accordance with the instructions issued by the late Washington meeting of the Executive Council the undersigned attended the joint conference of the representatives of the United Metal Workers and the International Bridge and Structural Iron Workers in the city of Toronto during the Convention of the latter organization, as directed by the adjourned New York conference.

There were present Brothers Frank Buchanan, Geo. Warner, A. E. Clancy, representing the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; Brothers Charles Kirkpatrick and F. W. Marker, representing the United Metal Workers, and Brothers Wm. J. Spencer and John A. Flett, representing the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Brother John A. Flett was chosen Chairman and Wm. J. Spencer Secretary.

A series of meetings were held at which the dispute in question was exhaustively discussed; but it was quite obvious from the opening of the conference that no amicable settlement could be arrived at, and at the suggestion of Brother Kirkpatrick the first meeting adjourned to give the Iron Workers an opportunity to pass judgment upon the advisability of retaining the inside shop men in the International Union, Brother Kirkpatrick stating that he would prefer to have the Convention decide rather than the committee as he thought it unfair to ask the representatives of the Federation make a decision.

At the convening of the second meeting the Chair asked what action had been taken by the Convention on the question referred to it, and was informed that Brother Kirkpatrick had appeared before the Convention and addressed the delegates upon the advisability of making a working agreement along the lines submitted by him to the Denver meeting and which he explained at length, and at his conclusion the convention endorsed their previous action in claiming jurisdiction over the inside shop men, there being but eleven votes in the negative.

After a very lengthy, and at times heated discussion, Brother Buchanaa, moved that claim No. 4 of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be conceded to the International Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

A division was called for, and resulted in a tie, your representatives reserving their decision until the testimony and minutes of the previous meetings were more fully considered.

Upon a review of the data in our possession, your committee finds that a joint conference was held in Washington June 27-29, 1904, in answer to the following call:

"In the dispute as to jurisdiction in the Metal Trades, especially as between the Allied Metal Mechanics and the United Metal Workers, the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. hereby decides that on or before July 15, 1904, a conference shall be held composed of two delegates from each of the following organizations: Machinists, Structural Iron Workers, Metal Polishers, Allied Metal Mechanics, United Metal Workers and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. Said conference shall assign to each of the first three unions all persons now members of the Allied Metal Mechanics and United Metal Workers, eligible to membership therein, and shall unite in one International Union all members of the Allied Metal Mechanics and United Metal Workers not eligible to membership in the other unions named, and said conference shall clearly define the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Union so formed. Any union declining to take part in said conference or refusing to abide by its decision shall forfeit its charter forthwith."

At this conference the claims of jurisdiction of the Machinists, Metal Polishers and Iron Workers were submitted and acted upon. The only dispute over the claim of the Structural Iron Workers occurred over the claim No. 4 which reads:

"All work in the assembling shops of ornamental or bridge and structural iron works, whether iron, cast iron or steel."

Despite the objection of the Metal Workers, the conference conceded the work in question to the Iron Workers, without any reservation, nor did they reconsider their action when they subsequently referred the matter to a future conference of representatives of both organizations at the suggestion of Vice-President O'Connell, and authorized the following motion:

"Secretary Morrison moved that within thirty days a conference be arranged between the representatives of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers and the representatives of the United Metal Workers, the representatives of both organizations to be primarily constituted of the members who work in the assembling shops of ornamental or bridge and structural iron works, with full power to determine as to the best course to pursue to promote and protect the best interests of the men as well as the two organizations at interest."

It evidently was not the intention of the Washington conference to digress from the original object as stated in the "call," for on motion of Vice-President O'Connell, the "future consideration of the subject of the jurisdiction of the Allied Metal Mechanics and the United Metal Workers, and the amalgamation of the two bodies be postponed to a time not exceeding ninety days," shows that it was the intention to follow out the plan as outlined in the "call" as soon as the matter under consideration had been disposed of by the committees.

Nor did the subsequent conference in New York change the attitude of the parties in interest, for the inside men there professed their desire to remain in the Structural Iron Workers, and in the opinion of your committee the intention of that conference adjourning was clearly to get the feel-

ing of the Iron Workers' organization as to whether they would relinquish their claim upon the inside men.

A review of the minutes of the various meetings and the testimony taken impressed upon your committee with the necessity of keeping the inside men and the outside men in one organization, if possible, and we thereupon addressed both parties as to whether they would be willing to adopt and accept a form of organization similar to that of the International Typographical Union and the German Typographia.

We were impelled to do this by the reluctance of the Metal Workers to be absorbed by the Iron Workers, and by the latter agreeing that the inside men should have the right to autonomy in a very liberal measure.

While differing in detail, both parties expressed a willingness to accept such a plan in principle, and we are of the opinion that this is about the only plan that could be worked out to the mutual satisfaction of the parties in interest.

Your committee is, therefore, of the opinion that since each organization has a membership that can perform the work of the other that both should be organized in one body, as intended by the original "call," and we recommend that the Executive Council urge the acceptance of a plan of organization that will preserve the autonomy of the inside shop men, under the International Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. After mature consideration we believe that the above recommendation will preserve and promote the best interests of the men involved.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) WM. J. SPENCER,  
JOHN A. FLETT.

The findings of this committee have been approved by us, and in accordance with the instructions of the Boston Convention to determine "the line of demarkation," stand as the decision of the American Federation of Labor.

After conference, and no agreement being had, the Executive Council decided that coppersmiths properly come under the jurisdiction of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Association. Secretary Sherman

of the United Metal Workers has entered protest against the decision.

#### PLUMBERS—STEAM FITTERS.

Last year we reported fully upon the controversy between the United Association of Plumbers, Steam Fitters, and Steam Fitters' Helpers versus the National Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, and called attention to the fact that the Executive Council had no other alternative than to revoke the charter of the latter because it had failed to abide by the award made by the umpire to which both organizations submitted their controversy. The Convention ratified that report, and referred to us the subject matters contained in resolutions numbers 41 and 42 of the Boston Convention. Complaint was made during the year that some central bodies had refused to abide by the decision, which occasioned us to issue a circular dated June 14th, which was sent to all our central bodies and published in the August issue of the "American Federationist."

We all regard with keenest appreciation the great worth of the work central labor unions do and can do; but it must be apparent to all that to make that work fruitful of good results there must be sympathetic co-operation and ready compliance with the decisions and judgment of the highest court in the realms of organized labor, the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

A number of central bodies promptly complied with our effort to carry out the Boston Convention's decision; a few others failed to comply.

We thereupon decided that those central bodies which failed to comply on or before November 1, with your decision and the terms of that circular issued in conformity therewith, should have their charters revoked on the date named, and directed President Gompers to issue letters to this effect to these recalcitrant central bodies. The date set has expired, and compliance has not been had with the decision and the charters of the central bodies of Chicago, Indianapolis and Washington, D. C., have been revoked and those bodies informed that immediately upon compliance with the decision their charters will be restored.

#### MINERS—COAL HOISTING ENGINEERS.

Under the terms of resolution No. 40 of the Boston Convention, and for which that Convention adopted a substitute report of a committee, the entire subject matter in controversy between the United Mine Workers of America and the Coal Hoisting Engineers was referred to the Executive Council to act in accordance with "the lines laid down by the report of the special committee on autonomy as reported and endorsed by the Scranton Convention."

The Executive Council heard representatives of both organizations, and finding that the matters came within the provisions of the Scranton Convention declaration, we had no alternative but to decide that the charter of the Coal Hoisting Engineers should be withdrawn; that they should become part of the United Mine Workers of America; that all existing contracts of the Engineers should be maintained by the Miners; that the latter accept without initiation fee all coal hoisting engineers in good standing; and that representatives of the two organizations meet for the purpose of carrying the decision into effect.

#### SEAMEN—LONGSHOREMEN.

For quite a time there has been considerable dispute between the Seamen's International Union of America and the International Longshoremen's Association, regarding certain features of jurisdiction. We have had a number of conferences with the representatives of both organizations, and have arranged for another conference to be held in this city, when it is hoped that a workable agreement, to the mutual advantage of both organizations, may be adopted.

#### PAINTERS—AMALGAMATED SHEET METAL WORKERS.

In the matter of the dispute between the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America and the International Association of Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers regarding glazing work in roofs, skylights and sashes, we suggested a conference between the representatives of the organization in interest and selected Messrs. Kidd or Spencer to co-operate. We recommended also as a basis for an understanding, the following:

First: That the members of both organizations, the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, and the International Association of Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers, be permitted to glaze metal sash, where the contractors who employ members of either association, are awarded the contract for doing such work.

Second: That the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, be conceded the right to cut all glass on buildings that is used in metal sashes, the International Association of Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers reserving the right of glazing such glass, when it is fitted in metal sash, because all glass placed in metal sash has to be capped and soldered with sheet metal, and necessitates the employment of a sheet metal worker to do such work.

Third: That the International Association of Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers waive jurisdiction over the cutting or glazing of wooden sash, priming or painting sash constructed of metal or wood.

Fourth: That the International Association of Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers be conceded jurisdiction over the fitting or setting of glass in metal sash or skylights, after said glass is properly prepared and cut, to enable sheet metal workers to properly perform their work.

The officers of both organizations agreed that a conference should be held as suggested, the Brotherhood of Painters contending that there can be no question as to the right of its members to the work involved, while the Sheet Metal Workers expressed the hope that at the conference a satisfactory understanding will be reached and further friction between the organizations removed.

#### ELECTRICAL WORKERS—STREET RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

A dispute arose as to the jurisdiction over men who do electrical work in connection with the operation of the street railways. The officers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America and the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America conferred with us, the result of which was the voluntary action on the part of the latter to surrender jurisdiction over those

workers, to the Brotherhood. A circular to this effect was issued by the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electrical Railway Employees of America to its locals, which has been enforced and has given general satisfaction.

#### MECHANICS' AND MACHINISTS' AMALGAMATION.

Due to our constant efforts, we are also gratified to be enabled to report that as the result of numerous conferences between the representatives of the two organizations, the International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics became amalgamated with the International Association of Machinists on November 1st.

#### BLACKSMITHS—ALLIED METAL MECHANICS.

In connection with the dispute between these two organizations, as reported to the Boston Convention, and in compliance with the direction thereon, we heard the contention fully, by representatives of both organizations, and decided that in conformity with instructions regarding Blacksmiths' Helpers, that inasmuch as they were formally turned over to the Federation, that in behalf of the jurisdiction we have over Blacksmiths' Helpers, that they shall become members of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths.

Inasmuch as the International Association of Allied Metal Mechanics is not now in existence, having amalgamated with the International Association of Machinists the matter is removed from the field of controversy.

#### CARPENTERS—SHIPWRIGHTS.

The subject matter of the claim of the National Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America, was turned over to us by the last Convention, and correspondence and conference have been had. We believed that better results will be achieved for an agreement, if further conference is had between the organizations primarily in interest, and therefore urged the officers of both organizations to hold such a conference, and that until the time of final settlement of the matter in dispute, that carpenters should carry shipwrights' cards when doing shipwright work, and shipwrights should carry carpenters' cards when doing work as house carpenters.

Secretary Duffy of the Carpenters wrote that the matter will be considered by the Executive Board of his organization at its meeting next January. We have not heard further from the Shipwrights upon the subject.

We trust that the matter will be either withdrawn or adjusted.

#### ENGINEERS—FIREMEN—BREWERY WORKERS.

The contention between the Brewery Workers, the Engineers and the Firemen has not in the least diminished in intensity during the past year, despite the actions and decisions of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and despite every effort made by us to bring about a better state of affairs. In order that a clear understanding of this case may be had, it is necessary to recount the history of this controversy.

The Brewery Workers became affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and subsequently admitted to membership in its organization engineers and firemen working in breweries. Prior thereto, engineers' unions and firemen's unions, members of which worked in breweries, were organized and became affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. The International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen were organized by direction of the American Federation of Labor, with the full knowledge of the International Union of United Brewery Workers, and no objection was interposed, nor any claim made of jurisdiction over these engineers and firemen until a considerable period after the formation of these international unions. Local controversies arose here and there, some of which were adjusted; others drifted along, while still others became more acute. The Executive Council endeavored to act in an advisory and helpful capacity; the conventions endorsed that course.

The matter came to a culminating point at the New Orleans Convention when it adopted the Driscoll substitute both for the Executive Council's report as well as the report of the grievance committee thereon. The Driscoll substitute reads as follows:

"RESOLVED, That all engineers and firemen employed in breweries must be

long to their respective international unions, and that an agreement shall be drawn up between the Brewery Workers, the Engineers and Firemen, in effect, that when a trade difficulty arises affecting the interest of either one, all three mentioned organizations must co-operate in adjusting said dispute; said agreement to be drawn up by two members from each of the three mentioned organizations, and two members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, said committee to meet within sixty days after the adjournment of this Convention."

In accordance with the terms of this action of the New Orleans Convention, Vice-President O'Connell and Secretary Morrison were appointed a committee to confer with a committee of the Engineers', Firemen's and Brewery Workers' International Unions. An agreement was drawn up and signed by all parties the representatives of the Brewery Workers signing the same subject to the ratification of their convention. That convention refused to ratify the agreement. Copy of that agreement is printed on pages 77, 78, official proceedings of the Boston convention, and reprisals of one organization upon the other were indulged in to the injury of all.

The entire subject matter was fully reported to the Boston Convention, and after extensive hearings by the committee and full, free and comprehensive discussion before the Convention, the following report of the committee was adopted:

"We recommend that the Cincinnati agreement be affirmed; that all parties concerned be instructed to abide by the terms thereof, and that failure in this respect shall work the revocation of the charter of the organization or organizations so failing."

We did not become lax in the effort to bring about a better understanding and working agreement between the organizations, and had representatives of each of them in counsel with us at our meetings in Boston, Washington and Denver. We officially communicated to the organizations the direct instructions to us from the convention. The Engineers and Firemen advised us of their assent; the Brewery Workers submitted the matter to a referendum vote. This vote was be-

ing taken while we were in session at Denver.

Anxious to avoid enforcing the decree for the revocation of the Brewery Workers' charter, we selected President Gompers to confer with the representatives of the three organizations. Three whole days were devoted to that conference, when all seemed agreed upon the conclusion reached, Messrs. Kemper and Preistersbach for the Brewery Workers assuring us that it would be submitted to a referendum vote of the membership, with their favorable recommendation. The agreement reached was as follows:

#### BREWERY WORKERS', ENGINEERS', FIREMEN'S AGREEMENT.

To Be Ratified by the Organizations in Interest.

In compliance with the decision of the Boston Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and for the purpose of providing the means thereunder by which the best interests of all parties may be conserved, the undersigned agree that the engineers and firemen employed in breweries come under the jurisdiction of the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, respectively, and all other brewery employes not otherwise now decided by the American Federation of Labor come under the jurisdiction of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America.

For the purpose of carrying into effect the decision above referred to, all engineers and firemen now members of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America shall during the week of July 13-20 (Inclusive), 1904, be given a clear transfer card by the respective secretaries of local unions belonging to the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America, these cards to be accepted by local unions without discrimination, and the holders of these cards admitted to full membership into the local unions belonging to the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen without the payment of any initiation fee or fine of any kind; and those newly admitted engineers and firemen shall immediately become entitled to all the rights, benefits and protection as all other members of said local engineers' and firemen's unions, provided, of course, that the

regular dues or assessments shall be paid by all members of said local unions of engineers and firemen.

The first Monday in October, 1904, two representatives from the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America, one representative from the International Union of Steam Engineers, and one representative from the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, shall meet at a place agreed upon by the officers of the organizations named, for the purpose of forming an International Joint Conference Board. The officers of the organizations named shall agree upon the place for holding the meeting for the formation of this International Joint Conference Board on or before September 19, 1904. Should they fail to agree by that time as to the place of meeting, then the President of the A. F. of L. shall be empowered to designate a place.

The International Joint Conference Board provided for shall consist of four members, two representatives from the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America, one representative from the International Union of Steam Engineers, and one from the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

The duties of the International Joint Conference Board shall be to co-operate for the purpose of protecting and promoting the interests of the members and crafts covered by the respective jurisdictions of the organizations, parties hereto.

It shall require a majority vote of the International Joint Conference Board to decide upon any case presented, and in the event of this board being unable to reach a decision they shall select a fifth man within two days with co-equal powers to the other representatives constituting the board, and the decision reached by the board thus constituted shall be final and binding upon all parties concerned.

In the event of the inability of the International Joint Conference Board to select by majority vote the fifth man, as herein provided, the President of the A. F. of L. shall be notified within 24 hours, and by telegraph, if necessary, and he shall be empowered to select a fifth man to act with the International Joint Conference Board, as herein provided, with co-equal power to all the other members

of the International Joint Conference Board, and the decision by the board thus constituted shall be final and binding upon all parties to this agreement.

The International Joint Conference Board shall meet the first Monday in February, 1905, and on the same day each year succeeding, and shall also meet at such other times as may be necessary at such place as may be mutually agreed upon by the officers of the international unions parties to this agreement.

In the event of the failure to agree as to the place where the meeting of the International Joint Conference Board shall be held, the President of the A. F. of L. shall be empowered to designate the place of the holding of such meeting.

Local Joint Conference Boards shall be formed in each city or locality where there are local unions of the above-named international unions, said Local Joint Conference Boards to be constituted as follows:

Two representatives of the local union or unions under the jurisdiction of the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America, and one representative each from the local unions of the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

Each local union or unions desiring the assistance of the parties to this agreement shall present their demands or grievances to the local Joint Conference Boards for approval.

All questions under consideration by the local Joint Conference Boards shall be decided by a majority vote, and in case of disagreement they shall select a fifth man within two days who shall have co-equal power with other members of the local Joint Conference Boards, and the decision reached by the local Joint Conference Boards thus constituted shall be final and binding upon the local unions in the city or locality.

If the local Joint Conference Boards prefer to submit any matter in controversy to the International Joint Conference Board instead of to the selection of a fifth man, they shall have the power to do so.

Local unions coming under the jurisdiction of the international unions, parties to this agreement, shall form local Joint Conference Boards in the different

cities and localities the second Monday in October, 1904, and shall meet not less than once in each month thereafter, or as often as may be necessary.

The local unions in entering into agreements with employers shall arrange that these agreements terminate at the same time.

In the event of the failure to secure agreements or to adjust grievances between local unions with employers, it shall be within the power of the local Joint Conference Boards to declare strikes, providing the same have been approved by the International Joint Conference Board.

Strikes may be declared off by the International Joint Conference Board or by the local Joint Conference Boards by and with the consent of the International Joint Conference Board.

In case of disagreement regarding the interpretation of any part of this agreement, the same shall be referred to the International Joint Conference Board; and in the event of that board being unable to reach a decision by a majority vote, the said International Joint Conference Board shall select a fifth man within two days, with co-equal power to themselves, and a majority vote of the said International Joint Conference Board as thus constituted shall be final and binding upon all parties.

Existing agreements between the parties hereto and employers shall not be disturbed, except as to the transfer of members as herein provided, and the transfer of such agreements to the organizations to which such members have been transferred. And no further agreements shall be made by the parties hereto in conflict with the provisions of this agreement.

Any party to this agreement may propose amendments to this agreement, provided that not less than thirty days' notice in writing is given to the other parties to this agreement, and unless agreed to by them a meeting of the International Joint Conference Board shall be held for the consideration of the proposed amendments, and if adopted by a majority vote of the International Joint Conference Board, shall become a part of this agreement.

Signatures of officers of International Union of United Brewery Workmen (to be appended).

Signature of International Union of Steam Engineers (to be appended).

Signature of International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen (to be appended).

Signature of President American Federation of Labor (to be appended).

The result of the referendum vote on the Boston decision was defeated by the membership of the Brewery Workers; the Denver agreement was never submitted to a referendum vote.

During our session at Washington, the United Brewery Workers' International Union was in convention assembled at Indianapolis. We directed Secretary Morrison to send the following telegram and letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 13, 1904.

International Union United Brewery Workmen,

In Convention assembled, Columbia Hall,

Indianapolis, Ind.

I have been instructed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to notify your Convention that the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen have expressed their willingness to comply with the decision of Boston Convention relative to the jurisdiction over engineers and firemen in breweries and urge upon your Convention to notify the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. of your final decision. Letter follows.

(Signed) FRANK MORRISON,  
Sec. A. F. of L.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 13, 1904.

To the International Union of United Brewery Workmen in Convention assembled, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Greetings:

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor now in session at headquarters, Washington, D. C., takes this opportunity of calling to your attention the urgent importance for definite action in carrying out the decision of the Boston Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which, stripped of verbiage, is as follows:

That a Joint Conference Board shall be formed, consisting of four members; two from the International Union of United Brewery Workmen, one from the International Union of Steam Engineers,



and one from the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen. In case of the board being unable to reach a decision, they shall select a fifth man, within two days, and the decision reached by the board thus constituted shall be final.

A Joint Conference Board shall be formed in each city or locality where there are local unions of the above named organizations.

Each local union or unions desiring the assistance of the parties to this contract shall present their demands to the Joint Conference Board for approval.

If the Joint Conference Board does not approve demands or grievances submitted, an appeal can be taken to the Joint Conference Board provided for in Section 2. Decision of this board to be final and binding on all parties to this agreement.

All questions under consideration by the national or local conference boards shall be decided by a majority vote.

In case of disagreement regarding the interpretation of this agreement, the same shall be referred to a disinterested party of arbitrators consisting of three members (one to be selected by each organization), whose award or finding shall be binding on all parties.

Joint Conference Boards of different cities or localities in entering into agreements must arrange that they terminate at the same time.

New contracts shall not be extended beyond the time of contract or contracts now in existence.

Grievances requiring joint strikes must be approved by the Joint Conference Board of the city or locality and the Joint Conference Board of the International Unions.

Strikes may be declared off by a majority vote of the Conference Board of the International Unions.

All engineers and firemen now members of the International Brewery Workmen's Union shall be admitted to membership in local unions of engineers and firemen, without payment of initiation fees or fines, upon the presentation of a card or due book, showing that they are in good standing up to date in the International Union of United Brewery Workmen.

Amendments may be proposed hereafter by either party, and, on ratification

by the other parties in such manner as its laws provide shall become a part of this agreement.

That all parties concerned be instructed to abide by the terms thereof, and that failure in this respect shall work the revocation of the charter of the organization or organizations so falling.

The International Union of Engineers and Firemen have officially notified us they are willing and eager to carry the above into effect. We await a similar reply from the International Union of United Brewery Workmen.

Your attention is called to the penalty in the concluding paragraph for non-compliance.

The revocation of charters is extreme, but necessary discipline to the fulfillment of Convention decisions, and if your International Union does not find a way to adjust this dispute, either along the lines of the above quotation or in some other way mutually satisfactory, you will force the American Federation of Labor to take the last alternative. This would also mean withdrawal of endorsement and recognition of your trade label, which would not mean progress, as you all know, and would nullify approval of your pending boycotts as well as prevent favorable action on new ones, until your organization agrees to abide by the above decision.

The responsibility rests with you, whether a decision rendered after years of turmoil and discussion shall be respected, or, if instead, the good work of the past is to be even temporarily checked by failure of your International Union to respect the deliberate findings by the Labor Court of last resort of North America, namely, the Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

A favorable reply from your Convention now in session, is requested.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) FRANK MORRISON.

Secretary A. F. of L.

To this we received the following reply:

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Oct. 25, 1904.

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.:

Gentlemen:

The undersigned committee has been appointed by the convention of the International Union of United

Brewery Workmen, to reply to the communication (dated September 13th, 1904) submitted by you, through your Secretary, Mr. Frank Morrison, relating to the controversy between our organization and the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.

The action of the convention in appointing a committee for this purpose was brought about by the friends of the American Federation of Labor, as owing to the temper of the convention, due to the effect of the recent referendum vote, and smarting under the injustice of the demand made upon us by the Boston resolution, it was deemed best to avoid precipitate action.

In reviewing the past, we desire to extend our thanks to the Executive Council for the consideration that has always been shown in their desire to promote harmony within the ranks of organized labor and their solicitude for the welfare of the workers.

But we protest that we can see no way to satisfactorily adjust the trouble along the lines laid down by the Boston Convention.

The resolution of the Boston Convention would require our organization to surrender to the engineers and firemen organizations a part of our autonomy, by giving to each of the other organizations a vote and voice in the government and regulation of the affairs of our organization, both nationally and locally.

To this we can under no circumstances submit. The very unreasonableness of the demand assures us that the next convention of the American Federation of Labor will repudiate the action of the Boston Convention in relation to this matter.

The International Union of Steam Engineers and Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen could, with the same reason and justice in their demands, ask the next convention to pass a resolution requiring the Musicians' Union and the Telegraphers' Union or the Garment Workers' Union, etc., to establish Joint Conference Boards, and give the engineers and firemen a voice and vote in the direction and management of their organization.

We therefore feel assured that under the circumstances the Executive Coun-

cil, in its wisdom, will leave the matter to the adjudication of convention which will meet in San Francisco next November.

Respectfully submitted,

ED F. WARD,  
AUG. PRIESTERSBACH,  
LOUIS KEMPER,

Committee appointed by last Convention of I. U. U. B. W. of A.

It will be observed that no reference is made in this communication to the Denver agreement; that it was not referred to the membership; and we are not aware whether it was entirely ignored by the Indianapolis Convention.

Apart from the many other bitter incidents resulting from this controversy, the one in Belleville, Illinois, stands out conspicuously. It is a repetition of what occurred at Columbus and Cincinnati, where the engineers were the offenders, and which, by direction of the Executive Council, they rectified. The Belleville affair is the unfraternal action of the Brewery Workers, and remains unrectified. In this case the Engineers' and Firemen's locals were in conference with the brewery proprietors for a renewal of their respective agreements, and because agreements were not speedily reached the Brewery Workers entered into agreements with the employers covering engineers and firemen, their employment, their wages and their conditions. Because we could not sanction such procedure, and so declared, the Brewery Workers seemed much offended. They, as well as the employers, addressed President Gompers upon this subject, and he reiterated the position of the American Federation of Labor upon both the general question, as well as the Belleville situation. For your information we quote the following reply from Secretary Kemper:

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Oct. 17, 1904.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir and Brother:

Yours of the 12th inst. has come to hand, but must say that I am surprised to learn that you should sanction discrimination of this nature

in Belleville, Illinois. You state in your communication that the Belleville controversy as it has been presented to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is that the Local Union of Engineers and Firemen under the jurisdiction of their respective international unions had agreements with the Western Brewing Company and the Star Brewing Company of Belleville, Illinois, and that while negotiations for a renewal of these contracts were in progress, the Local Union of the brewery workers surreptitiously entered into agreements with these brewery companies by which the engineers and firemen were supplanted, etc.

In reply to the above will state that the contract of the firemen had been signed by the Western and Star breweries before the contract of the engineers was discussed, and the latter, taking snap judgment, called a strike, without considering for a moment the vast majority of the men employed in said breweries who were members of our organization, and, in fact, we knew nothing of the matter until the strike had been declared and the engineers and firemen had walked out, leaving the plant idle.

The brewery proprietors hereupon expressed a desire to enter into an agreement with the brewery workers, owing to the arbitrary manner in which the engineers and firemen had acted, and after due consideration an agreement was drawn up as favorable, if not more so, than the contract demanded by the engineers and firemen, and this contract later on was offered to the men who had walked out, but was refused.

Could you expect of us, that under the circumstances existing, our men should quit, although their demands had been granted? Such sacrifice could not be asked for on our part after all that occurred. You can rest assured that I am just as anxious as you are to see peace restored, but cannot see how this can be done, as long as the policy of taking such of our members from us as is possible under the decision of the Boston Convention, rendered hastily and ill-advised, as later on admitted by Vice-President Duncan and many prominent men in the movement. We believe that this entire matter

should be brought before the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, and the firms in question not antagonized in the meantime.

Fraternally yours,

LOUIS KEMPER,  
International Secretary.

It will be observed that the Brewery Workers assume the censorship over other organizations, and stigmatize the action of their fellow-unionists as arbitrary, and that that in itself was a sufficient reason, when the Engineers and Firemen refused the conditions offered them by their employers, for the Brewery Workers to enter into an agreement and to supplant them in their positions.

When it is borne in mind that the subject matter in general controversy was fully considered by the committee at the Boston Convention; that it was discussed upon the floor for several hours, fully one hour of which was uninterruptedly given to a delegate from the Brewery Workers, that however "ill-advised" the action there may have been, it certainly cannot be characterized as having been hasty. We have the assurance of Vice-President Duncan that he did not express himself as stated by Secretary Kemper in regard to the action of the Boston Convention. How many other "prominent men" in the movement are misquoted, of course we are not in a position to know.

It is quite evident that the main-spring of the Brewery Workers' refusal to comply with the advice and decisions of the American Federation of Labor is the unfounded suspicion and fear that it is our aim to despoil and disrupt their organization. That this is farthest from our purpose and that the very opposite results would follow, none ought to know better than they. Experience must have demonstrated to them that this internecine strife tends not only to weaken the power and influence of each respective union in interest, but cultivates among the membership a violation of labor's decalogue, "Thou shalt not take thy neighbor's job." Encourage the practice that union men may take the position made vacant by other craftsmen on strike, and the practice easily degenerates until men will look with entire equal-

nimity upon committing so grave an offense against their fellows.

Of course, we cannot enter into the direct councils of an affiliated organization, but we imagine that if the opportunity for pros and cons were represented to the consideration of the membership of the Brewery Workers, they might understand that there is a side to this controversy in which their own best interests would be served by conforming to the best expressed judgment of the organized labor movement of America. Neither have we the right nor the desire to be the censors of the labor press, and that includes the official journals of affiliated organizations; but we cannot refrain from calling attention to the unfair and improper attitude assumed by the Brewery Workers' Journal, both in dealing with this subject and with the men connected with our movement. The minds of the members were prejudiced not only upon the question itself, but poisoned against the officers who were required to carry out the Federation's actions and the delegates who dared express their opinions and who cast their votes at the Convention. It may not be an uninteresting incident to relate that the Brewery Workers' Journal published a list of the delegates and the manner in which they cast their votes, and declared a boycott upon the product of the members of the organizations whose delegates voted, as their conscience and judgment dictated, in favor of the committee's report at the Boston Convention.

We may be asked why we have not revoked the charter of the Brewery Workers. Our answer is that, though their conduct may have merited it, yet we have hoped and worked, worked and hoped, that some way out may be found by which either an agreement may be reached, the Brewery Workers recognize the necessity of abiding by the decision, or that some other penalty be administered.

We therefore recommend that unless an agreement is reached before the close of this Convention, the decision of the American Federation of Labor shall stand as follows:

1. That the endorsement of all firms declared unfair by the Brewery Workers which have been approved by the

American Federation of Labor be withdrawn.

2. That no application for the endorsement of the Brewery Workers to regard any firm as unfair shall be entertained, received or endorsed.

3. That the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor of the label of the International Union of United Brewery Workers be, and the same is, hereby withdrawn.

And that these several actions stand as the decision of the American Federation of Labor until such time as the Brewery Workers' organization comes to an agreement with the International Union of Steam Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, or complies with the decision of the American Federation of Labor.

#### ELEVATOR CONSTRUCTORS.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America and the International Union of Steam Engineers laid claim to several branches of work performed by the members of the International Union of Elevator Constructors.

In the case of the Electrical Workers, the claim was that the Elevator Constructors did not live up to the agreement reached between these two organizations, as a condition for the withdrawal of objections to the issuance of the charter by the American Federation of Labor to the International Union of Elevator Constructors. It was decided that the agreement must be adhered to.

The claim of the Engineers has not been further pressed before the Executive Council.

#### CARPENTERS' AMALGAMATION.

In the report already submitted to you reference is made to the movement inaugurated by the American Federation of Labor for the amalgamation of the American District of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. At the meeting of the General Council of the Amalgamated Society the following resolution was adopted:

"That after a full and careful consideration of the problem facing our

Society in America, caused by the antagonistic attitude of the United Brotherhood, this Council is of the opinion that the Strasser award, involving the amalgamation of the American branches with the United Brotherhood, provides the only permanent solution of the problem, providing it is loyally carried out on both sides. It therefore recommends the question to the votes of the members, and pledges itself to take such steps as are possible to secure the payment of benefits to which our members have become entitled by joining this Society in the event of amalgamation taking place."

As will be observed, this resolution refers the subject matter to a referendum vote of the members. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America at its recent convention appointed a committee to meet a like committee of the Amalgamated Society for the purpose of arranging details of amalgamation, and to submit the same to a referendum vote of the membership of the United Brotherhood. We have not only reason to believe, but earnestly hope, that the result will be favorable to amalgamation, and that the same will be satisfactorily effected.

#### LOUISVILLE CENTRAL BODY.

For several years disputes of such a character have arisen in the central body of Louisville as to result in periodical division; two central bodies operating on diverse and generally antagonistic lines.

About two years ago a division and breach occurred, and unity was established through the efforts of one of our organizers sent there especially for that purpose.

In the early part of this year another division occurred, much to the injury of the interests of the workers, and the good name of the movement there. Applications for the annulment of the charter, and its transfer to the other body were made and resisted. Recognizing the importance of this matter to our cause, President Gompers appointed Treasurer Lennon and Organizer Tracy a committee to proceed to Louisville and there effect an adjustment. The committee reported that an agreement was drawn up, and

signed by the representatives of both parties in interest, whereby it was believed that unity had been established, and the causes for the previous division obviated.

Of course we approved the action and the report, but for some time it was not carried into effect, but we are pleased to report that quite recently the difficulty has been settled on the basis of the agreement reached.

Investigation by the committee, verified by our own investigation, has demonstrated that the greatest cause for the difficulty, both at Louisville and in several other central bodies, is due to the fact that the persons having some measure or scheme that they wish to foist upon the central body, have managed so to prolong the business meeting that a considerable number of delegates leave the meetings for their homes, leaving the field clear for the consummation of projects and measures of which the majority would not approve.

Though it may not be possible to absolutely enforce a rule for the adjournment of meetings at a specific hour, yet we are persuaded that it is our duty to inculcate upon our fellow unionists to limit the length of time of holding meetings, and also to urge that members and delegates should attend these meetings, and remain until the business has been concluded and an adjournment had.

#### NEW ORLEANS CENTRAL BODY.

A case has recently arisen in New Orleans similar to one which existed in Omaha a few years ago; that is, that the Central Labor Union of New Orleans has placed upon its unfair list a labor paper, published and edited by a member of the International Typographical Union.

The president of the International Typographical Union complained that Mr. R. P. Fleming, the proprietor and editor of the paper referred to, is a union member; that all the work done in connection with the paper is that of union members; that the reason for declaring this publication unfair is due to nothing more or less than the expression of opinion by the editor.

Acting upon principles of trade union law, as well as the decision rendered by the Executive Council in the Omaha case,

already referred to, President Gompers communicated with the New Orleans central body, practically reiterating the decision reached in the similar case.

While we all reserve to ourselves the right of patronizing or refusing to patronize any publication, because of the views and judgment expressed in its columns, yet, as trade unionists, we have not the moral right to "boycott" any publication because of the expression of opinion through its columns.

We do not undertake to say that the statements complained of, as published by Editor Fleming, are justified or otherwise; we are not in a position to know, but whatever the expressions may have been, the untrammelled freedom of the press is so important to the well being, not only of organized labor, but to human, civilized life, that no conceivable circumstance could arise that would warrant trade unionists, in their organized capacity, in placing a publication upon a "boycott" list for the expression of opinion.

President Gompers has communicated to the New Orleans central body to this effect, but the central body has neither rectified the wrong nor complied with its repeated promises to answer the complaint made. In view of these facts, we recommend that unless the New Orleans central body removes from its unfair list the "United Labor Journal" within thirty days after the close of this convention, and so notifies the President of the American Federation of Labor, the charter of said central body shall be withdrawn.

#### CARPENTERS—WOOD WORKERS.

The Boston Convention reiterated the decision and award made by Umpire Downey in the controversy between the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. We endeavored by every honorable means at our command to persuade the Carpenters to comply with the terms of that award, but regret to report that that organization still declines to do so, and just as stoutly as ever contends for its position. The convention of the United Brotherhood was in session in Milwaukee at the same time we were meeting at headquarters in Washington. We discussed the subject matter of the relations of the two organizations, and inasmuch as Vice-

President Kidd, who is also the General Secretary of the Wood Workers, was present, he acquiesced in a proposal to be made to the Brotherhood's convention for a conference, despite the award that had been made in favor of the organization he represents. Thereupon President Gompers was authorized to send the following letter:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 17, 1904.

Mr. Wm. D. Huber, President United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Milwaukee, Wisconsin:

Dear Sir and Brother:

You are no doubt aware that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has been in session during this week, at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. Among the numerous matters discussed were the differences existing between the various International Unions and Brotherhoods, and, as you can readily understand, the matters in connection with the U. B. were also given attention. After considerable discussion and consideration, the thought was expressed, and I was instructed to convey it to you, that more than likely if a conference were held by representatives of the U. B. and an equal number of the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union, at which one or two members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor might attend, in all likelihood, it might tend toward not only the restoration of a better feeling, but an agreement that would be beneficial to all concerned. The suggestion was not made in the form of arbitration, but in an effort to amicably reach the best conclusion possible for the removal of the feelings resulting from the conditions now existing.

Of course the attendance of any representatives from the Executive Council at the conference is to be dependent entirely upon the wishes of either or both of the organizations, and if the representatives of the Executive Council would be acceptable, that they act in a conciliatory or advisory and helpful capacity, rather than in any other.

The aim and purpose which we have in the suggestion in the above matters,

for a conference, is to be of the best possible service within our power, so as to remove this cause of contention and to restore a greater degree of unity and harmony in the labor movement of our country. Surely it is not necessary to appeal to you, or to your colleagues, or to the delegates to your Convention, to endeavor to eliminate the causes of contention in our movement. The elements of antagonism directed against the trade union movement of America have never been so keen or aggressive as at the present time.

In all the struggles of the human family for justice and right our opponents have never been able, by open opposition, to defeat the popular movement. The greatest weaknesses in all these movements have been the dissensions and divisions in the ranks of the masses. This is the greatest danger which confronts the workers of our time. If we can by intelligent co-operation, and in a conciliatory, fraternal spirit, approach the grave questions which now have a tendency to divide us, and accentuate that division into a rivalry, bitterness and hostility; if we can bring about unity, federation and co-operation among the organized workers in the trade union movement, we shall do much to encourage union men throughout the country, and give hope to the non-unionist, that they, too, may the sooner join the fold, and help in the great and ennobling work before us.

In connection with this permit me to say that the suggestion was also made that, if agreeable, we shall take pleasure in having a representative of the Executive Council in attendance at your Convention when this subject matter is under discussion.

I ask you, however, to advise me a few days in advance, when the most appropriate time would be for the attendance of such representatives at the Convention, and thus afford me an opportunity of communicating with my colleagues and endeavoring to arrange for the attendance of some members. Of course, as stated before, such attendance to depend entirely upon the same meeting with your cordial consent.

Permit me to add the expression of the sincerest good wishes of my colleagues and myself for the success of

the United Brotherhood, its officers, delegates and members, and that the deliberations of your Convention may be fraught with the greatest advantage to the members of your craft and help to usher in the day of human justice and human brotherhood.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed.) SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President American Federation of Labor.

After our adjournment and while the Brotherhood was still in session, General Secretary Frank Duffy transmitted a copy of a report of the special committee having the subject under consideration, and which the Convention adopted. The action is in the following copy of the proceedings reported and adopted:

MILWAUKEE, Wis., Sept. 22, 1904.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Thirteenth Convention of the U. B. of C. and J.:

We, your Committee on Organization, desire to submit the following report:

In the matter as contained in the communication from Samuel Gompers, President of the A. F. of L., in reference to this Convention, appointing a committee to meet with committee to be appointed by the A. W. Workers, said committees to meet in conjunction with one or two members of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. for the purpose of trying to bring about more harmonious relations between the U. B. of C. and J. and the A. W. W., was carefully considered. And we would respectfully recommend that the General Secretary of the U. B. of C. and J. communicate with President Gompers of the A. F. of L. and ascertain the information as to whether the A. W. W. had requested that such action be taken by this Convention, and if the conference as suggested was intended to try to so amalgamate the A. W. Workers into the U. B. of C. and J., so that but one organization of Carpenters and Joiners, comprising all the branches of the wood-working industries as enumerated in Section 61 of the Constitution of the U. B. of C. and J., would hereafter be recognized by the A. F. of L. And if an affirmative reply is given to the General Secretary, that this Convention then instruct the President of

the U. B. to immediately appoint a committee, as suggested by President Gompers, the same to meet with a like committee from the A. W. Workers to arrange for said amalgamation of the A. W. Workers into the U. B. of C. and J., and that at least one member of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. be invited to attend said meeting, not for the purpose of any arbitration of existing controversy, but for the purpose of giving such information as may be deemed necessary for the proper understanding as to past actions of the A. F. of L. in reference to said controversy, and what is to be expected by the U. B. of C. and J. in the future.

We would further recommend that if an affirmative reply is given that this Convention also request a member of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to appear before this Convention to make such statement as may tend to harmonize our relations and bring about a more fraternal feeling for the continuance of our affiliations with said body.

(Signed.)

JAMES A. GRAY,  
(Chairman)  
A. M. SWARTZ,  
(Secretary)  
L. L. HUGHES,  
CARL ENGLISH JR.  
SAM'L YARNELL,  
Committee.

To this President Gompers sent the following telegram:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 27, 1904.

Frank Duffy, Secretary - Treasurer, Convention United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Milwaukee, Wis.:

Communication received. Replying your questions, would say complaint was made by Amalgamated Wood Workers that United Brotherhood violated arbitrator's award and American Federation of Labor's decision sustaining same. The Executive Council of its own initiation authorized my letter to President Huber suggesting conference representatives Brotherhood of Carpenters and Amalgamated Wood Workers. The Amalgamated did not ask or suggest conference, but consented thereto.

The suggested conference, if held, should have full sway to bring about the best possible results. It should not be prevented or hampered by use of

preliminary obstacles or technicalities of any kind. In interest of labor and good name of our movement, your acquiescence to suggestion for conference is sincerely urged.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

We have received no information of any further developments in the case. In view, however, of the fact that the organization in whose favor the award has been made is not averse to a further conference for the purpose of reaching an agreement workable and mutually advantageous, it seems to us that there is no tangible, good reason for a refusal on the part of the other. We strongly urge upon the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners this view of the matter.

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS  
—COLORADO SITUATION.

It is perhaps superfluous for us to say how shocking was the constant recurring news of events as they developed in Colorado. In common with all our people, we were chagrined and felt a sense of outrage at the course pursued by the public authorities of that State. We had ample opportunity of making an investigation while in Colorado, and found the charges and complaints against Governor Peabody and the Citizens' Alliance and their cohorts fully sustained. Realizing that apart from the organized effort itself the outrage could only be rectified and the rights to which the men were entitled vouchsafed through appeals to the highest courts of the country, we directed and authorized President Gompers to issue an appeal in the name of the E. C. of the A. F. of L., to affiliated unions for financial contributions, the same to be forwarded to Secretary Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners. We urged that the funds received as the result of this appeal be devoted to the purpose above stated. We entertain the hope, as we anticipate, that the wrong doers will be punished, and the wrongs of the men righted. The circular appeal was also published in the August issue of the "American Federationist," and generally in the labor press.

We directed President Gompers to communicate with Secretary Haywood of the Western Federation of Miners, and to make inquiry of him as to what action had been taken in the direction indi-



cated. We received a letter of which the following is a copy:

DENVER, Colo., October 22, 1904.

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir and Brother: I referred your letter of September 29th to President Moyer, but I infer from your telegram received to-day that he did not take up the subject matter of your communication addressed to me. As Mr. Moyer is absent at the present time visiting our local unions in Missouri, I will answer your communication.

You will see by the financial statement issued as a supplement to the "Miners' Magazine," a copy of which I will send you in a few days, that the donations for the months of July, August and September have fallen off very perceptibly. This, I think, can easily be accounted for, owing to the unusual number of large strikes throughout the East, especially the Textile Workers' and the Butchers' strike of Chicago.

Organized labor, generally, seems to appreciate the fact that we have been putting up a good fight and have probably assisted us to the extent of their ability.

As to the legal phase of the Colorado situation, we have, up to the present time, been unable to get Governor Peabody or his military henchmen in the Federal Courts. You will remember that in the case of Mr. Moyer, when he was confined in the Bull Pen at Telluride, Judge Thayer of St. Louis issued an order to Governor Peabody to bring the body of Mr. Moyer into court, and our Governor immediately released Mr. Moyer to avoid appearing before Judge Thayer. The previous injunctions that have been issued against the military, the Mine Operators' Association, and the Citizens' Alliance have been religiously ignored by the members of these associations. In Idaho Springs, the self-convicted criminals, members of the Citizens' Alliance (\$9 in number) who were enjoined by Judge Owers from interfering with the members of the W. F. M., were released by the process of nolle proes, they having absolute control of the District Attorney. In San Miguel County, the injunction was issued by Judge Theron Stevens and was also ignored. This case is likely to come up in the No-

vember term of court. In Cripple Creek district, Teller County, Judge Seeds issued a similar injunction, which was likewise ignored. In fact the only court order that has been recognized by the Mine Operators is the injunction issued by Judge Owers on the first of the present month, prohibiting the Mine Operators of Leadville from discriminating, coercing or compelling members of the Western Federation of Miners to sever their connection with the organization and take out cards in the Mine Operators' Association. It is our intention to carry to the highest tribunal every legal procedure that we have commenced. It seems almost impossible, however, to do anything at the present time, as everything is hinged on the coming election. I think, however, that yourselves and colleagues, will be satisfied with our work before we are through.

Thanking you for the kindly interest you have taken in our behalf, I am,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) WM. D. HAYWOOD,  
Secretary-Treasurer.

Replying to the question for information as to the total amount which was received as a result of the circular appeal Secretary Haywood replied that the amount received for the months of July, August and September, was in round numbers, \$48,000.

We entertain the hope that the officers of the Western Federation of Miners will leave no effort untried to compel adjudication in the highest courts of our country upon the constitutional and natural rights involved in this case.

The subject matter in its entirety is set forth in our circular of June 20th, already referred to herein, and covered in the report of the President to this convention.

It will be remembered that the Boston Convention appropriated the sum of one thousand dollars to the Western Federation of Miners, which was forwarded by Secretary Morrison, and to which the following acknowledgment was made:

DENVER, Colorado, Jan. 19, 1904.

Mr. Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.:

Dear Sir and Brother: I am in receipt of your letter of recent date, inclosing check for \$1,000, amount appropriated by

the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled in Boston, Mass., for the assistance of the members of the W. F. M., who are on strike in Colorado and elsewhere.

Yours fraternally,  
(Signed) WM. D. HAYWOOD,  
Secretary-Treasurer.

In compliance with the resolution of the Boston Convention, and in conformity with the policy of the Federation, we directed President Gompers to select representatives of the A. F. of L. to attend the Convention of the Western Federation of Miners, and invite that organization to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Vice-President Morris, former Secretary Chris Evans, Messrs. Wm. D. Mahon and R. Cornelius, of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employes, were appointed as such representatives. They report having been cordially received; that the addresses were highly appreciated by the delegates; and that they had every reason to believe that their expressions had made a deep impression upon the delegates. A committee was appointed to consider the matter. We regret, however, to say that affiliation has not yet been had.

#### CENTRAL BODY, BUTTE-WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS.

Considerable bitterness has been occasioned at Butte, Montana, by reason of the antagonism of the Western Federation of Miners to the local unions belonging to international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the Central Labor Union of that city bitterly resenting it. The application was made to us by the central body and by the individual union to issue a notice, requesting that further contributions to the Western Federation of Miners be discontinued. We were disinclined to follow this course, and received a letter from President Moyer, requesting us not to comply with this request stating that he would be willing to meet representatives of the A. F. of L. for the purpose of adjusting the particular matter from which the other difficulties resulted. President Gompers endeavored to make arrangements for a conference at Butte, Montana, but President Moyer replied that he had engagements elsewhere, which would prevent him attending such

a conference, and he suggested one at Denver. Desirous of coming to some better understanding and closer alliance, President Gompers suggested that Mr. Moyer meet the Executive Council on the train at Denver, going westward, and arrange to have the representatives of the organizations in interest present. All others agreed to this arrangement, but thus far we have not heard from Mr. Moyer upon the subject.

In connection with this subject we would say that the American Federation of Labor must insist upon the jurisdiction of our International Unions over their respective crafts, in any city of the country, and that it cannot surrender that right to any other body.

We are anxious for peace in the labor world, and unity and fraternity among the organizations. We have done our level best to bring about this desirable result, and this policy must of necessity be continued.

#### LOCAL STRIKES.

We have endorsed a number of strikes of directly affiliated local unions, and authorized the payment of the benefits. This will be fully covered in the reports to this convention of the President and the Secretary.

There is another feature to which we desire to call attention. We have formed quite a number of international unions within the past few years, since the formation of the defense fund. Of course, when an international union is formed from directly affiliated local unions, these locals forfeit their further claim upon the defense fund, toward which they have paid. Desiring to overcome this, as well as to give the newly formed international unions a start, we have usually recognized the equity of the claim for some consideration and some financial assistance, and have appropriated sums of money toward the formation of these international unions, but such appropriations were made from the general fund, when in truth they should have been made from the defense fund, to which, as already stated, these unions had contributed. For that reason we recommend that when such appropriations are made, that authority be given that the same be drawn from the defense fund. We wish to add that it is not our desire to deplete the defense fund at all, but simply

to accord justice, and in a legal manner. We therefore submit the recommendation.

#### SAN FRANCISCO CENTRAL BODY.

It is regrettable that all the trade unionists of this city are not attached to the San Francisco Labor Council. Conference was held some time last year for the purpose of forming all unions into another central body, and a charter applied for. However, the San Francisco Labor Council did not believe that the move was in the interest of the labor movement of the city or of the labor movement in general. It, therefore, refused to carry out the agreement, and protested against the issuance of such a charter. We have advised that a conference be held between the representatives of both parties during this Convention, in which we shall be glad to participate, either in whole or by representatives, for the purpose of determining what course is best to pursue in the premises.

#### NEW YORK CENTRAL BODY.

Repeated efforts were made by President Gompers to bring about an understanding, by mutual consent, between the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance, etc., and the New York Central Federated Union, for the full representation of the international's local. Agreements were signed and then repudiated by the central body.

Efforts to secure for the international's union the rights to which it was entitled were recommended frequently throughout the year, but without success. The matter is not now satisfactorily determined.

#### APPEALS FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.

During the past year we had numerous appeals for financial assistance, each urging that a special assessment be levied upon the unions. In view of the fact, however, that there were so many involved, and taking into consideration the financial condition of nearly all the international unions, we were strongly convinced of the inexpediency of levying such assessments.

We, however, issued several appeals, some of which brought fair returns.

We cannot too strongly impress upon the minds of our fellow-unionists the absolute necessity of providing their organizations with funds. During the period when they are employed, and without any difficulty confronting them, they should contribute to the dues that will afford them protection in all of the vicissitudes that may befall them, to aid in securing the improved conditions to which they are entitled.

Experience has demonstrated that the failure of the unions to require the contribution of higher dues, and the consequent absence of any fund, is the cause of strikes and lockouts which could and would otherwise be averted.

When unions have no accumulated funds, they are often imposed upon by employers who undertake to calculate to a nicety how long the workmen can resist aggression and hold out to enforce a demand, no matter how reasonable it may be. The fact that men can and do economize, and live on less than usual during a contest, is not considered when the employers take an aggressive position, and strikes are thereby prolonged to a greater period than calculated upon by the employers. But the presence of a good fund would have the effect of moderating the employers' attitude and persuading them to a more reasonable consideration of labor's rights. It is true that appeals for financial aid have been of great material advantage; that for the Miners' strike, in the anthracite regions; for the Western Federation of Miners, for the Textile Workers, and for the Glove Workers, have had fairly reasonable results, but, generally speaking, the issuance of appeals for financial assistance is immediately considered by employers as a sign of weakness and as a token of distress, that influences them to take an obstinate position, in their supposed confidence that in a very brief time hunger will weaken the ranks and break the backbone of the strike.

In view of these absolute facts, demonstrated beyond doubt, we desire strongly to impress upon the minds of fellow-unionists, and to recommend and urge upon our international unions the absolute necessity and advantage to them, to their members, and to all labor, that the dues of the membership of their local unions should not be less

than one dollar per month. Funds accumulated from the contribution of such dues would not only admit the payment of benefits of several kinds to the members, but would be the greatest preventive of the deterioration of the condition of labor, would be the easiest and most practical method of obtaining improvements in the condition of the workers, and accomplish these beneficial results without the necessity of strikes or lockouts.

#### STRUCTURAL BUILDING TRADES ALLIANCE.

An alliance of the above title was instituted during the past year. We have made inquiries regarding its aims and purposes and have had it explained to us by its Secretary, Vice-President Spencer. We are informed by him that it is not intended to be in rivalry or antagonism to the American Federation of Labor, nor to the Building Trades Sections, which we have recommended to, and which have been instituted by, many central bodies.

We are not in a position at this time to express definite judgment as to the result of the work of this alliance. Of course, we favor and encourage the closest possible co-operation between kindred trades in all industries, experience having demonstrated the good results accomplished thereby. It was for that purpose that the New Orleans Convention provided for the election of a committee on building trades; such a committee was appointed and reported to the Boston Convention.

If an alliance of the character referred to was advisable, we are of the opinion that it should have been reported to that Convention. We are confident that the delegates to the Boston Convention would have given their assurance of sympathetic approval and co-operation to any proposition calculated to advance the interests of the building trades.

We can only express the hope that the Structural Building Trades Alliance, as formed, will so conform its work as to co-operate with, rather than deviate from, the make-up and the purposes of the American Federation of Labor.

#### NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS.

It was suggested to us in a letter

from Secretary Fox, of the Portland (Maine) Central Labor Union, that the Maine State Federation had been represented in the State conferences of the Board of Charities and Corrections, and that the American Federation of Labor should be represented by a delegate to attend the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. Dr. S. J. Smith, President of the National Conference, was also of that opinion, inasmuch as many matters affecting labor performed in these various institutions would have an important bearing upon the interests of labor. We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to appoint such a representative to attend the conference to be held in June, 1905.

#### SPECIAL CALLS FOR CONGRESSES.

Several applications were made to President Gompers to call special Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and congresses of all labor "reform forces," and to call the Executive Council together in special meetings. These have all been referred to us, and we directed President Gompers not to issue or endorse these calls. The reasons for our action are too numerous to recount here, particularly as they are fully covered in the President's report to this Convention. We do not feel warranted in minimizing the work and the influence for good wrought by the organized labor movement of our country, and special Conventions and Congresses, if held, would certainly detract from the potency and efficiency of our movement.

#### UNIFORM LAW FOR CENTRAL BODIES.

It has been urged that there ought to be somewhat of a uniformity in the constitution and at least part of the by-laws, for central bodies, and though one series of laws cannot be made applicable to all local conditions, yet there are a few fundamental principles which could be formulated into laws, that should apply to all, for the safety and convenience of all.

We therefore recommend that this entire subject matter be referred to the committee of local and federated bodies of this convention, to consider the subject, and report to this convention before adjournment.

## LEGISLATION.

The legislative matters which were referred to us were duly considered and presented to the members of Congress. This subject is fully covered in the President's report and needs no further report or comment from us. We selected as the legislative committee Mr. James F. Grimes of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and Mr. Charles Nelson of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The reports of the legislative committee were made to us; in the main, they were published in the American Federationist. We commend to your favorable consideration the necessity for pressing to a final conclusion the anti-injunction bill, the eight-hour bill, the wise regulation of convict labor, and care and watchfulness relative to any change in legislation, or any treaty, mooted or proposed, that shall in any way tend to lessen the provisions of existing law relative to Chinese exclusion.

## REPRINT FORMER CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS.

For several years there has been a growing interest, not only in the current history and events of our movement, but also with its earlier history; and inasmuch as the official proceedings of many of the earlier conventions are out of print, we have ordered, and there is now being printed, a sufficient number of copies of these proceedings to make several complete files. Although this will entail considerable expense, we deem it of sufficient importance to our movement to warrant the same.

## UNION LABELS.

During the year we have endorsed the union labels of the following organizations:

International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, by E. C., July, 1904.

Brush Makers International Union, by E. C., June, 1904.

International Glove Workers, December, 1903.

Amalgamated Leather Workers of America, December, 1903.

## THE UNFAIR LIST.

Some confusion is occasioned by resolutions being adopted at the convention,

endorsing applications to place certain firms upon the "We Don't Patronize" list, particularly when such applications have already been endorsed. We, therefore recommend that when such resolutions are introduced at this and future conventions, that it be distinctly stated whether such applications are for reaffirmation or re-endorsement. We also urge upon our affiliated organizations self-restraint in regard to placing firms upon the unfair list. We are not conscious of having endorsed any application which is not justified by the circumstances, and our suggestion is prompted simply by the desire to make most effective the action of the convention, when an application is endorsed. Too large a list of this character vitiates much of its efficiency.

Whenever an application reaches the office of the Federation, an investigation of the complaint and an effort for adjustment is made, and at no time has such an application been endorsed unless the employers have been given an opportunity for a statement of their version of the case, and our kindly offices tendered for an adjustment.

When employers arbitrarily assert that they will brook no effort at adjustment or investigation, or ignore our effort, we have no hesitancy in endorsing the position of our fellow unionists.

We can exert a beneficial influence for the good of labor and fair-minded employers, as well as persuade unfair employers to be more considerate of the rights of their employes, if we carefully and practically utilize the power of the patronage of our membership and our friends. Too large a number upon the "unfair" list diffuses our efforts and renders them less effective.

## "WE DON'T PATRONIZE" LIST.

Applications to place the following firms upon the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor have been made and approved by the Executive Council, from October 1, 1903, to October 1, 1904:

Art Metal Construction Co., Jamestown, N. Y. (Steel Cabinet Workers, No. 7294 and Japanners' and Finishers' No. 3069.)

American Brewing Company, New Orleans, La. (United Brewery Workmen.)

Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. (Order of Railway Telegraphers.)

Atlas Tack Company, Fairhaven, Mass. (Tack Makers' Union, No. 8557.)

American Hardware Company, New Britain, Conn. (P. & F. Corbin—Russell & Erwin Company.) (Iron Molders' Union of North America.)

Ballard & Ballard Milling Company, Louisville, Ky. (Coopers' International Union of North America.)

Blauner Bros., New York, N. Y. (International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.)

Bailey, Wm., & Sons, Cleveland, Ohio. (International Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers.)

Clothiers' Exchange, Rochester, N. Y. (United Garment Workers of America.)

Chicago Corset Company, Aurora, Ill. (International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.)

Diamond Rubber Co., Akron, Ohio. (Amalgamated Rubber Workers' Union of America.)

Demuth, Wm. & Co., New York, N. Y. (Smoking Pipe Makers' Union No. 11,402.)

Disston, Henry & Co., Philadelphia, Pa. (Sawsmiths' National Union.)

Elgin Butter Tub Company, Elgin, Ill. (Coopers' International Union of America.)

Erie City Iron Works, Erie, Pa. (Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America.)

Goodrich, E. F., Rubber Company, Akron, Ohio. (Amalgamated Rubber Workers' Union.)

Grand Rapids Furniture Manufacturers' Association, Grand Rapids, Mich. (Upholsterers' International Union of America.)

Harbison & Walker Refractory Company, Pittsburg, Pa. (International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance.)

Harney Bros., Lynn, Mass. (Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.)

Hohmann & Maurer Manufacturing Company, Rochester, N. Y. (United Metal Workers' International Union.)

Kaiser, James R., Manufacturer of Neckwear, New York, N. Y. (United Neck Wear Cutters' Union No. 6939.)

Kokomo Rubber Company, Kokomo, Ind. (Amalgamated Rubber Workers' Union.)

Knox, E. M., Company, Brooklyn, N. Y. (United Hatters of North America.)

Kelley Milling Company, Kansas City, Mo. (International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employes.)

The David Maydole Hammer Company, Norwich, N. Y. (International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths.)

Merrimac Manufacturing Company, Lowell, Mass. (Machine Textile Printers' Association.)

Northwestern Cooperage and Lumber Company (otherwise known as Buckeye Stave Company of Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin). (Federal Labor Union No. 11,218, Gladstone, Mich.)

Oneita Knitting Mills, Utica, N. Y. (United Textile Workers of America.)

Peoples' Street Railway Company, Dayton, Ohio. (Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes.)

Palmer Manufacturing Company, Poplar Bluff, Mo. (Federal Labor Unions No. 10,722 and No. 10,723.)

Remington-Martin Paper Company, Norfolk, N. Y. (United Brotherhood of Paper Makers of America.)

Roberts, J. N. and Company, Manufacturers of Boxes, Metropolis, Ill. (Federal Labor Union No. 9,280.)

St. Johns Table Company, St. Johns, Mich. (Federal Labor Union No. 11,222.)

Stetson, J. B. Company, Philadelphia, Pa. (United Hatters of North America.)

Strawbridge & Clothier, Philadelphia, Pa. (International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.)

Singer Sewing Machine Company, Elizabeth, N. J. (United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.)

Union Lumber Company, Fort Bragg, Cal. (Federal Labor Union No. 10,917.)

Wick China Company, Kittanning, Pa. (National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.)

Washburn-Crosby Flour Milling Company, Minneapolis, Minn. (International Union Flour and Cereal Mill Employes.)

Williams Cooperage Company, Poplar Bluff, Mo. (Federal Labor Unions No. 10,722 and No. 10,723.)

REMOVED FROM UNFAIR AND  
PLACED UPON FAIR LIST.

From October 1, 1903, to October 1,  
1904.

American Brewing Company, New Orleans, La. (United Brewery Workmen.)

Becker, Smith & Page, Philadelphia, Pa. (National Association Machine Printers and Color Mixers.)

Carey Brothers, Philadelphia, Pa. (National Association of Machine Printers and Color Mixers.)

Franklin Needle Company, Franklin, N. H. (Needle Workers' Union No. 9,988.)

Frank, S. H. and Company, Redwood City, Cal. (Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America.)

Mt. Airy Granite Company, Mt. Airy, N. C. (Granite Cutters' National Union.)

People's Street Railway Company, Dayton, O. (Amalgamated Association Street and Electric Railway Employees.)

Santa Rosa Tanning Company, Santa Rosa, Cal. (Central Labor Union, Oakland.)

Winslow Brothers, Chicago, Ill. (United Metal Workers' International Union.)

Wagner Leather Company, Stockton, Cal. (Amalgamated Leather Workers' Union of America.)

## REMOVED FROM UNFAIR LIST.

The following firms were removed from the Unfair List at the request of the unions at interest, and without prejudice to the unions' position, from October 1, 1903, to October 1, 1904.

Brewing Company, New Orleans, New Orleans, La. (United Brewery Workmen.)

Brewing Company, Security, New Orleans, La. (United Brewery Workmen.)

Brewing Company, Standard, New Orleans, La. (United Brewery Workmen.)

Genesee Hotel, Buffalo, N. Y. (International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen.)

Herendeen Manufacturing Company, Geneva, N. Y. (Iron Molders' Union of North America.)

Janeway, Wm., and Company, New Brunswick, N. J. (National Associa-

tion of Machine Printers and Color Mixers.)

## OFFICE BUILDING.

The Executive Council was directed by the last Convention to investigate the feasibility of purchasing or erecting an office building for the American Federation of Labor. We have made such inquiry and investigation, not only of cost and convenience, but also all other matters in connection with the use and ownership of such a building. After giving the subject every consideration within our power we have concluded that the best course for the American Federation of Labor to pursue would be to authorize the Executive Council to enter into an agreement for the lease of a building for a term of ten years, said building to be either a new one erected, or changing and improving one already constructed so as to fully serve for the purpose and use of the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and we so recommend.

PRESSMEN — CHICAGO CENTRAL  
BODY.

President Higgins, of the International Printing Pressmen's Union, complained that the Chicago Federation of Labor had refused to seat delegates from a local union of the International, and had admitted to seats, an independent local union of pressmen, known as the Franklin Pressmen, in no way attached, but hostile to the International Union.

Complying with our direction, President Gompers communicated with the Chicago Federation of Labor, with a view of recurring for the International Union the rights to which it was entitled. We received communications conveying resolutions adopted by the Chicago Central Body, that at its meeting of July 3d, a series of resolutions were adopted, the substance of which was to the effect that the matter should be held in abeyance until this convention. We did not believe that in the enforcement of a right so palpable there should be further delay, and we directed President Gompers to notify the Chicago Federation of Labor that its appeal could not be recognized or referred to the San Francisco Convention unless in the meantime the constitution of the American Federation of Labor is complied with.

Conferences were held between some of the interested parties, Vice-President Kidd acting as the representative of the A. F. of L. President Higgins declined

to participate in the conference, or to have his International Union represented therein, and insisted that the International Union had fundamental rights involved, and that these should be accorded before a conference could be held in which he or any other representative of the International Union could participate.

We have not heard further upon this subject.

#### CONCLUSION.

Of course it is well understood by us, although disregarded by our opponents, and by the indifferent among a number of our fellow-workmen, that the work of the American Federation of Labor is not directed in one particular channel; the entire field of labor's activities is cultivated and encouraged. Organization, education and agitation clear the public mind from the prejudices against the notable achievements and noble purposes of our movement. We endeavor to secure favorable legislation, and particularly to prevent hostile legislation both in the councils of our nation, as well as in the legislatures of the several States and municipalities, and broader conception and recognition of human rights. These are a few of the matters to which our Federation devotes its energies and the ability of its members.

It is therefore clear that of the countless matters which come under the administrative acts of our officers and the Executive Council, but few can be reported or recounted herein.

We have given our time and the very best judgment and action of which we are capable to the many interests of labor, and have faithfully striven to be of the very best service to our fellow workers.

This report is therefore respectfully submitted.

We have the honor to remain yours fraternally,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
 JAMES DUNCAN,  
 JOHN MITCHELL,  
 JAMES O'CONNELL,  
 MAX MORRIS,  
 THOS. I. KIDD,  
 D. A. HAYES,  
 DANIEL J. KEEFE,  
 W. J. SPENCER  
 JOHN B. LENNON,  
 FRANK MORRISON,

Executive Council!

Vice-President John Mitchell was called to the chair.

Delegate J. F. Grimes of the Committee on Credentials read the following report:

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Nov. 15, 1904.

To the Officers and Members of the A. F. of L.:

Gentlemen:

Your Committee on Credentials respectfully presents the following supplementary report and recommend that the following delegates be seated:

Mr. Hugh Frayne, representing the Central Labor Union of Scranton, Pa.

Mr. M. T. Hudson, representing the Sacramento, Cal., Federated Trades Assembly.

Your committee further reports that having been notified by Secretary Morrison of the A. F. of L. that the Chicago Federation of Labor has been suspended by the Executive Council; your committee therefore recommends that Delegate W. G. Schardt, representing the said Chicago Federation of Labor be not seated in this Convention.

The Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders has entered a protest against the seating of delegates representing the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers on the ground that their charter was issued illegally and in violation of Article 9, Section 11, of the Constitution of the A. F. of L.

Your committee, after careful consideration, feel that it is not for this committee to decide whether or not the said charter was issued in violation of the constitution.

Your committee is of the opinion that inasmuch as the Structural Iron Workers are now affiliated with the A. F. of L., that the Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders, if their claim is a proper one, should request the revocation of the charter of the Structural Iron Workers, instead of seeking to have their credentials refused by this Convention.

Inasmuch as this has not been done, and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers still hold their charters, legally or otherwise, your committee recommends the seating of the delegates.

The protest of the Longshoremen's Association against the seating of Delegate A. A. Stewart of Federal Labor Union 8921 of San Pedro, Cal., having been withdrawn by President Keefe, your committee recommends the seating of Delegate Stewart of Federal Labor Union No. 8921.

Your committee is in possession of a telegram from J. A. Cable, Secretary of the Coopers' International Union, stating that A. J. Cook of San Francisco is appointed to fill the vacancy occasioned by the absence of Delegate Bahlitz. Your committee recommends that the delegate be seated.

Federal Labor Unions 11,689, 11,695, 11,697, 11,708, 11,734, 11,649, 11,659, of Porto Rico, Esteban Padilla, 7 votes.

The Trades Council of Tacoma, Wash., with P. W. Dowler, accredited delegate, having paid all arrearages, we recommend that the delegate be seated.

International Broom Makers' Union, John F. Curren, 11 votes.



The Trades and Labor Assembly of Kewanee, Ill., 1 vote, having paid all arrearages, your committee recommends that Delegate B. Cohen be seated.

Fish Cleaners' Union, No. 11,353, 1 vote, having paid all arrearages, your committee recommends that Delegate Joseph Catania be seated.

R. D. Sawyer, Whatcom (Wash.) central body, 1 vote.

Gardeners' and Florists' Union, No. 10,615 of Chicago, 1 vote. John Mangan, delegate.

JOHN T. DEMPSEY,  
GEO. MACKEY,  
J. F. GRIMES.

Delegate J. T. Lavery, of the Utah State Federation of Labor, moved that the report be received and the recommendations of the committee concurred in. (Seconded.)

Delegate Gilthorpe—I move that that portion of the report referring to the protest of the Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders against the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be referred to the Committee on Grievances.

Delegate Lee M. Hart—I move as an amendment that the delegates of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be seated, and the report referred to the Committee on Grievances.

Delegate Gilthorpe—The intention of my motion was that after seating the delegates the grievance be referred to the Committee on Grievances, inasmuch as the Committee on Credentials had commented on it.

Delegate Tanquary arose to a point of order, and stated that if the matter was to come before the Committee on Grievances a resolution should be introduced which could then be referred to that committee.

The Chair ruled that the motion to refer was out of order at that time.

Delegate Spencer moved that the credentials of John Mangan, from the Gardeners' and Florists' Union be referred again to the Committee on Credentials, as Mr. Mangan was not a member of the organization issuing the credentials. (Seconded.)

Delegate Dold moved to amend by including in the motion to refer the credentials of the delegate from the Chicago Federation of Labor. (Seconded.)

The Chair ruled that the amendment was out of order.

Delegate Wilson, of the Pattern-makers, moved as a substitute for the

whole that the report of the committee be taken up seriatim. (Seconded.)

Delegate Schwartz moved as a substitute that where the committee reported favorably the delegates be seated, and where the report was unfavorable the matters be taken up seriatim.

Delegate Gilthorpe—I take exception to the ruling of the Chair in claiming that this action is not necessary at this time.

Vice-President Mitchell—Delegate Gilthorpe has not protested against the seating of the delegates of the Structural Iron Workers.

The motion to take up the report of the committee seriatim was carried.

The report of the committee recommending the seating of Delegate Hugh Frayne, representing the Central Labor Union of Scanton, Pa., and Delegate M. T. Hudson, representing the Federated Trades Assembly, of Sacramento, Cal., was adopted.

Delegate Dold moved that action on that part of the report concerning the Chicago Federation of Labor be deferred until Wednesday morning. (Seconded.)

Delegate Spencer moved as an amendment that the report of the committee be concurred in. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Mitchell—The Chair is of the opinion that the amendment is not in order. A motion to refer has been made.

Delegate Dodd—Our only object in asking to have the matter deferred is to get it before the Convention in a proper way. The delegates interested are not prepared to do that now.

The motion to defer action was carried.

Delegate Gilthorpe—I move that that portion of the report referring to the protest of the Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders against seating the delegates of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers be accepted, the delegates seated and the case referred to the Committee on Grievances.

Delegate Lavery moved that the report of the committee be received and the recommendations concurred in.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Gilthorpe desired to be recorded as voting against the motion.

The report of the committee recommending the seating of Delegate A. A. Stewart of Federal Labor Union 8921, San Pedro, Cal., was adopted.

The recommendations of the committee regarding Delegate Esteban Padilla of Porto Rico, P. W. Dowler, Trades Council of Tacoma, Wash., J. F. Curran, International Broom Makers' Union, were adopted.

Delegate Tanquary—I wish some information regarding the delegate from the Trades and Labor Assembly of Kewanee, Ill. I understand Mr. Cohen is a member of the Cigar Makers' Union of Chicago, and has no connection with the Kewanee organization outside of going there and being elected a delegate.

Vice-President Mitchell—I understand Delegate Cohen is President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor. Is there objection to the seating of the delegate?

Delegate Driscoll—I move that the credentials of Delegate Cohen be referred back to the Committee on Credentials.

Seconded and carried.

The report of the committee recommending the seating of Delegate Cantania of the Fish Cleaners' Union and R. D. Sawyer of the Central Labor Body of Whatcom, Wash., was adopted.

Delegate Spencer—Inasmuch as Mr. Mangan is a member of a dual organization, I move that his credentials be referred back to the Committee on Credentials. (Seconded.)

Delegate Dempsey of the Committee on Credentials said the committee wished further information concerning Mr. Mangan's credentials.

The motion was discussed by Delegates Flood, Hart and Spencer.

Delegate Tanquary moved that Delegate Mangan be given the privilege of the floor to defend himself. Delegate Spencer objected to the motion, and said Mr. Mangan should appear before the committee, not the Convention.

The motion was seconded and carried, but Delegate Mangan declined to avail himself of the privilege, saying he preferred to appear before the committee.

President Gompers: Without expressing any opinion upon the merits

of the question at all, it seems to me that, inasmuch as the two diverse interests in this matter agree that the subject matter might be further considered by the Committee on Credentials, that ought to be sufficient for us. Mr. Spencer has made an objection, and he evidently did not have an opportunity to present any matter he may have had in mind. He is not satisfied, and there are some other delegates on the floor of the Convention who are not satisfied. I am free to say that as a friend of Mr. Mangan I want to be satisfied that he is a bona fide member of that organization before he is seated in this Convention.

The motion to refer the matter to the Committee on Credentials was carried.

President Gompers—The report of the delegates to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, Mr. Richards, will be read by Delegate Max Morris.

Delegate Morris read the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting: The Twentieth Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada assembled in the Cabinet De Lecture Hall, Montreal, September 19, 1904.

Congress was called to order by President John A. Flett, of Hamilton, Ontario. President Flett (who is also Canadian General Organizer of the American Federation of Labor), has held the office of President for two years. The Congress was formally opened by an address of welcome by President A. Verville, of the Montreal Trades Council, who spoke in both the French and English language. Your Fraternal Delegate extended the greeting of our organization to the Congress. Mayor Laporte, when he entered the hall, was tendered an ovation. In the course of his remarks he said that it seemed almost Providential that the Canadian Trades Congress and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association were assembled in the same city, and would deliberate during the same week. He welcomed them to the city both as the chief executive of the city and as a workingman who had once labored for 50 cents per day in

a factory. President Flett, in responding, said that the Congress had no quarrel with the Manufacturers' Association, and, though at times there were differences, good feeling had always existed between them. He stated on behalf of the Congress that a representative committee would be pleased at any time to confer with a like committee of the Manufacturers, and would also like to see the formation of a Civic Federation similar to that existing in our country, and that an institution of this nature would be the means of doing away with that unnecessary prejudice that is the means of keeping labor and capital so wide apart. Bro. Charles Mack, Third Vice-President of the International Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, also addressed the Congress. Bro. March has the honor of being the Past President of the Congress. Bro. J. B. Mack, Vice-President of the Congress, and others also addressed the Congress, complimenting the Congress on the large number of delegates present. The Credential Committee was appointed, and report adopted after the names of several delegates had been added to the list.

The General Executive Committee reported that, after a thorough examination, they had come to the unanimous decision that the hostile attitude of the Parliamentary Committee of the Manufacturers' Association stationed in Ottawa necessitated a change in the methods followed by them in the past when presenting requests for legislation to the Dominion Government, and, inasmuch as those opposed were conducting an organized secret lobby, they had decided to request Mr. J. G. O'Donoghue, Solicitor, to come to Ottawa, which he did, and arrangements were concluded whereby he attended during the whole five months' session.

They recommended the Convention to provide ways and means for the employment of Mr. O'Donoghue as a yearly Solicitor of the Congress and that his report be taken up in Executive Session later on in the week.

President John A. Flett, in delivering his annual address, spoke in part as follows:

#### UNION LABEL.

"The Union Label bill was intro-

duced by Mr. Ralph Smith, in the early part of the session. After it had been introduced a new and extraordinary ruling was given by the Speaker, that a resolution should be passed by the House before the introduction of the bill. This having been complied with, still the bill was not advanced, although the Government promised to set a day for consideration. They failed to keep their word, and the bill never received the consideration due it, although sought for by a most important part of the community.

#### THE ALIEN LABOR BILL.

"Another important measure in the interest of the common people was introduced by Sir William Mulock, the Minister of Labor—a bill to consolidate and amend the Act respecting alien labor. One of the provisions in this Act dealt with the importation of aliens on false representation, and was intended to apply to cases such as the Italians brought to Montreal by Labor Agent Antonio Cordasco, and other like frauds perpetrated upon immigrants by the emissaries and agents of the Manufacturers' and Employers' Association, which have become notorious of late. The means employed by these parties were fraudulent and cruel in the extreme. The exigencies of the case, in this particular at least, demanded a law that would bring swift and condign punishment down on the offenders. This bill was not brought down until late in the session, and met its death at the hands of the Senate by design and malice aforethought.

"I desire to again repeat here, what was stated in my address to the Congress last year, and it comes with renewed emphasis: 'The necessity of having more labor representatives in the House of Commons was never more manifest than during the present session.' I would, therefore, urge upon trade unionists and the friends of labor everywhere to call meetings and support by their vote such candidates as will pledge themselves to support our interests in the House of Commons and the Provincial Legislatures, and that the Congress map out a plan of campaign that will be of material assistance in bringing about the exercise of greater influence on Canadian politics.

"The increase in the poll tax from fifty to five hundred dollars upon Chinese entering Canada has had the effect of excluding, or nearly so, this class of immigrants entering Canada, and will, I am sure, be a source of gratification to the people of British Columbia.

"While the organized labor movement in Canada has never objected to immigrants entering this country to improve their conditions and becoming citizens with us, yet something must be done to prevent the large and indiscriminate importation by steamship companies, philanthropic societies and others, of those with criminal tendencies, and other undesirable classes, who often become a charge upon the community.

#### PRISON-MADE GOODS.

"Every effort should be put forth to prevent the product of prisoners entering into competition upon the market with free labor. All goods made in prisons and offered for sale should be stamped."

In concluding his address, Brother Flett impressed upon the Convention the wisdom of pressing for such reforms only as are of the utmost importance, as better results are likely to follow persistent and intelligent agitation if properly directed on few issues.

President Flett's address was well received by the Congress, and your Fraternal Delegate is of the opinion that in Brother Flett our A. F. of L. has one of the best organizers to represent us in Canada, and hope that he may live long to carry on the good work there.

Secretary-Treasurer P. M. Draper submitted his report from September 24, 1903, to September 22, 1904. The receipts from all sources were \$3,747.96. This amount includes \$500 from the American Federation of Labor as a legislation grant. The total expenditure for the same period was \$3,346.29, leaving a balance on hand September 22, 1904, of \$401.67.

#### INCREASE OF MEMBERSHIP.

The report under this head showed an increase in membership in each Province in the Dominion. The Province of Quebec leads with an increase

of 3,879. Ontario, 1,634. British Columbia, Manitoba and Northwest Territories, 289. Prince Edward Island, 493. Nova Scotia, 24.

Total membership of Provinces throughout the Dominion for years 1903-04.

	1903.	1904.
Ontario .....	10,384	12,018
Quebec .....	2,300	6,179
British Columbia, Manitoba, and Northwestern Territories .....	2,463	2,752
Prince Edward Island....	41	534
New Brunswick .....	544	127
Nova Scotia .....	376	400
Total .....	16,108	22,010

The foregoing summaries show an increase in the Dominion in membership of 5,902.

There are 27 Trades and Labor Councils now chartered by Congress located by Provinces as follows:

Ontario 19; Quebec 3; New Brunswick 2; Nova Scotia 1; Manitoba 1; and British Columbia 1.

There are at present 48 Councils in the Dominion of Canada, showing 21 bodies are still outside of the Congress, and 3 new Federal Unions were chartered during the year.

List of labor organizations in Canada up to the 31st of August, 1904, as shown in the Department of Labor, is as follows:

Province.	Local Unions.	Trade and Labor Councils.
Nova Scotia.....	107	2
New Brunswick..	77	2
Prince Edward Island .....	9	1
Quebec .....	238	9
Ontario .....	820	39
Manitoba .....	69	3
Northwest Territories and Yukon .....	63	3
British Columbia	184	12
Total	1,567	76

In addition to the above there are five National Associations, exclusive of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. I regret to say also that a number of these organizations are not affiliated with the Congress and I would respectfully urge on this Convention to devise ways and means to have them affiliated.

Secretary-Treasurer Draper's report was well received by the delegates, and the fact that the gross revenue in the year 1899 was only \$611.71, and this year increased to \$3,747.96 shows the good work done, and to my mind at all events indicates that the wage earners of Canada are beginning to realize the value of the Congress.

When the report of Solicitor O'Donoghue was taken up, the Congress went into Executive Session. Mr. O'Donoghue dwelt at great length upon the work done before the Parliament in Ottawa, and called attention to the following bills:

#### RE-RAILWAY INSURANCE.

Bill introduced April 22nd dealing with insurance bodies in connection with railways, and providing that railways should not by reason of any contribution to these insurance bodies be released from their liability for negligence resulting in the injury of their employes. The bill was passed, but previous to its passage it was provided for taking the opinion of the Supreme Court of Canada upon the question of jurisdiction. If that court should decide that the Dominion has jurisdiction, the bill becomes law.

#### RE-OLD AGE PENSION SCHEME ON THE INTERCOLONIAL RAILWAY.

Next session of Parliament a bill would be introduced providing for pensions to officials and employes of the Permanent Staff of Government Railroads for long and faithful services and who are at an age necessitating relief, also for those permanently disabled or incapacitated.

The various organizations connected with the railroads are doing all in their power to have the bill passed, and the prospects are very favorable for its final passage.

#### RE-AMENDMENT TO STEAMBOAT INSPECTION ACT.

Mr. McCarthy, M. P., introduced this bill which has for its object to increase the standard of engineers and to prevent American tug boats and dredges doing business in Canada with engineers who have not certificates from the Canadian Government. The present Act allows uncertificated engineers to work

on a dredge. This bill met the fate of many others in being dropped, but a letter was received from Sir Wilfred Laurier to Mr. McCarthy that a special committee would be appointed to deal with this and other bills affecting organized labor in the early days of next session.

Mr. O'Donoghue also referred to questions asked by Members of Parliament (and who are friendly to organized labor) on the questions of Immigration, Entry of Chinese, Union Label Bill (now before Parliament), Misrepresentation to Intending Immigrants by Agents in the British Isles.

The Congress worked in perfect harmony, and apart from the matters mentioned which interest the American workers there were many questions of vital interest to the International movement discussed and judiciously dealt with. The Congress lasted six days. The following officers were elected: President, Alphonse Verille, Montreal; Vice-President, James Simpson, Toronto; Sec.-Treas., P. M. Draper, Ottawa; Fraternal Delegate to A. F. of L., John A. Flett, Hamilton, Ontario, whom I am sure we are all glad to greet. Next place of meeting of Congress, Toronto. I cannot fail to express to you my appreciation of the kindness shown me by the delegates and officers and the high opinion held by them of their American brothers, and I am assured from the sentiments expressed that the bonds which unite us together in our fight for the right are constantly being tightened, and that the bulwarks of the opposition must eventually yield, and the flag of labor's liberty unfurled to the breezes of a brighter day.

Your Fraternal Delegate was presented with a pretty diamond ring, gold mounted cane, and a pair of nice sleeve links.

I was, indeed, very pleased to meet Bro. John F. Tobin, Pres. Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, present at the Congress, and he made one of those happy speeches for which he is noted.

In conclusion, permit me to thank you for the honor conferred upon me at the Boston Convention in my election as Fraternal Delegate.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN H. RICHARDS.

On motion of Delegate Hirsch the report was accepted and ordered printed in the proceedings of the Convention.

Resolution No. 2.—By Delegate Daniel J. Keefe of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The following resolution was adopted at the thirteenth annual Convention of the I. L. M. and T. A.:

Resolution No. 16.—By Delegate Charles Klehn, Local 271, Hoboken, N. J.:

WHEREAS, Up to the present day the work of loading and unloading of vessels of all kinds, as well as the embarking and disembarking of passengers on water, transportation has been wholly without governmental inspection; and,

WHEREAS, By the thus unrestricted greed for profits of the owners of those water transport facilities the lives and health of the employees as well as of the passengers is most recklessly jeopardized on account of the almost entire absence of safety appliances for the protection of the lives and health of the passengers, and workers engaged in the transferring of the passengers and freight from the vessels of all kinds; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the I. L. M. and T. A. be and herewith is instructed that its best efforts for the enactment of such laws as will compel those companies engaged in marine transport to install such safety appliances as will safeguard the lives and health of the passengers and employees, and for the creation of a unified United States harbor inspection, to include the work of transferring passengers and freight from and to vessels of all kinds; and

WHEREAS, The theory of the law governing the operation of our merchant marine has in the abstract many laws and provisions, contemplating the safety of all persons traveling by water, as well as that of the crew;

WHEREAS, The fact and conditions demonstrate that such laws as are now on our statute books to be obsolete and in great need of revision.

WHEREAS, The appalling and wanton loss of life on water of late (greater than the combined loss during the Spanish-American war) demonstrates the necessity of a rigid government inquiry as to the nature and character of the life-saving appliances and the safeguards. The so-called safeguards and life-saving appliances in vogue to-day are not at all adequate and in many cases worse than useless and known to be such, both by the government inspectors and the owners of said vessels.

WHEREAS, Many of the disasters on water are due to the great age and unseaworthy condition of the vessels, which would seem to demand a radical change of the law relative to the inspection and documenting of said vessels. The theory of the law relative to the preventing of the change of name of any vessel after she was twenty years old, had in view the protection of the public and the crew, but the fact that the public may be aware

of the age of the craft affords but small protection. But when a vessel reaches the age and condition where the marine underwriters refuse to insure same this should be sufficient to put said vessel out of commission, yet there are hundreds of this class of vessels to-day plying the Great Lakes, and it is only after they go to the bottom that the public learn of their great age. The press every spring and fall report the loss of these ancient hulks, with loss of crew, due to the greed of the owners, who risk the loss of the cargo, but with no liability or feeling for the crew. This will continue until the law is amended to cover risks on life of crew.

WHEREAS, The government inspection as to the loading of passengers and freight vessels relative to overloading is farcical. There is at some ports a sort of perfunctory inspection of excursion boats, not at all what it should be, as the law is openly violated and there is no case on record where punishment was inflicted for violating the law, and it is only after some terrible calamity, like the Slocum disaster, that the public receives a jolt sufficient to arouse a spasmodic demand for something like an efficient inspection and a compliance with the law.

The overloading of freight vessels and the jeopardizing of the lives of the crew is the concern of nobody, apparently.

RESOLVED, By this the twenty-fourth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that the law relative to our merchant marine has outgrown its usefulness and calls for the enactment, revision or the amending of our present statutes as will prevent the documenting of the aged and unseaworthy craft and the installation of proper and sufficient safeguards and appliances for the protection of and the saving of life.

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. especially ask that the law be amended so as to prohibit the documenting of any and all vessels over five tons burden who fall to carry insurance to the value of said vessel, or who may be outlawed or refused insurance by any marine insurance company.

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. urge upon the Department of Labor and Commerce the monthly publication of all loss of life at sea or in any port, from any cause, of all accidents attending the loading and unloading of vessels at all ports under the jurisdiction of the United States Government, and that the Interstate Commerce Commission also be requested to publish the same, in the same manner as the accidents, injury and loss of life is at present compiled and published relative to the railroads.

RESOLVED, That the law be amended so as to empower the Department of Labor and Commerce to appoint a suitable number of inspectors at each port of entry, whose sole duty it will be to board each and every vessel upon her arrival, and inspect the condition of said vessel as to the health of all on board, and whether there is a sufficient compliance with the law as to safeguards and safety appliances, to note the sanitary condition of said vessel, the condition of the quarters of the passengers and crew, and to

ascertain to what extent the vessel may have been overloaded, either as to passengers or freight, and make a written report of the same of each vessel.

It shall be the duty of said inspectors to inspect all vessels prior to their departure from any port under the jurisdiction of the United States Government, and ascertain if the master of the same is complying with the laws and regulations as to the number and safety as required by the law; the number of passengers legally entitled to be carried, and such inspector shall have the power to revoke or refuse the clearance of any vessel failing to comply with the law.

**RESOLVED**, By the A. F. of L. that a law be enacted or amended to read that any owner or owners of any vessel under the jurisdiction of the United States Government having attained the age of twenty years or more shall be held liable for the safety of all passengers and every member of the crew, in any and all voyages of said vessel in the same manner as common carriers are held in common law, with the extra provision, viz.: That the owner or owners of all documented vessels under the jurisdiction of the United States Government shall give a bond equal to five thousand dollars (\$5,000) for the safe landing of each and every passenger and member of the crew of said vessel. The said bond to be given each year at the date of inspection or enrollment of said vessel; said bond to be approved by the Collector of Customs at the home port of said vessel and the said bond to be deposited with the Collector of said customs district prior to the issue of said ship's documents or certificates of government inspection.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 3.—By Delegates Fischer and McAndrews of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union has been and are still engaged in a severe contest with the American and Continental Tobacco Companies, commonly known as the "twin trust"; and,

WHEREAS, The said trust controls a large proportion of the output in the tobacco industry, thus making it difficult for the Tobacco Workers to successfully push a boycott against each individual brand made by the trust; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, through its officers and organizers, give special aid and assistance to the Tobacco Workers in pushing a boycott against each individual brand and all brands of tobacco made by both the American and Continental Tobacco Trust; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor request all affiliated unions to assist the Tobacco Workers by vigorously pushing a boycott against all brands of tobacco sold in their localities made by the American and Continental Tobacco Trust.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 4.—By Delegates Slocum

and McDade of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths:

WHEREAS, There is at the present time a difference existing between the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers on the one side and the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union on the other side over a question of jurisdiction of the blacksmiths and helpers, it is the opinion of the undersigned, members of the craft they represent, that jurisdiction over all blacksmiths and helpers engaged in the carriage, wagon and automobile manufacture and those engaged in like labor, that jurisdiction over this class of mechanics, together with their finishers and helpers should be given by rights to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; and

WHEREAS, A meeting was held in the city of New York between an authorized representative of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers and an authorized representative of the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union in an attempt to adjust the difference, in compliance with the requirements of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and at said meeting no definite results were arrived at, consequently I am compelled to bring this before this Convention; and

WHEREAS, The charter of affiliation was granted to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths on October 30, 1897, and while the charter of affiliation was not granted to the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union until August, 1901, and at the time the charter of affiliation was granted to the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths exercised jurisdiction over this class of blacksmiths, and in granting a charter of affiliation to the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union, conceding to them jurisdiction over the members of our craft, was contrary to the spirit of the trade unionism upon which the American Federation of Labor is builded; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled grant to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers full and entire jurisdiction over blacksmiths, their finishers and helpers engaged in any capacity in building or repairing carriages, wagons and automobiles.

Referred to Grievance Committee.

Resolution No. 5.—By Delegates Fischer and McAndrews of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The blue label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union represents tobacco made under fair union conditions, by union men; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' label is the only proof of the same, as it distinguishes union from non-union and trust-made tobacco; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled

in San Francisco, Cal., re-endorses the blue label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That every member of each affiliated union be, and is hereby requested to demand the blue label upon all tobacco and cigarettes he may purchase, thereby showing his loyalty to the cause of unionism in a substantial manner.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 6.—By Delegates John F. Tobin, Collis Lovely, John P. Meade, Emmet T. Walls and Chas. E. Lowell, representing the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Many complications have arisen through the indiscriminate action of local unions and central bodies placing firms on the unfair list without securing the proper sanction of the national or international union representing the particular trade or calling involved; and

WHEREAS, Hasty and ill-advised action of this kind has an adverse influence upon the general good reputation enjoyed by national and international unions in the conduct of their business; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Law of this twenty-fourth annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to amend the constitution so as to absolutely prohibit placing any business concern on the unfair list by any local, central or State body connected with the American Federation of Labor without the sanction of the national or international union whose interests are involved and endorsed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, where such business concern manufactures and sells merchandise outside of the particular town, city or State in which such manufacturing concern is located. And be it further

RESOLVED, That where any business concern is on the unfair list contrary to the spirit and letter of this resolution a settlement shall be negotiated, and if no adjustment is made by February 1st, 1905, all firms then on the unfair list contrary to this resolution shall be removed from such unfair list.

This resolution and proposed amendment to the constitution is not intended to interfere with any practice heretofore pursued by Building Trades Unions or unions representing trades or callings local in their nature.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegate George Mackey of International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers have endeavored to adjust grievances with the Albia Box and Paper Co. of Troy, N. Y.; and

WHEREAS, Said Albia Box and Paper

Co. have stubbornly refused to treat with organized labor in any sense; and

WHEREAS, Said Albia Box and Paper Co. have therefore been declared unfair by the local branch of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers and the Central Labor Assembly of Troy, N. Y.; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, convened in San Francisco, declare said Albia Box and Paper Co. of Troy, N. Y., unfair.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 8.—By Delegate George Mackey of International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, an organization of a few years' existence which has had a severe struggle to build up a membership in the face of bitter opposition by our employers; and

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Paper and Pulp Makers, by reason of numerous strikes and lockouts, waged not only in the interests of the shorter hour and the living wage principle, but for our very existence; and

WHEREAS, The manufacturers of paper and pulp throughout the country have formed associations and alliances for the avowed purpose of exterminating the organization of Paper and Pulp Makers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor render the Brotherhood of Paper and Pulp Makers assistance at this critical time by placing one or more organizers in the field at the disposal of the Brotherhood of Paper and Pulp Makers.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 9.—By Delegate George Mackey of International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers:

WHEREAS, Members of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers are being subjected to many hazardous risks through the negligence of employers, in not protecting dangerous places in and around machinery; and

WHEREAS, A large percentage of accidents and deaths among Paper and Pulp Makers are due to a lack of proper protection in said mills; and

WHEREAS, Factory inspectors are not recognized among working men as such because of a lack of any uniform or any visible badge of office; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor insist upon a more strict observance of the Factory Inspection Rules in all factories; and be it further



RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor exert its best influences to have a law or order enacted in all States requiring that all Factory Inspectors shall wear a uniform or some visible badge when on duty; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor put forth its best endeavors to have a law enacted in all States requiring all Factory Inspectors to submit to a rigid Civil Service examination.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 10.—By W. MacArthur, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, The recurrence of jurisdiction disputes in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor occupies much time and effort which could be better devoted to devising and perfecting measures of common defense against the common opposition to organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the following recommendations are hereby submitted to the affiliated organizations, as a basis of temporary adjustment and final settlement, to-wit:

1. Except in the case of those disputes satisfactorily adjusted by this or any preceding Convention, by mutual agreement or by other means, organizations now in disagreement, or which may hereafter disagree upon questions of jurisdiction shall permit the disputed points to rest in abeyance for the period of one year from this date.

2. During this period each organization in question shall be permitted to retain and exercise jurisdiction so far as the same is actually established at the time of disagreement, certificates of membership to be accepted as prima facie evidence of jurisdiction.

3. During this period men and women holding certificates of membership in two or more organizations involved in a dispute as to jurisdiction shall, should the question of jurisdiction over such men and women be raised by either or any organization, be required and permitted to individually choose the organization to which they prefer to acknowledge allegiance. Having so chosen, such men and women shall be conceded to the jurisdiction of the organizations to which they have respectively tendered their allegiance.

4. During this period the respective organizations shall continue the work of organization among non-unionists, and shall have and exercise jurisdiction over those thus organized, with the assistance and support of the American Federation of Labor, and without let or hindrance from any other source.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 11.—By Delegate W. MacArthur, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Certain city central

bodies have adopted the assessment system of raising funds for the support of strikes, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The assumption by city central bodies or other representative organizations of power to assess the membership of the affiliated unions for any purpose is contrary to the principle upon which such bodies are founded, to-wit: mutual advice, voluntary co-operation and moral responsibility, and as such constitutes a danger both to the unions and to the bodies in which they are represented; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that the power of assessment should be reserved exclusively to the respective unions and the individual members thereof, to be exercised in the manner provided by their own laws, local National or International; be it further

RESOLVED, That city central bodies and State Federations are hereby advised that all forms of assessment levied by them upon the unions affiliated therewith are opposed to the principle and policy of the American Federation of Labor and will therefore not be sustained by the Federation.

Referred to Committee on Local or Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 12.—By Delegate Thos. Westoby, of the International Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America:

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. in its instructions to Organizers, advise that Ship Joiners are eligible for membership in the U. B. of C. and J. of A., notwithstanding that the International U. S. J. and C. of A. are given jurisdiction over all wood-work on ships, boats and all floating structures; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in the future it shall be made clear to Organizers of the A. F. of L. that Ship Joiners belong under the jurisdiction of the International Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America, and under the said named International Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America they shall be organized, and not under any other National or International.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 13.—By Delegate Frank Bricker, of the Milkers' Protective Union No. 8,861, of San Francisco:

WHEREAS, Milkers' Protective Union No. 8,861, of San Francisco, has endeavored for some years past to thoroughly organize the dairies in that city and vicinity, but such work has been greatly impeded by reason of the fact that these dairies come into direct competition with the products of dairies in other localities, the employes of which are entirely unorganized; and

WHEREAS, These latter employes refuse to recognize the Milkers' Protec-

tive Union on the ground that the latter has no jurisdiction outside the limits of San Francisco; therefore be it.

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual Convention assembled, that the Executive Council is hereby authorized and instructed to make such change in the geographical jurisdiction of Milkery Protective Union No. 8,861, of San Francisco, as shall enable that body to organize the milkers of the State of California under a single head.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 14.—By delegates representing the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union:

There must and will be an organization of labor while the rights and liberties of free-born citizens are industrially and politically dissociated from the workers.

By birth, heritage, tradition and relationship organized labor is the custodian and conservator of the rights and liberties of labor. Organized labor is the parent philosophically, economically and industrially of the cause of justice to labor. Its progress has been blazed with its struggles to possess labor with the exercise of those rights and liberties which are the natural companions of the spark of life in the breast of man. Its work will never cease until each individual is placed in full possession and enjoys free exercise of those rights and liberties now restricted. There are and can be no free workers denied their rightful economic estate; and the working people will not enjoy those rights, liberties and opportunities which are the heritage of man until the labor of each is requited on the basis of economic justice; therefore be it

**RESOLVED** and proclaimed by its Twenty-fourth Convention of the A. F. of L., that organized labor is not a separate institution striving for its own immediate selfish ends, but is an organization of, by and for the working people, struggling to reclaim to all labor the moral and material value of those rights, liberties and freedom of opportunities now enjoyed only in the abstract;

That from out the economic necessity of labor grew organized labor and with its birth went the commission to secure economic justice for all labor both organized and unorganized, which from its inception it has ever been loyal to and has never surrendered, to organized labor unorganized labor looks for the consummation of that commission;

That this work is not a self-imposed philanthropic duty but is the breath, nutrition and life of the labor movement, and organized labor has never consented to any other force, or institution, industrial, political or philanthropic, the conservation of the cause of labor, and the elevation of labor to

its rightful economic place and unorganized labor has never resigned its claim upon organized labor as the natural, logical and rightful protector of the rights, liberties, opportunities and interests of all labor;

That organized labor is inward as outward, and inspired by no ulterior motives, seeks no ulterior ends behind expetive and cloaking professions, its professions like its inspirations and object being indubitably substantiated by that every day unceasing effort in the cause of all labor which has been inseparable from it since its birth;

That the history of the progress of organized labor is the history of the progress of unorganized labor;

That organized labor initiated, fathered and secured every improvement in their work day conditions now enjoyed by the working people and there have been no improvements gained by organized labor the universal enjoyment of which has ever been denied to the unorganized by organized labor, such denials having been by antagonistic forces and interests and in spite of organized labor; and there has never been a time that the pulse of organized labor did not beat in rhythm with the needs of all labor and the hopes of non-union labor; and

That the ultimate object is the attainment of economic justice for union and non-union labor and that organized labor was primarily, is now and will be in futurity, the first and foremost advocate, friend, protector and promoter of the rights, liberties, opportunities and interests of organized or unorganized, union or non-union labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 15.—By Delegates Roacy Kenehan and John Fitzpatrick, of the Journeymen Horse Shoers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers have permitted their local unions to accept as members men who clearly come under the jurisdiction of and are eligible to membership in the local unions of the International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union; and

WHEREAS, If this practice is allowed to continue it will cause considerable friction between the Blacksmiths and Horse Shoers throughout the country, and will greatly weaken and retard the progress of both International Unions; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Officers of the International Horse Shoers' Union have made repeated efforts to bring about a meeting with the officers of Brotherhood of Blacksmiths so that an understanding might be reached; and

WHEREAS, We have failed to arrange such meeting; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, By the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the Inter-

national Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers be instructed to turn over to the International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union every horse shoer now holding membership in their organizations, and they be further instructed not to transgress the jurisdiction of the Horse Shoers in the future but confine themselves to their jurisdiction as outlined in their Constitution and By-laws.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 16.—By Delegates Roady Kenehan and John Fitzpatrick, of the Journeymen Horse Shoers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union has had several important strikes during the past two years which have been a heavy financial drain upon the funds of the International and the local unions; and

WHEREAS, The horseshoeing trade is not as well organized as it should be although the International Union is directing every effort to this end, but has not the funds to carry on this work as effectually as it should be; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby pledge its fullest support to the International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union, and will assist in every possible way to organize every horseshoer in this country; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pay one-half the expenses of a special organizer for one year for this purpose; the organizer to be selected by the International Horse Shoers' Union and be acceptable to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 17.—By Delegate Mrs. O. P. Smith, of the Women's International Union Label League:

WHEREAS, The preconceived movement on the part of the people who are antagonistic to organized labor, and their efforts to defeat the aims and objects of our movement, are such that it will require the united labors of all members of organized labor and its friends, in order to maintain our prestige in the industrial field, with the "Citizens' Alliance," Manufacturers' Associations and like combinations of capital making every effort and using every device and coercion in order to injure organized labor, by destroying and depriving labor of one of its most potent and powerful weapons (name-ly), the Union Label; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we use every means at our command to aid and encourage the use and influence of the "union label" and to this end we favor the adoption of such legislation and measures at this, the Twenty-fourth An-

nual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, as will tend to further strengthen our position along this line, also to adopt such measures that will enable the members of organized labor to more effectually prosecute the sale of the products of union labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That as an organization known as the Women's International Union Label League has a representative in attendance at this Convention, and as said organization, the Women's International Union Label League, has been a powerful factor in the work of creating the demand for union made products, that we respectfully request that the Women's International Union Label League be granted a Certificate of Affiliation from the American Federation of Labor, and that every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is requested to assist the Women's International Union Label League in their efforts to enlarge the scope and influence of the labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 18.—By Delegates Lee M. Hart and Patrick Maloney, of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor issued a general demand that all its affiliated National and International Unions should use its every energy to thoroughly unionize the city of Philadelphia; and

WHEREAS, At the Twelfth Annual Convention of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes recently held in the City of Milwaukee, it was unanimously decided that we comply with the orders of the American Federation of Labor by placing its full moral and financial support in the City of Philadelphia; and

WHEREAS, The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes have recently made a full and thorough investigation of that craft in that city and found conditions in a demoralized state; and

WHEREAS, It is the purpose of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes to have its General Executive Council to go to Philadelphia, there to remain until they can secure the absolute recognition of their local union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor indorse the attitude assumed by the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes, and further instruct its Organizers and members in the City of Philadelphia, and vicinity to give their full moral support to thoroughly unionize the theatres and amusement places of Philadelphia and vicinity.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 19.—By Delegate

George Bechtold, of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees has been organized for the protection of the men employed in the iron and steel industry; and

WHEREAS, There are yet many large cities and sections of this great continent where the Foundry Employees are in a deplorable state, owing to its unorganized conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby empowered and directed to appoint a special organizer, whose duty it shall be to devote his entire time for six months for the purpose of effectively organizing the thousands of laborers employed in the iron and steel industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That said organizer be a practical foundry worker.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 20.—By Delegate Louis J. Gordon, of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers:

WHEREAS, The label of the above organization has been officially endorsed by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Such endorsement materially aided the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of N. A.; and

WHEREAS, The calling for the union label by trade unionists materially assists all unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in Convention assembled, again endorses the label of the C. H. and C. M. of N. A., and urges all affiliated unions and all unaffiliated ones to insist upon the label being on all cloth hats and caps and especially upon uniform caps, that they may have occasion to use.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 21.—By Delegate Louis J. Gordon, of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers:

WHEREAS, Several unions affiliated with the Building Trades Council of S. F., Cal., paraded on Labor Day, 1904, in non-union cloth hats and caps; and

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council of S. F., Cal., officially upheld and endorsed this action of these unions; and

WHEREAS, Such action resulted in the lockout and the defeat of Local 9, U. C. H. and C. M. of N. A.; and

WHEREAS, Repeated actions of this character must inevitably result to the detriment of all unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in Convention assembled, denounces

and condemns the action of the Building Trades Council of S. F., Cal., and be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. requests and urges all affiliated and unaffiliated trades organizations to see to it that the label of the C. H. and C. M. of N. A. be on all cloth hats and caps union men wear on Labor Days' parade.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 22.—By Delegate Louis Rentelman, of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The menace of Chinese labor, now greatly allayed by the passage and enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Act, has been succeeded by an evil similar in general character, but much more threatening in its possibilities, to-wit: the immigration to the United States and its insular territory of large and increasing numbers of Japanese and Korean laborers; and

WHEREAS, The American public sentiment against the immigration of Chinese labor, as expressed and crystallized in the enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act, finds still stronger justification in demanding prompt and adequate measures of protection against the immigration of Japanese and Korean labor, on the grounds, first, that the wage and living standards of such labor are dangerous to, and must, if granted recognition in the United States, prove destructive of, the American standards in these essential respects; secondly, that the radical incompatibility, as between the peoples of the Orient and the United States, presents a problem of race preservation which it is our imperative duty to solve in our own favor, and which can only be thus solved by a policy of Exclusion; and

WHEREAS, The systematic colonization by these Oriental races of our insular territory in the Pacific, and the threatened, and partly accomplished, extension of that system to the Pacific Coast and other Western localities of the United States, constitutes a standing danger, not only to the domestic peace, but to the continuance of friendly relations between the nations concerned; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the terms of the Chinese Exclusion Act should be enlarged and extended so as to permanently exclude from the United States and its insular territory all classes of Japanese and Koreans, other than those exempted by the present terms of that Act; further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be submitted, through the proper avenues, to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable consideration and action by that body.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 23.—By Delegates C. E. Schmidt and Herman May of the Amal-

gated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, The struggle between organized labor and organized capital seems to be growing more intense every year; and

WHEREAS, We have recently seen such monstrous orders issued that a man who has reached the age of 35 years should not be given employment in the plants of the steel trust and other large corporations; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor, which is ever striving to place the workers on a higher plane, will, if this age limit is applied in all industries, retrograde, instead of progress; and

WHEREAS, The means through which such un-American tendencies can be resisted lie in the raising of the standard of life among the workers, and this cannot successfully be done while the American workman is subject to the competition of the Mongolian race, which cannot be unionized or Americanized; and

WHEREAS, The immigration of Japanese laborers is increasing at an alarming rate and these laborers have already worked great injury to American workmen by practically monopolizing work in certain industries on account of the low rate of wages they are willing to accept; and

WHEREAS, This influx of Japanese, unless restricted, must tend to lower the standard of living among the wage-earners of the country; be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., through its Legislative Committee, use all lawful means to secure the necessary legislation to have the laws governing Chinese immigration also apply to Japanese and all others of the Mongolian race.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 24.—By Delegates C. E. Schmidt and Herman May of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Union:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America have just passed through a severe struggle which has depleted their treasury and reduced their membership; and

WHEREAS, The combined efforts of organized capital is now using every means in their power to prevent the A. M. C. and B. W. of N. A. from rebuilding their organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. do place an organizer in the field to devote his entire time to the organizing of the A. M. C. and B. W. of N. A., and that the International Executive Board of the A. M. C. and B. W. of N. A. shall appoint such organizer at the expense of the A. F. of L.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 25.—By Delegate James G. Cain of the Photo Engravers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has for several years past been upon record, reaffirmed at each annual Convention, as opposed to anti-scalping laws, and its influence has prevented the adoption by the United States Congress, and by the Legislatures of many of our States, of laws inimical to ticket brokerage; and

WHEREAS, Falling because of the opposition of organized labor to secure through legislation laws so repugnant to the people, the great railroad trusts are now endeavoring to prevail, and in some cases have prevailed, upon the Judges of the courts to legislate by injunction, and by this abuse of legal process prevent the transfer of railroad tickets from the original purchaser to other persons; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the arbitrary custom of transportation companies in placing descriptions of purchasers upon tickets, and requiring such purchasers to sign unfair, one-sided contracts, is an imposition and an outrage, as all railroad tickets should be good to the bearer. Be it further

RESOLVED, That we hold that the ownership of a railway ticket, after it has been purchased by the passenger, is vested in the purchaser, and that it is his right, both morally and legally, to use it himself, wholly or in part, or dispose of it to others as he may see fit; and that the use of non-transferable contract, signature and descriptive tickets by the railroad companies is an outrage upon the traveling public, and a presumptuous and unwarranted interference with the property rights of passengers.

RESOLVED, That we denounce the joint validating agency system as a nuisance, an unnecessary expense and annoyance to travelers, and a discreditable scheme on the part of railroad companies to repudiate obligations and profit enormously by the forfeiture of tickets in the hands of purchasers who are unable to personally use them.

RESOLVED, That we deplore the apparent willingness of some of the courts of this country to sanction the arbitrary and unjust agreements of unlawful passenger associations by issuing injunctions to prevent the transfer of so-called contract tickets, and we denounce such action as an abuse of legal process and a course tending to bring edicts of the courts into contempt.

RESOLVED, That we again request all State Federations, Central Trades and Labor Councils, and Labor Unions allied with the American Federation of Labor, to use every effort to defeat anti-scalping bills and city ordinances inimical to ticket brokerage, and again instruct our Legislative Committee at Washington to oppose all anti-scalping bills that have been, or may be, introduced in the United States Congress.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The Convention was then adjourned until 2 p. m.

## SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m. by President Gompers.

Absentees: Barry (J. L.), Slocum, Lowell, Priestersbach, Butterworth, Hoeneck, Brady, Gensbach, Barnes, Baum, Sullivan (M. J.), Jacoby, Wilson (H. H.), Farrell, Smith (J. W.), DeVilliers, Hutchinson, Greenlaw, Lynch (E. J.), Wilson (W. B.), Ryan (W. D.), Fahy, Bahlhorn, Sullivan (Jas. H.), Mason, Dix, Higgins, Dinan, Quick, Ramsay, Orr, Cornelius, Maloney (P.), Lindow, Powell, Berger, Morgan, Madden, Iglesias, Cohen (B.), Micrel, Brown (Morris), Lock, Harris, Lavery (Jas. A.), Ward, Walker, Dunn (J. F.), Rentelman, Woodmansee, Owens, Payne, Moffitt (C. M.), O'Shea (Dennis), Morris, Burke, Coffey, Edmonson, Catania, Bricker, Pillsbury, Bell, Keefe, Damozonio, Dale, Schilling, Meiner, Dowd, Padilla.

The reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

Secretary Morrison read an invitation from the California Promotion Committee to the delegates to call at the headquarters of the committee and obtain literature and information concerning points of interest in the State.

Delegate McArthur spoke on the question of the invitation and said in part: I should like to have the Convention know something concerning this committee. It is designated partly, if not primarily, for the purpose of creating a surplus of labor in the State of California. Organized labor in this State does not look with favor on the California Promotion Committee. I think you should be informed of the character of this committee.

It was announced from the floor of the Convention that Mr. Michael Davitt was in the audience, and a motion was made and seconded that he be given a seat on the platform.

The motion was carried, and President Gompers requested Sergeant-at-Arms Casey to escort Mr. Davitt to the platform.

Mr. Davitt was greeted with applause, and requested by the Convention to make an address.

President Gompers—I know I express the sentiments of the delegates when I say Mr. Davitt is right heartily welcomed to the Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Duncan—In order to comply with the laws of the American Federation of Labor, as well as to perform a pleasant duty, I move that Mr. Davitt be invited to address the Convention.

The motion was seconded and carried, and after an introduction by the Chairman, Mr. Davitt said:

"I thank you, gentlemen, for the unexpected honor you have conferred upon me. I came here to listen and not to speak. Being an Irishman, I am unaccustomed to speak. But, recognizing the importance of the work you have to do, I shall not take advantage of your kindness and stand for more than one minute in the way of the performance of the duty you have come here to discharge. I can only say that from the bottom of my heart I wish you every success in this Convention, and wish you victory in all your aims and aspirations."

President Gompers called for reports of committees. None of the committees being ready to report, Vice-President Duncan moved that the rules be suspended and the Convention adjourned until 9 o'clock Wednesday morning to allow the committees to work.

The motion was seconded and carried and the Convention adjourned.

Resolution No. 26.—By Delegate B. B. Rosenthal, of the Upholsterers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor granted a charter to the Mattress Makers, who were formerly a part of the Upholsterers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, President Engel of the Upholsterers' International Union acted upon his own responsibility and without the advice and consent of the Executive Board of the Upholsterers' International Union in consenting to the

issuance of a charter by the American Federation of Labor to the Mattress Makers; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of such charter has been detrimental to the best interests of the Upholsterers' International Union and the labor movement in general; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, herewith instructs its Executive Council, President and Secretary to revoke the charter granted the Mattress Makers and place them again under the jurisdiction and control of the Upholsterers' International Union.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 27.—By Delegate B. B. Rosenthal, of the Upholsterers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A Convention has been called for December 15, 1904, in the City of Washington, D. C., by the Carpet Layers, for the purpose of forming an International body; and

WHEREAS, Such Carpet Layers and Mechanics are now or have been members of the Upholsterers' Union, and have, as organizations, surrendered their charters and withdrawn from the Upholsterers' International Union or propose doing so; and

WHEREAS, Jurisdiction over this class of work has been granted the Upholsterers' International Union by the American Federation of Labor, and such work in the past has been done by members of the Upholsterers' Union and rightfully belongs to the Upholsterers' craft; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Upholsterers' International Union that we vigorously protest against the issuance by the American Federation of Labor of a charter to the Carpet Layers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the American Federation of Labor Convention to instruct its Executive Council, President and Secretary to carry out the law of the American Federation of Labor and refuse a charter to the Carpet Layers and allow the Upholsterers to maintain jurisdiction over such men and work, which rightfully belongs to them, who should remain under the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union.

Referred to Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 28.—By Delegate B. B. Rosenthal, of the Upholsterers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The members of the Upholsterers' International Union employed by the furniture manufacturers of Grand Rapids, Michigan, in January, 1904, struck for the enforcement of the nine-hour day; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the efforts of the members of organized labor for the shortening of the day's labor should have the unanimous support of all thinking people; and

WHEREAS, The gallant fight of the Upholsterers of Grand Rapids for the shorter workday commends itself to organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, that we call upon all friends of labor to refuse to purchase furniture of any kind manufactured by members of the Furniture Manufacturers' Association of Grand Rapids, Mich.

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 29.—By Delegate Geo. E. Shaver, of the Portland, Ore., Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor as an aggressive and reform Movement should use every agency for the prominence and propagation of their ideas; and

WHEREAS, They have in this spirit constructed at St. Louis a booth in Social Economy Hall, illustrative of the forward movement of the organized working people of this country; and

WHEREAS, This display of effective and beneficial methods of organized labor should have greater advertisement on this Pacific Coast; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct our incoming Executive Board to remove from St. Louis the present display, with its installment, and ship same to Portland, Oregon, and set it up in the Educational Building of the Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair to the end that our visitors, our citizens and all students of economic conditions may become familiar with the great work being done by the American Federation of Labor for the amelioration of the working conditions of the American laborer.

Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 30.—By Delegate Wm. J. Gilthorpe and A. T. Porter, of the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders:

WHEREAS, Samuel Gompers, President, Frank Morrison, Secretary, and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, as at that time constituted, to-wit: James Duncan, John Mitchell, James O'Connell, Max Morris, Dennis Hayes and J. B. Lennon, in violation of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor during the month of August or September, 1903, did issue a charter to the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, with the seal of the Federation affixed; and

WHEREAS, In doing so they violated the spirit and letter of Article IX, Section II, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, as made and provided, which Article and Section requires that all applications for charter shall first be submitted to the closely allied crafts for their inspection and approval before such charter can be issued; and

WHEREAS, Said charter was issued to the above-mentioned organization at the time this Brotherhood had already and beforehand made emphatic protest in writing to the Secretary of the Federation at Washington, D. C., against issuing said charter to the above-mentioned organization, until the letter and spirit of Article IX, Section II, had been complied with; and

WHEREAS, That notwithstanding our emphatic protest, said charter was issued and our protest ignored, thereby creating a dual organization to this Brotherhood; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That judgment be rendered in accordance with the facts as here presented, and charter of the Structural Iron Workers be annulled and revoked.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 31.—By Delegate M. T. Hudson, of the Sacramento, Cal., Federated Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The Local Union of Machinists of Sacramento, Cal., were affiliated with the Central Body of their district during the years 1893 and 1894, withdrawing early in 1895; and

WHEREAS, The said local was reorganized by Organizer R. I. Wister, of San Francisco, in 1901, and again affiliated with the Central Body of their district; and

WHEREAS, The said Local did again withdraw their delegates in 1901 and being at the present time unaffiliated with said councils; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention that the International Machinists' Union be instructed to have afore-mentioned Local affiliate with the Central Body of their district.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 32.—By Delegate M. T. Hudson, of the Sacramento, Cal., Federated Trades Council:

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 67, Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders were affiliated with the Central Body in their districts in 1893 and 1894, withdrawing at the close of 1894, and again affiliating in 1901 and withdrawing the same year and not having since sent representatives to the Central Body of their district; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention that the International Union of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders be instructed to notify Local No. 67 to affiliate with the Central Body of their district.

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 33.—By Delegate Chas. Hank, of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' International Alliance:

WHEREAS, The Purlington Paving Brick Company, of Galesburg, Ill., has

refused to permit members of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance to work in its plant; and

WHEREAS, Said company has been put on the Unfair List of the International and the Illinois State Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in the City of San Francisco, that the paving brick manufactured by the Purlington Paving Brick Company in the City of Galesburg, Ill., be declared unfair to organized labor.

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 34.—By Delegate C. W. Woodman, of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There are some 30,000 wage earners in the lumber regions of Texas who can be organized; and

WHEREAS, The compulsory commissary insurance and check system exists with no regular pay day, in some camps there being years between pay days; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board be instructed to send a man into that region to make a careful investigation with a view to devising a plan by which these wage earners may be given relief and enrolled under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 35.—By Delegate W. Frank Moyer, of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The reading of the reports of the President, Secretary, Treasurer, Executive Council and Fraternal Delegates consumes much valuable time of the Convention; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the aforesaid officers be directed to have their respective reports printed and submitted to the General Secretary, who shall send one copy to each delegate-elect on or before the 1st day of November.

Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 36.—By Delegate W. Frank Moyer, of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Pacific Coast States, with its large membership affiliating with the A. F. of L., deserves some recognition on the General Executive Board; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the A. F. of L. be so amended as to require at least one member of the said board to be a resident and citizen of either Washington, Oregon or California.

Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 37.—By Delegate W.



Frank Moyer, of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The offices of Seventh and Eighth Vice- Presidents were created for the purpose of settling building trades disputes or have jurisdiction over building trade difficulties; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the A. F. of L. be so amended that the incumbents of said offices must be members of the buildings trades. Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 38.—By Delegate W. Frank Moyer, of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There are weak, struggling Central Labor Councils situated in districts containing a comparatively large unorganized population, both as to unorganized trades or callings and members of trades already organized, and as such councils in many instances are too weak financially and numerically to support a local organizer or agent; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. authorize and instruct its Executive Board to assist a council so situated on applying for aid—First, by appointing and commissioning such local organizer as is recommended by the applying council; Second, by appropriating the sum of not less than \$300 per annum toward the support of said organizer, Provided,

That a council applying for aid by the provisions of this resolution must appropriate an amount toward the support of said organizer equal to that appropriated by the A. F. of L. Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 39.—By Delegate H. T. Sarman, of the Jefferson City, Mo., Central Labor Union;

WHEREAS, Experience demonstrates that the line of least resistance for the enactment of measures in the interest of the people is the establishment in them of a right to direct ballot, as has been accomplished in Switzerland, Oregon, South Dakota, Missouri, and promised by all the parties in Montana; and

WHEREAS, The line of least resistance for the establishment of the proposed system of government in State affairs is that throughout the State there be circulated for signature petitions to the legislature, asking that a constitutional amendment be submitted in order that the petitioners (the people) may vote upon the question of establishing their own sovereignty, urging upon the legislature the fact that it is the unquestioned right of the people to amend their State Constitution whenever they so desire; this campaign of petitioning for the educational effect and interest that it will create should be followed by the questioning of candidates for the legislature, thereby preventing an evasion of the issue, and the candidates self-inter-

est will compel them to pledge; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That each of the coming State Conventions of organized labor is requested by the American Federation of Labor to consider and vote upon the advisability of instructing the affiliated central and local unions to conduct the proposed campaign for the people's sovereignty in State affairs; and

RESOLVED, That for the establishment of the people's sovereignty in national affairs our President is requested to frame at the earliest practicable day a petition incorporating a request for the immediate establishment in Congress of the advisory initiative and advisory referendum, as described in the July 15th extra number of the American Federationist, and that copies of the petition be distributed to affiliated unions, with request to circulate for signatures and return to the central office at a specified time that the petitions may be filed with Congress; this to be followed by the early questioning of Congressional and Legislative candidates who are striving to secure the nominations, and later the nominees shall be questioned if not already pledged; and

RESOLVED, That wherever a central or local union fails to circulate petitions or questions to candidates when requested by the National Federation or State Federation of the National or State Body shall instruct a local representative to do the work in the name of the American Federation of Labor or State Federation of Labor, and to sign as "Local Representative," and

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor re-affirms the referendum resolutions of previous Conventions which declare, in effect, that the establishment of the people's sovereignty is the dominant issue (Resolution 270, Boston Convention; 121 New Orleans Convention); and

RESOLVED, That every voter is urged to agree with his fellow citizens that he will vote for such Legislative candidates only as are pledged to the immediate establishment of the people's rule. To-day, as in 1776, the establishment of political liberty is the dominant issue. Why should voters choose between rulers when they can at once become the sovereign power?

Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 40.—By Delegates Wm. McSorley and T. C. DeVilliers, of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, in their last Convention at Toronto, Canada, passed the following resolutions:

RESOLUTION NO. 6.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association in Convention assembled:

WHEREAS, The International Asso-

ciation of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, at the Kansas City Convention, entered into an agreement with the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers for the purpose of unifying the forces of the metal industry; and

WHEREAS, The Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers have acted in bad faith without association by violating their agreement by calling strikes against our men and otherwise using their influence against our members by preventing them from working at the metal lathing industry; and

WHEREAS, Those that are working at the metal lathing industry can be better organized and protected by being a part of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and will strengthen the Association by organizing them; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in consideration of the foregoing facts that we declare the said named agreement null and void and declare our right by claiming the metal lathing industry.

E. A. CLANCY,  
WM. H. LUTZ.

The committee recommended that the International Association control this work in its entirety.

Regularly moved and seconded the report of committee be concurred in. Carried; and

WHEREAS, It is a direct violation of all agreements entered into by the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Union, and Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union, also our craft jurisdiction, which has been conceded to us by the laws of the American Federation of Labor, long before the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and by their recent action, if it is sustained by this body, will be the starting of a labor war that will disrupt both of these International Unions and bring about no good results, as you can see by the above resolution, if concurred in by this body, would drive us out of the American Federation of Labor. Whereby this is a direct violation of Article IX, Section II of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention go on record as disapproving of any organization violating agreements, and trying to disrupt bona fide International Unions, as is clearly shown by the action of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, at recent Convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled instruct all National and International Unions to support the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union in its claim for jurisdiction, as set forth in its constitution, and approved by the American Federation of Labor, as we can prove we are the only legiti-

mate organization entitled to do this work.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 41.—By Delegates J. R. Crozier and D. D. Driscoll, of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor and the Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union, respectively:

WHEREAS, the firms of Derby Desk Company and the American Tube Company of Boston, Mass., have been declared unfair to organized labor by Mass. State Branch A. F. of L., and the Boston Central Labor Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the above firms be placed on the "We Don't Patronize" List of the A. F. of L.

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 42.—By Delegates Sarah Hagan and Nathan Wolff, of the United Garment Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The United Garment Workers of America are still engaged in the severe struggle with the Clothiers' Exchange, of Rochester, N. Y., comprising the following firms, the Stein Bloch Co., Michaels Stern Co., Adler Bros., Garson, Meyer Co., A. Dinkelspiel, Moore & Biers, Black & Co., H. A. Hays, R. Goldstein & Co., I. Holz Son, Solomon Bros & Bempert, Steefel, Strauss & Connor, Hickey Freeman Co., Ely Meyer & Simon, Herman Stern, Rosenberg Bros., Levy Bros., owing to its refusal as a body when presented with a request for the reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day, so as to conform to the working time in that branch of the trade in all competing markets; and

WHEREAS, The attitude of the said clothing combine has induced other clothing markets to force the open-shop; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, does hereby re-affirm the condemnation of the organized clothing manufacturers of Rochester as being unfair and contrary to the spirit of our time; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to notify all affiliated organizations and organizers of the American Federation of Labor to give the United Garment Workers of America their fullest support in defeating the actions of the Rochester Clothing Combine.

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 43.—By Delegates Sarah Hagan and Nathan Wolff, of the United Garment Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The International Retail Clerks' Protective Association has adopted and is now using a store-card which they furnish to merchants who employ clerks, members of their organization, the same to be placed in their windows announcing that the store in displaying said card is a "union store;" and

WHEREAS, The display of said card is misleading, it being altogether too sweeping as the literal interpretation of the term "union store" would imply that all merchandise sold there was strictly union made; and

WHEREAS, Such condition of affairs has proven a detriment to all trades unions manufacturing a product bearing a union label and given an opportunity to firms displaying said card of palming off unfair goods; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall and does hereby request that the International Retail Clerks' Protective Association to change the wording of said store-card to meet with the sentiment of this resolution.

#### Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 44.—By Delegate Bert H. Beadle of the Watch Case Engravers' International Association:

WHEREAS, The following decision was rendered by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. on June 20, 1904:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., June 20, 1904.

Mr. F. Huber, Secretary International Association of Watch Case Engravers, P. O. Box 263, Canton, Ohio:

Dear Sir and Brother:

On Saturday last a conference was held between two representatives of your organization and a representative of the Jewelry Workers' International Union relative to the question of the union label, and also upon the question of jurisdiction.

In regard to the question of jurisdiction over watch case engravers it was clearly understood and so decided that watch case engravers should properly come under the jurisdiction of your organization, and that the Jewelry Workers' International Union should be so advised and to surrender such watch case engravers who may be now members of that organization, some arrangement mutually agreeable to both organizations to be made by which the transfer of membership can be made with the least friction or difficulty.

At the conference the subject matter of a closer understanding and perhaps co-operation between your organization and the Jewelry Workers' International Union should be reached, both in regard to the issuance of the union label and to protect and promote the best interests of the entire craft. It is not understood nor urged that your organization should cease to issue its union label, but that some arrangement may be made whereby the best interests of all could be advanced and that in the near future the trade may be better organized and a joint label might be issued or a co-operative effort made for the issuance of the label.

It is further suggested that a representative of your International Association should be in attendance at the Convention of the Jewelry Workers' International Union, which is to be held on July 11th at Odd Fellows' Hall, No. 66-69 East Eighth street, New York City, where better opportunity will be afforded for the conference with the representatives of that organization, so that the Convention might be in a position to take effective action thereon.

Trusting that the same will be agreeable, and that in time matters may serve the best interests of all concerned, I am, with best wishes,

Fraternally yours.

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

President American Federation of Labor. And

WHEREAS, The Watch Case Engravers' International Association of America has complied with the request of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in sending delegates to the Jewelry Workers' International Union Convention, held in New York, July 1904, and that that body did practically ignore our delegates, only allowing them fifteen (15) minutes to draft a resolution of an agreement by which the W. C. E. I. A. of A and the J. W. I. U. could come to some agreement, it being impossible in the short time of fifteen minutes to draw up an agreement of such importance whereby the two aforesaid bodies could come to some mutual agreement in the settlement of their troubles, thus practically ignoring the delegates of the W. C. E. I. A. of A.; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention does hereby re-affirm and endorse the decision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in their decision rendered on June 20, 1904, between the Watch Case Engravers' International Association of America and the Jewelry Workers' International Union, and compel the J. W. I. U. to surrender all watch case engravers in their union to the W. C. E. I. A. of A.; and be it

RESOLVED, That the W. C. E. I. A. of A. shall be the only body recognized by the A. F. of L. in regard to watch case engravers; be it also

RESOLVED, That the label of the Watch Case Engravers' International Association of America be the official label of all engraving done on watch cases.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 45.—By William S. Smith, Central Labor Council, Los Angeles, Cal.:

WHEREAS, A concerted effort is being made throughout the State of California to disrupt organized labor, in order that low wages and long hours again may prevail; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in twenty-fourth annual convention assembled, that the President

of the Federation be and hereby is requested to appoint an organizer to work within the State of California for a period of one year, beginning January 1, 1905.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 46.—By Delegate Manuel Alves of the Riggers' Protective Union 10,298:

WHEREAS, There has been a great deal of friction and ill-feeling created between the Riggers' Protective Union and Bridge and Structural Iron Workers over work claimed, and performed by members of both unions, and if allowed to continue will deprive said Riggers' Protective Union of a great deal of work always performed in the past by them; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, during the present session, adjust the differences if possible.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 47.—By Delegates of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters:

WHEREAS, There is known to exist, and is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, an organization known as the United Brewery Workmen of America; and

WHEREAS, Said organization has issued charters to, and accepted to membership, local unions of beer wagon drivers, whose vocation is identical with that of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; and

WHEREAS, We believe that the interests of all wage earning teamsters can best be conserved by and through affiliation with the organization of their craft; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention take such action as will tend to instruct the United Brewery Workmen's International Union, and through their proper officials, to instruct their local unions to surrender by transfer card all drivers now members of said local unions to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the United Brewery Workmen's International Union be instructed to cause such transfer cards to be issued at the very earliest possible date.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 48.—By Delegate P. J. McSherry of Federal Labor Union 9611:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention that further immigration of Japanese into the United States should be prohibited by law; and that in order to bring this question before the country, and to bring the influence of the American Federation of Labor to bear upon Congress in favor of legislation for this purpose, a committee be appointed by the Chair to draw up a petition to Congress in favor of a Japanese exclusion law, and that the National Execu-

tive Board be, and is, hereby instructed to forward a copy of such petition to each and every local union, Central Body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, together with a copy of this resolution, and a suitable letter of advice, urging upon such local unions and central bodies the advisability of obtaining as many signatures to such petitions as possible, and instructing them to forward petitions after being signed to the national headquarters of the A. F. of L.; and it is hereby made the duty of the National Executive Board to forward such petitions to Congress at such time and in such manner as will best give effect to the purpose of this resolution.

Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 49.—By Delegates Mary Kenny O'Sullivan and James Duncan of the National Women's Trade Union League and the Granite Cutters' National Union, respectively:

RESOLVED, That the best interests of labor require the admission of women to full citizenship as a matter of justice to them and as a necessary step toward ensuring and raising the scale of wages for all.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 50.—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, The Tin Foil Workers' and Helpers' Union No. 11,115 have made strenuous efforts by their own committee and by committee of the Central Federated Union to amicably settle the existing differences between their union and the said firm; and

WHEREAS, The said firm absolutely refused to confer with any committee representing organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be urged to place this firm on it's "We Don't Patronize List."

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 51.—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, The ravages of tuberculosis has made frightful progress in this country, and especially among the working class; be it

RESOLVED, By this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the necessary ways, means and steps be at once instituted to check tuberculosis, and, if possible, entirely eradicate the same.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 52.—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, The Piano and Organ Workers of New York City have made various attempts by committee and with committee from the Central Federated Union to amicably settle a grievance existing at their piano and organ factory (Ludwig & Co.) and have failed; be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby requested to place the firm of Ludwig & Co. upon its "We Don't Patronize List."

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 53.—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, Decisions of former Conventions of the American Federation of Labor have given the jurisdiction of Engineers and Firemen employed in breweries to the International Association of Steam Engineers and International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, and the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at the City of Boston, rendered a decision sustaining the claim of such jurisdiction; be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor enforce this decision and make it effective.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 54.—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, The Piano and Organ Workers' Union have requested the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to place the mentioned firm upon the unfair list; and

WHEREAS, The said Executive Council has not complied with this request; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor place the said firm on the unfair list.

Committee on Boycott.

Resolution No. 55.—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, The firm of Hastings & Co. of Philadelphia, Pa., and Kemp & Co. of New York, both firms being identical, have been placed upon the "We Don't Patronize List" of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Bookbinders have been asked for their moral assistance in bringing these firms to terms, but have failed to do so; be it

RESOLVED, By this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the International Bookbinders' Union be and is hereby in-

structed to assist the Gold Beaters in this matter immediately.

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 56.—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, Past experience has demonstrated the splendid agitation work accomplished by the Label Leagues which have been organized in some parts of the country; and

WHEREAS, The trades union movement can best be furthered and its power centralized by creating a demand for union label production, be it

RESOLVED, That this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct all affiliated unions, and especially all central bodies, to agitate for and organize Label Leagues in all parts of the country, and urge all local unions who have a trade label and all others to join such Label League.

Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 57.—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, Several advertisements of non-union firms appear in the columns of the American Federationist, which publication is the official mouthpiece of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Such advertisements tend to ridicule the labor movement and make a farce of the efforts to unionize business establishments; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor decides that in the future no advertisements of non-union concerns can or shall appear in the columns of the American Federationist.

Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 58.—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, The Assembly of the State of New York has passed a bill regulating employment agencies; and

WHEREAS, The said measure is of great import to all organized labor, not only of one State, but of the whole country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby direct that a like measure be introduced in the Congress of the United States, covering all States.

Copy of bill hereto attached.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 59.—By Delegate George Abernethy of the National Alliance of Bill Posters and Billers:

WHEREAS, Bryan & Co., bill posters.

at Cleveland, Ohio, have declared themselves as opposed to organized labor, and have also disrupted our local union in that city; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the said Bryan & Co. of Cleveland, Ohio, be placed upon the "We Don't Patronize List" of the American Federation of Labor.

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 60.—By Delegate John Ryan of the Cemetery Employes' Union No. 10,634:

WHEREAS, C. E. U. 10,634 respectful by petitions this Convention to assist in the organization of the men engaged in their craft throughout the country; they have in their organization in San Francisco and vicinity 125 members in good standing; they have been able through that organization to better their conditions in every respect, but it is absolutely necessary that they have assistance from this body in the way of organizing the men of other cities if their wages are to be maintained or further advanced, and their organization kept intact; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. that the incoming Executive Board be and is hereby instructed to appoint an organizer whose duty it shall be to organize the men engaged in cemeteries throughout the country, and the expense of such work to be borne by the American Federation of Labor.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 61.—By Delegate Frank G. Jones of the City Firemen's Union No. 11,431:

WHEREAS, The City Fire Department of Pittsburg, Pa., is organized to protect and advance the condition of its members;

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. through its organizers, make an effort to organize the Fire Departments throughout the country, believing that by being organized it will be the means of getting shorter hours, as the fireman works twenty-four a day.

Committee on Organization.

## THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 A. M., Wednesday, November 16th, Treasurer Lennon in the chair.

Absentees: Barry (J. L.), Slocum, Lowell (C. E.), Priestersbach, Butterworth, Hoeneck, Brady (John), Gengenbach, Barnes, Baum, Sullivan (M. J.), Jacoby, Wilson (H. H.), Farrell, Smith (J. W.), DeVilliers, Hutchinson, Greenlaw, Lynch (E. J.), Wilson (W. B.), Ryan (W. D.), Fahy, Bahhorn, Sullivan (J. H.), Mason, Dix, Higgins, Dinan, Quick, Ramsay, Orr, Cornelius, Maloney (Patrick), Lindow, Powell (Geo.), Berger, Morgan, Madden, Iglesias, Michel, Brown (Morris), Lock, Harris (R. F.), Lavery (Jas. A.), Ward, Walker, Dunn (J. P.), Rentelman, Woodmansee, Owens, Payne, Moffitt (C. M.), O'Shea (Dennis), Morris (W. D.), Burke, Coffey, Edmondson, Catania, Bricker, Pillsbury, Bell, Keefe (M. O.), Damozonio, Dale, Schilling, Hudson, Meinert, Dowd, Padilla.

The reading of the minutes of the previous day's sessions was dispensed with.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

FALL RIVER, Mass., Nov. 14, 1904.

John Golden,  
San Francisco.

Attempt to open mills resulted in complete failure. Have this read before the Convention. (HIBBERT.)

TACOMA, Wash., Nov. 15, 1904.

Samuel Gompers, President A. F. of L.:  
Tacoma Trades Council in regular session extends fraternal greeting, and trusts that this great representative body of working men in session will maintain the honor and dignity of their calling, and that Convention will be a successful one and conducive to the best interests of all who toil.

W. E. DAVIS, President.  
E. J. LAVELLE, Secretary.

The following resolutions were received and referred to the proper committees:

Resolution No. 62.—By Delegate James Wilson of the Pattern Makers' National League:

To amend Section 4 of Article III of the Constitution. The Executive Council of the Federation shall every six months appoint an expert accountant to audit the books of the Federation and make reports to all National, International, Central, State and Federal Unions affiliated of the findings of such audits. The expense of such audits to be paid from the funds of the Federation.

New Section: The President shall appoint a Credential Committee consisting of three (3) delegates elect. This committee shall meet at the place of holding the convention three days prior to the Convention, and shall report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee to be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 63.—By Delegate Thomas J. Mahoney of the Glove Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, It is apparent to all that the enemies of labor have organized to assist each other, morally and financially, for the sole purpose of crushing and destroying organized labor, and the success that has been attendant upon their efforts if allowed to continue unchecked, will ultimately result in disaster to the labor movement, and,

WHEREAS, Under the system that at present exists, in order to successfully combat with the aggression of capital, we must fight them with capital; lack of said capital being principally responsible for the defeat that organized labor has suffered, and,

WHEREAS, The opponents of organized labor are becoming more bold and determined, through knowledge of the fact that the American Federation of Labor is not a financial institution, and realizing that the present system of raising funds to carry on a controversy to a successful issue by means of appeals for financial aid, is ineffectual, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the delegates here assembled that Article XI, section 1 be amended to read, "From International and National Trades Unions' a per capita tax of ten and one-half cents (10½) per member per month be paid, ten cents (10) of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout, and

RESOLVED, That Article X, section 1, be amended to read, "The Executive Council shall have power to levy upon all affiliated unions, such assessments as may be necessary to conduct any strike or lockout that may have been legally endorsed or sanctioned by the Executive Council.

Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 64.—By Delegate Thomas J. Maloney, of the Glove Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The existence of the International Glove Workers' Union of

America is threatened by reasons of the continual attacks made by the "Manufacturers' Association" during the two years of our existence; and

WHEREAS, The last lockout of the Glove Workers of Fulton County, New York, which lasted for more than six months, in which we were unsuccessful, has discouraged our members and left us heavily in debt, thereby beligr without the necessary funds to organize our craft or to advertise our label.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, especially instruct all of its organizers to aid in organizing Glove Workers wherever they may come in contact with them, and,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor appropriate a sum of money and loan or donate same to the International Glove Workers' Union of America to enable the said organization to continue their existence.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 65.—By Delegate Thos. J. Mahoney of the Glove Workers' International Union:

RESOLVED, That this Convention do hereby endorse the label of the International Glove Workers' Union of America, placed on all gloves and mittens, men's working gloves and mittens, ladies' and gents' fine dress gloves, and children's gloves and mittens. And be it further

RESOLVED, That the members of the A. F. of L. are to instruct and urge their mothers, wives and daughters to demand and wear none but union made gloves and mittens.

Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 66.—By Delegate Frank Sweeney, of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods:

WHEREAS, Repeated efforts have been made by the officials and members of Local Branch No. 88 of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods of Baltimore, Md., to organize the leather workers of the firm of Luch Bros. of Baltimore, Md., and,

WHEREAS, The said firm of Luch Bros. has refused to employ or permit any union leather workers to get employment in its factory, and,

WHEREAS, Said firm of Luch Bros. being the largest manufacturers of leather horse goods in the city of Baltimore, Md., has by menace and intimidation disrupted Local Branch No. 88 of the International of the United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods, to the extent that said local branch, is about to surrender its charter to the International; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor condemns the action of the firm of Luch Bros. of Baltimore, Md., and requests all delegates to assist them in the fight against said firm of Luch Bros; and be it further

RESOLVED, That said firm of Luch Bros., of Baltimore, Md., be placed on the unfair list of the American Federation of Labor.

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 67.—By Delegate Frank Sweeney of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods:

WHEREAS, The International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods in convention assembled at St. Louis, Mo., June 10-13, 1904, adopted the steel stamp to replace the old blue paper label, and,

WHEREAS, The old blue paper label was insufficient in its methods of durability to bring about desired results; and

WHEREAS, The steel stamp is the recognized official label of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the label of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods, and request all unionists, especially the different Teamsters' locals affiliated, to demand said label when purchasing or using horse goods, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor notify all affiliated Teamsters' locals of this resolution.

Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 68.—By Delegate David Kreyling of the St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Red and White Label and the Stamp Label of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International Union of America represents goods made by union labor under fair conditions; and,

WHEREAS, Our label is the only proof of the same; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse the Red and White (paper) label and the Stamp of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That every member of each affiliated union be hereby requested to demand our paper label upon all trunks and our stamp label upon all travelers' goods and leather novelties that he or she may purchase.

Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 69.—By Delegate Emil Schaerer of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The boycott against the McKinney Bread Co., of St. Louis, Mo., has been endorsed first by the Louisville Convention, again at the Scranton Convention, again at the New Orleans and



Boston Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The McKinney Baking Co. has not as yet seen fit to make a satisfactory settlement to the members of our International Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention reaffirm the boycott against said corporation and instructs the incoming President to send circular letters to all affiliated unions in the States of Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee and Kentucky, where most of this unfair product is sold, requesting that this concern be not patronized.

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 70.—By Delegate Emil Schaefer of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The boycott placed against the products manufactured by the Cracker Trust, known as the National Biscuit Co., with main office at Chicago, Ill., and having branches throughout the country; and,

WHEREAS, It is the custom of this concern to hire whenever and wherever possible non-union and child-labor, trying to disrupt the organization of Bakery Workers by discriminating against the members; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention reaffirms the boycott on this concern and through its incoming President request all its affiliated organizations, to instruct their members not to buy any product bearing the stamp of the National Biscuit Co.

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 71.—By Delegate Robert S. Maloney of the Lawrence (Mass.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In the City of Lawrence, Mass., the workers in the textile industries number more than 35,000; and

WHEREAS, Of this number but a small part are included in the ranks of organized labor, and the conditions of the workers require all the help organized labor can possibly extend to them; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to place in Lawrence, at the earliest possible time, a special organizer for the purpose of bringing into the ranks of organized labor a labor a body of people who need all the help we can give them.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 72.—By Delegates Furuseth, Penje, Frazier and MacArthur of the Seamen's International Union:

WHEREAS, Large numbers of seamen are annually drowned by the wrecking of tow barges; and

WHEREAS, The use of tow barges constitutes a great menace to the safety of navigation in general; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, hereby indorses the bill (H. R. 14861) now pending in Congress, making unlawful the "towing at sea over a distance of fifty miles or more by any steamer at one time of more than one barge or vessel incapable of being properly managed by her own crew under her own steam or sail"; further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to use every possible effort to secure the passage of said bill.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 73.—By Delegate A. T. Baum, of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union:

WHEREAS, Owing to the fact that contracts entered between various labor organizations and employers as at present conducted, begin and expire on widely different dates; and

WHEREAS, By reason of such variance as above stated, allied bodies are frequently forced to combat the best interests of each other, thereby defeating the main objects of unionism; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention that as speedily as possible consistent with existing agreements, all organizations connected with the American Federation of Labor cause such agreements to begin and expire upon a certain date, such date to be hereafter agreed upon.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 74.—By the delegates of the Hotel and Restaurant Employers' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America:

WHEREAS, The New York Central Federated Union, through their delegate, Mr. Morris Brown, have insisted in Resolution No. 53 that the decisions of former Conventions of the A. F. of L. touching upon the controversy between the Brewery Workers' and Engineers' and Firemen's National Unions be carried out; and

WHEREAS, The New York Central Federated Union itself has utterly failed to obey the decision of the Boston Convention in the matter of seating a bona fide local affiliated with the H. and R. C. F. A. and B. F. L., and unseating a suspended local, formerly attached to the said Int. Union, which the said Central Body was instructed to do by penalty of losing their charter; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention enforce the decision of the Boston Convention and make it effective at once.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 75.—By Delegate

Henry Simon, of the Central Labor Union, Jefferson City, Mo.:

WHEREAS, The policies declared for by organized labor at the Annual Conventions of the American Federation of Labor directly represent the interests of one-eighth the entire people of the United States and indirectly affect all; and

WHEREAS, These legislative policies are now decided in a single legislative body, with only one short session each year of two weeks at which some three hundred bills are introduced, referred to committee and acted upon, which calls for an additional system whereby the far-reaching interests involved shall be subject to discussion in the Labor Press and review by the members in order to insure the greatest amount of stability and progress; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby submits to advisory vote of the affiliated local, central and State unions the following amendments to the Constitution of the Order, to be numbered Articles XV and XVI.

#### ARTICLE XV.—VETO POWER AND DIRECT INITIATIVE.

Section 1. All questions of policy, except those immediately necessary and are so declared in the body of the measure and which shall receive a two-thirds vote, shall not take effect until ninety days after the close of the Convention, and, in the meantime, if three per cent of the local, central and State bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall request in writing that a measure or measures shall be submitted to a direct vote of the local, central and State bodies, the measure shall be submitted by the Executive Council within thirty days from the filing of the request. The verdict of a majority of those who vote and whose unions are entitled to representation at the Convention shall decide each question. Each local in voting shall report the votes for and against each measure voted on within thirty days. The two preceding sentences shall apply to each section in this and the succeeding article.

Section 2. Measures may be proposed to the Annual Convention by three per cent of the local, central and State bodies, and each measure thus proposed together with the recommendation of the Convention shall go to a direct vote of all the local, central and State bodies except where the Convention adopts the measure as proposed.

#### ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended upon recommendation by the Convention and ratification by a majority vote of the locals, central and State bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Section 2. Three per cent of the local, central and State bodies may propose amendments to this Constitution, and such measure or measures thus proposed, together with the recommendation of the Convention, shall go to a direct vote of all the local, central and State bodies.

#### Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 76.—By Delegate Thos. Westoby, of the International Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers:

WHEREAS, Prolonged strikes and lockouts entail great hardships upon employer and employe, and believing that if an arbitration board had been in existence that many a long struggle would have been ended satisfactorily to both parties; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Law and Legislative Committee confer with the Secretary of Commerce and Labor with a view to having such laws passed as they can suggest so as to bring about conditions that will settle such strike or lockout.

#### Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 77.—By Delegate Matthew Canavan, of the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Boston Convention gave jurisdiction over the Carriage and Wagon Painters to the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators of America; and

WHEREAS, The connection of the Carriage and Wagon Painters is much closer in general than to the work of the Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators; and

WHEREAS, It is the opinion of the mover of this resolution that the relation and interest of all parties concerned would be best served by the affiliation of the Carriage and Wagon Painters with the Carriage and Wagon Workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the decision of the Boston Convention be reversed and that the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Body be given complete jurisdiction over the Carriage and Wagon Painters' Unions.

#### Committee on Grievances.

Delegate Duncan—I move that the Chairmen of the different committees be requested to announce meetings, and that the Convention be then adjourned to allow committees to work. (Seconded.)

Delegate Spencer moved as an amendment that the Convention adjourn until nine o'clock Thursday morning.

The motion was seconded but not carried, the vote being ninety-one against and seventy-five in favor of the amendment.

Delegate Macarthur—I move that the Convention request the Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades and Labor Congress to present their report not later than 10:30 this morning, and that we then adjourn. (Seconded.)

It was announced by a member of the local committee that a trolley ride had been arranged for the afternoon.

Delegate Tanquary moved as an amendment that when the Convention adjourned the morning session it be to nine o'clock Thursday morning. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Spencer moved that the Convention adjourn. (Seconded.)

Delegate Morris Brown—No opportunity has been given delegates who have been appointed on committees to say whether or not they wish to serve. I think a roll of the committees should be called so that the members can express their wishes in this matter.

Chairman Lennon—This Convention does not excuse anyone from the performance of a duty when it is properly and legally imposed upon him.

Delegate Brown—I move that the Secretary call the roll of all committees, and if any member wishes to withdraw that he be allowed to do so. (Not seconded.)

The motion to adjourn was voted on and lost.

Delegate C. P. Shea moved that the Chair allow the Chairmen of the different committees to request their members to withdraw from the Convention and proceed with the work of the committees. (Not seconded.)

President Gompers—I move that, in view of the fact that there is no further business before the Convention at this time, and in view of the fact that arrangements have been made for a trolley ride this afternoon, that it be made a special order of business for to-morrow at ten o'clock a. m., to hear the Fraternal Delegates from the British Trades and Labor Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Gompers in the Chair.

Delegate Dempsey, of the Committee on Credentials, announced that the committee had a supplemental report to make.

The report was taken up seriatim, as follows:

We recommend the seating of the following delegates:

John J. Killian, San Francisco, Cal., vice Thomas J. Finn, representing Stablemen's Union No. 8,760, 5 votes.

M. T. Dunn, Sausalito, Cal., representing Federal Labor Union No. 11,440, 1 vote.

J. J. Goodwin, representing Kern County Council of Labor, vice M. T. Kean, resigned, 1 vote.

Tom C. Seaward, Fresno, Cal., representing Federated Trades and Labor Council, 1 vote.

James Wood, Stockton, Cal., representing Stockton Federated Trades, 1 vote.

The names of the delegates were voted on separately and all seated.

The Credential Committee continued their report as follows:

The credentials of Mr. John Mangan were referred back to your committee for further investigation in reference to his membership in Gardeners' and Florists' Union No. 10,615.

Your committee finds that the credentials of Mr. John Mangan from the Gardeners' and Florists' Union, of Chicago, were issued in proper form, signed and sealed by the proper officers. In proof of his membership Mr. Mangan presented his duly signed and sealed working card for the past quarter.

We have corroborative testimony from Mr. John Fitzpatrick, of Chicago, representing the Horse Shoers' International Union to the effect that he personally knows that Mr. Mangan is a member of the said Florists' Union and was duly elected delegate to represent the said union in this Convention.

Messrs. John Clark, James J. McKee and Wm. J. Spencer, of the United Association of Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters appeared before your committee and protested against the seating of Delegate Mangan on the ground that if he is a member of the Florists' Union, he is not eligible to be, as they have no personal knowledge that he ever worked as a gardener and florist, which he would necessarily have to have done to legally obtain membership and that he is a member of the Steam Fitters' Union, which

union has been suspended from the A. F. of L. They charge that he is using the credentials of the Florists' Union as a subterfuge in behalf of the Steam Fitters' Union, which they claim he is actually representing and being paid by, and that he has employed dishonest methods of securing admission to this Convention.

Your committee, after careful consideration of the testimony and evidence presented by both sides, find that the only good ground offered by Messrs. Spencer, Clark and McKee against the seating of Delegate Mangan is a claim that he is not eligible to membership in the organization, which he has been elected to represent, upon the ground that he is now employed as a steam fitter, and was so employed at the time of his admission to membership in the said Florists' Union. This, however, your committee feels is not for them to decide. The evidence in the hands of your committee shows that Mr. Mangan is now and was at the time of his election a member of the aforesaid union. The question as to what means were employed to secure membership and election as delegate to this Convention from the Florists' Union is for the Convention to deal with rather than this committee.

As a Credential Committee we only recognize the fact that Mr. Mangan is now and was at the time of his election, according to the evidence, a member in good standing in the organization he has been selected to represent.

Said union being a bona fide one, we therefore recommend that Delegate Mangan be accorded a seat in this Convention.

Delegate Spencer—I move that the report of the committee be not concurred in. (Seconded.)

Delegate Dold—I arise to a point of order. The motion is not in order at this time.

President Gompers—The point is well taken.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Spencer asked if the Gardeners' and Florists' Union No. 10,615 was in good standing.

Delegate Dempsey of the Committee on Credentials, replied that it was.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee and seat the delegate was discussed at some length, Delegates Petry, Zaring, Fitzpatrick, Ramsey, Dold, Burns and Westoby speaking in favor of seating the delegate, and Delegates Spencer, Sullivan, W. B. Wilson, Kart and D. A. Hayes against seating the delegate.

During the discussion of the question Treasurer Lennon arose to a point of order, and stated that under Section 1 of Article IV, Delegate Mangan was not eligible to a seat in the Convention.

President Gompers—The point is not well taken. The section applies to Federal Labor Unions.

On motion of Delegate Wiseman, debate was closed.

The calling of the roll on the motion before the Convention was asked for by a sufficient number of delegates.

Secretary Morrison proceeded with the calling of the roll, which resulted as follows:

Ayes—Schaerer, Klapetzky, Noshang, Smith (George K.), Shanessy, McDade, Gilthorpe, Porter, Hank, Buterworth, Duffy (Frank), Grimes, Swartz, Yarnell, MacFarlane, Zaring, Guerin, Fyfe, Canavan, Gengenbach, Tveitmo, Barnes, Devine, Gordon, Sherman, Sullivan (M. J.), Burns, Nelson (Chas.), Ketter, Glass, Healy, Morton (J. W.), Conroy, Hagan, Wolf, Jacoby, Morris (J. J.), Mahoney, Lawlor, Lilien, Smith (John W.), Kenesh, Fitzpatrick, McSorley, Greenlaw, O'Connell, Warner, Ireland, Hamerstrom, May, Schmidt, Downey, Pattison, Heron, Murray, Dempsey, Bahlhorn, Sullivan (Jas. H.), Campbell, Finan, Lowe, Mackey, Wilson (James), Dold, Helle, Ramsay, Tanguary, Frazier, MacArthur, Furuseth, Penje, Westoby, White (Edward A.), Fitzsimmons, Brown (Edward), Flood, McGraw, Wendelken, Cohen (Wm.), O'Shea (C. P.), Rosenthal, Mulcahy (D. D.), Miller (E. W.), Davidson, Madden, Crozier, Driscoll, Smith (W. S.), Brennan, Brown (Morris), Petry, Hess, Shaver, Walker, Rentelman, Hepp, Frayne, Dowler, Leavitt, Hyde, Bell, McCaslin, Bricker, Schrader, Meiert—7,682 votes.

Nays—Abernethy, Tobin, Lovely, Walls, Lowell, Meade, Kemper, Ward, Priesterbach, Zepp, Hoeneck, Brady, Curren, Brockowsky, Gompers, Tracy, Wood, O'Brien (J. R.), Morris (Max), Robinson, Baum, Cook, Donnelly, Feehey, Hammill, Monaghan, Beadle, Shamp, Kellington, Bechtold, Hayes (D. A.), Beegan, Duncan, Lyons, O'Brien (W. J.), Maher, Sullivan (T. J.), Sullivan (Jere L.), Wharton, Reichenbacher, Wiseman, Sullivan (Daniel P.), Hutchinson, Sweeney, Keefe (D. J.), Barter, Joyce, Mitchell, Wilson (W. B.), Lewis, Ryan (W. D.), Haskins, Wahy,

Keough, O'Neil, Metcalf, Weber, Miller, Carey, Murphy (J. P.), Spencer, Clark, McKee, Duffy (T. J.), Hailes, Higgins, Mulcahy (Thomas), Dinan, Sauer, Woodward, Mahon, Orr, Cornelius, Brown (J. G.), Hart, Maloney (P.), Lennon, Keane, Lindow, Golden, Lynch (J. M.), Morrison, Hayes (Max S.), Foster, Berger, Braunschweig, Jaeger, Behrens, Cosgrove, White, Woodman, Lavery (J. T.), Moyer, Grant, Thomas, Seaward, Sarman, Smith (J. T.), Maloney (R. S.), Porter (J. E.), Hudson (M. T.), Hudson (Fred), Kreyling, Sawyer, O'Leary (Dennis), Ryan (John), Morris (W. D.), McSherry, Daley, Jones, Catania, O'Leary, Hinton, Bell, Alves, Morris (E. C.)—7,512 votes.

Not voting—Barry, Slocum, Farrell, Moffitt, DeVilliers, Lynch (E. J.), Mason, Cain, Dix, Powell, Fischer, McAndrews, Kidd, Morgan, Triplett, Harris (W. S.), Iglesias, Hirsch, Husted, Michel, Lock, Harris (R. F.), Ward (Chris.), Dunn (J. P.), Owens, Payne, Moffitt (C. M.), Burke, Stewart, Murray, Coffey, Dunn (Jas. P.), Edmondson, Forrest, Bailey, Pillsbury, Keefe (M. O.), Damazonio, Pacelli, Dale, Schilling, Killian, Dunn (M. T.), Goodwin, Wood, Hudson (M. T.), Morey, Kelly, Dowd, Padilla, Abraham, Wignall, Flett, Smith (Mrs. D. A.)—497 votes.

In the case of Delegate B. Cohen, of Kewanee, Ill., Trades Assembly, which was referred to the committee for further consideration, we beg to report that according to the testimony submitted, the credentials of Mr. Cohen were voluntarily tendered Mr. Cohen by the Trades Assembly and accepted by him with the best of intentions. Notwithstanding this fact your committee must be governed by Section 6, Article IV of the Constitution, which reads as follows:

"Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in

good standing of the organization he is elected to represent."

We find that Mr. Cohen is a resident of Chicago, Ill., and not a member of the Kewanee Trades Assembly, therefore in accordance with the above section of the Constitution we recommend that the delegate be not seated.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN T. DEMPSEY,  
GEORGE MACKKEY,  
JAS. F. GRIMES.

Delegate Wiseman moved that the report of the committee be adopted. (Seconded.)

Delegate W. D. Ryan—No motion is necessary. Mr. Cohen does not desire a seat in the Convention unless his credentials are all right. He desires to withdraw his credentials.

Delegate Dold—I move that the report of the Committee on Credentials referring to the seating of the delegate from the Chicago Federation of Labor be taken up and acted upon. (Seconded.)

Delegate Spencer—As the hour for adjournment is near, I move that this be made a special order of business following the reports of the Fraternal Delegates, which is a special order of business for ten o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Gompers requested the various committees to meet after the members returned from the trolley ride, and the various Chairmen designated places of meeting.

The Convention was then adjourned to meet at 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

## FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 a. m., Thursday, November 17th, President Gompers in the Chair.

**Absentees**—Barry, Butterworth, Gengenbach, Tracy, Baum, Feeney, Ketter, Conroy, Farrell, Mahoney (T. J.), Smith (J. W.), DeVilliers, Warner, Ireland, Hamerstrom, Downey, Pattison, Heron, Sullivan (J. H.), Campbell, Finan, Mason, Cain, Spencer, Dix, Higgins, Quick, Cornelius, Hart, Maloney (P.), Wendelken, Powell, Hayes (Max S.), Berger, Morgan, Davidson, Husted, Michel, Porter, Lock, Harris (R. F.), Ward, Dunn (J. P.), Owens, Payne, Moffitt (C. M.), O'Shea (Dennis), Murray, Coffey, Dunn (J. P.), Edmonson, Jones, Bailey, Pillsbury, Bell, Damozonio, Dale, Schilling, Hudson (M. T.), Dowd.

The reading of the minutes of the previous day's session was dispensed with.

The Chairman announced that the special committee provided for by a recommendation of the Committee on President's Report, and approved by the Convention, to act co-operatively with the Executive Council, would be composed of the following delegates:

Resin Orr, Wm. J. Penje, Lee M. Hart, H. J. Wendelken, Thos. Mullabey, Richard Braunschweig, Harry D. Thomas, A. D. Porter, J. J. McDade, M. J. Sullivan, Henry Bablitz, C. E. Schmidt, D. B. Heron, P. J. Donnelly, J. J. Glass.

The following telegrams were read by Secretary Morrison:

NEW YORK, Nov. 16, 1904.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, San Francisco, Cal.:

Accept heartiest congratulations for Twenty-fourth Annual Convention; trust legislation will be wise, timely and great value to government; that Convention will reaffirm its position assisting garment workers by refusing to purchase unfair Rochester clothing.

T. A. RICKERT,  
General President.

B. A. LARGER, Secretary.

MARSHALL, Tex., Nov. 15.

Samuel Gompers, President A. F. L., San Francisco:

Trades and Labor Council send greetings. Texas wants next Convention.

H. E. BEHYMER,  
President.

FORT WORTH, Tex., Nov. 15, 1904.

Samuel Gompers, President A. F. of L., Convention, San Francisco:

Greeting Fort Worth Lodge No. 75, I. A. of M. Invites A. F. of L. to hold its next meeting at Fort Worth, Texas.

S. D. BLUM.

President Gompers—The Committee on Grievances makes the recommendation that Resolution No. 3, by Delegates Fischer and McAndrews, be referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

The suggestion seems to be appropriate, and if there is no objection the resolution will be so referred.

Delegate Driscoll, for the Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades and Labor Congress, reported as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The Thirty-seventh Annual Trade Union Congress of Great Britain was held in Town Hall, Leeds, September 5th to 10th, 1904. There were present 453 delegates, representing 212 societies. The total number of trade unionists represented was 1,422,518.

The proceedings of the Leeds Congress were marked throughout by their moderate and business-like manner, and while every resolution was discussed, the previous question was only called for twice.

On the platform at opening of convention were seated: Lady Dike; Miss Tuckwell; the Countess of Warwick; Sir John Gant, M. P.; Mr. John Burnett, of the Labor Department Board of Trade; the Lord Mayor of Leeds and the Lady Mayoress, who extended welcome to the delegates.

A cablegram was read at opening of Congress wishing on behalf of organized labor of United States godspeed to the Congress, signed by Samuel Gompers, President of the A. F. of L., which was well received.

One of the many questions before Congress was the importing of Chinese into South Africa. As to the government sanction of the Labor Ordinance for the importation of Chinese labor into South Africa, the Parliamentary Committee's report contains the following:

"It was not supposed at the commencement of the Boer War that £230,000,000 of your money and more than 20,000 lives would be sacrificed in order that white labor in South Africa should be ousted and replaced by the yellow slave labor."

A bill to legalize the peaceful conduct of trade disputes and to alter the law

affecting the liability of trade union funds:

Be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

#### LEGISLATION OF PEACEFUL PICKETING.

I. It shall be lawful for any person or persons acting either on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union or other association of individuals, registered or unregistered, in contemplation of or during the continuance of any trade dispute, to attend for any of the following purposes at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on his business or happens to be:

(1) For the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information.

(2) For the purpose of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working.

#### AMENDMENT OF LAW OF CONSPIRACY.

2. An agreement or combination by two or more persons to do or procure to be done any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute shall not be ground for an action if such act when committed by one person would not be ground for an action.

#### PROTECTION OF TRADE UNION FUNDS.

3. An action shall not be brought against a trade union or other association aforesaid for the recovery of damage sustained by any person or persons by reason of the action of a member or members of such trade union or other association aforesaid.

The following resolution was adopted:

RESOLVED, That this Congress instructs the Parliamentary Committee to invite the organized trades to submit to it for consideration any scheme or schemes on collective industrial insurance, and that the committee shall arrange and present such proposals to the next Congress or to a conference specially convened for such purpose.

A resolution in favor of compulsory arbitration was defeated by a majority of 486,000 votes: in favor of compulsory arbitration, 383,000; in opposition to compulsory arbitration, 869,000.

The following resolution on Chinese labor was unanimously adopted:

RESOLVED, That this Congress enters its most emphatic protest against the action of his Majesty's Government in sanctioning the South African Labor Ordinance, as it is opposed to the best interests of his Majesty's subjects, at home and abroad, and sanctions conditions of labor unfit for human beings, and is contrary to the anti-slavery traditions of the British Empire.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Parliamentary Committee: D. J. Shackleton, of the Weavers; J. Haslan, of the Miners; D. C. Cum-

mings of the Boiler Makers; W. Thorn, of the Gas Workers and Laborers; A. H. Gill, of the Cotton Spinners; C. W. Bowerman, of the Compositors; R. Bell, of the Railway Servants; W. C. Steadman, of the Barge Builders; A. Wilkie, of the Shipwrights; W. J. Davis, of the Brass Workers; W. B. Harnidge, of the Boot and Shoe Workers; J. Sexton, of the Dock Laborers.

Mr. J. Sexton was elected chairman. Mr. Sam Woods was elected secretary. Mr. W. Abraham of the Miners and Mr. J. Wignall of the Dock Workers were elected fraternal delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention at San Francisco, Cal.

It was decided to hold the next Congress in Hanley, September, 1905.

Respectfully submitted,

W. J. RYAN,  
D. D. DRISCOLL,  
Fraternal Delegates 1904.

Delegate Foster, for the Committee on Resolutions, reported on Resolution No. 2, by Daniel Keefe, of the International Longshoremen's Association.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution after its amendment by striking out the first "Whereas."

It was moved and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The resolution was discussed by Delegates Furuseth, Keefe and Driscoll.

It was then moved and seconded that the resolution be re-referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Gompers—The hour has now arrived for the special order of business. I know we all feel that kindly and fraternal interest which attends the expression, not only of fraternal greetings, but the manifestation of a strong bond of unity as demonstrated by the interchange of fraternal delegates between the Congress of British Trades Unions, the Dominion Trade and Labor Congress and the American Federation of Labor. I know that you feel, as I do, that after all, we all hope for the coming of the time for which all men who love their fellows have dreamed and worked and struggled, that time which must come through the pain and travail of modern industrial conditions, through the organized forces of the workers, the tolling masses who, though primarily working for their

own material and moral advancement, realize that success in that direction can only come by the exercise and recognition of the principle that by serving others we best advance our own interests. The organized labor movement of the world represents the contrast between those men and the non-union men in this: that the non-union man believes his own personal interests are served by acting for himself alone, upon the principle of "Every man for himself and his Satanic Majesty taking the hindmost;" while the union man prefers that the whole human family shall advance; that none shall drop by the way, and none remain behind for his lordship of the nether regions to take hold of and then begin upon the next fellow.

I know there are no perfunctory words used, no idle expressions indulged in when I say in your behalf and in behalf of all the workers of America, that the Fraternal Delegates sent to us by the men of Great Britain are heartily welcome, and that we hope their stay will be pleasant and profitable. We will start with James Wignall, and introduce him to you as a member of the great organization of Dock Workers and now representing the British Trade and Labor Congress.

Before he speaks we will put upon Mr. Wignall's lapel one of the badges of the American Federation of Labor. It is something like bringing coals to Newcastle to bring gold into California, but we have undertaken the job, and here it is.

Mr. Wignall—Mr. Chairman and fellow workers of America: I am pleased indeed to be here as the colleague of my friend Mabon to convey the fraternal greetings of the British Trades and Labor Congress to you and to wish you God speed in your work and success in your efforts to improve the standard of living of the toilers of this part of the world. I assure you there is no honor greater in this world than to be the ambassador of labor from one continent to another. People have been appointed to conduct missions of state and have been appointed as ambassadors of various kingdoms, but there is nothing, in my opinion, so important and honorable as to be the ambassador

of labor from one body of toilers to another. It is an honor for us to be here and to mingle with our comrades, to talk with them, to inquire into the conditions that exist here, to learn lessons from them and to go back to our homes filled with a higher and holier enthusiasm.

Let me say at once, Mr. Chairman, so there can be no misconception about it, that neither Mabon nor myself have come here to teach you anything. The idea of two poor little Welshmen coming to teach the Americans is entirely out of the question. I addressed a large meeting in New York last Saturday week, and at the close of my address a very eminent American came forward. After speaking kindly of the grit and honesty of the Celtic nation he said, "The only fault I have to find with England is that the people are so confoundedly slow. If we spin a joke on Saturday they don't begin to appreciate it until the following Wednesday morning, and it is Wednesday evening before they begin to laugh and enjoy the joke." I don't know what our friend had in mind unless it was a Scotchman, for it certainly was not an Englishman. We convinced him before he concluded his address that we were quick enough to appreciate his jokes, for if the people did not laugh we laughed for them. Our friend admitted we were improving, and that by the time we got home we would be as smart as our Yankee brothers, but we do not hope for that.

We have only expressions of gratitude for the kindness that has been bestowed upon us since we came to your land. Almost before the warm clasp of the hands of our brothers and friends had cooled on our hands we had felt the still warmer clasp of our American brothers. The vastness of your empire, the greatness of your territory, the boundlessness of your natural resources are all great in themselves, but they do not excel the warmth of heart, the bond of brotherhood, the strength of unity that binds the old world with the new in this great and righteous cause of trade unionism that is fighting for a share of the wealth its members produce, that is struggling hard to improve the lot of our brothers, that is fighting for



the just and holy cause of our common manhood, that is struggling and fighting for the same result—a common good to a common people.

Gentlemen, we are proud to be here to-day and to have had the honor of taking by the hand this grand old man, the President—pardon me and allow me to correct myself and say this grand old young man, the President of the American Federation of Labor. His name is a household word throughout our country; he is almost as well known there as he is well known to you. We know him for his worth's sake, for his work's sake; we know him for what he is—a stalwart fighting in the ranks of labor and one we are proud to hold as one of ourselves. My colleague and myself were impressed by the splendid address he delivered on Monday last. We listened to it with great interest and marked its note of determination to defend every inch of ground, and we marked also the cool and deliberate thought that is characteristic of President Gompers. Never since the day of the immortal W. E. Gladstone have I known anyone who could sustain such a mental and physical effort as was put forth by your President on Monday last. In the name of our brothers on the other side of the Atlantic we say, God bless this grand old young man, and may he be spared for many years to the American Federation of Labor—nay, to the whole world and to his mission of helping men to help themselves to better conditions.

We have also been pleased to meet the many other leaders in their spheres of work. We are proud to make their acquaintance; we are glad to know them and we are pleased indeed to recount our victories, for they are victories to us, in meeting them even for a few minutes and getting some inspiration from them.

We have no apology to make for being here. We are one with you. There is a story told in our country of an old Welsh deacon who had but one prayer wherever he was, in his home, in the chapel or in the prayer meeting. As nearly as I can remember the prayer was something like this: "God bless me and my wife, my son John and his wife; we four and no more,

Amen." He thought of his own and nobody else, and he was quite satisfied to get all the blessings that could be got into his own little circle. We have nothing of that selfish interest in us. If we win we are glad because you will share in our victory. If you win we are glad, because we will share with you. We are glad and thankful to know we are working in co-operation with each other, that we are struggling to bring about the same results, that we are engaged in the same cause, fighting the same battle and hoping to obtain the same success.

We are representing here to-day the wage earners of the continent. We are the wealth producers and we have a right to demand a fair and just share of the wealth we produce. We have a right to at least as much as will give us decent homes to live in, decent clothing to wear, decent food to eat, enough to lift up above the mere drudgery of life and to give our children the very best education that can be obtained for them. Let us trust that we will continue to agree right unto the end.

I am pleased to be the colleague of my friend Mabon. So far as I can remember you have never sent two bigger delegates to England than Wales has sent to America, so we have beat you there, Mr. Chairman. I am glad to refer to my friend Mabon, not because he is such a good looking chap, but because he is one of the pioneers in the fight for the right of existence of trade unionism in our country. We take off our hats to the pioneers and the old fighters who have made it possible for those of the younger generation to take some of the benefits that have been brought to them as a result of the pioneers in the days that have gone by. We have fought our way out of the dark days of slavery and have gone on from stage to stage until we have obtained some kind of standing for the movement. We have gained, the right of collective bargaining, we have shortened the hours of labor, we have increased the wages and uplifted the manhood and womanhood of our country. Above all else trade unionism has vindicated its right to existence by calling upon our government

to set a higher value upon the life and limb of the worker. We feel that our trade unionism would not have fulfilled its mission if it had not done this. We long, long ago advocated legislation for our comrades, and with good results. To-day in our mines we have better regulations for the safety of the workers than ever before. We have the Employers' Liability Act as a result of our work. This is a compensation act which will secure to at least two-thirds of our workers a sum not to exceed one pound a week for an unlimited period after two weeks for any accident that may occur to a man in the course of his employment. If there is a fatal accident the widow or next of kin is entitled to a minimum sum of one hundred and fifty pounds, or a maximum sum of three hundred pounds.

We do not want this money as compensation for the lives of the toilers. No money can compensate the mother of the children in a family for the loss of the bread winner; no money can compensate for the loss of the head of a family; but we do think if a good, round sum can be fixed for such accidents the employers will be more careful and will prevent such losses. But we are not satisfied with even this. We are demanding, and have been promised, some important amendments which will remove the prohibitory two weeks, and also increase the maximum to two pounds a week.

I admit we have in our country a great many small unions, too many probably for effective work, but we are becoming alive to the fact and are trying to remedy it. In our National Federation we have over a million organized workers, and when the miners come to us we will have nearly a million and a half. But we are not even content with this work. We have felt for a long time that instead of asking other men to make laws for us we should try to get our own men into the House of Commons to make laws. We long ago became tired of going cap in hand to those we have given our votes to, and have come to the conclusion that the Almighty did not give all the brains to the rich people; that he has given brains to the poor as well as to the rich, and we intend to

give them a chance to use them. We have men fit to represent us in the House of Commons. We urged upon the miners the wisdom of supporting Tom Richards, the Secretary of the Miners' Association, against all the wealth and power that can be brought against him, and since coming here we have learned that Tom Richards has been returned by a majority of five thousand, one of the largest majorities ever recorded that I have any knowledge of. I do not say it is the largest, for I think Mabon can tell something about that.

We have a labor representation committee which is financed out of the funds of the trade unions, and which has brought into existence its own constitution and will deal with its own men. We have to-day a large number of labor representatives placed throughout our country who are going to fight the battle of the toilers in the next election. In Mabon we have one of the old pioneers in Parliament, and we are going to increase the number. We are not going to be governed by party politics, and we rejoice in the gains we have made.

As I have said before, I do not intend to try to teach you anything, but if you do not agree with me I do not want you to quarrel with me. I am one of those who speak out just what I believe and think, and if I do not please you, why, I cannot help it. I have not come to teach you but to tell you what we are doing, and if there are any lessons you can learn, learn them, if not, reject them—but we are pals all the time.

As a last word, Mr. Chairman, let me say that in our country we have the big trusts and combines—perhaps not on such a huge scale as you have them—but we know they are created for the purpose of making the rich richer and the poor poorer, and for no other purpose. They are intended to crush the very life blood out of the toilers and to get for themselves all the wealth they can obtain. But we do not fear them. What we do fear in our country are the scallawags, the weak-kneed ones, the traitors in our ranks, the men who will sell their heritage for a mess of pottage and who are only puppets to be worked by the strings of the capitalist class. But

we are trying to teach our men the glorious lesson that if they want industrial salvation they must work it out for themselves; and if we can only continue as we are going on to-day with our perfect organization, the combinations and trusts will crumble like a pile of sand before the onrush of the mighty army of labor. We do not fear them, then, Mr. Chairman, but we do fear the cheap man, the man who is prepared to say "a half-loaf is better than no bread at all," forgetting that while he has only that half loaf the other fellow has a loaf and a half. He ought to have the whole loaf, and he will have it if he is only true to his trade organization and to the principles of trade unionism.

We have the trouble of the non-union man in our country. The miners' organization has settled this trouble effectively. I heard something about the "open shop." That is very like our non-union business. I think it amounts to the same thing, with the difference of a name. We have learned so many different names in America that when we go back our chaps will be asking us to translate ourselves. We have the non-union laborer. What are we to do with him? I can almost sum the situation up in a story I heard on our side of the Atlantic. Now, don't misunderstand me because I speak in the story of a mother-in-law. I am not holding the mother-in-law up to ridicule, although that has been done by the paragraphs for a long time. God bless the women, mothers-in-law and all of them! If I had a mother-in-law I know I would love her next to my own mother. However, it is said that a young man had married a beautiful young lady—and there are a few of them not in San Francisco, I know there are just a few beautiful women among the old hills of Wales, eh, Mabon. And for fear you wouldn't believe me I have brought my own little wife for you to see. However, the story goes on to say that during the honeymoon—for of course all young couples go on a honeymoon, they will have the vinegar moon long enough—at the first stop the couple made a telegram was received saying the bride's mother was dead, and asking

whether the relatives should embalm, bury or cremate her remains. In his excitement the young man, not meaning any disrespect to the bride's mother, of course, telegraphed back, "Make no mistake; do all three." What they did, of course, I do not know, but he wanted a good job made of it. Now what we should do with the non-union man I don't know; perhaps we should cremate or do something else. We are confident that moral suasion does fail; that it is not effective, and we have to go into most places, especially in the coal mines and on the docks, and use coercive measures. We say, "Here is a non-union man; he is getting the benefit of what we have done and he must pay his portion of the expenses. If he does not, you will have to take your choice between him and the union men. We have had our factories idle and our ships standing still until this man came in and paid his share of the expenses, until he paid his dues. We have come from Wales, where the great tyrant, Lord Penryn, lived. There the quarrymen left their homes in the beautiful valleys and scattered themselves over the wide world on account of his action. We have seen women with tears streaming down their cheeks, we have listened to the cries of children for bread when there was none to give them; we have seen all the brutality and all the horrors of industrial warfare, and we have prayed for some spirit of compassion to enter into the stern, rock-bound heart of Lord Penryn. They say we have been defeated. I say no, because that struggle brought into existence another method of warfare. They said, "Poverty against riches will fail. Now let us put our brains to work and let us compete with Lord Penryn. Instead of putting our shillings against the money of Lord Penryn we will put them into a fund and buy up land, work our own mines and compete with Lord Penryn." We have done that and we are competing with him to-day.

Of course we have had adverse decisions rendered. We have had the Taff Vale decision and we have had the "Stop Day" decision, when the miners were ordered to pay fifty seven thousand pounds as damages. Has this

discouraged us? No, sir. I am prepared to make the statement to-day that, notwithstanding Lord Penryn and the judge-made laws of our land, trade unionism is more a living, vital force in Wales to-day than it ever has been. The harder you hit a Welshman the harder he will fight for that which he believes is essential to the maintenance of his life.

I think I have rambled a good deal from the subject of my address, but let me say to you lads, as you go back to your various spheres of labor, go back with the enthusiasm which is so necessary for success in our work. Don't be disheartened and discouraged by failures. Failure after failure sometimes leads up to a glorious success. As we are one in hope and purpose and object, let us trust that the time is not far distant when we will be one in a grand and glorious federation; when not two delegates but all the British delegates will be seated commingled with you. We are fighting for our right to live, and to live right, we are fighting for all the chances in life which it was intended we should have. Good luck, lads! Success to your movement, and may victory crown our glorious fight!

President Gompers—Reference has been made to the next speaker by his colleague as one of the pioneers of the movement. In the grand galaxy of British union men there are none whose names stand out brighter than does that of William Abraham Mabon. I take great pleasure also in presenting Mr. Mabon with this badge of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Abraham—Mr. Chairman and Fellow-Workers: When coming through Scranton, I was told a little anecdote about two Welshmen. Thomas John was standing by the road and John Thomas was running through a field. Thomas said, "John, are you training for a race?" and John said, "No, Thomas, I am racing for a train." You will have understood long ago why I asked my noble colleague to address you first. I am neither training for a race nor racing for a train, and if I had allowed him to follow me my poor speech would have been entirely overlooked. There would have been nothing left of poor Mabon. I must ask you, kind friends, to sympathize with me, for while I am endeavoring to address

you in English, I am thinking in Welsh. That is my difficulty for the moment, but I hope to lose it by and by. If you think it is not difficult, I wish you would come up here and think in English and speak in Welsh.

As has been said, it has been my privilege and pleasure to be more or less at the head of a trade union during the last thirty years. It has been my privilege to be so honored by the working people I represent that they have sent me to the House of Commons, and I have been there nineteen years. In the last election I was returned to the House of Commons by the largest majority recorded for any seat in Great Britain. Notwithstanding all that honor, my friends, I feel this moment, as I stand here endeavoring to address you, that this is one of the most important, one of the most momentous and one of the dearest moments of the whole of my life. I have been honored in being sent here and in being asked by your noble President to address you. My friend and myself have been sent here to return upon you that fraternal greeting which you so kindly sent to us by two messengers of peace, by two workers from among you, by two friends who did their work nobly while they were there. We were sent to return that greeting, and to stretch forth the hand of fellowship to you over the sea. We are proud of the moment when we do so.

We are here representing the workers of Albion, the country that belongs to the proud, the noble, the canny Celt, and to represent the Scotch as well. We are also here to represent the workers of the green Isle of Erin, to represent the workers of that land that has been so persecuted and proscribed, that land of the joyous, the generous, the brave—Ireland. We also represent the workers of gallant little Wales, the land of my heart, the land of song. We are here also representing the united workers of the United Kingdom, the workers of Great Britain. United and knitted together, we extend to you that fraternal greeting, and wish you every possible success from the bottom of our hearts.

When first we appeared among you on this platform we saw and heard a wondrous thing. We saw and heard the Chief Magistrate of this city handing over—metaphorically—the keys of San Francisco to your President. I have attended trade union conventions for thirty years,

and never before have I heard a fellow-workman addressing his brothers in the movement as "fellow-workmen," while he was Chief Magistrate of any of our towns. Not that we have not had fellow-workers as Chief Magistrates, but they did not happen to occupy those positions when we were in their towns. So we had to come here, all the way from Great Britain, to see that glorious sight.

I stand here representing the old school of trade unionists. I stand before you with my friend, who represents that class of trade unionists of whom it can be said they are not agitators or destroyers of the peace of the communities. It can be said of them that they are not creators of chasms between capital and labor. Still we are all trade unionists. We believe that labor is the co-worker with capital in producing the wealth of the world, and as such that we have an inherent right to a fair and equitable share of the wealth we jointly produce. The history of the world proves to us that labor unorganized cannot succeed in demanding and securing that equitable share, so it becomes imperative upon the workers to organize themselves into strong trade unions, that they may by so doing claim the share of the wealth they produce that rightfully belongs to them. In doing this we are endeavoring to be men of peace, we are endeavoring to teach justice through peace. We know that when peace is permanent it will be based on justice.

It is necessary for those who labor to place themselves in a position to make collective bargains for the workers with those holding the capital. In our country nowadays the employers will not make bargains with non-unionists. They must make their bargains with men who are organized. That being so, is it not an injustice to force upon the men who have borne the expense of the organization men who have had no share in that expense and had no voice in the bargaining? These bargains cost money. The maintaining of them costs money, and a non-union man, wherever he may be, will have lost his sense of manhood, will have lost his manliness, when he sneakingly forces his way into a shop or colliery to earn his living by a bargain he has had no part in making, that he pays nothing to maintain. And yet this man must work to maintain his family. I am not afraid

of the open shop. As James has said, it is with us the non-union question, and inasmuch as employers make it imperative for us to make collective bargains with them on behalf of a whole body of men they employ, it is only right, just and moral for them to say that all the men they employ pay their share towards maintaining the agreements that are so made.

Trade unionism recognizes three three great essential principles and needs. First, we stand for a minimum living wage. Secondly, we stand for due protection to life and limb. We stand also to see the hours of labor reduced from whatever they now are to a universal eight-hour day throughout America and throughout our country. The minimum wage must be a living wage, a wage that will enable a man to maintain his family according to the customs, not only of the land in which he lives, but those customs necessary to maintain his position in an enlightened age and a Christian land. We believe also that in addition to what is necessary to maintain him and his family while he is able to work, the wage should be sufficient to enable him to put something by for a rainy day, for a day when he no more will be able to work, for a day when the pitcher is broken at the well, for the day when the almond tree sheds upon his head, for the day when he can no longer toil. He should have wages in the days of his strength that will enable him to put by what is sufficient to maintain him when he can no longer earn.

As James said, we cannot teach you anything, and would not try if we could. But we have something in our country of which we think it well to speak. For a long time, in fact, since the development of the great trades of the country, the employers have always provided on their books for breaks in machinery and for buying new machinery to replace that which is broken beyond repair. The maintenance of these machines is met by the capitalist, but when the worker received an injury he has had in the past to repair himself or go without repairing. Some years ago we succeeded in getting an act called the Workmen's Compensation Act, under which but one thing can prevent the

workers from receiving compensation for an injury, and that is if the accident was caused by his own willful neglect. When a man is injured, after the first fortnight he receives compensation from the office where he receives his pay. He is given up to one-half of his regular wages, but that one-half is not to exceed one pound a week. If he earns two pounds a week—and I am happy to say our colliery workers have been able to earn more than that for the past five years—he gets from his employer one pound a week after the first fortnight. If he is unfortunate enough to be killed his widow or next kin receives his average wages for the last three years of his life, or three hundred pounds, which is the maximum. The employer has to place these things in his cost for the first time in our history.

Now, we ask you in closing to use your own means, your own methods to secure for yourselves a workingmen's compensation act. This request probably is not as unselfish as it appears to be, for we know that whatever legislation is secured in America we can secure in time; and if you in America succeed in getting such an act passed there will be no fear of the workers of Great Britain ever losing the benefit of their act.

Now, friends, what did Friend Wignall and myself come out here to see? We came not to see a broken reed, we came to see a mighty organization strong for doing good. What pleases us more than anything is to find that you are organizing upon principles and lines very similar to the organizations in the old country. We have seen and felt that your organizations are making demands based upon justice. We believe that perpetual peace between capital and labor is an impossibility without that peace first being based upon justice. We feel with you that the days are yet to come when we will see peace reigning from shore to shore; but, believe me, you will never see that peace before you will have felt justice preceding it like the waves of the sea.

We again thank you, my friends, for the noble and generous treatment we have received from your hands. We shall go back to our homes with our

hearts full of gratitude. We shall tell our men of the noble treatment we have received, but more than that we will be able to carry back to them the fact that here we see in your past achievements the possibility of the dreams of our boyhood being realized, that we see the possibility of the great body of workers of this country being united with the workers of Great Britain, and Great Britain and America rolling their principles over the continent of Europe, and when we are dead the workers who shall follow it will roll it further afield. I believe the day will come when there will be one labor federation governing the destinies of the laborers of the world.

President Gompers then introduced Mr. John A. Flett, the Fraternal Delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, and presented to him a badge of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Flett spoke as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates to the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting: To those of us who have given the best years of our lives to the amelioration of the condition of those who toil for a living, and who have participated in their struggles, and watched with anxiety the unequal contest of the oppressed against their oppressors, unaided and alone organized labor has been fighting the battle of human liberty, that all, whether organized or not might enjoy a larger share of the things that they produce. It is indeed an encouraging sign of the times to witness this splendid gathering of the Representatives of the American Trades Union Movement on the distant shores of the Pacific. This steady march of progress has been made against the strongest possible opposition, even against persecution and prosecution emphasizing the justness of our cause. Out of this struggle have evolved many reforms beneficial to capital as well as labor and has paved the way for collective bargaining, and the settlement of industrial disputes by voluntary arbitration or conciliation. It is with feelings of pride and pleasure that I am here to-day to convey to you, Mr. President, and to the delegates assembled at this, the Twenty-fourth An-

nual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, fraternal greetings and good will from the organized workmen of that great country to the north of you, Canada, which with its immense territory and wonderful resources is destined to play an important part among the nations of the world. If I might be permitted to give a brief account of the trade union movement in that country, and the work that has been accomplished and is now being done, thanks to the generous assistance rendered by the American Federation of Labor and its allied, International Bodies, we are not unmindful of this, and fully appreciate the liberal support given on all necessary occasions to the unions in Canada, and demonstrating in a practical way the International character of the movement in America. If it were not for this, the life of labor organization in our country would be greatly imperiled, particularly during the past two or three years of unusual activity on the part of organized capital.

The industrial and social conditions in Canada are very similar in character to that of the United States. We have organizations of employers of various kinds and titles, affiliated with the parent bodies on your side of the line, yet they deny us to do likewise, and hypocritically advocate nationalism.

So strong a feeling did they arouse on these lines two years ago that a bill was actually introduced, and passed the Senate, making it a criminal offense for any one not a British subject to incite a strike or cause others to do so. Although this bill passed the Senate, it never became law, not having reached the House of Commons before that body prorogued; it is very doubtful even though it had, that it would have passed that democratic chamber. I mention this incident now in order to remove an impression that seems to have got into the minds of some of our International officers, that it is now the law; this I learn through correspondence with them. It might be mentioned that while our Senate is appointed for life, and out of joint with the times, and opposed to democratic institutions, nevertheless, on the whole it must be said that we are among the most democratic people of the earth, and have made some progress toward nationalizing many of our institutions, such, for instance, as a Postoffice Savings Bank, the ownership

and operation by Government of the Intercolonial Railway; we have also a Minister of Labor in the Government and a Federal Bureau of Labor, and the first nation in the world to use the Typographical Union label on its printing. The principal issue before the people at the last Federal election, November 3, this month, was the public ownership of the new Transcontinental Railway, known as the Grand Trunk Pacific; these are indicative of the progress we are making.

Much work remains to be done in order to cover this vast extent of territory, for while we exceed you in land area by some one hundred and thirty thousand square miles, we have only, to your twenty-one persons to the square mile in the United States, one decimal five persons to the square mile in the Dominion of Canada. You will be able from this statement to form an idea of the vast territory we have to cover to reach our organizations. The territory of this country, with its fifty-one sub-divisions of States and Territories, aggregating in the neighborhood of eighty millions, compared with our sixteen divisions of Provinces and Territories numbering about six millions, will give you an idea of our task to reach our people, to carry to them the gospel of Trade Unionism. To further illustrate: The Province of Ontario, the greater populated of our sixteen divisions; has an area of about 200,000 square miles, having an extreme length of 750 miles from north to south and a breadth of 1000 miles, being estimated as larger than your nine North Atlantic States by one-third. It is larger than Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio combined; larger than Great Britain and Ireland by 78,000 square miles; it is only 4000 square miles less than the French Republic, and only 8000 less than the German Empire. This will give you an idea of the extent of the territory we have to cover to reach our people. But, gentlemen, we are growing, and it is because of this growth, and the necessity of being able to cope with it, that commands our most serious consideration. During the past year the immigration into our country was 130,330—45,171 of which is credited as coming from the United States. It has been prophesied by some of our (perhaps optimistic) people that the Twentieth Century will be to Canada what the Nineteenth was to the United States in respect to population. It behooves us on

our side of the imaginary boundary, to carefully watch this influx, to profit by the experiences of our Brothers to the south, and so direct the influx within our borders that the greater justice will accrue to the workers, which by lack of experience has been missed by you, to this end—we ask, with full assurance of receiving, your sympathy and your aid in evolving this laudable desire. It is difficult to present accurate statistics to you of our strength in the Dominion from sources available. However, we estimate that we have an aggregate membership of 130,000 to 150,000, comprising 1600 organizations, in the Dominion of Canada, made up as follows:

	Local Unions	Trades & Labor Councils	Federal Unions
Ontario .....	820	27	13
Quebec.....	210	4	1
British Columbia.....	215	10	4
Manitoba.....	65	1	1
North West Territories..	50	2	—
Nova Scotia.....	94	1	1
New Brunswick.....	60	2	—
Prince Edward Island..	14	1	—
Yukon District.....	14	1	—
	1542	49	20

Among the above are affiliations of eighty at least International Unions, affiliated with this American Federation of Labor, together with a few not affiliated, such as Bricklayers, etc., also the various railroad organizations.

The general sentiment actuating the labor movement in Canada may be generally regarded as conservative in character, true we have the radical and National element, here and there, but by far the greater bulk of the trade unions are International in their affiliations.

At the conclusion of the addresses Vice-President O'Connell presented to each of the Fraternal Delegates a gold watch on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, and to Mrs. Wignall was presented a pin set with diamonds.

Secretary Morrison read the following reference of reports.

That part of the report of the Executive Council referring to organization is referred to the Committee on Organization.

That matter referring to the Seamen and Longshoremen is referred to the conference between the delegates of these two organizations.

The recommendation of the Executive Council regarding the Brewery Workers is referred to the Committee on Grievances.

The recommendation regarding the New Orleans Central Body is referred to the Committee on Grievances.

The affiliation of the Western Federation of Miners and other International unions is referred to the Committee on Organization.

The recommendation in regard to the defense fund, under the caption of "local strikes" is referred to the Committee on Law.

The recommendation in regard to the San Francisco Central Body is referred to the Committee on Organization.

The recommendation in regard to the New York Central Body and the Hotel and Restaurant Employes is referred to the Committee on Grievances.

The matter in regard to appeals for financial assistance is referred to the Committee on Laws.

The matter in regard to the Structural Building Trades Alliance is referred to the Committee on Building Trades.

The matter in regard to the National Conference of Charities and Corrections is referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The matter in reference to special calls for congresses is referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The matter for uniform laws for central bodies is referred to the Committee on Laws.

The matter in reference to legislation is referred to the Committee on President's Report.

The matter in reference to union labels is referred to the Committee on Union Labels.

The matter in regard to the unfair list and the "We Don't Patronize List" is referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

The chairman announced that resolutions would be received and referred to the proper committees.

Resolution No. 78.—By Delegate Edward Hirsch of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Section 2, Article XII. Local Central Bodies sets forth it shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist, and similar instructions shall be given by the



American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction, and

WHEREAS, This law is not being carried out. Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor insist upon all affiliated National and International Unions to compel their Local Unions to join the Central Labor Bodies and State Federations in the vicinity where they exist.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 79.—By Delegate A. E. Kellington of the International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at their Twenty-third Annual Convention at Boston, Mass., placed all products of the Washburn-Crosby Milling Company of Minneapolis, Minn., on the "We Do Not Patronize" list, and

WHEREAS, The Washburn-Crosby Company has not as yet made a satisfactory settlement to the members of our International Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention reaffirm the placing of said corporation on the "We Do Not Patronize List," and instructs the incoming President to send circular letters to all affiliated unions in the States of New York, Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Missouri where the most flour made by the Washburn-Crosby Company is sold, requesting that the products of this firm be not patronized until such time as they will show a spirit of fairness in dealing with organized labor and are officially notified of the same by the American Federation of Labor.

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 80.—By Delegate John T. Smith of the International Council of Kansas City, Mo;

WHEREAS, The Stone Masons' Union No. 7049 of Kansas City, Mo., did communicate with the American Federation of Labor protesting the actions of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. did communicate with the Stone Masons advising them to take out a charter from the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union without investigating existing circumstances in Kansas City; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Stone Masons' Protective Union No. 7049 most emphatically protest against the action of the Executive Council, and request the reconsideration of said action.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 81.—By Delegates of the Seamen's International Union of America:

WHEREAS, There is now pending in Congress a bill (H. R. 13771) "to amend the laws relative to American seamen, and to prevent the undermanning of

american vessels and to encourage the training of boys in the merchant marine;" and

WHEREAS, The enactment of the aforesaid provisions would prove not only beneficial to the seafaring workers and to the naval defenses of the country, but would also greatly increase the safety of life and property afloat; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, hereby indorses said bill (H. R. 13771), and instructs its Executive Council to use every possible effort to secure its passage by Congress.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 82.—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias of the Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico, and by Delegate Esteban Padilla, delegate from several unions of Porto Rico:

WHEREAS, the conditions which prevail in Porto Rico are accurately and faithfully recorded and referred to in the report which President Gompers submitted to this Convention, and

WHEREAS, The only hope of the working people and all the people of the Island of Porto Rico for improvement lies in the wise and beneficent and fair policy which the government of the United States has in its power to confer and should by right confer; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor urges upon the Congress of the United States the extension of the principle of self-government to the people of Porto Rico; that the President of the American Federation of Labor cause to be introduced into Congress a bill having for its purpose the establishment of a form of self-government for Porto Rico similar to that established by Great Britain for Canada, Australia, or New Zealand;

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as the Foraker act under which the present government of Porto Rico is established provides that the executive officers of the different departments of Porto Rico shall constitute the "Executive Council" of the island, and this Council exercises the function of a second legislative body, we urge an amendment to said act which shall give to the people of Porto Rico the right to elect the Executive Council instead of as now its members are appointed by the President of the United States;

RESOLVED, That in the meantime and at any time, when any officer of the Government of Porto Rico is appointed by the President of the United States, the said appointee shall be a Porto Rican or a bona fide resident of Porto Rico; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledges to the working people and all the people of Porto Rico its sympathy, cooperation and best efforts to secure for them the relief and the just rights to which they are entitled.

Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 83. By Delegate Bert H. Beadle of the Watch Case Engravers' International Association:

WHEREAS, There are a great number of men and women working in the State of Ohio who are unorganized, and who would if they were organized be a great help to the unions to which they would be affiliated, and

WHEREAS, There are at all times disputes arising in the different organizations which are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor which cannot be adjusted without the influence of some one who has the power to do so; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That is it the sense of the delegates here assembled that an organizer under pay of the American Federation of Labor be placed in the State of Ohio to aid the State Federation and other organizations to organize the non-union working people of the State.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 84.—By Delegate James Wood of the Stockton Federated Trades:

WHEREAS, The labor condition of Stockton, California, is at the present time at a very low ebb, and the necessity of the appointment of a resident union man as organizer under salary is apparent; be it therefore

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, the President of the Federation is hereby instructed to appoint a resident Organizer to work in the City of Stockton for a period of three months or such time as the Convention sees fit to recommend.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 85.—By Delegate Jas. G. Cain of the Photo-Engravers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The United States Government, through its various departments contracts for fully one million dollars worth of photo-engraving yearly, and

WHEREAS, A large percentage of contracts is secured by firms working under non-union conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor use their good offices to secure the adoption of a law by Congress establishing a Bureau of Photo-Engraving, on lines similar to the other branches of the printing trades.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 86.—By Delegate O. W. McCaslin of Hospital Employes' Union No. 10038:

WHEREAS, The wages of State Hospital Employes are paid and regulated by the various States, and the very nature of their employment is such that said employes could not inaugurate a prolonged strike over wages or for any other cause; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution be amended as follows: By adding to Section 1, Article XI, "State Hospital Em-

ployees' Unions shall pay a per capita tax of five cents per member per month, but shall not be entitled to strike or lock-out benefits."

Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 87.—By Delegate T. Westoby of the International Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers:

WHEREAS, The West, Middle West and the Pacific Coast have a very large proportion of members who are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have not the representation on the Executive Council which they are entitled to in proportion to their membership; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be increased by the addition of three members; one to be from the West, Middle West and one from the Pacific Coast.

Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 88.—By Delegate John Golden of the United Textile Workers:

WHEREAS, 25,000 textile operatives in the City of Fall River having been on strike since the 25th of last July against a reduction in wages, ranging from 12½ per cent to as high as 40 per cent in some cases, and

WHEREAS, We the United Textile Workers of America firmly believe that, not only are we being forced to work for an un-American wage, but are also of the opinion, that a deliberate attempt is being made to wreck our organization, portions of which has been in existence since 1858; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we do respectfully ask the delegates in Convention assembled for the placing of an assessment on the members affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, on the lines laid down in the Constitution, viz.: 1 cent per member per week, being firmly of the opinion that by such action, both the United Textile Workers of America, and the American Federation of Labor, would be enabled to win one of the greatest victories ever secured by organized labor.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 89.—By Delegate T. Westoby of the International Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers:

WHEREAS, The rapid growth of trades unions have in proportion increased the amount of business in the various central bodies until it has become impossible to give the time for the consideration of important matters that such matters require; and,

WHEREAS, The time of the central bodies are taken up with matters that belong to department councils and could be better discussed and decided by said department council; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Committee take action on dividing the various trades into department councils, such department councils to be chartered by the A. F. of L. and under the jurisdiction of the central body of the city in which it is located.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 90.—By Delegate Frank Sweeney, of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods:

WHEREAS, There has been and is being brought in through the port of New York, under the tariff law providing for a low tariff on unfinished goods; and

WHEREAS, The First Vice President of the I. U. B. of L. on H. G. has discovered that this is a much abused pretext.

WHEREAS, A very large part of a number of shipments of harness and saddles have come through the port of New York, N. Y., not unfinished, but finished and ready for consumption; and

WHEREAS, The International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods have through a great deal of expense through time donated by First Vice-President E. J. Baker, located in New York, N. Y., to stop the practice of a very much abused law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend that the Executive Committee of the A. F. of L. give all assistance possible to the First Vice-President, E. J. Baker, of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods to stop this practice.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 91.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The multiplicity of labels used on union goods leads to confusion and often even to antagonism among organized workers, where the label should be a means of strength and harmony; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to co-operate for the adoption of a universal union label to be used on all products of union labor.

Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 92.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The sending of fraternal delegates to the Trades Union Congresses of Great Britain and of Canada has resulted in moral and material gains to the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The capitalist class of Germany has become the foremost competitor of the capitalist class of America in almost every industrial pursuit making a closer contact of organized labor of Germany and of America very desirable; and

WHEREAS, The German Trades Unions at their Congresses expressed regret that no American delegates were present to more fully bring into accord the American and European workers in their common efforts for a broader civilization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention elect one fraternal delegate to the next German Trades Union Congress.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 93.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby expresses its satisfaction and gratification over the defeat of that capitalist tyrant, Governor Peabody of Colorado; furthermore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby pledges its moral and financial support to the Western Federation of Miners in its efforts to bring that gang of criminals, the so-called Citizens' Alliance of Cripple Creek District to justice, and finally be it

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to President Moyer of the Western Federation of Miners and to the chairman of the gang-leaders of the so-called Citizens' Alliance in the Cripple Creek District.

Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 94.—By the Delegates of the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, For a number of years past there has been a bitter warfare between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Woodworkers' International Union over the question of trade jurisdiction; and,

WHEREAS, The New Orleans Convention of the American Federation of Labor, two years ago, decided to end the conflict by referring the entire subject matter to an arbitration tribunal composed of five members from each organization, these ten to select an umpire; and,

WHEREAS, The delegates representing the U. B. of C. and J. and the A. W. at New Orleans declared their willingness to abide by the decision of said arbitration board; and,

WHEREAS, The representatives of the two organizations met in Indianapolis, in February, 1903, and selected P. J. Downey of Albany, N. Y., as umpire; and,

WHEREAS, After an exhaustive hearing of the case, the umpire rendered a decision, which the Amalgamated Woodworkers' International Union was, and still is, willing to be governed by; and,

WHEREAS, This decision has been flagrantly violated by the United Brotherhood in many ways, such as encouraging their members to take the places of striking Woodworkers; breaking up our Unions and offering inducements to our members to secede from our organization; and,

WHEREAS, This policy of piracy of the United Brotherhood militates against our success; is detrimental to the Carpenters and does injury to the general labor movement. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it be an imperative

order of this Convention to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, that the decision of the Empire must be adhered to, or said United Brotherhood shall suffer immediate suspension from the American Federation of Labor.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 95.—By Delegate W. S. Harris, of the Georgia State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The South Atlantic ports and southeastern section is poorly organized, we earnestly appeal to the American Federation of Labor to place an organizer in that section for the term of one year, believing if done will do much to place that section on a more united plane. We also recommend if agreeable that local men who understand the people and situation be appointed.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 96.—By Delegate P. J. Donnelly, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The driving of packages in breweries in a great many cities is being done by members of the Brewery Workers' Union; and

WHEREAS, As the driving of packages in breweries is cooper's work and a part of the cooper's trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention compel the Brewery Workers' Union to instruct its members to discontinue performing such work and allow members of the Coopers' International Union the right to drive packages in breweries.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 97.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The present factory system is compelling an increased employment of women, who, because they are women, are asked to work for wages sufficient to furnish only a degraded living; and

WHEREAS, The very conditions of woman's employment are commonly such as to destroy health of body, mind and character; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all working women the imperative necessity of organization among themselves, for the protection of their husbands, fathers, brothers and children, as well as for their own benefit; and furthermore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council hereby be authorized and instructed to continually employ at least one woman who is capable of doing the work in the capacity of a general organizer of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of organizing the working women of the United States.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 98.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, It is one of the main objects of the American Federation of Labor to unite the trade union movement of America under one banner for the betterment of the conditions of the wage-workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to continue in its laudable efforts by honorable and conciliatory means to unite the American Labor Union of the Western States with the American Federation of Labor.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 99.—By Delegate P. J. Donnelly, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, At a former Convention of the A. F. of L. the following resolution was passed: "That where there is sufficient coVERAGE work for the employment of one or more men, said men shall belong to the Coopers' International Union"; and

WHEREAS, The coopers working in breweries in Columbus, Ohio; Indianapolis; Hamilton, Ohio; Los Angeles, Cal., and Providence, R. I., belong to the Brewery Workers' Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention compel the Brewery Workers' Union to give up these coopers, and also those of any other city who may belong to the Brewery Workers' Union to give up these coopers, and also those of any other city who may belong to the Brewery Workers' Union, and have them become members of the Coopers' International Union.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 100.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, In the case of letting a contract for a twenty-million gallon pumping engine for the city of Milwaukee, Wis., the eight-hour clause was declared unconstitutional by a lower court, upon a lawsuit brought by a Milwaukee representative of the Parry organization; and

WHEREAS, If the case is left in the status quo it may also result in school buildings and other work being done in Milwaukee on a ten-hour basis hereafter; and

WHEREAS, Neither the Machinists' Unions of Milwaukee nor the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee have money enough to follow the case up further and to appeal the same to the higher courts; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize and instruct the incoming Executive Council to secure a sufficient sum to test the validity of the eight-hour ordinance for public work in the City of Milwaukee and thereby not only relieve the situation there, but also establish a test case for other cities.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 101.—By Delegates A. D. Porter and William Gilthorpe, of the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders;

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled in San Francisco, appoint an organizer for the Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America, to be stationed in Philadelphia.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 102.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union;

WHEREAS, The trade autonomy in unionism is but the application to the labor movement of the outworn principle of individualism; and

WHEREAS, The development of modern machinery and of industrial processes on a large scale is in fact creating identity of interests among many crafts hitherto only slightly related; and

WHEREAS, Under our present form of trades organization every national trades union organization looks out with jealous care for its own organization, bitterly fighting every newcomer in the field; and

WHEREAS, This contention over trades jurisdiction between national and international unions is becoming more and more acute, and will if continued very soon disrupt the organizations of the wage-workers of America; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we urgently recommend the application of the principle of industrial organization to those crafts which are bound with others by the use of the same machinery, by contact in the same productive process, or by working for a common employer or group of organized employers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge upon the various international craft organizations an immediate settlement of jurisdiction questions by mutual conferences, interchange of cards, etc., and the substitution of a modern alignment of the united working class against the growing rapacity of manufacturers' and citizens' alliance organizations, instead of the disgraceful, petty and destructive quarrels between the union officials.

Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 103.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The unprecedented concentration of wealth in the United States and the rapid development of the trusts in almost every branch of industry make it obvious that capitalism will soon reach its culmination point, and will have to make room for another phase of civilization; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that this nation is destined to take the lead in this grand struggle for better conditions and higher culture; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we hereby recommend to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to have their members study the economic conditions, to have lectures upon these subjects in their lodge rooms and at the meetings set apart for this purpose, and to do everything in their power for the enlightenment and intellectual advancement of the proletariat.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 104.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger, International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, Labor creates all values or makes them useful and accessible to mankind, but the present economic system is such that it is impossible for the great mass of wage-workers to save up a sufficient amount of money or property to secure them against want and misery and the indignities of capitalistic charity in their old age; and

WHEREAS, It is the prime object of the trade union movement to improve and elevate the standard of living of the working class everywhere and in every possible way; therefore be it

Resolved, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use its best efforts to induce the Congress of the United States to pass a bill which will secure to every wage-worker in the United States who has earned no more than \$1000 average wages per year, a pension of not less than \$12 per month at the age of sixty, and thereafter for the rest of his or her natural life; provided, however, that such wage-worker is a citizen of the United States and has lived in this country for at least twenty-one years continually at the time when the application is made.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 105.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, Experience has proven that the militia can be used by capitalists as an engine of destruction in the subjugation of the working people, workmen have thus been arrayed against workmen, and ordered to shoot down their comrades; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we declare our intention, and hereby instruct all affiliated bodies, to hold absolutely aloof from all connection with the militia, until the military system in vogue in Switzerland, or a similar system, is adopted in the United States.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 106.—By Delegate William McSorley of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union:

WHEREAS, We, the Wood, Wire and Lathers' International Union, have been fighting the unfair methods of Merritt & Co. in the City of Philadelphia for more than a year, and have

used every honorable means to induce them to employ union lathers, in which they have absolutely refused to consider any effort on our part; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled go on record as placing on the unfair list the above-named firm.

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 107.—By Delegates James Duncan, T. J. Lyons and W. J. O'Brien, of Granite Cutters' National Union:

WHEREAS, The laborers and mechanics employed on government works since 1869 have since 1872 been actively engaged in an effort to secure pay for overtime made by them in the belief that these claims are perfectly just and well founded; it is therefore

RESOLVED, That section two of the deficiency appropriation act, approved May 18, 1872 (Seventeenth Statutes at Large, page 134), is hereby revived and continued in force and made applicable to all labor performed in excess of eight hours per day by all laborers, workmen and mechanics employed by or on behalf of the Government of the United States since the 19th day of May, 1861, the date of the proclamation of the President concerning such pay; said claims to be adjudicated by the Court of Claims upon the bases prescribed in and by said section, and judgments to be rendered for extra pay in proportion to the increase of hours of labor wherever more than the legal day's work of eight hours was performed; and

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, as a body, recommends to Congress the favorable consideration of these claims, and directs its officers or committees in charge of legislation to give their best efforts to the passage of legislation having for its object the relief of these claims.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 108.—By Delegate D. D. Driscoll, of the Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.:

WHEREAS, A difference exists between the Steam Fitters and Plumbers in many cities which is detrimental to organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing both crafts select one man each and said two men select the third man and each side submit their whole matter to said committee, whose decision shall be final.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 109.—By Cigar Makers' Delegation of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Cigar Makers' International Union of America places upon the product of the labor of its members a Blue Label to designate such labor from the products of child, prison, tenement house and Chinese labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention

of the A. F. of L. assembled, condemn the practices by the trust and other non-union cigar manufacturers of the United States and Canada, who by the employment of young and innocent children crush hope out of their lives, dwarf them physically, mentally and morally; be it

RESOLVED, That a general demand be made by the members of the American Federation of Labor for the Union Blue Label of the Cigar Makers' International of America.

Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 110.—By Delegate J. Barnes, of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

RESOLVED, That the Constitution be amended as follows: by adding to Section 1 of Article IX "provided that no lobby committee shall be maintained or money appropriated for such purpose."

Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 111.—By Delegates of the Seamen's International Union:

WHEREAS, The towing of log rafts on the open ocean is a danger to navigation, and through being lost by their tow boats or broken up by action of the waves, endanger the lives of other seamen and of passengers; and

WHEREAS, H. R. 12,534, now pending in Congress, is designated to prohibit the towing of log rafts, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Annual Convention assembled, hereby endorse said bill (H. R. 12,534), and instructs its Executive Council to use every possible means to secure the passage of said bill.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 112.—By Delegates of the Seamen's International Union:

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association continues to use the name of, and to, in part, claim jurisdiction as the "International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportation Association"; and

WHEREAS, Such action on the part of the International Longshoremen's Association is in open and flagrant contempt of the American Federation of Labor as expressed by the New Orleans Convention of 1902 and reiterated by the Boston Convention of 1903; and

WHEREAS, Since the last-named decision of the A. F. of L., the I. L. A. has chartered bodies of seamen on the Lakes and Gulf Coast, and its representatives have, in local and national convention, formally declared their refusal to work on board ship with members of the International Seamen's Union of America; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual Convention assembled, does hereby again reiterate its decision in this matter, and does require said International Longshoremen's Association to discontinue using the name, or claiming any jurisdiction implied by the term "International

Longshoremen's, Marine and Transportation Association."  
Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 113.—By the Delegates of the International Union of Steam Engineers:

WHEREAS, It is a most notorious fact that the National Union of United Brewery Workmen have most persistently and contemptuously ignored the mandates and laws of the highest tribunal of labor and its Executive Council; and

WHEREAS, They are continuing their course by the publication of the most scurrilous attacks upon the officers of the A. F. of L. in the Brauer-Zeitung (official organ of the U. B. W.); and

WHEREAS, They have invoked the aid of the civil courts, availing themselves of the most obnoxious weapon ever devised for the destruction of the efforts of organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instructs its incoming Executive Council to revoke the charter of the United Brewery Workmen and suspend them from all rights, benefits and privileges, until such time as the U. B. W. shall have obeyed the laws of the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council and shall have purged themselves of the contempt shown to the A. F. of L. by the withdrawal of all injunction suits now pending and the dissolution of all injunctions granted by the various courts in their efforts to evade the mandates of the Conventions of the A. F. of L. and its Executive Councils. Furthermore, that the incoming Executive Council be instructed to enforce the provisions of this resolution within sixty days from date of adjournment of this Convention.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 114.—By Delegate A. A. Stewart of Federal Labor Union 8,921.

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. did on May 25, 1904, instruct Federal Labor Union No. 8,921 to surrender their membership to the International Longshoremen's Association within sixty days; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Labor Union No. 8,921 could not find such an organization as the I. L. A. to surrender to but did tender the fee on Dec. 6, 1903, to Henry C. Barter, Sec.-Treas. of the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association and ask for a charter reading "International Longshoremen's Association" the only name recognized by the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, Such charter was refused for the stated reason that they could not grant the same on "such broad lines;" and

WHEREAS, Federal Labor Union No. 8,921 did on July 26, 1904, adopt a resolution refusing to abide by the

decision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. and appealed to this Convention from the decision of the E. C. of the A. F. of L. on the ground that the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., assembled in Boston, did positively and imperatively instruct the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association to transact all its business under the name chartered and recognized by the A. F. of L., viz: "International Longshoremen's Association;" therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Federal Labor Union No. 8,921 be instructed to retain their charter and have full jurisdiction over all longshore work in the port of San Pedro, Cal., until such time as the International Longshoremen's Association will grant them a charter in conformity with the decision of the Boston Convention of the A. F. of L.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 115.—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias and Esteban Padilla, of the Porto Rico Free Federation and the Porto Rico Unions:

WHEREAS, The United States Congress refuses to recognize the citizens of Porto Rico as such and guarantee them full constitutional rights—the absolute right to be American citizens, and refuses to extend such rights to the Porto Ricans; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demand that the National House of Representatives recognize the people of Porto Rico as American citizens, and guarantee them the same rights and privileges possessed by the people of all other States and Territories of this great nation.

Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 116.—By Delegate Chas. A. Meinert, of the Sugar Workers' Union No. 10,519:

WHEREAS, It is apparent to all that the Sugar Workers of San Francisco and Salinas, California, have bettered their conditions morally and financially by becoming an organized body of workers; and

WHEREAS, At the last regular meeting of Sugar Workers' Union No. 10,519, A. F. of L., Wednesday, Nov. 16, 1904, at Machinists' Hall, 1159 Mission street, San Francisco, Cal., it was decided to thank the delegates of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention, assembled in San Francisco, Cal., for their kind consideration; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. when instructing its organizers to request them to endeavor to organize the Sugar Workers in the Eastern States, which will materially help us—the Sugar Workers of the West—as to forming a grand International Body of Sugar Workers.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 117.—By Delegates S. R. Pattison, P. J. Downey and D. B. Heron, of the American Sheet Steel

Metal Workers' International Association:

WHEREAS, That at the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., held in Boston in November, 1903, the question of jurisdiction between the American Sheet Steel Metal Workers, International Association and the United Metal Workers as to which was entitled to the jurisdiction over Coppersmiths, was referred to the Executive Council for decision; and,

WHEREAS, Said Executive Council decided that the Coppersmiths should affiliate with the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, and,

WHEREAS, The United Metal Workers have made no effort to obey the instructions of the Executive Council; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. instruct the United Metal Workers to revoke all charters granted to locals of Coppersmiths, thereby obeying the mandates of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., or stand expelled from the A. F. of L. until said instructions are complied with.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 118.—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias and Esteban Padilla, of the Porto Rico Free Federation and the Porto Rico Unions:

WHEREAS, It was resolved by the Twenty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor, recommended to the National and International Associations of Painters, Shoemakers, Longshoremen, Bakers, Cook and Restaurant Employees in the United States to have their Constitutions translated into the Spanish language, as well as some leaflets and pamphlets for the purpose of organization and agitation among the workmen of Porto Rico, Cuba and Central America, in order that they may become familiar with American methods and be enlightened upon the subject of benefits accruing from affiliation with the A. F. of L., which was changed to read that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. have translated into Spanish the Constitutions and some leaflets of the Trades Unions mentioned; and,

WHEREAS, It is necessary for the good of Unionism in Porto Rico that the above resolution be carried out; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all the recommendations which were made by the Twenty-second Annual Convention be carried out. Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 119.—By Delegate John Mangan of the Gardeners and Florists, No. 10615:

WHEREAS, The Gardeners' and Florists' Union No. 10615 was organized in Chicago in December, 1902, and grew rapidly for several months until it had at one time 250 members, but for the last year has gradually dwindled until there are but 34 members in good standing; and,

WHEREAS, Those members of this Union are good staunch Union men who

are struggling hard to advance the interests of their organization; and,

WHEREAS, Our experience in those two years has proven to us that the cause of our weakness in Chicago is the lack of organization of the men of our craft in other cities, especially in the eastern section of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the San Francisco Convention be requested to aid as far as possible the formation of a National organization of this craft, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to instruct the Organizers of the A. F. of L. to aid in the promotion of this work as soon as possible.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 120.—By Delegate Chas. Hank, of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance:

WHEREAS, The International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance was forced to call a strike against Harbison-Walker Refractory Company of Pittsburg, Pa., to protect its organization; and,

WHEREAS, Said company has its plants in the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky, and while said strike has affected over 5,000 members of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, and for this reason depleted the treasury of the International organization, which is now unable to give any help to members of some States which are now requesting that an Organizer be sent to assist them in organizing their State, therefore,

RESOLVED, By this Convention, That an organizer be sent into the States of Texas and California to organize the unorganized Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers for at least three months, at the expense of the A. F. of L.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 121.—By Delegate Chas. Hank, of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Alliance:

WHEREAS, The Atlantic Terra Cotta Company of Tottensville, N. Y.; Rogers Terra Cotta Company of Stanwick, N. J., and the Corning Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Company of Corning, N. Y., have discharged their employees for being members of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance.

RESOLVED, By this Convention, That the Executive Council of this Federation use its good office to bring about a settlement of this grievance, and if said companies refuse to employ union men as they have done in the past, they be placed on the unfair list.

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 122.—By Delegate Chas. Hank, of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Alliance:

WHEREAS, We believe that it is unfair to any member of Organized Labor to pay more than one initiation fee if he is forced to seek work at another trade or calling which may be under the jurisdiction of another organization than that



of which he is a member, and while we believe that such practice is dangerous to the labor movement, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation, That we recommend to all affiliated organizations that whenever a member of one organization secures work which comes under the jurisdiction of another organization that he be accepted on a transfer card issued by his organization.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 123.—By Delegate A. McAndrews of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

**RESOLVED**, That the Officers of International Union of Steam Engineers be instructed to order its Local Union No. 18, of Cincinnati, O., to admit all members of Union No. 1 within thirty days without prejudice and upon No. 18's refusal to comply its charter shall stand revoked and the International Union of Steam Engineers be instructed to grant charter to No. 1.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 124.—By Delegate Geo. C. Campbell, of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators:

**WHEREAS**, A great crime is being committed in the employment of nearly two million children of tender years in the various industries of this country, the cause being the greed of employers and the poverty of parents; and,

**WHEREAS**, Many States have no laws against child labor, and in those that have laws they are not enforced as they should be, from lack of proper co-operation by the general public; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, that we most earnestly call the attention of the public press, ministers, teachers, and all reform bodies to take up the cause of the child and demand in no uncertain tones the passage of such laws, and the proper enforcement of the same, that child labor shall be forever abolished, and the child placed in school, where it properly belongs.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 125.—By Delegate Geo. C. Campbell of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators:

**WHEREAS**, The economic struggle on the industrial field is yearly becoming more acute, and in many trades and callings the male workers are being displaced by the cheaper labor of the woman and the child, and,

**WHEREAS**, The result of such conditions means a lower standard of American citizenship and the increase of poverty and ignorance; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we urge upon the female workers the necessity of taking advantage of the opportunities offered by organization to get better conditions, shorter hours of labor and fair compensation for their labor; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That all Organizers of the A. F. of L. be requested to make special efforts to organize women wage-workers  
Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 126.—By Delegate I. Jacoby of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

**WHEREAS**, A large number of local unions affiliated with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have been attacked by organized employers' associations during the past year, and,

**WHEREAS**, In consequence of lack of demand for the Union Label on ladies' wear several locals of the I. L. G. W. U. have been unsuccessful in bettering the conditions of their members or in resisting attacks of organized employers; and,

**WHEREAS**, The I. L. G. W. U. is affiliated with the A. F. of L. and thereby entitled to the full support of Organized Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor assembled in Twenty-fourth Annual Convention at San Francisco, Cal., that all resolutions of endorsement and in support of the Union Label of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union adopted by previous Conventions of the A. F. of L. be reaffirmed, and further

**RESOLVED**, That we urge upon all wage-workers the necessity of demanding the Union Label of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union on ladies' cloaks, suits, skirts, capes, waists and underwear whenever purchasing the same.

Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 127.—By Delegate I. Jacoby of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

**WHEREAS**, At the last Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, held in Boston, Mass., on June 6, 1904, the General President of the I. L. G. W. U. reported that the best interests of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are being injured by the National Consumers' League, the latter organization placing its label on products jurisdiction over which has been granted to the I. L. G. W. U. by the A. F. of L., and,

**WHEREAS**, The I. L. G. W. U. Convention decided to refer this grievance against the National Consumers' League to the American Federation of Labor for adjustment, and,

**WHEREAS**, It is the duty of the A. F. of L. to protect the interests of its affiliated unions to the fullest extent, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor assembled in Twenty-fourth Annual Convention in San Francisco, Cal., that the incoming Executive Council be instructed to investigate this matter thoroughly and take all necessary steps to preserve the interests of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 128.—By Delegate J. C. Bahhorn of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators:

The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America request the American Federation of Labor,

in Convention assembled, to announce officially that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has complete and undivided jurisdiction over all varnishers and wood finishers.

WHEREAS, The evolution of the building industry has changed the interior finish of woodwork of all large buildings, and the larger portion of that in residences, especially of the better class (which is finished with shellac or varnish), and this branch of our trade is no longer confined to the factory, but has become distinctly a building trade, and,

WHEREAS, In all large cities, factories and planing mills which formerly confined themselves to the manufacture of furniture, now include within the scope of their business the manufacture of interior woodwork for buildings, and,

WHEREAS, When this work has been placed in position in the buildings, it receives its final coats of varnish, and the job is completed, and, in many instances, the firm manufacturing the woodwork has the contract for finishing it, and the men who do the preparatory work in the factory complete it upon the building; and,

WHEREAS, The work of the varnisher, even if he be confined to the factory, is such that it qualifies him to enter into competition with the painter; and,

WHEREAS, The wages of the varnisher now affiliated with the International Union of Woodworkers are in every instance lower than those of members of the Brotherhood engaged in the same class of work, which of necessity leads employers to discriminate against members of the Brotherhood, and induces owners of buildings to award contracts for this work to firms employing members of the Amalgamated Woodworkers' Union, with the result that the work is performed at a lower rate of wages, in many instances fifty per cent less; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Amalgamated Woodworkers be notified to instruct all members of their organization employed upon this class of work to transfer their membership to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

#### Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 129.—By Delegate Geo. C. Campbell of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators:

WHEREAS, During the past few years the effort has been made by the wives and female relatives of Trades Unionists to form auxiliary organizations to assist the labor movement in getting better conditions for the organized workers of this country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor heartily endorses an effort made by the ladies to assist the Trades Unions, and pledges its hearty co-operation, and requests all affiliated Central Bodies to co-operate with the women in organizing ladies' auxiliaries in their localities.

#### Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 130.—By Delegate Geo. C. Campbell of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The conflict between employers and laborers is being emphasized and brought out more plainly by the action of Organized Employers, Citizens' Alliances and Manufacturers' Associations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon the workers to read, think and educate themselves on economic questions, and emphasize every industrial conflict by political action in the interest of the working people and defeat our unprincipled adversaries by the use of an united ballot.

#### Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 131.—By Delegate C. W. Woodman of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Within the last few months there has come into existence a dual organization in San Antonio, Texas, the stated object being to unite all of the building trades in one movement; and,

WHEREAS, It is evident the real object of this organization is to furnish strike breakers, it having done so repeatedly in San Antonio; be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board of the A. F. of L. give this matter especial and immediate attention after adjournment of this Convention, with a view to reunite the Trade Union movement in San Antonio and to stamp out of existence the dual organization.

#### Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 132.—By Delegate John Slocum of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths:

WHEREAS, The Boston Convention of the American Federation at one of its sessions duly and regularly adopted a resolution wherein it was ordered that jurisdiction over the Carriage and Wagon Painters should be assigned to the International Brotherhood of Painters and Paperhangers, and,

WHEREAS, This ruling of the Federation has not yet been complied with by the aforesaid Carriage and Wagon Workers' organization, that organization still exercising jurisdiction over that class of mechanics in defiance of the action of the ruling of the Boston Convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation, that inasmuch as the International Carriage and Wagon Workers is and are now acting in violation of the rulings of the Boston Convention, that be it

RESOLVED, By this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention, that the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to enforce the ruling of the Boston Convention on this matter; and be it further

RESOLVED, That at the expiration of thirty days succeeding the adjournment of this Convention, if the Carriage and Wagon Workers' Organization further fail to comply with the action of the Bos-

ton Convention, the Executive Officers of the A. F. of L. are hereby instructed to revoke the Charter of Affiliation of the offending organization.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 133.—By Delegate C. W. Woodman of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In Texas we have an organization known as the Farmers' Union with a membership of more than 100,000, the Constitution of which pledges its members to oppose trusts and trust-made goods, and

WHEREAS, During the past year its members have prosecuted the Trade Union boycotts, suffered for us the inconveniences of injunctions and contributed financially to Trade Unions during strikes; and

WHEREAS, By reason of the lack of opportunity to study our methods for distinguishing Union from non-Union, or trust-made goods, and because in their local, county and State meetings they have expressed a desire to learn of our labels and methods; be it

RESOLVED, That all organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. that use the Union Labels be requested to furnish each labor paper in Texas with such advertising matter, literature or otherwise as may be used and to furnish such postage to said labor papers as may be needed in distribution of same; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in recognition of the great assistance the Farmers' Unions have rendered Trade Unions in Texas, all A. F. of L. Organizers and Trades Unions be requested to render such assistance, when opportunities are presented, as may be helpful to its upbuilding.

Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 134.—By Delegate C. W. Petry, of the Alameda County Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Many instances occur in which members of organized labor occupy political positions; and

WHEREAS, The laws of the American Federation of Labor do not allow politics or religion to enter into any of their discussions; and

WHEREAS, There is danger of partisan political discussion entering our deliberations as was conclusively shown at the session of Wednesday, Nov. 16, 1904; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That no delegate occupying a political position shall be seated as a delegate to any Convention.

Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 135.—By the Delegates of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, That in many instances the sale of union made products have been retarded by those who handle them, by not giving preference to union made goods; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That all union men be requested to, whenever possible, give

their aid in the selling of products which bear the Union label.

Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 136.—By Delegates C. E. Schmidt and Herman May, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, The National Womens' Trade Union League of America is organized to affiliate all women wage workers with Trade Unions of their respective crafts, and to promote a higher conception of the needs of working women in the public conscience; and

WHEREAS, The officers and members of the National Womens' Trade Union League have rendered the Labor Movement a great service in assisting the women involved in the recent strike of Butcher Workmen and the existing strike of the Textile Workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the National Womens' Trade Union League be and is hereby extended an invitation to be represented in the Annual Conventions of the American Federation of Labor by one Fraternal Delegate with one vote.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 137.—By Delegate Geo. W. Bell, of the Gas Workers' Union No. 9,840:

WHEREAS, As there has been no effort on the part of the organizer of the A. F. of L. to organize the Gas Workers throughout the large cities of this country, and as there are thousands of men working at this industry and with few exceptions are all non-union men; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. instruct their organizers to make every effort in their power to organize these men, especially in the large cities of the East.

Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 138.—By Delegate Tito Pacelli, of Rockmens' Protective Union No. 10,631:

WHEREAS, The Contractors' Protective Association of New York City, which includes nearly all the excavating contractors of that city, among whom are some contractors for the great Pennsylvania tunnel, has refused to hold a conference with the Rockmen and Excavators' Unions; and

WHEREAS, This Association has also repeatedly broken its promise to hold a conference with the committee of the Central Federated Union of New York, appointed for this purpose; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to use its power to arrange such a conference before March 1, 1905, and in the event of the contractors refusing to meet the committee of the C. F. U. to recommend such action as it shall think best to that body; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council call upon the organizations of the Teamsters, the Engineers, the Hoist Runners, and other unions having members who are employed by this Association to render all possible moral support and assistance to the Rockmen and Excavators in their just demands.

Committee on Local and Federated Trades.

Resolution No. 139.—By Delegate Tito Facelli, of Rockmens' Protective Union No. 10,631:

WHEREAS, The infamous padrone system continues to spread and flourish in spite of the opposition of organized labor and in violation of the Sanitary and Company Store Law; and

WHEREAS, This new serfdom has grown to such proportions that laborers are housed in the most miserable and death-breeding hovels even within the limits of the great and prosperous City of New York; and

WHEREAS, This evil has grown to such alarming dimensions on railroad and public work that it threatens the very existence of those unions that have been struggling with some success to obtain a foothold on such work; and

WHEREAS, The conditions under which the laborers live and work under the padrone system not only constitute a degradation of American workers to the level of serfdom, but stand as a demoralization example to other employers and laborers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Federation take immediate and practical measures to stamp out this menace to American manhood, beginning by an investigation by the Executive Council of the conditions in the principal States where the padrone system is in vogue and following up this investigation by a demand for the enforcement of such laws as already bear upon the evil and the enactment of such new legislation as may be necessary finally to stamp it out.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 140.—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias and Esteban Padilla, of the Porto Rico Unions:

WHEREAS, The Porto Rican delegates submit for consideration in this Convention the important economical question directly affecting the Agricultural Workers of Porto Rico, referring to the buying of coffee in Porto Rico by the members of the American Federation of Labor all over the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, It is absolutely right to ask and secure effective protection to the Porto Rico coffee among the united American workmen, as it protects our brother coffee workers of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, In the Twenty-second Annual Convention, your Committee on Resolutions advise that the organized coffee producers and workmen use

the label of the A. F. of L. to distinguish their product, and further recommend that the purchasers of coffee give their preference to the coffees bearing said label; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give absolute recognition and protection to the coffee of Porto Rico to be consumed or bought by all the union workmen in the United States and give truth and protection to the coffee of Porto Rico over the coffee from foreign countries among trade unions.

Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 141.—By Delegate E. J. Lynch, of the Metal Polishers', Buffers', Platers', Brass Molders', Brass and Silver Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A lockout has been on for the last eighteen months at the factory of the Waterbury Watch Co., Waterbury, Conn., against the members of our organization; and

WHEREAS, Said Waterbury Watch Co. manufactures the Ingersoll Dollar Watch; and

WHEREAS, Said watches are usually purchased by working people in general; and

WHEREAS, Said Waterbury Watch Co. refuses to employ any union men—after last Labor Day discharged three carpenters, members of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners who participated in the Labor Day parade, thus showing their antagonism against all organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Waterbury Watch Co., as well as the Ingersoll watch be placed on the "We Don't Patronize" list of the American Federation of Labor.

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 142.—By Delegate E. J. Lynch, of the Metal Polishers', Buffers', Platers', Brass Molders', Brass and Silver Workers' International Union of N. A.:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, with its 121 National and International Unions, 33 State Branches, 521 Central Bodies and 1,725 Trade and Federal Unions, as well as over 50,000 local unions affiliated with the respective National Unions; and

WHEREAS, Each and every one of those unions, both International and local deposit their money in Savings Banks and National Banks; and

WHEREAS, For \$10,000 deposit, a charter for a National bank can be procured; and

WHEREAS, The amount of money to-day owned by National and International Unions, local and Federal unions could start from five to twenty National Banks or Savings Banks in different parts of the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor goes on record in favor of establishing workmen's banks in different parts of the United

States and that the incoming Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to select the cities where said workmens' banks should be established and that each National and International Union, State Branch, Central Labor Union, Federal Union and local union affiliated with International Unions deposit their money in said banks and thus conduct an annex to the American Federation of Labor banking depositories for the money of their respective organizations.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 143.—By Delegate E. J. Lynch, of the Metal Polishers', Buffers', Platers', Brass Molders', Brass and Silver Workers' International Union of N. A.:

WHEREAS, a grievance has existed between Local 73, Polishers, Buffers and Platers of Wallingford, Conn., and the firm of R. Wallace & Sons, manufacturers of Cutlery, Britannia and Silver work; and

WHEREAS, Said R. Wallace & Sons demanded that the employes in the polishing and buffing room accept a reduction of from 10 to 25 per cent and an increase in their hours of toil from 9 to 10; and

WHEREAS, The 'Metal Polishers', Buffers', Platers', Brass Molders', Brass and Silver Workers' International Union of N. A. has fought this firm for the last eight months; and

WHEREAS, We believe that with the assistance and co-operation of the American Federation of Labor we shall force this firm to grant fair conditions to their employes as well as the standard nine-hour day that is given by his competitors in the same line of business; and

WHEREAS, An effort has been made by President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor to settle this but without success; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor place the R. Wallace & Sons on their "We Don't Patronize" list.

Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 144.—By Delegates Weber, Miller and Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. is instructed to assist in every possible legal manner the passage, by Congress, of a bill prohibiting the competition of enlisted musicians with civilian musicians.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 145.—By Delegate Geo. Burns, of the Electrical Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A great many of the Central Bodies, as at present organized, are ineffective owing to the fact that many of the local unions are forming District Councils, Metal Trades Councils, Building Trades Councils and other subdivisions, thus

weakening Central Bodies; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to formulate a code of uniform laws, under which all Central Bodies will be required to organize within six months.

Committee on Organizations.

Resolution No. 146.—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias and Esteban Padilla, of the Porto Rican Unions:

WHEREAS, The union working people of Porto Rico in particular, and the people in general, have requested us to ask this Convention to give the entire people of Porto Rico the honor of holding the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor in San Juan; we request it be

RESOLVED, By the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., assembled, adopt to hold the Twenty-fifth Annual Convention in the City of San Juan de Porto Rico next year.

Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 147.—By Delegates Owen Miller and Joseph N. Weber of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The question of the "Open and the so-called Union Shop" is one that has been brought prominently before the public, and discussed pro and con by employers, employes, Union and non-Union adherents and advocates, magazine writers, preachers, priests, doctors, lawyers, until the people are divided into two camps so to speak, one favoring the Open and the other the Union Shop; and

WHEREAS, The most eloquent, plausible, intelligent and persistent advocates of the so-called "Open Shop," as generally understood, are members of the "Bar," otherwise the Lawyers' Union, the strongest and most exclusive Trades Union in existence to-day; and many of the most able members of this Union have denounced, both by word and pen, the efforts of other Trades Unionists to enjoy the exclusive privileges of the Union Shop, as so vividly typified by the Lawyers' Union, as an outrageous and illegal infringement of American liberty, detrimental to public policy, and a menace to the rights of the individual; and,

WHEREAS, The aforementioned Lawyers' Union has succeeded in placing upon the statutes of all the States and Territories of the United States laws which confine the practice of law to certain individuals, excluding all others, and makes the practice of law the most exclusive Union Shop extant to-day, denying the right to any one, however able, or well qualified to work in the "Law Shop," unless such can show a card in good standing in the Lawyers' Union; and,

WHEREAS, Taking the lawyers at their word, namely, that such a policy is "an infringement of American liberty, contrary to public policy, and a menace to individual freedom, and that every American freeman should be free to follow any profession, trade or occupation, without hindrance or restrictions," therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, hereby instruct all affiliated State and Territorial Federations, to have bills introduced in the various States and Territorial Legislatures repealing all laws conferring the privilege of the practice of law upon a certain class in preference to all others, and making the practice of law open to every free American citizen who considers himself qualified, and not confined to a privileged few as is the custom under the present system.

Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 148.—By Belleville Trades and Labor Assembly:

We, the undersigned Trades and Labor Assembly for Belleville and vicinity, in regular meeting assembled, hereby denounce and condemn the action the Brewery Workmen's Union has taken in this city and vicinity, and we further declare it a non-union, a labor disrupting, unscrupulous outrage, an act that will retard the labor movement for years to come, one that will go down in the labor history of this city as the greatest crime committed by a Labor Union so far as Union principle is concerned, and therefore we, the above-mentioned body, have adopted the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 13 of International Union of Steam Engineers was compelled to withdraw its members at the Star and Western Breweries of this city, and we know that the Engineers were justified in so doing, as Local No. 13 had contracts signed annually for Engineers since 1899. Said contracts included the Chief Engineers as well as the assistants; and,

WHEREAS, Said strike was sanctioned by the Executive Board of the I. U. S. E. and the Brewery Workmen's Union immediately filled the places of the striking Engineers and thereby caused the Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, Local No. 75, to call their men out on a sympathetic strike, and the Brewery Workmen's Union also filled their places and have also hauled coal when the Teamsters went out on a sympathetic strike; and,

WHEREAS, The Brewery Workmen's Union have withdrawn the label from the Mascatah and the New Athens, Illinois, Breweries because the brewery proprietors refused to cancel the contract signed for Engineers with Local No. 13 and Firemen's Union No. 75 and sign contracts with Brewery Union for Engineers and Firemen; therefore they have sent committees to the different saloon-keepers and declared the Mascatah and the New Athens beer unfair, while members of their own ranks were brewing and handling said products; and,

WHEREAS, This controversy has been so construed as being a jurisdiction fight, and we hereby most emphatically deny this assertion, as the Engineers were compelled to strike to enforce their annual agreement, which was the same as the contract heretofore signed as far as wages were concerned; and,

WHEREAS, This case goes on record as being such that one Union scabs on the other, and,

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. Organizer, Mr. Tom Tracey, with a committee from this body, visited the Brewery Workers' meeting and were requested to wait down stairs about one hour until a local newspaper editor of anarchistic type had finished his address to said meeting, which was very antagonistic. Then Mr. Tracey and committee were asked to come before the organization, which was done. While a discussion was going on and in Mr. Tracey's presence this newspaper editor was in the hall for the sole purpose of misleading the organization. On the following day, through his paper, he slandered and threw mud at the A. F. of L. Officers, and also the Trades and Labor Assembly.

Therefore we, as a Central Body, will not tolerate anything of this nature and have expelled the Brewery Workers' Unions from this Trades and Labor Assembly and have endorsed the action of the Engineers and Firemen by placing the Star and Western Breweries on the We Don't Patronize List; and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we will fight this case to the bitter end until a settlement is reached and men restored to former positions, and as the Brewery Workers have refused to appoint members on a joint conference board to adjust grievances arising from time to time as decided by the A. F. of L., therefore be it further

RESOLVED, That we as a firm and united Central Body hereby demand of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to give a decision on this local matter at once, as this is a separate case from the general dispute that is now on and the true Union men are still idle because they were locked out by the Brewery Workers and the Alliance has also black-listed them, which makes it difficult to procure employment; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we in regular meeting assembled demand of the A. F. of L. Executive Council to remove the curse that has befallen the labor movement in this vicinity and which is dividing our organizations by annulling the label and revoking the charter of the National Union of the United Brewery Workmen, as their unfair action is so detrimental to the cause of labor for which we have toiled day and night for years to build up.

Committee on Grievances.

Resolution No. 149.—By Delegate D. D. Driscoll of Boston, Central Labor Union:

We, the United Gold Beaters of America, take this means of placing our grievances before this Convention.

Our membership being only three hundred and thirty, we are unable to send a delegate to represent us.

On July 21, 1902, the United Gold Beaters of America decided to strike for an increase in wages and better conditions of our trade, in which we were successful, with the exception of the shop controlled by the Hastings Company, in Philadelphia, who are yet on the Unfair List of the A. F. of L. The Hastings shops, in Philadelphia, employ 44 boys

40 girls and 60 men. The girls are paid twenty cents for work for which the men in union shops are paid sixty cents. Also the apprentices who learn their trade under the system which the Hastings Company operates, when they are through their apprenticeship, are compelled to work for the Hastings Company, because they know only two branches of the trade, and the Hastings Company is the only firm that operates the German system of gold beating, employing child labor.

We have adopted and registered a union label to protect our trade against this cheap labor system, with the hope that organized labor, who consume our product, would give us their moral support and help us win our fight against a firm who are and always were opposed to union labor. The bookbinders are the largest consumers of gold leaf, and we have appealed to them numerous times

to support our label, and our appeal was always blocked by a few influential members of the bookbinders who are friendly with the Hastings Company, and one in particular, who is a member of the Bookbinders' Union and a salesman for the Hastings Company. Also during our strike this gentleman was in Dresden, German, buying gold leaf for the firm, and it is principally through his efforts that our fight for union conditions in our trade is defeated.

Now, gentlemen and brothers, we hope before the adjournment of the Convention you will give our appeal your consideration and advise us as to what course to pursue to bring this firm to terms.

Committee on Labels.

The Convention was then adjourned to meet at 2 P. M.

## FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 o'clock p. m., Vice-President Mitchell in the chair.

Absentees—Barry, Klapetzky, Noschang, Tobin, Lovely, Butterworth, Gordon, Baum, Farrell, Mahoney (T. J.), Smith (J. W.), Warber, Pattison, Weber, Miller (Owen), Carey, Mason, Dix, Quick, Mahon, Maloney (P.), Powell, Morgan, Triplett, Madden, Hanraty, Ryder, Parks, Husted, Cohen (B), Michel, Lock, Harris (R. F.), Lavery (Jas. A.), Ward, Dunn, (J. P.), Woodmansee, Roberts Payne, O'Shea (Dennis), Murray, Coffey, Patterson, Edmonson, Hinton, Pillsbury Bell, Keefe (M. O.), Damozonio, Timilty, Dale, Schilling, Dowd.

The Chairman announced that the special order of business was the report of the Committee on Credentials on the seating of the delegate from the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Delegate Dold—I move that a committee of three be appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor to proceed to the City of Chicago as soon as possible after this Convention closes for the purpose of making a thorough investigation, and pending such investigation that the action revoking the charter of the Chicago Federation of Labor be rescinded and the delegate seated. (Seconded.)

Delegate Spencer—I arise to a point of order. The question before the house is the report of the Committee on Credentials. A motion to concur in the report of the committee on the seating of the delegate from the Chicago Federation of Labor has been made, and that is the question before the house.

Vice-President Mitchell—It is the opinion of the Chair that the point of order is well taken.

Delegate Dold asked if the subject matter and the motion had not been referred as a special order of business.

Vice-President Mitchell—The Chair does not so understand. The Chair rules that the motion is out of order.

Delegate Sherman asked why the charter of the Chicago Federation of Labor had been revoked.

Vice-President Mitchell—The charter was revoked because the Chicago Federation of Labor had failed to comply with the instructions of the Executive Council and expel from membership two unions not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Dold—I move you that the report of the Committee on Credentials

be referred to a committee to be selected by the American Federation of Labor, that committee to proceed to the City of Chicago as soon as possible after the adjournment of this Convention to investigate the matter. Pending an investigation the revocation of the charter to be suspended and the delegate from the Chicago Federation of Labor to be seated. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Mitchell—The Chair is of the opinion that the motion is not in order. The committee has reported in opposition to the seating of the delegate. The motion of Delegate Dold simply reverses that report.

Delegate Dold—Is it possible by any means to modify or amend or change the motion to concur in the report of the committee?

Vice-President Mitchell—I should say by defeating the motion.

Delegate C. P. Shea—If the motion to concur in the report of the committee is voted down, does that seat the delegate?

Vice-President Mitchell—Not necessarily. It will require a motion to seat the delegate.

Delegate Sherman—If the parties concerned would promise to obey the mandates of the Executive Council and expel from the ranks of the Chicago Federation of Labor the Steam Fitters and Press Feeders in question, would not that seat the delegate?

Vice-President Mitchell—Not unless the Convention itself refuses to concur in the report of the Committee on Credentials. If the causes were removed, I presume there would be no objection to seating the delegate.

Delegate Driscoll—I move that the whole matter be laid over until tomorrow afternoon, and that the Committee on the Executive Council's report be requested to report on the matter of taking away the charter of the Chicago Federation of Labor at three o'clock.

Treasurer Lennon—That part of the report of the Executive Council is not before any committee.

Delegate Driscoll withdrew his motion.

The motion was discussed at some

length by Delegates Dold, D. A. Hayes and Spencer.

Treasurer Lennon then moved that the report of the Committee on Credentials, together with that portion of the report of the Executive Council dealing with the Chicago Federation of Labor be referred to the Committee on Local and Federated bodies, with the request that they report to the Convention at the earliest possible date. (Seconded.)

Delegate Ramsay arose to a point of order and said: That motion would do the same thing as the motion of Delegate Dold, which the Chair ruled out of order.

Vice-President Mitchell—The point is not well taken. The motion the Chair ruled out of order would have reversed the report of the committee and seated the delegate.

Delegate C. P. Shea—I arise to a point of order. Is there not a motion before the house to concur in the report of the committee? If so, the motion just made is out of order.

Vice-President Mitchell—A motion to refer is in order. The point is not well taken.

The question was further discussed by Delegates Duncan, Fitzpatrick, Dold, D. A. Hayes, Max Morris, Spencer, Mangan, Barter, Higgins, Jere L. Sullivan, C. P. Shea, T. J. Duffy and Tanquary.

On motion of Delegate Barter debate was closed at 4:30.

President Gompers in the Chair.

During the discussion Treasurer Lennon asked permission to withdraw his motion, but objection to its withdrawal was made and discussion on it was continued. A vote was taken on the motion at 4:30 p. m., and it was carried by a vote of 95 to 88.

Delegate Dempsey, for the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.,  
November 17, 1904.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.

Gentlemen:

Your Committee is in possession of a letter to Secretary Morrison from Mr. Frank Buchanan, President of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' Union, dated at San Francisco, November 16, 1904. Mr. Buchanan requests that



he be seated in this Convention as a delegate representing the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers as an additional delegate.

The Structural Iron Workers have two accredited delegates now seated, but are entitled to three delegates.

There is no official credential properly signed and sealed in the hands of your Credential Committee.

Messrs. Hoenck and Brady, the accredited delegates from the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, personally request that the application of Mr. Buchanan be favorably accepted.

In accordance with the above, your Credential Committee recommends that Mr. Buchanan be seated as a delegate.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN T. DEMPSEY,  
GEO. MACKAY,  
JAS. F. GRIMES.

On motion of Delegate Fitzsimmons, the report of the committee was concurred in and Delegate Buchanan seated.

Delegate Gilthorpe wished to be recorded as voting against the motion.

Delegate Foster, for the Committee on Resolutions, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 9, by Delegate George Mackey, of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers:

Resolution No. 9:

WHEREAS, Members of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers are being subjected to many hazardous risks through the negligence of employers in not protecting dangerous places in and around machinery; and,

WHEREAS, A large percentage of accidents and deaths among Paper and Pulp Makers are due to a lack of proper protection in said mills, and

WHEREAS, Factory Inspectors are not recognized among workmen as such because of a lack of any uniform or any visible badge of office; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the American Federation of Labor insist upon a more strict observance of the Factory Inspectors' Rules in all factories; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor exert its best influences to have a law or order enacted in all States requiring that all factory inspectors shall wear a uniform or some visible badge when on duty; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor put forth its best endeavors to have a law enacted in all States requiring all factory inspectors to submit to a rigid civil service examination.

The committee recommends the insertion of the words "Factory Inspector" in the last line, before the words

"Civil Service Examination." With this amendment they recommend the adoption of the resolution.

On motion of Delegate Thomas, duly seconded, the report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 22, by Delegate Louis Rentelman, of the San Francisco Labor Council:

WHEREAS, The menace of Chinese labor, now greatly allayed by the passage and enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Act, has been succeeded by an evil similar in general character, but much more threatening in its possibilities, to-wit: the immigration to the United States and its insular territory of large and increasing numbers of Japanese and Korean laborers; and

WHEREAS, The American public sentiment against the immigration of Chinese labor, as expressed and crystallized in the enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act, finds still stronger justification in demanding prompt and adequate measures of protection against the immigration of Japanese and Korean labor, on the grounds, first, that the wage and living standards of such labor are dangerous to, and must, if granted recognition in the United States, prove destructive of, the American standards in these essential respects; secondly, that the radical incompatibility, as between the peoples of the Orient and the United States, presents a problem of race preservation which it is our imperative duty to solve in our own favor, and which can only be thus solved by a policy of Exclusion; and

WHEREAS, The systematic colonization of these Oriental races of our insular territory in the Pacific, and the threatened, and partly accomplished, extension of that system to the Pacific Coast and other Western localities of the United States, constitutes a standing danger, not only to the domestic peace, but to the continuance of friendly relations between the nations concerned; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the terms of the Chinese Exclusion Act should be enlarged and extended so as to permanently exclude from the United States and its insular territory all classes of Japanese and Koreans, other than those exempted by the present terms of that Act; further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be submitted, through the proper avenues, to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable consideration and action by that body.

The committee concurs in the resolution.

President Gompers—If there is no objection the report of the committee will be concurred in.

Delegate McSherry objected, and said that a resolution on the same subject presented by himself had been

referred to the Committee on President's Report.

President Gompers—This resolution was referred to the Resolutions Committee through an oversight. It is the wish of that committee that it be referred to the Committee on President's Report.

Resolution No. 23, by Delegates C. E. Schmidt and Herman May, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.

WHEREAS, The struggle between organized labor and organized capital seems to be growing more intense every year; and

WHEREAS, We have recently seen such monstrous orders issued that a man who has reached the age of 35 years should not be given employment in the plants of the steel trust and other large corporations; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor, which is ever striving to place the workers on a higher plane, will, if this age limit is applied to all industries, retrograde, instead of progress; and

WHEREAS, The means through which such un-American tendencies can be resisted lie in the raising of the standard of life among the workers, and this cannot successfully be done while the American workman is subject to the competition of the Mongolian race, which cannot be unionized or Americanized; and

WHEREAS, The immigration of Japanese laborers is increasing at an alarming rate and these laborers have already worked great injury to American workmen by practically monopolizing work in certain industries on account of the low rate of wages they are willing to accept; and

WHEREAS, This influx of Japanese, unless restricted, must tend to lower the standard of living among the wage-earners of the country; be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., through its Legislative Committee, use all lawful means to secure the necessary legislation to have the laws governing Chinese immigration also apply to Japanese and all others of the Mongolian race.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 23, being of the same general character as Resolution No. 22 be also referred to the Committee on President's Report.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 25, by Delegate James G. Cain, of the Photo Engravers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has for several years past been upon record, reaffirmed at each annual Convention, as opposed to anti-scalping laws, and its influence has prevented the

adoption by the United States Congress, and by the Legislatures of many of our States, of laws inimical to ticket brokerage; and

WHEREAS, Failing because of the opposition of organized labor to secure through legislation laws so repugnant to the people, the great railroad trusts are now endeavoring to prevail, and in some cases have prevailed, upon the Judges of the courts to legislate by injunction, and by this abuse of legal process prevent the transfer of railroad tickets from the original purchaser to other persons; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the arbitrary custom of transportation companies in placing descriptions of purchasers upon tickets, and requiring such purchasers to sign unfair, one-sided contracts, is an imposition and an outrage, as all railroad tickets should be good to the bearer; be it further.

RESOLVED, That we hold that the ownership of a railway ticket, after it has been purchased by the passenger, is vested in that purchaser, and that it is his right, both morally and legally, to use it himself, wholly or in part, or dispose of it to others as he may see fit; and that the use of non-transferable contract, signature and descriptive tickets by the railroad companies is an outrage upon the traveling public, and a presumptuous and unwarranted interference with the property rights of passengers.

RESOLVED, That we denounce the joint validating agency system as a nuisance, an unnecessary expense and annoyance to travelers, and a discreditable scheme on the part of railroad companies to repudiate obligations and profit enormously by the forfeiture of tickets in the hands of purchasers who are unable to personally use them.

RESOLVED, That we deplore the apparent willingness of some of the courts of this country to sanction the arbitrary and unjust agreements of unlawful passenger associations by issuing injunctions to prevent the transfer of so-called contract tickets, and we denounce such action as an abuse of legal process and a course tending to bring edicts of the courts into contempt.

RESOLVED, That we again request all State Federations, Central Trades and Labor Councils and Labor Unions allied with the American Federation of Labor, to use every effort to defeat anti-scalping bills and city ordinances inimical to ticket brokerage, and again instruct our Legislative Committee at Washington to oppose all anti-scalping bills that have been, or may be, introduced in the United States Congress.

The committee concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Tanquary desired to be recorded as voting against the adoption of the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 38, by Delegate W.

Frank Moyer, of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There are weak, struggling Central Labor Councils situated in districts containing a comparatively large unorganized population, both as to unorganized trades and callings and members of trades already organized, and as such councils in many instances are too weak financially and numerically to support a local organizer or agent; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. authorize and instruct its Executive Board to assist a council so situated on applying for aid—First, by appointing and commissioning such local organizer as is recommended by the applying council; second, by appropriating the sum of not less than \$300 per annum toward the support of said organizer; provided

That a council applying for aid by the provisions of this resolution must appropriate an amount toward the support of said organizer equal to that appropriated by the A. F. of L.

The committee non-concurs in the resolution.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 49, by Delegate Mary Kenny O'Sullivan, of the National Woman's Trade Union League, and James Duncan of the Granite Cutters' National Union:

RESOLVED, That the best interests of labor require the admission of women to full citizenship as a matter of justice to them and as a necessary step toward insuring and raising the scale of wages for all.

The committee concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 51, by Delegate Morris Brown, of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, The ravages of tuberculosis has made frightful progress in this country, and especially among the working class; be it

RESOLVED, By this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the necessary ways, means and steps be at once instituted to check tuberculosis, and, if possible, entirely eradicate the same.

The committee made the following recommendation: While we favor the eradication of consumption, we cannot concur in the resolution for the reason that it suggests no method or means by which the proposed end can or may be carried into effect.

Delegate Brown—I move to amend that we recommend that local unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. work in conjunction with the health boards in the different cities to stamp out tuberculosis.

The Chairman declared the amendment out of order.

Delegate Brown then withdrew the resolution.

Resolution No. 58, by Delegate Morris Brown, of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, The Assembly of the State of New York has passed a bill regulating employment agencies; and

WHEREAS, The said measure is of great import to all organized labor, not only of one State, but of the whole country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby direct that a like measure be introduced in the Congress of the United States, covering all States.

The committee non-concurs in the resolution.

Vice-President Duncan, of the committee said: The committee has no objection to the spirit of the resolution, but the Congress of the United States has no authority to pass such laws, which are purely State affairs.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 73, by Delegate A. T. Baum:

The following resolution, adopted by the Annual Convention of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America, is offered to this Convention for consideration:

Whereas, Owing to the fact that contracts entered into between various labor organizations and employers do, as at present conducted, begin and expire on widely different dates; and

WHEREAS, By reason of such variance as above stated, allied bodies are frequently forced to combat the best interests of each other, thereby defeating the main objects of unionism; therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Convention that as speedily as possible with existing agreements, all organizations connected with the American Federation of Labor cause such agreements to begin and expire upon a date certain; such date to be hereafter agreed upon.

The committee non-concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Golden, of the Committee on Secretary's Report, read the following report:

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Nov. 17, 1904.

Report of Committee on Secretary's Report.

To the officers and Members of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Brothers:

We, your Committee on Secretary's report respectfully submit the following:

After carefully going over the many items contained in the Secretary's report, both statistical and otherwise, your committee reports as follows:

We desire to compliment the Secretary on his able and masterful report, every matter being given in a clear, concise and business-like manner.

Second, we are pleased to note the fact that the American Federationist has made such good progress, from a financial standpoint, during the year, and would call the attention of all members of organized labor to the advisability of subscribing for the same, in order to guarantee its further success.

Third, we heartily endorse the recommendation of the Secretary in his report that no change be made in the laws governing the defense fund, or in the manner of its distribution, that would leave it liable to be taken undue advantage of.

Fourth, we further recommend that the Secretary of all National and International unions give to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, from time to time, all data relative to changes in wages, hours of labor, etc.

That the statistics in this respect may be still more complete and authentic.

In conclusion, we recommend that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to send to the Secretary of each Central, State, Local and Federal body a copy of his report.

Fraternally,

JAMES WILSON, Chairman.

FRED LEPP,

E. J. LYNCH,

CHAS. DOLD,

GEO. H. WARNER,

WM. H. FRAZIER,

J. R. CONROY,

J. BRADY,

JOHN GOLDEN, Secretary.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in. (Carried.)

Delegate Jere L. Sullivan, of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, read the following report:

Your committee begs leave to submit the following report:

Resolution No. 11 intends to regulate, hence is referred to the Committee on Laws.

WHEREAS, Certain city central bodies have adopted the assessment system of raising funds for the support of strikes, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The assumption by city central bodies or other representative organizations of power to assess the membership of the affiliated unions for any purpose is contrary to the principle upon which such bodies are founded, to-wit: Mutual advice, voluntary co-operation and moral responsibility, and as such constitutes a danger both to the unions and to the bodies in which they are represented; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that the power of assessment should be reserved exclusively to the respective unions and the individual members thereof, to be exercised in the manner provided by their own laws, local, national or international; be it further

RESOLVED, That city central bodies and State Federations are hereby advised that all forms of assessment levied by them upon the unions affiliated therewith are opposed to the principle and policy of the American Federation of Labor and will therefore not be sustained by the Federation.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

The committee finds that the subject matter of Resolutions Nos. 31 and 32 are covered by Article XII, Section 2 of the A. F. of L. Constitution, and that no further action is necessary. Article XII, Section 2 is as follows:

It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local unions to join chartered Central Labor bodies and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

Resolution No. 31.—By Delegate M. T. Hudson, of the Sacramento, Cal., Federated Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The Local Union of Machinists of Sacramento, Cal., was affiliated with the Central Body of their district during the years 1893 and 1894, withdrawing early in 1895; and

WHEREAS, The said local was reorganized by Organizer R. I. Wisler, of San Francisco, in 1901, and again affiliated with the Central Body of its district; and

WHEREAS, The said Local did again withdraw its delegates in 1901 and being at the present time unaffiliated with said councils; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention that the International Machinists' Union be instructed to have afore-mentioned Local affiliate with the Central Body of its district.

Resolution No. 32.—By Delegate M. T. Hudson, of the Sacramento, Cal., Federated Trades Council:

WHEREAS, Local Union No. 67, Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders, was

affiliated with the Central Body in its district in 1893 and 1894, withdrawing at the close of 1894, and again affiliating in 1901 and withdrawing the same year, and not having since sent representatives to the Central Body of its district; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention that the International Union of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders be instructed to notify Local No. 67 to affiliate with the Central Body of their district.

Vice-President O'Connell—I have every reason to believe that before we leave the Coast our local union there will be affiliated with the Central Body.

Secretary Morrison—In my correspondence with International officers they have always given full support, with a few exceptions, to have their local unions seated in Central

Bodies. The International officers are alive to the necessity of having their local unions represented in Central Bodies.

Delegate Driscoll—I move that the resolutions be referred to the Executive Council, together with the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Gilthorpe—There is no such local union of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders in Sacramento as the one named.

Delegate Hudson said the wrong number had been given through error, and that the correct number of the local was 94.

The Convention was then adjourned to meet at 9 a. m., November 18th.

## FIFTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 A. M., Friday, November 18th, Treasurer Lennon in the Chair.

Absentees—Barry, Butterworth, Brady, Tracy, Devine, Nelson, Ketter, Monaghan, Rickert, Farrell, Mahoney (T. J.), Lillen, Smith (J. W.), Warner, Pattison, Mason, Wilson (James), Dix, Dinan, Quick, Mahon, Furuseth, Maloney (P.), Powell, Morgan, Truplett, Madden, Goodwin, Husted, Michel, Porter, Lock, Petry, Harris (R. F.), Ward, Walker, Dunn (J. P.), Payne, Moffitt (C. M.), O'Shea (Dennis), Murray, Coffey, Dunn (J. F.), Fatterson, Dunn (M. T.), Edmonson, Catania, Pillsbury, Bell, Keefe (M. O.), Damozonio, Dale, Schilling, Hudson (M. T.), Morey, Dowd.

Delegate Maloney—In view of the condition existing among the Textile Workers of Fall River, Mass., I move that Resolution No. 88, introduced by Delegate Golden, be taken up for discussion at 2:30 this afternoon. The resolution is now in the hands of the Committee on Organization.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Grimes, for the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Nov. 18, 1904.

To the Officers and Members of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

Your Committee on Credentials recommend that the following representatives be seated in this Convention to represent their organizations:

United Garment Workers of America  
Thomas A. Rickert.

Central Labor Union, New Orleans, La., James E. Porter, 1 vote.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN T. DEMPSEY,  
GEO. MACKEY,  
JAS. F. GRIMES.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Devine, for the Committee on Organization, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 13.—By Delegate Frank Bricker, of the Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861, of San Francisco:

WHEREAS, Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861, of San Francisco, has endeavored for some years past to thoroughly organize the dairies in that city and vicinity, but such work has been greatly impeded by reason of the fact that these dairies come into direct competition with the products of dairies in other localities, the employes of which are entirely unorganized; and

WHEREAS, These latter employes refuse to recognize the Milkers' Protective Union on the ground that the latter has no jurisdiction outside the limits of San Francisco; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual Convention assembled, that the Executive Council is hereby authorized and instructed to make such change in the geographical jurisdiction of Milkers' Protective Union No. 8861, of San Francisco, as shall enable that body to organize the milkers of the State of California under a single head.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

The committee recommends that Resolution No. 13 be referred to the Executive Council.

It was moved by Delegate Rentelman, and duly seconded, that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Macarthur—I understand that a question similar to that contained in the resolution has been addressed to the Executive Council in the past. The judgment of the Executive Council up to the present has been that to grant a charter to the Milkers' Union covering the State of California would be something out of the regular order of procedure. Will the reference of this resolution to the Executive Council mean that a charter will be issued or that they will re-affirm their former position.

Treasurer Lennon—The Chair has no authority to make a statement for the Executive Council. I would say that the fundamental laws of trade unionism would certainly confine their limits to a much less area than the whole State. Whether the Council would take that view if the matter should be directly presented, I cannot say.

Delegate Rentelman—What is the in-

tention of the committee in referring this to the Executive Council? They do not seem to make any recommendation.

Secretary Morrison—When the request was made by the Milkers' Union to extend its jurisdiction to include the State of California the Executive Council decided, and so notified the union, that there was no reason why they should not take members into the organization from any part of the State; but under the laws of the American Federation of Labor if the milkers of any other city, ten, fifteen or thirty miles from San Francisco, desired to form a union they would receive a charter. If there are a sufficient number of local unions of milkers to form an International Union the American Federation of Labor will issue a charter to such an organization.

Delegate Rentelman—I would like to move as an amendment that the recommendation be referred to the Executive Council, with the request that they grant the demands of the Milkers' Union.

Treasurer Lennon—The gentleman having made the original motion, the consent of the Convention is necessary before he can make the amendment.

Delegate Mitchell—When this matter was before the committee I had forgotten that it had been referred to the Executive Council, or we would have made a different recommendation.

Delegate Macarthur—I move as an amendment that this report be referred to the Executive Council with favorable recommendation from this Convention. (Seconded.)

It was moved by Delegate W. D. Ryan that the amendment be laid upon the table. (Seconded.)

Treasurer Lennon—That lays the whole matter on the table.

The motion was voted on and lost.

The resolution was further discussed by Delegates Macarthur, Westoby, Canavan and Devine.

The amendment was then voted on and lost, the vote being 52 for the amendment and 80 against.

The report of the committee was then adopted.

Resolution No. 18.—By Delegates Lee M. Hart and Patrick Maloney, of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor issued a general demand that all its affiliated National and In-

ternational Unions should use its every energy to thoroughly unionize the city of Philadelphia; and

WHEREAS, At the Twelfth Annual Convention of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees recently held in the City of Milwaukee, it was unanimously decided that we comply with the orders of the American Federation of Labor by placing its full moral and financial support in the City of Philadelphia; and

WHEREAS, The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees has recently made a full and thorough investigation of that craft in that city and found conditions in a demoralized state; and

WHEREAS, It is the purpose of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees to have its General Executive Council to go to Philadelphia, there to remain until they can secure the absolute recognition of their local union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the attitude assumed by the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, and further instruct its Organizers and members in the City of Philadelphia and vicinity to give their full moral support to thoroughly unionize the theaters and amusement places of Philadelphia and vicinity.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 19.—By Delegate George Bechtold, of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Foundry Employes has been organized for the protection of the men employed in the iron and steel industry; and

WHEREAS, There are yet many large cities and sections of this great continent where the Foundry Employes are in a deplorable state, owing to its unorganized conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby empowered and directed to appoint a special organizer, whose duty it shall be to devote its entire time for six months for the purpose of effectively organizing the thousands of laborers employed in the iron and steel industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That said organizer be a practical foundry worker.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 24.—By Delegates C. E. Schmidt and Herman May of the Amal-

gamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Union:

WHEREAS, The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America have just passed a severe struggle which has depleted their treasury and reduced their membership; and

WHEREAS, The combined efforts of organized capital is now using every means in their power to prevent the A. M. C. and B. W. of N. A. from rebuilding their organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. do place an organizer in the field to devote his entire time to the organizing of the A. M. C. and B. W. of N. A., and that the International Executive Board of the A. M. C. and B. W. of N. A. shall appoint such organizer at the expense of the A. F. of L.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council:

Delegate Schmidt—We have sufficient confidence in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to know they will do the right and just thing in this matter. I therefore move that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The motion was seconded and carried

Resolution No. 34.—By Delegate C. W. Woodman of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, There are some 30,000 wage-earners in the lumber regions of Texas who can be organized; and

WHEREAS, The compulsory commissary insurance and check system exists with no regular pay day, in some camps there being years between pay days; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board be instructed to send a man into that region to make a careful investigation with a view to devising a plan by which these wage earners may be given relief and enrolled under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

President Gompers in the chair.

Resolution No. 45.—By William S. Smith, Central Labor Council, Los Angeles, Cal.:

WHEREAS, A concerted effort is being made throughout the State of California to disrupt organized labor, in order that low wages and long hours again may prevail; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Twenty-fourth

Annual Convention assembled, that the President of the Federation be and is hereby requested to appoint an organizer to work within the State of California for a period of one year, beginning January 1, 1905.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 60.—By Delegate John Ryan of the Cemetery Employees' Union, No. 10634:

WHEREAS, C. E. U. 10,634 respectfully petitions this Convention to assist in the organization of the men engaged in their craft throughout the country; they have in their organization in San Francisco and vicinity 125 members in good standing; they have been able through that organization to better their conditions in every respect, but it is absolutely necessary that they have assistance from this body in the way of organizing men of other cities if their wages are to be maintained or further advanced, and their organization kept intact; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. that the incoming Executive Board be and is hereby instructed to appoint an organizer whose duty it shall be to organize the men engaged in cemeteries throughout the country, and the expense of such work to be borne by the American Federation of Labor.

Committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 61.—By Delegate Frank G. Jones of the City Firemen's Union, No. 11431:

WHEREAS, The City Fire Department of Pittsburgh, Pa., is organized to protect and advance the condition of its members;

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., through its organizers, make an effort to organize the Fire Departments throughout the country, believing that by being organized it will be the means of getting shorter hours, as the fireman works twenty-four for a day.

Committee recommends that the resolution be referred to Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 64.—By Delegate Thomas J. Maloney of the Glove Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The existence of the International Glove Workers' Union of



American is threatened by reasons of the continual attacks made by the "Manufacturers' Association" during the two years of our existence; and

WHEREAS, The last lockout of the Glove Workers of Fulton County, New York, which lasted for more than six months, in which we were unsuccessful, has discouraged our members and left us heavily in debt, thereby being without the necessary funds to organize our craft or to advertise our label;

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, especially instruct all of its organizers to aid in organizing Glove Workers wherever they may come in contact with them; and

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor appropriate a sum of money and loan or donate same to the International Glove Workers' Union of America to enable the said organization to continue its existence.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution, with the exception of the last paragraph, which they refer to the Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 71.—By Delegate Robert S. Maloney of the Lawrence (Mass.) Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, In the City of Lawrence, Mass., the workers in the textile industries number more than 35,000; and

WHEREAS, Of this number but a small part are included in the ranks of organized labor, and the conditions of the workers require all the help organized labor can possibly extend to them; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be and are hereby instructed to place in Lawrence, at the earliest possible time, a special organizer for the purpose of bringing into the ranks of organized labor a body of people who need all the help we can give them.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to Executive Council.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Vice-President Mitchell—Resolution No. 23 was referred to the Committee on Organization. This belongs to the Committee on President's Report. I move that it be referred to that committee.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate O'Brien, for the Committee on Labels, reported as follows:

The following paragraph from the report of the Executive Council was referred to the Committee on Labels:

#### UNION LABELS.

During the year we have endorsed the

union labels of the following organizations:

International Brotherhood of Tip Printers, by E. C., July, 1904.

Brush Makers' International Union, by E. C., June, 1904.

International Glove Workers, December, 1903.

Amalgamated Leather Workers of America, December, 1903.

The committee concurs in the action of the Executive Council in the endorsement of the labels.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 5.—By Delegates Fischer and McAndrews of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The blue label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union represents tobacco made under fair union conditions, by union men; and

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' label is the only proof of the same, as it distinguishes union from non-union and trust-made tobacco; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled in San Francisco, Cal., re-endorse the blue label of the Tobacco Workers' International Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That every member of each affiliated union be, and is hereby requested to demand the blue label upon all tobacco and cigarettes he may purchase, thereby showing his loyalty to the cause of unionism in a substantial manner.

The committee recommended that the resolution be concurred in.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 20.—By Delegate Louis J. Gordon of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers:

WHEREAS, The label of the above organization has been officially endorsed by the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Such endorsement materially aided the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers of N. A.; and

WHEREAS, The calling for the union label by trade unionists materially assists all unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., in Convention assembled, again endorses the label of the C. H. and C. M. of N. A., and urges all affiliated unions and all unaffiliated ones to insist upon the label being on all cloth hats and caps and especially upon uniform caps, that they may have occasion to use.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 56.—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, Past experience has demonstrated the splendid agitation work accomplished by the Label Leagues which have been organized in some parts of the country; and

WHEREAS, The trades union movement can best be furthered and its power centralized by creating a demand for union label production; be it

RESOLVED, That this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct all affiliated unions, and especially all central bodies, to agitate for and organize Label Leagues in all parts of the country, and urge all local unions who have a trade label and all others to join such Label League.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 63.—By Delegate Thos. J. Mahoney of the Glove Workers' International Union:

RESOLVED, That this Convention do hereby endorse the label of the International Glove Workers' Union of America, placed on all gloves and mittens, men's working gloves and mittens, ladies' and gents' fine dress gloves, and children's gloves and mittens. And be it further

RESOLVED, That the members of the A. F. of L. are to instruct and urge their mothers, wives and daughters to demand and wear none but union made gloves and mittens.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 67.—By Delegate Frank Sweeney of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods:

WHEREAS, The International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods in Convention assembled at St. Louis, Mo., June 10-18, 1904, adopted the steel stamp to replace the old blue paper label; and

WHEREAS, The old blue paper label was insufficient in its methods of durability to bring about desired results; and

WHEREAS, The steel stamp is the recognized official label of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the label of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods, and request all unionists, especially the different Teamsters' locals affiliated, to

demand said label when purchasing or using horse goods; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor notify all affiliated Teamsters' locals of this resolution.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 68.—By Delegate David Kreyling of the St. Louis (Mo.) Central Trades and Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The Red and White Label and the Stamp Label of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers International Union of America represents goods made by union labor under fair conditions; and

WHEREAS, Our label is the only proof of the same; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, endorse the Red and White (paper) label and the Stamp of the Travelers' Goods and Leather Novelty Workers' International Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That every member of each affiliated union be hereby requested to demand our paper label upon all trunks and our stamp label upon all travelers goods and leather novelties that he or she may purchase.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Foster—Resolution No. 88, in regard to the textile workers of Fall River, Mass., who are on strike, was made a special order of business for 2:30 this afternoon. I move that the action by which it was referred to that time be reconsidered.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Vice-President Duncan moved that when the Convention adjourned the rules be suspended and an adjournment taken to 9 o'clock Saturday morning, to allow the committees time to work.

The motion was discussed by Delegates O'Brien, Sullivan and Tanquary.

The motion was then voted on and carried.

Delegate Guerin moved that Resolution No. 88 be taken from the hands of the Committee on Organization, to which it had been referred, and taken up at once.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Fitzsimmons moved that the

resolution be adopted and an assessment of one cent per week per member be levied on the members of all affiliated organizations for a period of ten weeks. (Seconded.)

Delegate D. D. Driscoll moved the following amendment: That members of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation be each assessed one cent a week for three weeks, and that the matter be then referred to the Executive Council, with power to make further assessment if required. (Seconded.)

Delegate O'Sullivan moved as an amendment to the amendment that members of affiliated organizations be assessed one cent a day until the strike was won. (Seconded.)

The question was discussed by Delegates Golden, Driscoll, O'Sullivan, Foster, Sullivan, Maloney, Gilthorpe and Brown.

Delegate Brown moved that the Convention appropriate the sum of five thousand dollars for the benefit of the textile workers for immediate use.

The motion was declared out of order.

On motion debate was closed.

The amendment offered by Delegate Driscoll was read.

President Gompers—The amendment is not quite intelligible.

With the consent of the mover of the amendment it was corrected to read: That the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with power to make an additional assessment, if, in their judgment, it is necessary to do so.

Delegate Golden withdrew the resolution and accepted the amendment offered by Delegate Driscoll.

The amendment was then voted on and carried.

Officers of the following international organizations announced that their assessments would be paid at once, or as soon as their headquarters could be communicated with:

Delegate Keefe, of the International Longshoremens' Assn; J. E. Lennon, International Journeymen Tailor's Union; Lee M. Hart, of the Theatrical Stage Employes; C. P. Shea, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; James O'Connell, International Association of Machinists; Louis Kemper, of the Brewery Workmen; D. A. Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers; John Fitzpatrick, of the Journeymen Horseshoers; John Brady, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers; James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters;

J. F. Hammil, Steam Engineers; L. A. Tanquary, of the Railroad Telegraphers; John Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers of America; J. P. Murphy, of the Plate Printers' Union; Thos. Westoby, of the Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers;; J. R. O'Brien, of the Retail Clerks; W. J. Spencer, Plumbers, Gas Fitters and Steam Fitters; William Penje, of the Seamen's International Union; Delegate O'Leary, Laborers' Protective Union; J. L. Hutchison, Laundry Workers; J. E. Tobin, Boot and Shoe Makers; C. L. Shamp, Stationary Firemen; J. J. Morris, Glass Workers' International Association; Bert Beadle, Watch Case Engravers; Frank Duffy, of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and Frank Feeney, of the Elevator Constructors.

Delegate C. P. Shea, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, asked permission to introduce a resolution on which the teamsters' delegates wish immediate action.

The request of Delegate Shea was granted, and the Teamsters' delegates introduced the following resolution, No. 150:

WHEREAS, The Furniture Manufacturers' Association of the City of Chicago has refused to sign a wage scale with the Furniture Drivers' Local Union No. 722, of that city; and

WHEREAS, In consequence of such refusal a strike has been declared by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters to resist the efforts of the furniture employers to impose open shop conditions upon the teamsters' organization; and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Employers' Association has declared that a general lockout of the teamsters in Chicago will take place; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the position taken by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and pledge the moral support of the A. F. of L. to the teamsters' organizations in its efforts to maintain union shop principles in that industry.

It was moved and seconded that the resolution be adopted. The motion was carried by the unanimous vote of the Convention.

The chairman of the Committee on Grievances asked that Resolution No. 10, which had been referred to that committee, be referred to the Committee on Resolutions. The request was granted, and the resolution so referred.

The Convention was then adjourned until 9 A. M., November 19th.

## SIXTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 A. M., Saturday, November 19th, President Gompers in the Chair.

Absentees.—McDade, Butterworth, Horneck, Tveitmo, Burns (Geo.), Rickert, Farrell, Lillen, Smith (J. W.), Wharton, McSorley, Warner, Pattison, O'Neil (J. H.), Mason, Wilson (Jas.), Cain, Dinan, Quick, Orr, Maloney (Patrick), Morgan, Triplett, Madden, Iglesias, Woodman, Husted, Michel, Harris, Ward, Dunn (J. P.), Payne, O'Shea (Dennis), Coffey, Patterson, Dunn (M. T.), Edmondson, Bell, Catania, Bailey, Pillsbury, Schrader, Schilling, Hudson (M. T.), Morey, Padilla.

Delegate J. G. Brown, of the Shingle Weavers' International Union, asked the consent of the Convention to the introduction of a resolution.

Permission was granted. Delegate Brown introduced the following:

Resolution No. 151.—By Delegate J. G. Brown, of the Shingle Weavers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The repeated efforts of the International Shingle Weavers' Union to establish union conditions in the mills of the St. Paul and Tacoma Lumber Company, the Far West Lumber Company of Tacoma, Wash., and the Grays Harbor Commercial Company of Cosmopolis Wash., have in each instance failed because of the undisguised hostility to unionism manifested by the above firms; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall place the above firms upon the "We Don't Patronize List" of the American Federationist.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

Delegate Fischer, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union, asked permission to make a statement. Permission was granted, and Delegate Fischer said: Representatives of a tobacco company are visiting every dealer in tobacco and cigars and trying to drive out union goods. They are advertising the Union Leader as union-made, and are using a label similar to the label of the Tobacco Workers' label. I ask the delegates to not be misled by this label.

President Gompers—The delegates will govern themselves accordingly.

Delegate O'Brien, for the Committee on Labels, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 91.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The multiplicity of labels used on union goods leads to confusion and often even to antagonism among organized workers, where the label should be a means of strength and harmony; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we urge all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to co-operate for the adoption of a universal union label to be used on all products of union labor.

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 127.—By Delegate I. Jacoby of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, At the last Convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, held in Boston, Mass., on June 6, 1904, the General President of the I. L. G. W. U. reported that the best interest of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union are being injured by the National Consumers' League, the latter organization placing its label on products jurisdiction over which has been granted to the I. L. G. W. U. by the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The I. L. G. W. U. Convention decided to refer this grievance against the National Consumers' League to the American Federation of Labor for adjustment; and

WHEREAS, It is the duty of the A. F. of L. to protect the interests of its affiliated unions to the fullest extent, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor assembled in Twenty-fourth Annual Convention in San Francisco, Cal., that the incoming Executive Council be instructed to investigate this matter thoroughly and take all necessary steps to preserve the interests of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 126.—By Delegate I. Jacoby of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, A large number of local unions affiliated with the International

Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have been attacked by organized employers' associations during the past year; and

WHEREAS, In consequence of lack of demand for the union label on ladies' or several locals of the I. L. G. W. U. have been unsuccessful in bettering the conditions of their members or in resisting attacks of organized employers; and

WHEREAS, The I. L. G. W. U. is affiliated with the A. F. of L. and thereby entitled to the full support of organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor assembled in Twenty-fourth Annual Convention at San Francisco, Cal., that all resolutions of endorsement and in support of the Union label of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union adopted by previous Conventions of the A. F. of L. be reaffirmed; and further

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all wage-workers the necessity of demanding the Union Label of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union on ladies' cloaks, suits, skirts, capes, waists and underwear whenever purchasing the same.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 133.—By Delegate C. W. Woodman of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In Texas we have an organization known as the Farmers' Union, with a membership of more than 100,000, the Constitution of which pledges its members to oppose trusts and trust-made goods; and

WHEREAS During the past year its members have prosecuted the Trade Union boycotts, suffered for us the inconveniences of injunctions and contributed financially to Trade Unions during strikes; and

WHEREAS, By reason of the lack of opportunity to study our methods for distinguishing union from non-union or trust made goods, and because in their local, county and State meetings they have expressed a desire to learn of our labels and methods; be it

RESOLVED, That all organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. that use the union labels be requested to furnish each labor paper in Texas with such advertising matter, literature or otherwise, as may be used and to furnish such postage to said labor papers as may be needed in distribution of same; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in recognition of the great assistance the Farmers' Unions have rendered trade unions in Texas, all A. F. of L. organizers and trades unions be requested to render such assistance, when opportunities are presented, as may be helpful to its up-building.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution N. 135.—By the Delegates of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, That in many instances the sale of union-made products have been retarded by those who handle them, by not giving preference to union-made goods; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That all union men be requested to, whenever possible, give their aid in the selling of products which bears the union label.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 109.—By Delegates of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Cigar Makers' International Union of America places upon the product of the labor of its members a Blue Label to designate such labor from the products of child, prison, tenement house and Chinese labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. assembled, condemn the practices by the trust and other non-union cigar manufacturers of the United States and Canada, who by the employment of young and innocent children crush hope out of their lives, dwarf them physically, mentally and morally; be it

RESOLVED, That a general demand be made by the members of the American Federation of Labor for the union Blue Label of the Cigar Makers' Union of America.

The committee recommends that the resolution be endorsed.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Foster, for the Committee on Resolutions, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 142.—By Delegate E. J. Lynch, of the Metal Polishers', Buffers', Platers', Brass Molders', Brass and Silver Workers' International Union of N. A.:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, with its 121 National and International Unions, 33 State Branches, 521 Central Bodies and 1,725 Trade and Federal Unions, as well as over 50,000 local unions affiliated with the respective National Unions; and

WHEREAS, Each and every one of those unions, both International and local, deposit their money in Savings Banks and National Banks; and

WHEREAS, For \$10,000 deposit, a charter for a National Bank can be procured; and

WHEREAS, The amount of money to-day owned by National and Inter-

national Unions, local and Federal Unions, could start from five to twenty National Banks or Savings Banks in different parts of the United States; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of establishing workmen's banks in different parts of the United States and that the incoming Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor be empowered to select the cities where said workingmen's banks should be established and that each National and International Union, State Branch, Central Labor Union, Federal Union and local union affiliated with International Unions deposit their money in said banks and thus conduct an annex to the American Federation of Labor banking depositories for the money of their respective organizations.

The committee recommended that the resolution be non-concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 10.—By W. Macarthur, International Seamen's Union of America:

**WHEREAS**, The recurrence of jurisdiction disputes in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor occupies much time and effort which could be better devoted to devising and perfecting measures of common defense against the common opposition to organized labor; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the following recommendations are hereby submitted to the affiliated organizations, as a basis of temporary adjustment and final settlement, to-wit:

1. Except in the case of those disputes satisfactorily adjusted by this or any preceding Convention, by mutual agreement or by other means, organizations now in disagreement, or which may hereafter disagree upon questions of jurisdiction, shall permit the disputed points to rest in abeyance for the period of one year from this date.

2. During this period each organization in question shall be permitted to retain and exercise jurisdiction so far as the same is actually established at the time of disagreement, certificates of membership to be accepted as prima facie evidence of jurisdiction.

3. During this period men and women holding certificates of membership in two or more organizations involved in a dispute as to jurisdiction shall, should the question of jurisdiction over such men and women be raised by either or any organization, be required and permitted to individually choose the organization to which they prefer to acknowledge allegiance. Having so chosen, such men and women shall be conceded to the jurisdiction of the organizations to which they have respectfully tendered their allegiance.

4. During this period the respective organizations shall continue the work of organization among non-unionists, and shall have and exercise jurisdiction over those thus organized, with the as-

sistance and support of the American Federation of Labor and without let or hindrance from any other source.

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 14.—By delegates representing the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union:

**WHEREAS**, There must and will be an organization of labor while the rights and liberties of free-born citizens are industrially and politically dissociated from the workers, and

**WHEREAS**, By birth, heritage, tradition and relationship organized labor is the custodian and conservator of the and liberties of labor, and

**WHEREAS**, Organized labor is the parent philosophically, economically and industrially, of the cause of justice to labor, and its progress has been blazed with its struggles to possess labor with the exercise of those rights and liberties which are the natural companions of the spark of life in the breast of man; its work will never cease until each individual is placed in full possession and enjoys free exercise of those rights and liberties now restricted; there are and can be no free workers denied their rightful economic state; and the working people will not enjoy those rights, liberties and opportunities which are the heritage of man until the labor of each is requited on the basis of economic justice; therefore be it

**RESOLVED** and proclaimed by this Twenty-fourth Convention of the A. F. of L., that organized labor is not a separate institution striving for its own immediate selfish ends, but is an organization of, by and for the working people, struggling to reclaim to all labor the moral and material value of those rights, liberties and freedom of opportunities now enjoyed only in the abstract;

That from out the economic necessity of labor grew organized labor and with its birth went the commission to secure economic justice for all labor both organized and unorganized, which from its inception it has ever been loyal to and has never surrendered, to organized labor unorganized labor looks for the consummation of that commission;

That this work is not a self-imposed philanthropic duty but is the breath, nutrition and life of the labor movement, and organized labor has never consigned to any other force, or institution, industrial, political or philanthropic, the conservation of the cause of labor, and the elevation of labor to its rightful economic place and unorganized labor has never resigned its claim upon organized labor as the natural, logical and rightful protector of the rights, liberties, opportunities and interests of all labor;

That organized labor is inward as outward, and inspired by no ulterior motives, seeks no ulterior ends behind expulsive and cloaking professions, its professions like its inspirations, and

object being indubitably substantiated by that every day unceasing effort in the cause of all labor which has been inseparable from it since its birth;

That the history of the progress of organized labor is the history of the progress of unorganized labor;

That organized labor initiated, fathered and secured every improvement in their work-day conditions now enjoyed by the working people and there have been no improvements gained by organized labor the universal enjoyment of which has ever been denied to the unorganized by organized labor, such denials having been by antagonistic forces and interests and in spite of organized labor; and there has never been a time that the pulse of organized labor did not beat in rhythm with the needs of all labor and the hopes of non-union labor; and

That the ultimate object is the attainment of economic justice for union and non-union labor and that organized labor was primarily, is now and will be in futurity, the first and foremost advocate, friend, protector and promoter of the rights, liberties, opportunities and interests of organized or unorganized, union or non-union labor.

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

It was moved and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Tobin—The resolution was introduced for the reason that the Parry organization and the various Citizens' Alliances have been contending that they are the natural protectors of unorganized labor. They undertake to speak for unorganized labor, and to claim the right of unorganized labor to sell its work when and where it will. We are of the opinion that a declaration of the kind contained in the resolution, or a declaration of a similar character, should be made for the purpose of letting the world know that the American Federation of Labor is the natural, logical and rightful protector of unorganized labor.

Delegate McSherry moved that the resolution be referred again to the Committee on Resolutions, with the request that they present a resolution expressing the sentiments contained in Mr. Tobin's remarks. (Seconded.)

Delegate W. D. Ryan—As one member of the Committee on Resolutions I object to having this resolution again referred to us. If it is to be again referred it should be to the persons presenting it.

Vice-President Duncan—The Committee on Resolutions has considered the matter thoroughly, and the opinion of the committee is expressed in its recommendation. If the Convention desires to refer

the resolution, it should be referred to the delegates presenting it, or to a committee selected for that purpose.

Delegate McSherry—I think the Resolution Committee, which is composed of delegates representing a number of organizations, could better prepare this resolution than the delegates representing one organization.

Delegate Sullivan—I move as a substitute that the resolution be re-committed to the introducers, they to recast it if they so desire.

Vice-President Kidd in the Chair.

The Chairman declared the substitute out of order, because the motion of Delegate McSherry was virtually a substitute for the motion before the house.

The question was discussed by Delegates D. A. Hayes, Leavitt and McSherry.

The motion of Delegate McSherry was voted on and lost.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

#### NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES' AND CORRECTIONS.

It was suggested to us in a letter from Secretary Fox, of the Portland (Maine) Central Labor Union, that the Maine State Federation had been represented in the State conferences of the Board of Charities and Corrections, and that the American Federation of Labor should be represented by a delegate to attend the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. Dr. S. J. Smith, President of the National Conference, was also of that opinion, inasmuch as many matters affecting labor performed in these various institutions would have an important bearing upon the interests of labor. We recommend that the Executive Council be authorized to appoint such a representative to attend the conference to be held in June, 1905.

The committee recommends that this portion of the report of the Executive Council be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 51.—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, The ravages of tuberculosis has made frightful progress in this country, and especially among the working class; be it

**RESOLVED**, By this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the necessary ways, means and steps be at once instituted to check tuberculosis, and, if possible, entirely eradicate the same.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 124.**—By Delegate Geo. C. Campbell, of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators:

**WHEREAS**, A great crime is being committed in the employment of nearly two million children of tender years in the various industries of this country, the cause being the greed of employers and the poverty of parents; and

**WHEREAS**, Many States have no laws against child labor, and in those that have laws they are not enforced as they should be, from lack of proper co-operation by the general public; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, that we most earnestly call the attention of the public press, ministers, teachers and all reform bodies to take up the cause of the child and demand in no uncertain tones the passage of such laws, and the proper enforcement of the same, that child labor shall be forever abolished, and the child placed in school, where it properly belongs.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 76.**—By Delegate Thos. Westoby, of the International Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers:

**WHEREAS**, Prolonged strikes and lockouts entail great hardships upon employer and employe, and believing that if an arbitration board had been in existence that many a long struggle would have been ended satisfactorily to both parties; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the incoming Law and Legislative Committee confer with the Secretary of Commerce and Labor with a view to having such laws passed as they can suggest so as to bring about conditions that will settle such strike or lockout.

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Westoby spoke in favor of the resolution.

Vice-President Kidd—The reason the committee made an unfavorable report on the resolution is that it virtually asks that a compulsory arbitration law be enacted.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried.

**Resolution No. 81.**—By Delegates of the Seamen's International Union of America:

**WHEREAS**, There is now pending in Congress a bill (H. R. 13771) "to amend the laws relative to American seamen, and to prevent the undermanning of American vessels and to encourage the training of boys in the merchant marine;" and

**WHEREAS**, The enactment of the aforesaid provisions would prove not only beneficial to the seafaring workers and to the naval defenses of the country, but would also greatly increase the safety of life and property afloat; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, hereby endorses said bill (H. R. 13771), and instructs its Executive Council to use every possible effort to secure its passage by Congress.

The committee concurred in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 90.**—By Delegate Frank Sweeney, of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods:

**WHEREAS**, There has been and is being brought in through the port of New York, under the tariff law providing for a low tariff on unfinished goods; and

**WHEREAS**, The First Vice-President of the I. U. B. of L. on H. G. has discovered that this is a much abused pretext; and

**WHEREAS**, A very large part of a number of shipments of harness and saddles have come through the port of New York, N. Y., not unfinished, but finished and ready for consumption; and

**WHEREAS**, The International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods have through a great deal of expense, through time donated by First Vice-President E. J. Baker, located in New York, N. Y., to stop the practice of a very much abused law; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor recommend that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. give all assistance possible to the First Vice-President, E. J. Baker, of the International United Brotherhood of Leather Workers on Horse Goods to stop this practice.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.



Resolution No. 136.—By Delegates C. E. Schmidt and Herman May, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen:

WHEREAS, The National Women's Trade Union League of America is organized to affiliate all women wage workers with Trade Unions of their respective crafts, and to promote a higher conception of the needs of working women in the public conscience; and

WHEREAS, The officers and members of the National Women's Trade Union League have rendered the Labor Movement a great service in assisting the women involved in the recent strike of Butcher Workmen and the existing strike of the Textile Workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the National Women's Trade Union League be and is hereby extended an invitation to be represented in the Annual Conventions of the American Federation of Labor by one Fraternal Delegate with one vote.

The committee recommends that the resolution be not concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate O'Sullivan moved as an amendment that the resolution be adopted, with the exception of that part which granted a vote to such fraternal delegates, and that the resolution also include the Woman's Label League and all other leagues working in co-operation with trade unions. (Seconded.)

Delegate Foster, of the Committee, said in part: I yield to no one in my appreciation of the work done by the various auxiliary organizations; but it seems to me the inviting of fraternal delegates of any kind to a voice and a vote in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor should be a matter, not of compulsion, but of courtesy. The Constitution says this Convention shall be made up of delegates from bona fide trade unions. I believe we should have the co-operation of every organization whose sympathies are in accord with the trade union movement, but their fraternal delegates should be here by the choice of the Convention, not by a mandatory resolution forcing them upon us whether we wish them or not.

Delegate O'Brien said the motion asked for a privilege that had always been enjoyed by such delegates.

Delegate W. D. Ryan, of the committee, opposed the resolution, and said in

part: I am opposed to the adoption of this resolution. If the organization mentioned has a delegate seated in this Convention with a voice and a vote, there is no reason why a number of men cannot get together who have never belonged to a labor union, do not now belong and never intend to belong to one, organize a similar league and secure a seat and a vote in this Convention. The committee is opposed to any person, man or woman, who is not a member of a bona fide labor union having a voice and a vote in this Convention.

The amendment was voted on but not carried. The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 107.—By Delegates James Duncan, T. J. Lyons and W. J. O'Brien, of Granite Cutters' National Union:

WHEREAS, The laborers and mechanics employed on government works since 1869 have since 1872 been actively engaged in an effort to secure pay for overtime made by them in the belief that these claims are perfectly just and well founded; it is therefore

RESOLVED, That Section two of the deficiency appropriation act, approved May 18, 1872 (Seventeenth Statutes at Large, page 134), is hereby revived and continued in force and made applicable to all labor performed in excess of eight hours per day by all laborers, workmen and mechanics employed by or on behalf of the Government of the United States since the 19th day of May, 1861; the date of the proclamation of the President concerning such pay; said claims to be adjudicated by the Court of Claims upon the basis prescribed in and by said section, and judgments to be rendered for extra pay in proportion to the increase of hours of labor wherever more than the legal day's work of eight hours was performed; and

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, as a body, recommends to Congress the favorable consideration of these claims, and directs its officers or committees in charge of legislation to give their best efforts to the passage of legislation having for its object the relief of these claims.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 111.—By Delegates of the International Seamen's Union:

WHEREAS, The towing of log rafts on the open ocean is a danger to navigation, and through being lost by their tow boats or broken up by action of the waves, endanger the lives of other seamen and of passengers; and

WHEREAS, H. R. 12,534, now pending in Congress, is designated to pro-

hibit the towing of log rafts; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor, in Annual Convention assembled, hereby endorse said bill (H. R. 12,534), and instructs its Executive Council to use every possible means to secure the passage of said bill.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 139.**—By Delegate Tito Pacelli, of Rockmens' Protective Union No. 10631.

**WHEREAS**, The infamous padrone system continues to spread and flourish in spite of the opposition of organized labor and in violation of the Sanitary and Company Store Law; and

**WHEREAS**, This new serfdom has grown to such proportions that laborers are housed in the most miserable and death-breeding hovels even within the limits of the great and prosperous City of New York; and

**WHEREAS**, This evil has grown to such alarming dimensions on railroad and public work that it threatens the very existence of those unions that have been struggling with some success to obtain a foothold on such work; and

**WHEREAS**, The conditions under which the laborers live and work under the padrone system not only constitute a degradation of American workers to the level of serfdom, but stand as a demoralizing example to other employers and laborers; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Federation take immediate and practical measures to stamp out this menace to American manhood, beginning by an investigation by the Executive Council of the conditions in the principle States where the padrone system is in vogue and following up this investigation by a demand for the enforcement of such laws as already bear upon the evil and the enactment of such new legislation as may be necessary finally to stamp it out.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 144.**—By Delegates Weber, Miller and Carey, of the American Federation of Musicians:

**RESOLVED**, That the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L is instructed to assist in every possible legal manner the passage, by Congress, of a bill prohibiting the competition of enlisted musicians with civilian musicians.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 146.**—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias and Esteban Padilla, of the Porto Rican Union:

**WHEREAS**, The union working people of Porto Rico in particular, and the people in general, have requested us to ask this Convention to give the entire people of Porto Rico the honor of holding the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor in San Juan; we request it be

**RESOLVED**, By the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., assembled, to hold the Twenty-fifth Annual Convention in the City of San Juan de Porto Rico next year.

The committee refers the resolution to the Convention without recommendation.

Action on the resolution was deferred. Delegate Devine, for the Committee on Organization, reported as follows:

**Resolution No. 8.**—By Delegate George Mackey of International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers:

**WHEREAS**, The International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, an organization of a few years' existence, which has had a severe struggle to build up a membership in the face of bitter opposition by our employers; and

**WHEREAS**, The Brotherhood of Paper and Pulp Makers, by reason of numerous strikes and lockouts, waged not only in the interests of the shorter hour and the living wage principle, but for our very existence; and

**WHEREAS**, The manufacturers of paper and pulp throughout the country have formed associations and alliances for the avowed purpose of exterminating the organization of Paper and Pulp Makers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor render the Brotherhood of Paper and Pulp Makers assistance at this critical time by placing one or more organizers in the field at the disposal of the Brotherhood of Paper and Pulp Makers.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 16.**—By Delegates Rody Kenehan and John Fitzpatrick, of the Journeymen Horse Shoers' International Union:

**WHEREAS**, The International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union has had several important strikes during the past two years which have been a heavy financial drain upon the funds of the International and the local unions; and

WHEREAS, The horse shoeing trade is not as well organized as it should be although the International Union is directing every effort to this end, but has not the funds to carry on this work as effectually as it should be; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby pledges its fullest support to the International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union, and will assist in every possible way to organize every horse shoer in this country; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor pay one-half the expenses of a special organizer for one year for this purpose; the organizer to be selected by the International Horse Shoers' Union and be acceptable to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 83.—By Delegate Bert H. Beadle of the Watch Case Engravers' International Association:

WHEREAS, There are a great number of men and women working in the State of Ohio who are unorganized, and who would if they were organized be a great help to the unions to which they would be affiliated; and

WHEREAS, There are at all times disputes arising in the different organizations which are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor which cannot be adjusted without the influence of some one who has the power to do so; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the delegates here assembled that an organizer under pay of the American Federation of Labor be placed in the State of Ohio to aid the State Federation and other organizations to organize the non-union working people of the State.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 84.—By Delegate James Wood of the Stockton Federated Trades:

WHEREAS, The labor condition of Stockton, California, is at the present time at a very low ebb, and the necessity of the appointment of a resident union man as organizer under salary is apparent; be it therefore

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, the President of the Federation is hereby instructed to appoint a resident organizer to work in the City of Stockton for a period of three months or such time as the Convention sees fit to recommend.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 89.—By Delegate T. Westoby, of the International Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers:

WHEREAS, The rapid growth of trades unions have in proportion increased the amount of business in the various central bodies until it has become impossible to give the time for the consideration of important matters that such matters require; and

WHEREAS, The time of the central bodies is taken up with matters that belong to department councils and could be better discussed and decided by said department councils; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Committee take action on dividing the various trades into department councils, such department councils to be chartered by the A. F. of L. and under the jurisdiction of the central body of the city in which it is located.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Law.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 97.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The present factory system is compelling an increased employment of women, who, because they are women, are asked to work for wages sufficient to furnish only a degraded living; and

WHEREAS, The very conditions of woman's employment are commonly such as to destroy health of body, mind and character; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon all working women the imperative necessity of organization among themselves, for the protection of their husbands, fathers, brothers and children, as well as for their own benefit; and furthermore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council hereby be authorized and instructed to continually employ at least one woman who is capable of doing the work in the capacity of a general organizer of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of organizing the working women of the United States.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 98.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger, of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, It is one of the main

objects of the American Federation of Labor to unite the trade union movement of America under one banner for the betterment of the conditions of the wage-workers; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to unite the organizations affiliated to the American Labor Union with the American Federation of Labor, and as a means to this end we recommend that the Executive Council assign a special representative to attend the next Convention of the W. F. of M. to invite said organization to affiliate with the A. F. of L.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 116**—By Delegate Chas. A. Meinert, of the Sugar Workers' Union No. 10,519:

**WHEREAS**, It is apparent to all that the Sugar Workers of San Francisco and Salinas, California, have bettered their conditions morally and financially by becoming an organized body of workers; and

**WHEREAS**, At the last regular meeting of Sugar Workers' Union No. 10,519, A. F. of L., Wednesday, Nov. 16, 1904, at Machinists' Hall, 1159 Mission street, San Francisco, Cal., it was decided to thank the delegates of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention, assembled in San Francisco, Cal., for their kind consideration; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., when instructing its organizers, to request them to endeavor to organize the Sugar Workers in the Eastern States, which will materially help us—the Sugar Workers of the West—in forming a grand International body of sugar workers.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 118**—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias and Esteban Padilla, of the Porto Rico Free Federation and the Porto Rico Unions:

**WHEREAS**, It was resolved by the Twenty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor, recommended to the National and International Associations of Painters, Shoemakers, Longshoremen, Bakers, Cook and Restaurant Employes in the United States to have their Constitutions translated into the Spanish language, as well as some leaflets and pamphlets for the purpose of organization and agitation among the workmen of Porto Rico, Cuba and Central America, in order that they may become familiar with American methods and be enlightened upon the subject of benefits accruing from affiliation with the A. F. of L., which was

changed to read that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. have translated into Spanish the Constitutions and some leaflets of the Trades Unions mentioned; and

**WHEREAS**, It is necessary for the good of Unionism in Porto Rico that the above resolution be carried out; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That all the recommendations which were made by the Twenty-second Annual Convention be carried out.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 119**—By Delegate John Mangan of the Gardeners' and Florists' No. 10,615:

**WHEREAS**, The Gardeners' and Florists' Union No. 10615 was organized in Chicago in December, 1902, and grew rapidly for several months until it had at one time 250 members, but for the last year has gradually dwindled until there are but 34 members in good standing; and

**WHEREAS**, Those members of this Union are good staunch Union men who are struggling hard to advance the interests of their organization; and

**WHEREAS**, Our experience in those two years has proven to us that the cause of our weakness in Chicago is the lack of organization of the men in our craft in other cities, especially in the eastern section of the United States; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the San Francisco Convention is requested to aid as far as possible the formation of a National organization of this craft, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to instruct the Organizers of the A. F. of L. to aid in the promotion of this work as soon as possible.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 122**—By Delegate Chas. Hank of the International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance:

**WHEREAS**, We believe that it is unfair to any member of Organized Labor to pay more than one initiation fee if he is forced to seek work in another trade or calling which may be under the jurisdiction of another organization than that of which he is a member, and while we believe that such practice is dangerous to the labor movement, therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, By this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation, that we recommend to all affiliated organizations that whenever a member of one organization secures work which comes under the jurisdic-

tion of another organization that he be accepted on a transfer card issued by his organization.

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 125.—By Delegate Geo. C. Campbell of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators:

WHEREAS, The economic struggle on the industrial field is yearly becoming more acute, and in many trades and callings the male workers are being displaced by the cheaper labor of the woman and the child; and

WHEREAS, The result of such conditions means a lower standard of American citizenship and the increase of poverty and ignorance; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon the female workers the necessity of taking advantage of the opportunities offered by organization to get better conditions, shorter hours of labor and fair compensation for their labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all Organizers of the A. F. of L. be requested to make special efforts to organize women wage-workers.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 129.—By Delegate Geo. C. Campbell of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators:

WHEREAS, During the past few years the effort has been made by the wives and female relatives of trades unionists to form auxiliary organizations to assist the labor movement in getting better conditions for the organized workers of this country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor heartily endorses an effort made by the ladies to assist the trades unions, and pledges its hearty co-operation, and requests all affiliated women in organizing ladies' auxiliaries in their localities.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 137.—By Delegate Geo. W. Bell of the Gas Workers' Union No. 9840:

WHEREAS, As there has been no effort on the part of the Organizers of the A. F. of L. to organize the Gas Workers throughout the large cities of this country, and as there are thousands of men working at this industry and with few exceptions are all non-union men; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. instruct their Organizers

to make every effort in their power to organize these men, especially in the large cities of the East.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 145.—By Delegate Geo. Burns of the Electrical Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A great many of the Central Bodies, as at present organized, are ineffective owing to the fact that many of the local unions are forming District Councils, Metal Trades Councils, Building Trades Councils and other subdivisions, thus weakening Central Bodies; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to formulate a code of uniform laws, under which all Central Bodies will be required to organize within six months.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Federated Bodies.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 120.—By Delegate Chas. Hank of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance:

WHEREAS, The International Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance was forced to call a strike against Harbison-Walker Refractory Company of Pittsburg, Pa., to protect its organization; and

WHEREAS, Said company has its plants in the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio and Kentucky, and while said strike has affected over 5,000 members of the Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers' Alliance, and for this reason depleted the treasury of the International organization, which is now unable to give any help to members of some States which are now requesting that an Organizer be sent to assist them in organizing their State; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By this Convention, that an organizer be sent into the States of Texas and California to organize the unorganized Brick, Tile and Terra Cotta Workers for at least three months, at the expense of the A. F. of L.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 95.—By Delegate W. S. Harris of the Georgia State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The South Atlantic ports and southeastern section is poorly organized, we earnestly appeal to the American Federation of Labor to place an Organizer in that section for the

term of one year, believing if done well do much to place that section on a more united plane. We also recommend if agreeable that local men who understand the people and situation be appointed.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates A. D. Porter and William Gilthorpe of the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders:

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled in San Francisco, appoint an Organizer for the Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America, to be stationed in Philadelphia.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

#### SAN FRANCISCO CENTRAL BODY.

It is regrettable that all the trade unionists of this city are not attached to the San Francisco Labor Council. Conference was held some time last year for the purpose of forming all unions into another central body, and a charter applied for. However, the San Francisco Labor Council did not believe that the move was in the interest of the labor movement of the city or of the labor movement in general. It, therefore, refused to carry out the agreement, and protested against the issuance of such a charter. We have advised that a conference be held between the representatives of both parties during this Convention, in which we shall be glad to participate, either in whole or by representatives, for the purpose of determining what course is best to pursue in the premises.

Your committee, having under consideration that portion of the report of the Executive Council treating of the situation in San Francisco, recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee to confer with the representatives of San Francisco Labor Council, the Building Trades Council and the City Front Federation, for the purpose of amalgamating these three bodies into one Central Labor Union.

The recommendation of the committee

was concurred in, and President Gompers appointed the following committee to confer with the representatives of the organizations named: James M. Lynch, James Wood and Frank Duffy.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

ST. LOUIS, Nov. 11, 1904.

To the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled:

Greeting:—Acting under instructions of Typographical Union No. 8 of St. Louis, Mo., we respectfully invite your honorable body to hold your next Convention in St. Louis, Mo.

Should your honorable body accept this invitation, we pledge ourselves to give you a royal welcome and to do everything in our power to make your stay a pleasant one.

With best wishes for a successful, harmonious and profitable session, we remain,

Yours fraternally,

J. A. JACKSON, President.

J. J. EARLY, Secretary-Treasurer.

Secretary Morrison: Delegate Kemper asked that the following telegram be read to the Convention:

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Nov. 18, 1904.

Mr. L. Kemper, Delegate A. F. of L. Convention, Care Russ House, San Francisco, Cal.:

Your telegram received. We heartily approve action of Convention in levying assessments for textile workers. Collect first assessment from Secretary Siewerski. Draft in his favor on way.

JUL. ZORN,

JOE PROEBSTLE.

The Secretary of the A. F. of L. has received \$320 in gold from Delegate Kemper.

Delegate O'Brien—I wish to ask that delegates to this Convention, when they make purchases in the stores of this city, to ask to see the union cards of the clerks.

Vice-President Duncan moved that the rules be suspended, and the Convention adjourned to 9 A. M., Monday, November 21st.

The motion was seconded and carried.

## SEVENTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Monday, November 21st, Treasurer Lennon in the Chair.

The reading of the minutes of the previous session was dispensed with.

Absentees — Butterworth, Canavan, Barnes, Donnelly, Devine, Nelson, Fee-ney, Rickert, Farrell, Mahoney, Maher, Smith (J. W.), Hutchinson, Hamerstrom, Heron, Wilson (W. B.), Weber, Wilson (James), Cain, Dix, Quick, Mahon, Powell, Rosenthal, Morgan, Triplett, Madden, Grant, Husted, Seaward, Michel, Harris (R. F.), Ward, Hudson (M. T.), Dunn (J. P.), Payne, Moffit (C. M.), Murray, Coffey, Patterson, Dunn (M. T.), Edmonson, Jones, Balley, Hinton, Pillsbury, Bell, Keefe (M. O.), Damosonico, Schilling, Hudson (M. T.), Morey, Dowd, Padilla.

Delegate Mason Thomas of the Box Makers' International Union, obtained the unanimous consent of the Convention to the introduction of the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 153.—By Delegate Mason Thomas of the Paper Box Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Paper Box Workers' International Union has adopted a label; be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in Convention assembled be requested to indorse same, and request all affiliated unions to see that all Union Made Goods be packed in Union Made Paper Boxes, Bags and Envelopes; also on all novelties (paper).

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 152.—By Delegate Mason Thomas of the Paper Box Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A continued struggle is going on between the Paper Box Manufacturers and the Paper Box Workers' International Union, instantly discharging any help who joins our organization;

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled be requested to assist the Paper Box Workers' International Union in organizing the Paper Box Workers throughout the country.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Delegate Furuseth, for the Committee on President's Report, reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on President's Report, to which has been referred said report and sundry other parts of reports and resolutions, begs to report as follows:

We desire to congratulate the labor movement and the President upon the report itself, and upon the progress which the movement has made in the past year.

The trade union movement stands for the abolition of the, at present, yet prevailing opinion that the laborer, because he is a laborer, is something less than a citizen, and has not the full right as such. It endeavors to establish on the industrial field such equality and such opportunity as has been granted on the political field, not only theoretically, but, in fact, as lived and experienced in every day life.

The Committee on President's Report, at the previous Convention, said that if permitted to develop naturally and peaceably it would follow the lines of development which the development towards political freedom had followed in England; that the same power which in England had given rise to the gradual development of the democratic power, the power to withhold supplies, will in the labor movement accomplish the same result, as a power to withhold labor or patronage. The growing understanding of the movement, in its essence, the understanding of its law of growth, and the growth itself as such, gives to each worker in the movement his or her greatest incentive to continued effort, and to the friends of labor and progress everywhere a great cause of satisfaction. It naturally unites those who insist upon a development toward industrial feudalism and we are in entire accord with the President when he says:

"The immediate future is pregnant with good or ill for the people of our

country. It devolves upon the organized labor movement to determine by its course the form which it shall assume.

"The constant improvement in machinery, the division, subdivision and specialization of labor, the wonderful development in industry, and the concentration of wealth, give to the wealth possessors such extraordinary power, which, when coupled with the cunning and greed for gain, unless intelligently and comprehensively met by a well-organized labor movement, will tend to the deterioration of our race, the destruction of all our achievements and the dissipation of all our hopes."

He warns us that: "We shall no doubt be confronted with the keenest opposition in the near future. There are those who will not understand the purposes of the organized labor movement and the good work which it is doing, and which it can and will do, and it therefore behooves us to devote our attention and to concentrate our efforts more largely in bringing to the attention of the yet unorganized how necessary it is for the protection of themselves and those dependent upon them to secure and maintain the vantage ground already gained, and not only to save all from the inevitable downward path that leads from a lack of comprehensive and united effort, but to secure and realize the hopes and aspirations of the toiling masses."

It was with these facts in mind, and the further fact that an industrial reaction was impending, that the President, at the last Convention, made the following recommendations, which were then earnestly seconded by this committee, and adopted by the Convention:

"First. Organize, unite and federate.

Second. Have faith and confidence in themselves and each other.

"Third. Stand shoulder to shoulder in stress and strife; to help bear each other's burdens and perfect the bonds of brotherhood.

"Fourth. Endeavor to maintain industrial peace by trade agreements with employers.

"Fifth. Voluntarily and faithfully abide by and fulfill the terms of agreements and the awards of arbitrators thereunder.

"Sixth. Prevent industrial conflicts wherever possible, and particularly to

resist all attempts to reduce wages."

He now reports as results of such policy the following:

"First. Wage reductions have been checked.

"Second. The industrial situation has not become acute, as was the uniform course formerly.

"Third. Much idleness, poverty, suffering and misery have been prevented.

"Fourth. The era of industrial stagnation, as compared with former like conditions, has been shortened.

"Fifth. The prospect for a revival in industry and commerce in the future is brighter, as compared with any similar previous period.

"Sixth. There is less acute feeling of unrest among workmen and employers generally, business men and all our people.

"Seventh. There are more workmen and employers in agreement and understanding.

"Eighth. There is a more general effort to bring about more rightful relations between workmen and employers.

"Ninth. There is a better conception of the rights and duties of man to man, a more general satisfaction among our people with the present, and a more gratifying and hopeful outlook for the future."

With him your committee desires to say that the results of labor's policy are our best justification. He calls attention to the fact that the stagnation is not yet past, and he urges with great seriousness that the policy be continued, and that any efforts to reduce wages be persistently and strongly opposed. In this your committee earnestly concur.

Under the caption of "Industrial Peace," he calls attention to the fact that there is no peace guaranteed to those who are not prepared to defend it; that in so far as strikes against wage reductions have been unsuccessful, they have been so because the organizations in question were not financially prepared for the struggle. Your committee desire to say that at all times those who worked had to sustain those who defended them while at work. This has been the history of the development of races and nations, and, unquestionably, is the law running through all associated effort. We therefore earnestly agree with the President



in his recommendations, that members of organizations must in time of peace furnish the necessary means to defend and improve the conditions during times of stress and trouble.

#### CITIZENS' ALLIANCE.

There has in the past sprung up in different cities associations of employers, organized for the specific purpose of opposing the aims and objects of the trade union movement. Within the last year or two these different organizations have come together under the name "Citizens' Alliance." Mr. Job of Chicago said that the principles of this association are: First, the open shop; second, no sympathetic strikes; third, no limitation or restriction of output or apprentices; fourth, the enforcement of law. Being for the open shop, and against the union shop, they stand pledged to oppose any efforts toward any unity on the part of the working people. They desire to prevent the co-operation of the working people for any specific object not sanctioned or endorsed by the employers of labor. They claim that the so-called open shop is the only constitutional or legal shop; that the union shop is in violation of constitutional guaranties and of individual liberty. Our position is that, being free, we have the absolute right to associate together, to assist each other in any effort to improve our condition as workmen or as citizens. We claim that as workmen we have the absolute right to refuse to work for or with any employer or laborer antagonistic to our interests. We insist upon the union shop, because in any serious disagreement with our employers, the most effective weapon which we have is to withdraw our labor from the shop until such disagreement shall be arranged. That the open shop—the non-union shop—is the more advantageous to the employer who desires to destroy existing conditions and reduce wages is undoubtedly true. That this is the reason for the solicitude of the employer for the establishment of the open shop—the non-union shop—is equally true. The Alliance is against sympathetic strikes. Being against the combination of workmen under any circumstances, this goes without saying. That the organization as such, the Citizens' Alliance, would fail to understand and sympathize with

the feelings which at times produce the sympathetic strike is equally natural. No limitation upon the number of apprentices means, as we know too well, the turning out of numberless, half-baked mechanics, whose years for learning their trade have been wasted to them, while very profitable to the employer who taught them but one part of the handicraft which they were supposed to learn. Enforcement of law is the fourth reason given by Mr. Job for the existence of the Citizens' Alliance. In this statement is an indictment against the entire system of jurisprudence, and an indictment of all the public officers elected by the people throughout the country. Vigilance committees are at times organized in new and unsettled countries. When they are organized in countries with an orderly government, they can only exist for the purpose of taking the place of the regularly elected officials, and enforcing such law and order as they themselves hold to be proper. They may be progressive or reactionary. They are at all times revolutionary. The Citizens' Alliance must, like other institutions, be judged by its actions, and its actions prove it to be antagonistic to any combinations except their own; to the right of association when used by the working people. They claim that with the ownership of the means of production or transportation necessarily goes the right to and the power over so much labor power as will make such means of production or transportation profitable. This contention is in direct opposition to the Declaration of Independence—the first Constitution of the United States—to the entire development of civilized life as found in this country. It would set at naught the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, by so arranging the laws and customs of the country as to rob the workman of his freedom to quit, singly or collectively, but especially collectively, and by isolation deprive him of the power of locomotion. The right of labor to freely move from State to State within this country, or from one country to another, has been looked upon as fundamental, and was never questioned until the Citizens' Alliance, with its injunctions, undertook to enforce their reactionary principles—that the laborer belongs to him who owns the tools. It is to enforce

this ownership, to prevent the workman from enforcing the distinctly American principle of freedom, that the Citizens' Alliance stands for and works for the open shop. It is for this reason that it stands for the abolition of the workman's right to bestow his patronage upon his friends and withhold it from his enemies. It is for this reason that it uses its best efforts wherever opportunity offers to destroy the value of the union label. What it will do when it has the opportunity and power is best exemplified by the situation produced by it in the State of Colorado; and we are in full accord with what the President says about this situation, with especial approval of the following:

"The iniquitous policy of the so-called Citizens' Alliances has had its fullest fruition in Colorado. In that State it has not only of itself had full sway, but it has been aided in the execution of its edicts by the Executive with the full power of the military. Indeed, the Citizens' Alliance had but the simple declaration to make as to its wishes and what in its judgment constituted the law, to have the Governor of the State order the troops to the most convenient point to execute what was accepted as a decree. Civil government has been set at naught, and constitutional and natural rights and guarantees wantonly trampled under foot."

Reactionary in its principles, revolutionary in its methods, it cannot be but that our people, whether connected with labor organizations or not, will, as they learn to know what it stands for and what it is, place upon it such a seal of disapproval as will compel it either to change its policy or go out of existence. It should be the duty of union men and friends of labor and progress everywhere to study its purposes, its acts, and to give to the same the widest publication possible.

#### MONGOLIAN COMPETITION.

One of the gravest, if not the most so, of the dangers confronting not only the working people, but all the people, is the Mongolian competition, the mere beginning of which has shown disastrous consequences. Occidental civilization has within the last hundred years or more followed a policy of sac-

rificing population to production. The introduction of labor-saving appliances forced out of work in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe the people out of which have grown the populations of this continent, of New Zealand, Australia and South Africa. Oriental civilization, as exemplified by the Chinese, Koreans and Japanese, have followed the direct opposite system, of sacrificing production to population. The introduction amongst them at this time of power-driven machinery and the newest and best of labor-saving appliances necessarily will throw out of employment in those countries untold millions of people, highly skilled artisans, among them perhaps the highest skilled and best disciplined and most docile hand labor in the world. They are not going to die of want in China, Korea or Japan. They will come as immigrants to any part of the world where they can find the slightest opening, and the cleavage in modern Occidental countries existing between the employer, who seeks cheap and docile labor, and the laborer who wants equal rights as laborer as well as he has as citizen, furnishes to the Mongolian so inviting a field, and so much secret and open assistance to get a foothold on our shores is given them, that the sternest of efforts, as suggested by the President, must be employed to save for the Caucasian race this continent, if such be at all possible. We are therefore in full accord with the President's report upon this subject, and will submit for your consideration resolutions introduced upon that subject, asking your favorable consideration of the same.

#### PORTO RICO.

Your committee recommends for endorsement the expressions of the President with reference to Porto Rico, and we will submit a resolution upon that subject for your favorable consideration.

#### SPECIAL CONVENTIONS.

In the matter of requests for special conventions made to the President, your committee endorses the action taken by the President, and the reasons for such action. We desire but to add that the reasonings which guided the President in his action seem to us unanswerable.

Your committee hereby endorses and commends to your careful attention the

expressions made by your President upon the item of international peace.

#### LEGISLATION.

The President reports upon the efforts which have been made—again made—to obtain from Congress some relief against the usurpation practiced by the judiciary through the writ of injunction. To so change the writ intended to protect property rights as to cause it to be at this day probably the most dangerous invasion of personal rights, is surely usurpation, and should be stopped. Your committee recommends that the efforts to obtain the passage of the anti-injunction bill be continued, and that all possible efforts to that end be made. Your committee likewise concurs in the recommendations made by the President, and urges the continuation of the efforts to obtain the passage of the eight-hour bill. Likewise in the matter of the convict labor bill. In the matter of the National arbitration bill, your committee recommends to this Convention the emphatic endorsement of the stand taken, and the continued determined effort to protect the workers in their right to quit work, singly or in unison, for any reason or for no reason at all. In the matter of the new Chinese treaty, your committee recommends that the Executive Council stands specifically instructed to watch every move made in the matter, to keep the public informed, so far as they can, and to resist to the utmost any so-called liberalization of the exclusion laws.

In the matter of the incorporation of trade unions, the President states, and your committee fully agrees, that it is but a pretext, not honestly offered, but distinctly for the purpose of so mulcting the unions in damages as to prevent them from getting together the necessary funds for an effective resistance to any encroachment which the Citizens' Alliance may choose to make at any time or place; and your committee further recommends that efforts be made to watch Congress and the different State Legislatures for bills which have any such purpose in view, with the purpose of resisting their passage to the utmost.

Your committee desires to compliment the President and the trade union movement upon the creditable showing made at the St. Louis Exposition, and upon the receiving of the grand prize as a reward; and we hereby recommend that the proposition to move the exhibit from

St. Louis to the Lewis and Clarke Exposition to be held at Portland be left to the discretion of the Executive Council.

Your committee is pleased to learn that the "American Federationist" has made great financial progress, and we would fain recommend to the trade unionists throughout the country to extend its usefulness educationally by giving a closer attention to the matter published therein, and by doing what they can to extend the circulation thereof. Your committee thinks that the labor press has not, generally speaking, the support that it should have, and would recommend to the working people a more general reading thereof, and a more careful and discriminating reading of the daily press.

Respectfully submitted,  
 A FURUSETH, Chairman.  
 MARTIN LAWLOR,  
 HENRY C. BARTER,  
 THOS. F. TRACY,  
 CHAS W. PETRY,  
 WM. S. SMITH,  
 J. C. SHANESSY,  
 H. W. SHERMAN,  
 COLLIS LOVELY,  
 JOHN FAHY,  
 D. A. CAREY, Secretary.

Delegate Furuseth—We have in addition to this report some resolutions that were referred to the committee. They will be read by the Secretary.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted. (Seconded.)

Delegate Fyfe—I would like to say in behalf of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters that we have carried out the decisions that have been rendered.

Treasurer Lennon—This matter is not covered in the report of the committee, for the reason, I apprehend, that the President's report covered the matter the delegate is speaking of, or partly covers it. The report of the Executive Council covers it as well.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate D. A. Carey, for the committee, read the report on the resolutions, as follows:

Resolution No. 22.—By Delegate Louis Rentelman, of the San Francisco Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The menace of Chinese labor, now greatly allayed by the pas-

sage and enforcement of the Chinese Exclusion Act, has been succeeded by an evil similar in general character, but much more threatening in its possibilities, to-wit: the immigration to the United States and its insular territory of large and increasing numbers of Japanese and Korean laborers; and

WHEREAS, The American public sentiment against the immigration of Chinese labor, as expressed and crystallized in the enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act, finds still stronger justification in demanding prompt and adequate measures of protection against the immigration of Japanese and Korean labor, on the grounds, first, that the wage and living standard of such labor are dangerous to, and must, if granted recognition in the United States, prove destructive of the American standards in these essential respects; secondly, that the radical incompatibility, as between the peoples of the Orient and the United States, presents a problem of race preservation which it is our imperative duty to solve in our own favor, and which can only be thus solved by a policy of Exclusion; and

WHEREAS, The systematic colonization by these Oriental races of our insular territory in the Pacific, and the threatened, and partly accomplished, extension of that system to the Pacific Coast and other Western localities of the United States, constitutes a standing danger, not only to the domestic peace, but to the continuance of friendly relations between the nations concerned; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the terms of the Chinese Exclusion Act should be enlarged and extended so as to permanently exclude from the United States and its insular territory all classes of Japanese and Koreans, other than those exempted by the present terms of that Act; further

RESOLVED, That these resolutions be submitted, through the proper avenues, to the Congress of the United States, with a request for favorable consideration and action by that body.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The committee decides that Resolution No. 23 was covered by Resolution No. 22.

It was moved and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

The resolution was discussed by Delegates Petry and Smith, both speaking in favor of it.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 29.—By Delegate Geo. E. Shaver, of the Portland, Ore., Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor as an aggressive and re-

form movement should use every agency for the prominence and propagation of its ideas; and

WHEREAS, It has in this spirit constructed at St. Louis a booth in Social Economy Hall, illustrative of the forward movement of the organized working people of this country; and

WHEREAS, This display of effective and beneficial methods of organized labor should have greater advertisement on this Pacific Coast; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention instruct our incoming Executive Board to remove from St. Louis the present display, with its installment, and ship same to Portland, Oregon, and set it up in the Educational Building of the Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair, to the end that our visitors, our citizens and all students of economic conditions may become familiar with the great work being done by the American Federation of Labor for the amelioration of the working conditions of the American laborer.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 48.—By Delegate P. J. McSherry of Federal Labor Union No. 9611:

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention that further immigration of Japanese into the United States should be prohibited by law; and that in order to bring this question before the country, and to bring the influence of the American Federation of Labor to bear upon Congress in favor of legislation for this purpose, a committee be appointed by the Chair to draw up a petition to Congress in favor of a Japanese exclusion law, and that the National Executive Board be, and is hereby instructed to forward a copy of such petition to each and every local union, Central Body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, together with a copy of this resolution, and a suitable letter of advice, urging upon such local unions and Central Bodies the advisability of obtaining as many signatures to such petitions as possible, and instructing them to forward petitions after being signed to the national headquarters of the A. F. of L.; and it is hereby made the duty of the National Executive Board to forward such petitions to Congress at such time and in such manner as will best give effect to the purpose of this resolution.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate McSherry spoke at some length in support of the resolution.

On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 35.—By Delegate W. Frank Moyer of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The reading of the reports of the President, Secretary, Treasurer, Executive Council and Fraternal Delegates consumes much valuable time of the Convention; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the aforesaid officers be directed to have their respective reports printed and submitted to the General Secretary, who shall send one copy to each delegate-elect on or before the 1st day of November.

The committee recommends that the resolution be not concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 39.—By Delegate H. F. Sarman of the Jefferson City, Mo., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, Experience demonstrates that the line of least resistance for the enactment of measures in the interest of the people is the establishment in them of a right to direct ballot, as has been accomplished in Switzerland, Oregon, South Dakota, Missouri and promised by all the parties in Montana; and

WHEREAS, The line of least resistance for the establishment of the proposed system of government in State affairs is that throughout the State there be circulated for signature petitions to the legislature, asking that a constitutional amendment be submitted in order that the petitioners (the people) may vote upon the question of establishing their own sovereignty, urging upon the legislature the fact that it is the unquestioned right of the people to amend their State Constitution whenever they so desire; this campaign of petitioning for the educational effect and interest that it will create should be followed by the questioning of candidates for the legislature, thereby preventing an evasion of the issue, and the candidates self-interest will compel them to pledge; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That each of the coming State Conventions of organized labor is requested by the American Federation of Labor to consider and vote upon the advisability of instructing the affiliated central and local unions to conduct the proposed campaign for the people's sovereignty in State affairs; and

RESOLVED, That for the establishment of the people's sovereignty in national affairs our President is requested to frame at the earliest practicable day a petition incorporating a request for the immediate establishment in Congress of the advisory initiative and advisory referendum, as described in the July 15th extra number of the American Federationist, and

that copies of the petition be distributed to affiliated unions, with request to circulate for signatures and return to the central office at a specified time that the petitions may be filed with Congress; this to be followed by the early questioning of Congressional and Legislative candidates who are striving to secure the nominations, and later the nominees shall be questioned if not already pledged; and

RESOLVED, That wherever a central or local union fails to circulate petitions or questions to candidates when requested by the National Federation or State Federation the National or State Body shall instruct a local representative to do the work in the name of the American Federation of Labor or State Federation of Labor, and to sign as "Local Representative;" and

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor re-affirms the referendum resolutions of previous Conventions which declare, in effect, that the establishment of the people's sovereignty is the dominant issue (Resolution 270, Boston Convention; 121 New Orleans Convention); and

RESOLVED, That every voter is urged to agree with his fellow citizens that he will vote for such Legislative candidates only as are pledged to the immediate establishment of the people's rule. To-day, as in 1776, the establishment of political liberty is the dominant issue. Why should voters choose between rulers when they can at once become the sovereign power?

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

It was moved and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Guerin said the resolution was not complete in its present form, because there was no procedure by which the rank and file of the organizations could be informed of the action taken, and moved as an amendment that the resolution be re-committed to the committee. (Not seconded.)

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 57.—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, Several advertisements of non-union firms appear in the columns of the "American Federationist," which publication is the official mouthpiece of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Such advertisements tend to ridicule the labor movement and make a farce of the efforts to unionize business establishments; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor decides that in the future no advertisement of non-

union concerns can or shall appear in the columns of the "American Federationist."

The committee made the following recommendation:

In so far as refusing to solicit or accept any adds from firms that are under the ban of organized labor, that is now the policy of the "American Federationist." If the introducer of the resolution contends that no firm should be advertised unless they handle union goods exclusively and employ union employees exclusively, the committee is of the opinion that such advertisements are not to be obtained, and therefore recommend non-concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Morris Brown spoke in favor of the resolution, and in favor of refusing to receive advertisements from firms not entirely union.

Secretary Morrison—I should like to ask if there is a union cigar factory where the tobacco strippers are organized?

Delegate Brown—There is not one in New York City, but I believe there is in the city of Boston.

Secretary Morrison—I want the delegates to be informed on this matter. I understand there are many factories where the cigar-makers are thoroughly organized and their label used, but the other employes do not belong to a union. Are we to understand this resolution to mean that a factory that uses the label of the cigar-makers cannot be advertised as a union factory if the strippers are not organized?

Delegate Brown—If an effort is made to organize the strippers they will receive the support of the cigar-makers.

President Gompers—Are the tobacco strippers members of the International Union or of any other union essential to the issuance of the union label to cigar manufacturers?

Delegate Brown—Your question has nothing to do with the granting of the label, but it has with the advertisements that appear in the "Federationist."

President Gompers—In other words, the best factories in the cigar trade, the ones that now have the union label, under that resolution cannot advertise in the "American Federationist?"

The question was further discussed by Delegates Robinson, Furuseth, Sherman, Barter and President Gompers, who spoke in favor of adopting the report of

the committee, and Delegates Brown and Fitzpatrick who spoke against the report and in favor of the resolution.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was then carried.

Resolution No. 115.—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias and Esteban Padilla, of the Porto Rico Free Federation and the Porto Rico Unions:

WHEREAS, The United States Congress refuses to recognize the citizens of Porto Rico as such and guarantee them full constitutional rights—the absolute right to be American citizens, and refuses to extend such rights to the Porto Ricans; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor demand that the National House of Representatives recognize the people of Porto Rico as American citizens, and guarantee them the same rights and privileges possessed by the people of all other States and Territories of this great nation.

The committee endorses the resolution, and substituted it for Resolution No. 82, believing that it covers more completely the desires of the representatives of Porto Rico.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 131.—By Delegate C. W. Woodman of the Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Within the last few months there has come into existence a dual organization in San Antonio, Texas, the stated object being to unite all of the building trades in one movement; and

WHEREAS, It is evident the real object of this organization is to furnish strike breakers, it having done so repeatedly in San Antonio; be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Board of the A. F. of L. give this matter especial and immediate attention after adjournment of this Convention, with a view to reunite the Trade Union movement in San Antonio and to stamp out of existence the dual organization.

The committee recommends that the resolution be amended by striking out the words "incoming Executive Board, and that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 93.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby expresses its satisfaction and gratification over the defeat of

that capitalist tyrant, Governor Peabody of Colorado; furthermore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby pledges its moral and financial support to the Western Federation of Miners in its efforts to bring that gang of criminals, the so-called Citizens' Alliance of Cripple Creek District to justice and finally be it

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to President Moyer of the Western Federation of Miners and to the chairman of the gang-leaders of the so-called Citizens' Alliance in the Cripple Creek District.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 147. — By Delegates Owen Miller and Joseph N. Weber of the American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, The question of the "Open and the so-called Union Shop" is one that has been brought prominently before the public, and discussed pro and con by employers, employes, Union and non-Union adherents and advocates, magazine writers, preachers, priests, doctors, lawyers, until the people are divided into two camps so to speak, one favoring the Open and the other the Union Shop; and

WHEREAS, The most eloquent, plausible, intelligent and persistent advocates of the so-called "Open Shop," as generally understood, are members of the "Bar," otherwise the Lawyers' Union, the strongest and most exclusive Trades Union in existence today; and many of the most able members of this Union have denounced, both by word and pen, the efforts of other Trades Unionists to enjoy the exclusive privileges of the Union Shop as so vividly typified by the Lawyers' Union, as an outrageous and illegal infringement of American liberty, detrimental to public policy, and a menace to the rights of the individual; and

WHEREAS, The aforementioned Lawyers' Union has succeeded in placing upon the statutes of all the States and Territories of the United States laws which confine the practice of law to certain individuals, excluding all others, and makes the practice of law the most exclusive Union Shop extant today, denying the right to any one, however able or well qualified to work in the "Law Shop," unless such can show a card in good standing in the Lawyers' Union; and

WHEREAS, Taking the lawyers at their word namely, that such a policy is "an infringement of American liberty, contrary to public policy, and a menace to individual freedom, and that every American free man should be free to follow any profession, trade or occupation, without hindrance or restrictions," therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, hereby instruct all affiliated State and Territorial Federations to have bills introduced in the various States and Territorial Legislatures repealing all laws conferring the privilege of the practice of law upon a certain class in preference to all others, and making the practice of law open to every free American citizen who considers himself qualified, and not confined to a privileged few as is the custom under the present system.

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Owen Miller spoke at some length in favor of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was then concurred in.

Resolution No. 102.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The trade autonomy in unionism is but the application to the labor movement of the outworn principle of individualism; and

WHEREAS, The development of modern machinery and of industrial processes on a large scale is in fact creating identity of interests among many crafts hitherto only slightly related; and

WHEREAS, Under our present form of trades organization every national trades union organization looks out with jealous care for its own organization, bitterly fighting every newcomer in the field; and

WHEREAS, This contention over trades jurisdiction between national and international unions is becoming more and more acute, and will if continued very soon disrupt the organizations of the wage-workers of America; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we urgently recommend the application of the principle of individual organization to those crafts which are bound with others by the use of the same machinery, by contact in the same productive process, or by working for a common employer or group of organized employers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor urge upon the various international craft organizations an immediate settlement of jurisdiction questions by mutual conferences, interchange of cards, etc., and the substitution of a modern alignment of the united working class against the growing rapacity of manufacturers' and citizens' alliance organizations, instead of the disgraceful, petty and destructive quarrels between the union officials.

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

It was moved and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Berger spoke in favor of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in by a vote of 113 in favor of and 32 against the motion.

#### LEGISLATION.

The legislative matters which were referred to us were duly considered and presented to the members of Congress. This subject is fully covered in the President's report and needs no further report or comment from us. We selected as the legislative committee Mr. James F. Grimes of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and Mr. Charles Nelson of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The reports of the legislative committee were made to us; in the main, they were published in the "American Federationist." We commend to your favorable consideration the necessity for pressing to a final conclusion the anti-injunction bill, the eight-hour bill, the wise regulation of convict labor, and care and watchfulness relative to any change in legislation, or any treaty, mooted or proposed that shall in any way tend to lessen the provisions of existing law relative to Chinese exclusion.

In reference to that part of the Executive Council's report regarding legislation referred to this committee, the committee decided that it has already been dealt with in the report of the Committee on President's report, and therefore we find no further action necessary.

This completes the report of the committee, which is signed by A. Furuseth, Chairman, D. A. Carey, Secretary.

On motion the report of the committee as a whole was adopted.

Delegate O'Connell announced that the Committee on Grievances wished to refer Resolution No. 78 to the Committee on Laws.

On motion the request of the committee was complied with.

Delegate W. B. Wilson of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies announced that that committee was ready to make a report on the Chicago Federation of Labor if the Convention wished it at that time.

Delegate Wiseman moved that the hearing of the report be made a special order of business for two o'clock P. M.

After a short discussion the motion was withdrawn, and Delegate Wilson submitted the following report:

We, your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies, to whom was referred the

report of the Committee on Credentials relative to the delegate from the Chicago Federation of Labor and the report of the Executive Council concerning the revocation of the charter of the Chicago Federation of Labor, beg leave to report as follows:

Your committee listened to and examined a great many documents bearing upon the differences existing between the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters and the National Association of Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, and between the International Association of Pressmen and the Franklin Association of Press-feeders and have heard exhaustive arguments thereon which seem to form the basis for the reasons assigned why the charter of the Chicago Federation should or should not be revoked.

After a careful consideration of all the facts and arguments presented to your committee we have arrived at the following conclusions:

First.—The law of the American Federation of Labor, Article XII, Section 1, provides that "no Central Labor Union or any other Central Body of delegates shall admit to, or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization or that has been suspended or expelled by or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next convention."

Section 8 of the same Article requires that "no Central Body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a local union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor unless upon charges duly proved against such delegation or local union. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation, representing local unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

Second.—The National Association of Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers is not affiliated with the American Fed-



eration of Labor and the Chicago Federation of Labor violated the law by retaining the delegates from that body in its councils.

Third—The Franklin Press-feeders' Union is not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the Chicago Federation of Labor violated the law then in existence, and which had been previously especially called to its attention, by admitting the delegates from the Franklin Press-feeders' Union to its councils for the first time in June of this year.

Fourth—Complaint was made to the Executive Council that the Chicago Federation of Labor and some other Central Bodies were not complying with the requirements of the law, and on June 14, 1904, a circular letter was issued from the general office of the American Federation of Labor to all Central Labor Unions under its jurisdiction calling attention to the law and instructing them to comply therewith.

On July 3rd the Chicago Federation of Labor passed a resolution which was forwarded to President Gompers August 19th, asking that "no further action be taken in the matter until the Chicago Federation of Labor had the opportunity of presenting its side of the case to the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor."

Under date of September 27th, President Gompers wrote the Chicago Federation of Labor as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 27, 1904.  
Mr. E. N. Nockels, Secretary Chicago Federation of Labor, 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago, Ill.:

Dear Sir and Brother:—Among other matters receiving the attention of the Executive Council at its meeting, held in this city last week, was your letter of August 19th, in which you transmitted resolutions adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor at its meeting July 3rd, in regard to the action of that body, whereby the delegates from the Franklin Press Feeders' Union, were recognized and seated, requesting that no further action be taken in the matter until the Chicago Federation of Labor has the opportunity of presenting its side of the case to the San Francisco Convention of the A. F. of L.

I beg to say that the Executive Council directed that the Chicago Federation of Labor be instructed to refuse to seat

delegates from the Franklin Union, and to seat delegates from Local No. 57, affiliated with the International Printing Pressmen's Union, which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and further, that the appeal of your body against the instructions of the President of the A. F. of L., to seat delegates from Local No. 57, cannot be recognized or referred to the San Francisco Convention, unless the Chicago Federation of Labor in the meantime complies with the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor covering this particular case.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President American Federation of Labor.

On September 28th he wrote as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 28, 1904.  
Mr. E. N. Nockels, Secretary Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago, Ill.:

Dear Sir and Brother:—Among other matters receiving the attention of the Executive Council at its meeting held in this city last week, was the complaint made by the United Association of Plumbers, Gas Fitters, Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers, against your Federation of Labor, by reason of your having seated delegates from Steam Fitters' Local Union which has refused to comply with the decision of the Boston Convention of the A. F. of L., to become a part of the United Association.

The Executive Council directed that your attention be called to the fact that you are recognizing an antagonistic organization, in violation of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Under date of June 14, 1904, a circular was sent to the Central Bodies throughout the country, yours included, in which attention was called to the danger which menaces the trade union movement of the country, by aiding and encouraging of antagonistic action on the part of Central Bodies towards the laws, principles and policies of the A. F. of L., and that disintegration was threatened, where unity should be the watch-word. The Executive Council expected compliance with the latter, and earnestly requested same. It finds itself confronted with the alternative of now asking the Central Bodies to comply with the decision of the Boston Convention, and that the Constitution of the A. F. of L. be enforced. And that unless the same is enforced by your Federation of Labor, on or before

the first of November, 1904, the Charter of your Central Body must be revoked.

Earnestly hoping that there will be no necessity for such extreme measures, but that your Central Body will recognize the advisability of conforming to the requirements of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and asking you to advise me in regard thereto, I am

Fraternally yours,

(Signed.) SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President American Federation of Labor.

A careful perusal of these documents will show that the charter of the Chicago Federation of Labor was revoked by the action of the Executive Council prior to September 28th, "by reason of the Chicago Federation of Labor having seated delegates from the Steam Fitters' Local Union, which has refused to comply with the decision of the Boston Convention of the A. F. of L. to become a part of the United Association," the date of revocation being set for November 1st, and the information being conveyed to the Chicago Federation under date of September 28th.

That in the meantime the alternative was given the Chicago Federation of Labor of complying with the constitution of the A. F. of L. That the charter was not revoked because of the refusal of the Chicago Federation to seat Local Union No. 57 of the International Printing Pressmen's Union, although that authority might have been exercised by the Executive Council. A telegram having been sent from Denver by President Gompers to the Secretary of the Chicago Federation notifying him that the charter had been revoked, and that as soon as the decision of the Executive Council was complied with the charter would be restored, the impression has been given that final action on this case was taken by the Executive Council while en route to San Francisco. Such was not the case. The telegram was sent for the purpose of reiterating to the Chicago Federation the means by which the charter could be restored.

Complaint having been made against the Chicago Federation of Labor; the law concerning the admission of affiliated bodies being clear; the fact that the delegates from the National Association were admitted to and retained in the Council of the Chicago Federation, notwithstanding the revocation of the char-

ter of the National Association, being conceded, the Executive Council acted within its constitutional rights and only performed a duty imposed upon it by the American Federation of Labor, when it revoked the charter of the Chicago Federation of Labor. It has been very patient, although persistent in this case. We recommend that the action of the Executive Council in revoking the charter of the Chicago Federation of Labor be indorsed.

Fifth—It was stated to your committee by delegates resident in Chicago that they believed if more time was given the Chicago Federation to arrange internal differences, that body would ultimately comply with the law and the decision of the Executive Council.

In view of this statement and the great magnitude of the interests involved, we recommend that a stay of execution of the judgment of the Executive Council shall obtain for thirty days from this date; that the delegate from the Chicago Federation of Labor be seated; that the President of the American Federation of Labor proceed to Chicago as soon as possible after the adjournment of this Convention and endeavor to impress upon the Chicago Federation of Labor the necessity of complying with the law, and that if the Chicago Federation of Labor fails to comply with the law and the decision of the Executive Council within the specified time, its charter shall stand revoked in accordance with the decision of the Council.

It is hereby understood that this stay of execution shall not reopen the case or be considered in any manner a reversal of the decision of the Executive Council.

Sixth—We recommend that the Committee on Law be instructed to report such amendments to Section 8 of Article XII of the Constitution as will make clear the method of complaint against and trial of local unions by Central Bodies and whether or not Central Labor Unions shall have the right to hear and determine charges against local unions affiliated with National or International bodies on matters concerning trade affairs of their respective crafts.

Respectfully submitted,

W. B. WILSON, Chairman.

JOS. W. MORTON, Secretary.

Delegate Downey moved that the report of the committee be adopted.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Dold, and carried by a unanimous vote of the convention.

President Gompers—The report of the committee seats Delegate Schardt.

Delegate Max Morris—A representative of the Western Federation of Miners wishes to appear before this convention in order to tender to you their best wishes and their appreciation of what you have done for them. I therefore move that the hour of ten o'clock Tuesday morning be set aside to hear the representative.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Permission was asked by the Committee on Grievances to refer Resolution No. 108 to the Committee on Resolutions. The request of the committee was granted.

The report of the Committee on Grievances was made a special order of business for two o'clock P. M., Tuesday.

Permission was granted the Committee on Boycotts to refer Resolution No. 55 to the Committee on Grievances.

Vice-President Duncan obtained the unanimous consent of the Convention to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 154.—By Delegate James Duncan of the Granite Cutters' National Union:

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention hereby records with regret that since our last annual meeting the Grim Reaper has removed from the scene of mortal activity our staunch co-worker and sterling friend John Phillips, National Secretary of the Hatters' Union of North America; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor is hereby instructed to notify the Hatters' National Union of this action by this Convention.

The resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote of the Convention.

The following telegram from Hon. John W. Foster, former Secretary of State, of the United States was read: Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor:

Arbitration treaties with France, Germany, England, Mexico and other powers will be sent to the Senate in December. Can you get them endorsed by the American Federation of Labor?

(Signed) JOHN W. FOSTER.

President Gompers—The Secretary will incorporate the communication in the proceedings, and refer it to the Committee on Resolutions.

Secretary Morrison read the following communication:

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 19, 1904.  
To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Lyric Hall, City:

Dear Sirs and Brothers:—The San Francisco Labor Council extends to you a cordial invitation to visit that body at its regular meeting on Friday evening, November 25th, at 1159 Mission street.

With best wishes for the progress and success of the work of the Convention. We remain,

Fraternally,

JOHN O. WALSH, President.

R. I. WISLER, Secretary.

San Francisco Labor Council.

At the request of Delegate Golden Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

FALL RIVER, Mass., Nov. 18, 1904.  
John Golden, President U. T. W., Care A. F. of L. Convention, San Francisco:

Express our sincere and heartfelt thanks to Convention for generous action. Victory now appears to be in sight.

JAS. TANSEY,

President Textile Council.

The Convention was then adjourned to two o'clock P. M.

## SEVENTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 o'clock P. M., President Gompers in the Chair.

Absentees—Butterworth, Baum, Nelson, Farrell, Mahoney (T. J.), Smith (J. W.), Hutchinson, Pattison, Heron, Weber, Miller, Mason, Dix, Quick, Mahon, Maloney (P.), Powell, Morgan, Triplett, Madden, Husted, Seaward, Maloney (R. S.), Michel, Porter, Harris (R. F.), Lavery (Jas. A.), Ward, Hudson (M. T.), Dunn (J. P.), Hudson (Fred), Payne, O'Shea (Dennis), Morris (W. D.), Burke, Murray, Hyde, Coffey, Patterson, Dunn (M. T.), Edmonson, Daley (J. J.), Catania, Bailey, Pillsbury, Bell, Keefe (M. O.), Damozonio, Schilling, Hudson (M. T.), Morey, Dowd.

Delegate Lee M. Hart, for the special committee on a portion of the President's report, submitted the following:

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 21, 1904.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your special committee to which was referred that portion of the President's report relating to the printers' eight-hour day, beg to report as follows

We have had before us the President of the International Typographical Union, and we find that the movement for the eight-hour day for the book and job printers of the United States and Canada was inaugurated at the Cincinnati Convention of the International Typographical Union, held in 1902, that it was further considered at the Washington Convention, held in 1903, and that at the St. Louis Convention, held in August of this year, it was decided that the eight-hour day should be enforced on January 1st, 1906, and that for the financial support of this movement an assessment of one-half of one per cent should be levied on the earnings of all of the members of the International Typographical Union.

This plan was submitted to a referendum vote, as provided by the laws of the International Typographical Union, and President Lynch informs your committee that the proposition received a majority of more than fourteen thousand votes. Therefore, the assessment will become effective on January 1st, 1905, and on

January 1st, 1906, effort will be made to put the eight-hour day into effect.

We are also informed that there is an association of commercial printers entitled the United Typothetae of America, the employers' association. That the officers of the International Typographical Union have made effort to secure an agreement with the United Typothetae under which the eight-hour day for book and job printers would become effective, and that the employers' association has thus far refused to enter into such an agreement. We are furthermore informed that the United Typothetae of America is at present accumulating a defense fund in order that the eight-hour day enforcement may be combated. It is hoped by the employers to gather together at least \$500,000.

In view of the above your committee would recommend:

First—That the American Federation of Labor approve and endorse the movement under way by the International Typographical Union for an eight-hour day for the book and job printers of the United States and Canada, and pledge to the support of this movement both moral and financial assistance.

Second—That if at any time after January 1st, 1906, the International Typographical Union desires the financial support of the American Federation of Labor, and if after investigation by the Executive Council such financial support is found necessary in order to insure victory to the printers, the Executive Council shall levy the constitutional assessment on affiliated bodies, this assessment to continue for such length of time as in the judgment of the Executive Council may be necessary.

Third—Your committee recommends that a committee of five members be appointed to act with the Executive Council in furthering the eight-hour day for the book and job printers.

And we desire to conclude this report by extending to the International Typographical Union the hearty well wishes

of the American Federation of Labor for the success of the printers' eight-hour project.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

REZIN ORR, Chairman.  
C. E. SCHMIDT,  
HARRY D. THOMAS,  
WM. PENJE,  
H. J. WENDELKEN,  
P. J. DONNELLY,  
R. BRAUNSCHWEIG,  
M. J. SULLIVAN.  
LEE M. HART, Secretary,

Delegate Lavery moved that the report be received and the recommendations of the committee concurred in. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Duncan spoke at some length on the resolution, and said in part:

Did the committee consider that between now and the time this action is to be taken by the Typographical Union another Convention of the American Federation of Labor will be held? Has this Convention the right to regulate financial matters which may not go into effect until after the next Convention? It would be a mistake for this Convention to pass that resolution, and then perhaps have the next Convention take action that will not be along the same line. I am heart and soul in the movement for the eight-hour day, too much so, in fact, to see the printers' organization form their policy upon such action as this. This Convention cannot pass laws to govern the next Convention. My only reason for arising at this time is to have the atmosphere cleared so that the delegates may inform their organization what support they may receive from the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Lynch of the International Typographical Union, said, in part:

We have not a great deal of fear of the point raised by Vice-President Duncan. We do not want one dollar from the American Federation of Labor until after the first of January, 1906; but we want the endorsement of the Convention now to help us during the coming year. Prior to the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor the Typothetae will hold a convention. We want to go before that convention with the labor organizations of the country behind us in this eight-hour movement so that the employers will know they have to meet,

not only the International Typographical Union, but that they will have to face the united labor organizations of the United States and Canada. And resolutions pledging your good will are not enough; these resolutions must include the assurance of the organizations represented here that their endorsement will be backed up by their money.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Grimes, for the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials has a credential properly signed and sealed from the Interior Freight Handlers and Warehousemen's International Union, naming J. E. Kentzell of San Francisco as a delegate to represent that organization. We recommend that he be seated.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN T. DEMPSEY, Chairman.  
GEORGE MACKAY,  
JAS. F. GRIMES, Secretary.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted and the delegate seated.

Delegate Grimes, for the Auditing Committee, reported as follows:

San Francisco, November 21, 1904.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen: The undersigned, appointed to audit the financial affairs of the Federation, beg leave to submit the following report:

The greater part of our work as a committee was performed in Washington, D. C., at the Federation Headquarters, and your committee takes occasion at this time to say that the assistance rendered the committee in the furtherance of its duties by the clerical force at the general office was courteously and promptly tendered, for which your committee expresses its appreciation.

We find the books and accounts of the Federation in good shape and excellently kept.

The total income of the Federation from all sources from October 1, 1903, to September 30, 1904, inclusive, was \$220,995.97, divided as follows:

By per capita	
tax .....	\$136,941.74
By supplies.....	17,293.04
By Federationist.	32,639.89
By Defense Fund	33,722.55
By premium on	
bonds .....	398.75
By bal. on hand	
Oct. 1, 1903....	86,013.12
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$307,009.09</b>
Total expenses, divided as follows:	
General .....	\$156,916.63
Federationist ....	30,699.92
Defense Fund ...	15,972.00
Premium on bonds	402.60
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$203,991.15</b>
showing a balance on hand	
Oct. 1, 1904.....	\$103,017.94

#### RECAPITULATION.

Total income.....	\$307,009.09
Total expense....	203,991.15
<b>Bal. on hand Oct. 1, 1904...</b>	<b>\$103,017.94</b>

We also find the bank books to correspond with the above

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN T. DEMPSEY, Chairman,  
GEORGE MACKIEY,  
JAMES F. GRIMES, Secretary.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from Mayor John M. Hancock, of Niagara Falls, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its next Convention in that city. He stated that an auditorium capable of seating one thousand people would be placed at the disposal of the Convention without cost.

Similar communications were read from the City Clerk of Niagara, and from the Bureau of Publicity.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

FORT WORTH, Texas, Nov. 21, 1904.

Sam'l Gompers, A. F. of L. Convention Hall, San Francisco:

Greetings on behalf of the Teamsters. You are invited to meet in Texas nineteen five.

JACK THOMPSON,

Sec'y 65 I. B. of T.

FORT WORTH, Texas, Nov. 20, 1904.

Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor:

We want the next Convention in Fort Worth.

BREWERY WORKERS No. 182,

M. J. BOHAN, Sec'y.

Delegate Max Morris obtained the unanimous consent of the Convention to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 155.—By Delegates Rody Kenehan, John Mitchell, L. A. Tanquary, Samuel Yarnell, Max Morris and Thomas I. Kidd:

WHEREAS, The Governor of Colorado acting with the Citizens' Alliance in its fight on Labor Organizations of that State has exhausted every form of oppression and persecution.

They have torn men from their families, imprisoned them in bull pens and deported them, not only to other counties, but to other States.

They have set aside every Constitutional provision that guarantees the citizen the right to liberty, and try to restore the condition of serfdom that obtained in the Middle Ages; and

WHEREAS, The people of the State of Colorado, not withstanding that they voted for the Republican candidate for President, yet set the seal of condemnation on Governor Peabody and his methods by defeating him, thus showing clearly that adherents of all parties united against him; and

WHEREAS, Governor Peabody has declared that he will not abide by the decision of the majority of the people of Colorado, and threatens to engage in civil war if he cannot usurp the place of Governor for another term; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, that we condemn in most unmeasured terms this threat of setting aside of all right and justice by this minion of the Citizens' Alliance, who "dressed with a little brief authority," tries to make himself a military dictator, and we extend to the people of Colorado our sympathy in being afflicted with an executive who has not the saving grace of stepping down and out after having been summarily repudiated by them.

Delegate Brady of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers moved the adoption of the resolution. (Seconded.)

Delegate Yarnell spoke in favor of the resolution, and described at some length the conditions in Colorado.

The motion to adopt the resolution was then carried by a unanimous vote.

Delegate Kemper, for the Committee on Treasurer's Report, read the report

of the Treasurer contained in the first day's proceedings, and recommended that it be adopted.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate John R. O'Brien, for the Committee on Labels, reported as follows:

#### WOMEN'S LABEL LEAGUE.

For some time past correspondence has been had with some of the representatives of the Women's International Union Label League. The opinion expressed by some of its officials is to the effect that much better results could be accomplished in the interests of the working people if the organization was remodeled and its purposes directed as the following suggested title would imply: "Women's Auxiliary International Union of America." We cordially attest our appreciation of the splendid work performed by the existing organization, but if it shall be manifest to the women who sympathize and who are co-operating with us to advance the interests of labor that a change of programme or of detail and of title is prompted by their judgment and experience, and that a change of title should be made, surely they will meet with our hearty approval and endorsement, and that we will in turn do what lies in our power to make their efforts and their organization most effective.

The committee reported favorably on that part of the President's report referred to the Committee on Labels.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 43.—By Delegates Sarah Hagan and Nathan Wolff, of the United Garment Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The International Retail Clerks' Protective Association has adopted and is now using a store-card which they furnish to merchants who employ clerks, members of their organization, the same to be placed in their windows announcing that the store in displaying said card is a "union store;" and

WHEREAS, The display of said card is misleading, it being altogether too sweeping as the literal interpretation of the term "union store" would imply that all merchandise sold there was strictly union made; and

WHEREAS, Such condition of affairs has proven a detriment to all trades unions manufacturing a product bearing a union label and given an opportunity to firms displaying said card of palming off unfair goods; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall and does hereby request that the International Retail Clerks' Protective Association to change the wording of said store-card to meet with the sentiment of this resolution.

The committee recommended that the resolution be referred to the International Retail Clerks' Protective Association and the International Garment Workers of America.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 140.—By Delegates Santiago Iglesias and Esteban Padilla, of the Porto Rico Unions:

WHEREAS, The Porto Rican delegates submit for consideration in this Convention the important economical question directly affecting the Agricultural Workers of Porto Rico, referring to the buying of coffee in Porto Rico by the members of the American Federation of Labor all over the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, It is absolutely right to ask and secure effective protection to the Porto Rico coffee among the united American workmen, as it protects our brother coffee workers of Porto Rico; and

WHEREAS, In the Twenty-second Annual Convention, your Committee on Resolutions advise that the organized coffee producers and workmen use the label of the A. F. of L. to distinguish their product and further recommend that the purchasers of coffee give their preference to the coffees bearing said label; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor give absolute recognition and protection to the coffee of Porto Rico to be consumed or bought by all the union workmen in the United States and give truth and protection to the coffee of Porto Rico over the coffee from foreign countries among trades unions.

The committee recommended that this resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 153.—By Delegate Mason Thomas of the Paper Box Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Paper Box Workers' International Union has adopted a Label; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled be requested to endorse the same and request all affiliated unions to see that all union-made goods be packed in union-made paper boxes, bags and envelopes, also on all novelties (paper).

The committee recommended that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Frank K. Foster, for the Committee on Resolutions, reported as follows:

As Resolution No. 2, introduced by the International Longshoremen's Association, was withdrawn no action was taken by the committee.

Resolution No. 85.—By Delegate Jas. G. Cain of the Photo-Engravers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The United States Government, through its various departments contracts for fully one million dollars' worth of photo-engraving yearly; and

WHEREAS, A large percentage of contracts is secured by firms working under non-union conditions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor use their good offices to secure the adoption of a law by Congress establishing a Bureau of Photo-Engraving, on lines similar to the other branches of the printing trades.

Referred to Executive Council with recommendation that Legislative Committee be instructed to carry the spirit of the resolve into effect, i. e., that is that the photo-engraving for the government be done under the system of direct employment.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 92.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The sending of fraternal delegates to the Trades Union Congresses of Great Britain and of Canada has resulted in moral and material gains to the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, The capitalist class of Germany has become the foremost competitor of the capitalist class of America in almost every industrial pursuit making a closer contact of organized labor of Germany and of America very desirable; and

WHEREAS, The German Trades Unions at their Congresses expressed regret that no American delegates were present to more fully bring into accord the American and European workers in their common efforts for a broader civilization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention elect one Fraternal Delegate to the next German Trades Union Congress.

The committee recommended that action be deferred until arrangement can

be completed for convenient and reciprocal representation.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 100.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, In the case of letting a contract for a twenty-million gallon pumping engine for the city of Milwaukee, Wis., the eight-hour clause was declared unconstitutional by a lower court, upon a lawsuit brought by a Milwaukee representative of the Parry organization; and

WHEREAS, If the case is left in the status quo it may also result in school building and other work being done in Milwaukee on a ten-hour basis hereafter; and

WHEREAS, Neither the Machinists' Unions of Milwaukee nor the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee have money enough to follow the case up further and to appeal the same to the higher courts; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorize and instruct the incoming Executive Council to secure a sufficient sum to test the validity of the eight-hour ordinance for public work in the City of Milwaukee and thereby not only relieve the situation there, but also establish a test case for other cities.

The committee concurred in the action testing the validity of the act, and referred the subject matter back to the metal trades interested.

Delegate Wilson—As a representative of one of the metal trades, I move that the resolution be recommitted to the committee, in order that the metal trades can get together and decide on some things, as we did not have an opportunity to appear before the committee.

Vice-President Duncan—As far as the committee is concerned, we are willing to include that in our recommendation, but without the financial end of it.

President Gompers—The Committee on Resolutions recommends that the expression of sympathy with the organization in its efforts to test the validity of that law as applied to that contract is concerned, be approved, but that so far as financial expenditure is concerned it must be referred to organized labor in Wisconsin.

Delegate Berger—I would at least like to see it referred to the national organizations of the trades interested.

Vice-President Duncan—The committee has no objection to that, but there is



nothing in the resolution bearing on that. However, if you wish it, we will refer it to the metal trades.

The recommendation of the committee as amended was concurred in.

Resolution No. 103.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, The unprecedented concentration of wealth in the United States and the rapid development of the trusts in almost every branch of industry make it obvious that capitalism will soon reach its culmination point, and will have to make room for another phase of civilization; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that this nation is destined to take the lead in this grand struggle for better conditions and higher culture; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we hereby recommend to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to have their members study the economic conditions, to have lectures upon these subjects in their lodge rooms and at the meetings set apart for this purpose, and to do everything in their power for the enlightenment and intellectual advancement of the proletariat.

The committee made the following recommendation:

The committee concurs, with the amendment that the first "Whereas" be stricken out, and that the word "the" be substituted for the word "this" in the third line of the second paragraph.

It was moved and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Foster announced that the resolution as amended by the committee would read as follows:

WHEREAS, It is evident that this nation is destined to take the lead in the grand struggle for better conditions and higher culture; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we hereby recommend to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to have their members study the economic conditions, to have lectures upon these subjects in their lodge rooms and at the meetings set apart for this purpose, and to do everything in their power for the enlightenment and intellectual advancement of the proletariat.

Delegate Barnes—It would be interesting to myself as well as to others to know why the committee disagrees with the first "Whereas" of that resolution. Why do they object to a recital of the facts contained in that section of the resolution?

Delegate Sarman—I object to the word "capitalism." There can be no danger to labor in capital. There never will be any danger from the capitalist until he secures a monopoly. I object to that one word because it expresses something we do not mean. How would it hurt anyone of us, or all of us, to become heirs to ten thousand dollars?

President Gompers—The Chair is not in a position to state.

Delegate Sarman—It is monopoly that hurts, and that is why I make a distinction between monopoly and capital. The danger comes when a man obtains a monopoly. Until he does obtain such a monopoly he is not a danger to the community.

Delegate Lavery—Do not let us preach one thing and practice another. I believe the striking out of that part of the resolution should be taken up and acted upon.

Delegate Max Hayes—I am in favor of the adoption of the report of the committee, and satisfied with the resolution with the preamble stricken out. To my mind it is immaterial whether or not the delegates assembled here agree upon the general proposition contained in that preamble, that capitalism is centralizing so rapidly and that trusts are securing control of the resources of this nation. Those who have made a careful study of the development of the present industrial system know that such is the case. They know that trusts have secured control of more than two-thirds of all the manufacturing capital of the United States, as well as practically the whole of the distributing capital invested in transportation and means of communication. The striking out of the preamble does not obliterate that fact. It is here, and, whether you desire it or not, it will remain after this Convention adjourns, and it will confront you at future Conventions and between now and the next Convention in the conditions as we understand them and as we meet them through our organizations in attempting to better our conditions or in attempting to block further encroachments of this aggregation of capital centralized in trusts and combinations.

The point I agree with, that is, the opening of the doors of the union rooms to a full discussion of economic questions is sufficient at this time. I

know that many of the delegates here expected that when some of us who are classed as "dreamers" came to this Convention we would proceed along practically the same lines we have at previous Conventions and introduce resolutions to endorse the principles of Socialism.

We have had some very interesting discussions in the Conventions of the past. Usually the delegates agreed they were among the most interesting discussions of the Convention. In the Boston Convention something like a day and a half was consumed in the discussion of political subjects, so far as Socialism was concerned. I likewise recall the fact that the Boston daily press, as well as the newspapers throughout the length and breadth of this land, printed under glaring headlines the announcement that Socialism had been stamped out; the Socialist had been crushed to smithereens, and then giving garbled accounts of what transpired. After that Convention political capital was made for the party of the trusts—the Republican party—an excerpts of speeches made were pasted upon dead walls in places where they feared the growing power of the movement. But despite every effort that was made, and despite the assertion that the Socialists had been kicked out of the Convention, during the past year, without the aid or consent of the Republican or Democratic parties, or any or all of the delegates opposed to Socialism—and indirectly the parties of the capitalistic class—we went into the campaign and doubled and trebled the votes of the Socialist party.

I recall an unpleasant incident that occurred in Boston. While our worthy Chairman was applauded during the reading of his report no objection was made, but when some of the people in the galleries applauded some of the sentiments I expressed objection was made. Then for the first time, to my knowledge, in a Labor Convention, and especially in Fanuel Hall, Boston, the galleries were cleared by the President of the American Federation of Labor, which did not strike me as illustrating the generally broad view we ought to take of the matter.

What I want to make clear is that although the statement was sent out that the Socialists were crushed by the

Boston Convention, so far as the rank and file of the labor movement of the United States is concerned the edict of the Boston Convention had practically no effect, as was proven on the eighth day of November. Perhaps it will require but one or two more such crushing defeats as that administered to the Socialists in Boston until our party will sweep throughout the length and breadth of the land and enable us to elect our own people to the offices to enact law in the interest of the people.

We care not what the act of this or any other Convention is in regard to such resolutions. We cannot help but understand, especially during the past campaign, that the mere resolutions that are adopted or rejected do not spread the propaganda of Socialism; but that it is the constant, continuous agitation carried on by the Socialist element, so-called, by the radical element, if you please by the "dreamers" among their fellow workers and the diffusion of education that produces Socialists, and that alone.

All that I have to ask is that the doors of the union rooms be opened to a full and complete study of economic questions. Once the men and the women in the labor movement begin to understand the conditions as explained by the Socialists we will take our chances; there will be no fear on our part but that the working class, the mass of the people of this country, will rise to the occasion and stand together as compactly and as conscientiously on the day of election as they do throughout the year.

I believe that during the past year I have spoken before as many labor unions in this country as most of the delegates here, and I know what is taking place in the minds of the men who labor. While some of our respected officials may deny the apparent and plain fact that the workers are thinking along the lines we desire, yet it is true that a revolution of thought is taking place now in the minds of the rank and file of the trade union movement of this country. So far as I am concerned as an individual, so far as any other Socialist is concerned, in the next two or three years, without the slightest doubt, the rank and file will have become so thoroughly impregnated with the principles of Socialism

that a great many of the leaders who pose as having been appointed guardians, perhaps, of the working class, will either get in line with their constituents or perhaps they will go up in the air. Now that may be construed as a threat, but it is my individual opinion. I will say, however, it is not for me or for any other Socialist to dictate what shall be done by the rank and file. We have no power over them, but if the rank and file discovers that their chosen leaders do not move along with them but rather come trailing along at the tail end of the procession, that rank and file—being human—will undoubtedly declare that they want somebody to keep pace with them, to be at the front, to be really and truly the leaders. So I say to you, that so far as we are individually concerned, we who perhaps have been in the minority for a number of years, and may still be in the minority for a number of years to come, have been opposed, not merely by the common enemy, by the capitalists who wield the blacklist upon every possible occasion, especially against those who declare for political independence, and who have likewise been ridiculed and denounced because we were the insignificant minority and therefore not quite respectable, but by others. It does not always require an extraordinary amount of nerve to follow the big show, the big procession. I know that most of the delegates here are opposed to us on this political principle; and it does take some little nerve to stand out and fight the majority when you believe it is wrong. To merely fall in line with the big mob is popular. You delegates yourselves have been compelled to admit that you have secured no benefits from the great dominant political parties of the day. What we have secured has not been with the aid or consent of the old parties; but because we organized and with the strike and boycott made the fight against the capitalist class. To still further benefit ourselves as workers we should carry our industrial fight to the political field and oppose the same class against whom we wage our fight the year round.

We must imitate the example, not merely of the workers of Continental Europe, but the example of the workers

of Australia and Great Britain. You elect Fraternal Delegates and send them abroad to attend—what? The British Trades Congress, a political body, a body in which more politics than trade unionism is discussed. Yet we pretend in this country that we are following in the footsteps of the British workers, when to-day more than a million men and women are levying an assessment upon themselves for the purpose of electing from their own ranks members to the House of Parliament, and of that number fully two-thirds or three-fourths who have already been nominated in the various districts are Socialist members of the trade unions.

So we are practically isolated as a labor movement in attempting to make people believe we do not take part in political matters. Still we introduce bills in Congress, only to have them pigeon-holed by the gentlemen who are controlled by the two old capitalistic parties. Year after year, despite all of our lobbying, the annual addresses made by the President and the Executive Council point out the fact that we have failed to secure even those small concessions demanded at the hands of Congress.

Certainly we have failed because we have elected corporation lawyers and other capitalists to both branches of Congress; and after having elected them we actually have the audacity to appeal to them to enact laws against their own class interests and in the interests of the workers. If the lobby committee in Washington was abolished and the money thus spent turned into educational channels for the purpose of showing the workers the actual conditions that exist, it would not be long until men from the trade union ranks would stand in the halls of Congress to make the fight there for our anti-injunction and eight-hour bills, and for other bills in the interests of labor.

As I said before, I am perfectly satisfied that this education shall go on from now until we secure success at the polls—and success will come as surely as the sun rises in the east and sets in the west.

We have been referred to as dreamers. It was Lowell who said that "The dreams that nations dream come true," and the dream of the Revolutionary

fathers was realized; the dream of the old Abolitionist was realized, and the dream of the modern Abolitionist, the Socialist, who desires not merely to free the land and knock the shackles from off the chattel slave, but to free the wage-workers of this country by abolishing the capitalist class, will likewise be realized, because the greatest co-operators in our movement are not necessarily the men from our own ranks, but the capitalists themselves, the Rockefellers, the Morgans and other multi-millionaires who are securing control of the resources of this land are doing more to develop Socialism in the ranks of working men than all the agitators between the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts. I simply say to these men, God speed you in your efforts to organize the industries of this nation into trusts, combinations and monopolies. We will keep pace with you in organizing the workers in the new political party, and when the time is ripe, when monopoly has become perfect, then the new movement will sweep into power, take control of the monopolies and operate them in the interests of the entire people.

Delegate Frank K. Foster—The question was asked the committee by a delegate from the Cigar-Makers' Union as to why we recommended the elimination of the first "Whereas" from the resolution. Does the delegate, after listening to the address of my colleague, still ask that question? Has it not been made sufficiently evident by the remarks of my colleague? We beware of the Greeks bearing gifts, and the committee did not desire that this Convention should endorse a resolution the meaning of which might be susceptible of two constructions, and, as in the case of the resolution adopted in New Orleans, might be held up to an admiring world for the next twelve months as an evidence of the increase a political party had made in the trades union movement in America.

No unskilled hand drew that first "Whereas." It is true that we believe in discussion and are ready to submit to the verdict after the discussion has been held; but at least let us understand just what is meant by the declarations that are sought to be foisted upon us. So far as I am able to understand the meaning of the word "capitalism," it means a system under which men may possess capital, possess property. When the sys-

tem of capitalism is abolished the individual may hold no property. This resolution, to sharply define the issue and to say what it really is intended to convey to the outside world, should read that the system of the holding of private property has reached its culminating point and must be followed by something else. It means that and nothing else. Your committee is of the opinion that the delegates to this Convention are not yet so engulfed by the vaporous atmosphere of dreamland, so entirely under the influence of illusive metaphysical dope that they are ready to proclaim a doctrine of that nature.

To point the moral, my colleague agrees with the recommendation of the committee, thoroughly in accord with the resolution as emasculated, and then proceeds to make a twenty-minutes' speech upon a subject whose proper place for discussion is upon a political platform and not in a convention of the American Federation of Labor. By experience we learn and have learned. I do not upon this occasion propose to enter into a discussion of that which is not properly before this body, to enter into a discussion of this ism or that ism; but I cannot help calling your attention to the particular kind of logic indulged in. The Republican party has increased its vote during the past year three or four times as many thousands as the Socialist party, ergo, the trade union delegates must accept the doctrine of the big stick and a strong foreign policy. The logic is just as evident and the conclusion just as sound in the one case as in the other.

We agree, and the delegates know we agree, with many of the counts in the social indictment; but it is the trades union movement that has brought the offender to the bar and has done the practical work of conviction of those who err in the administration of affairs, not by a resolution, not by a declaration, but by the patient process of slow endeavor and through years of education. One would suppose, to hear our friends who claim compose the university in the social system, and who complacently look down upon the two million trades unionists of America as not yet initiated into the mysteries of their particular ism, that the trade union movement was not the product of discussion, that it has not won its way by maintaining its arguments, not by saying everybody else was an ignoramus. I, in my private judg-

ment, believe just the reverse to be true, and that the trades union movement is the university of this education and that Socialism is still in the primary school.

I want to call your attention to the fact that there are three distinct sections in this question, and that these three sections are about to be confused. First, is the doctrine which you have just heard sound doctrine. Second, if it be sound doctrine, what are the best methods of developing it? Third, and most important of all, is its place for discussion, for propaganda, in a trade union convention? That is the main issue, I think, upon which all of the judgments of the American Federation of Labor have been rendered. I regret that our friends always find it necessary to insinuate that the motives of those who may dare to differ with them are insincere; that the delegates here who believe in the trade union movement for the trade union are actuated by fear of the big leaders who are to be consigned to a Socialistic, co-operative damnation if they don't become converts to their propaganda. I don't believe that tone of argument advances any cause. Trade unionism has held its own as a method of work; it has constructed a piece of machinery to do that work, and it is the oft reiterated declaration—and will be though the Socialist vote increases forty fold—that the trade union will do trade union work and not be incorporated in any political ism, Socialist or otherwise.

The members of the Committee on Resolutions knew what they were doing. They realized the utter inability of any power between the blue skies and the green fields to prevent Socialistic speeches being interjected into any place where the ear of the unthinking may be caught or where some capital may be made; but they wished to reduce that pleasing ceremony to the minimum of expansion. We believe we should confine ourselves to those things that belong properly in this Convention. It is just as excusable for the Democrat or the Republican to show why and where the question of majorities should be considered.

This declaration was intended to be a declaration for the abolition of private property, and would be so considered by our friends who disseminate public information. Are not the doors of the unions always open for education? Then why this resolution? I

am sure that my friend Duncan will agree with me that his fellow townsman, the immortal Adams, would get up out of his grave and say, "You malign me when you appeal to me for any authority for the pernicious, un-American doctrine you have proclaimed to-day." What one of the Revolutionary forefathers would deny the right to men in the new-born republic to accumulate capital and own their own homes, own that which they might legitimately acquire? The trade union movement is not against capital as such, but against the abuse of capital through special privileges. And the very reason that enables this counterfire to be built is that our friends have sought to pervert the public opinion of the labor movement, that they have placed it in a false position and have given cause in that degree for discriminative and coercive methods.

We appeal, not only to the fathers of the days gone by, but we appeal to the common-sense of America to-day to keep this organization for the work it was created to do, for the work it has struggled to achieve, and which it will perform in the days to come.

Delegate W. D. Ryan—Mr. Chairman: I shall not take up much of the time of the Convention, and I shall not attempt to inflict any of my political opinions upon you. I agree with Secretary Foster that no unskilled hand drew up that first whereas. I shall go farther and say that no unskilled hand drew up that entire resolution. I opposed it in the committee and I oppose it here, and shall exercise my right to vote against the report of the committee, although a member of the committee. I stated in the committee that the intention of this resolution was to throw down the bars in all our local unions for the purpose of permitting a certain line of political discussion. I believe that my position has been thoroughly justified by the speech delivered by my friend Max Hayes. I cannot understand how any member of the Committee on Resolutions can oppose the statements made by Brother Hayes and support the resolution. I am sure I cannot. Those who wish to bring up political discussions in our unions will point to this resolution, if adopted by this Convention, as their authority for so doing. I hope that this Convention

will not adopt the report of the committee, and that it will bury the resolution as deep as it is possible to bury it.

Delegate Morris Brown—So far as I am concerned, it is immaterial whether the resolution is adopted as amended, or whether the delegates in this Convention vote it down. The time has passed in the trade union movement when political discussion can be prevented. Many of the delegates representing organizations in this Convention are responsible for a condition of that kind, and many of the members affiliated with the local unions and central bodies throughout the country give an opportunity to delegates to discuss political questions. You will find that on many occasions delegates from different organizations, particularly men who represent organizations of men who are employed in public departments in the various cities, continually come to us and complain against the outrageous treatment they receive from the authorities when they refuse to grant them the eight-hour day, to grant them pay for overtime and other things they are entitled to. There is ample opportunity for anyone who desires to discuss political economy on all occasions and to bring up political discussions of all the evils that exist. The opportunity to discuss political economy is given to local trade unions by the circulars sent out by different organizations in favor of one party or the other. You may pass a resolution here to-day to not permit the discussion of politics in your trade unions; but to-morrow when you return to your own locals your delegates will pass resolutions petitioning the State Legislatures or the National Congress for some measure or another.

Somebody claimed we are dreamers. We say it is a pleasant thing to have a pleasant dream, but the trouble is that many of you gentlemen have the nightmare instead of pleasant dreams. I believe the Socialists desire to keep the trade unions for the trade unionists. I am a Socialist, but I oppose political action in the trade union movement, for this reason. I believe a Republican or a Democrat would have just as much right to discuss political economy and advocate his favorite theories in regard to it, as a

Socialist has, but none of them have a right to force their political opinions on the workers that differ with them. I believe it is the opinion of every one of the delegates here who have the thought of Socialism upon their minds that, no matter how many resolutions you may vote down in this Convention or any other that is to follow, the principles of Socialism has taken roots in the minds of the members affiliated with organized labor, and, notwithstanding the fact that the teachings of political economy is opposed by many of the delegates here, no matter how many attempts are made to prevent the discussion of the same in the various local and central bodies, I can safely assert that possibly one-half of the members here who are entitled to vote or at least one-third of them, voted the Socialist ticket in the last election.

Delegate Ramsay—When the question was asked of the Chairman of the committee why the first whereas was cut out I thought when he arose to answer he would tell us in a few words why that was done. The gentleman who asked the question spoke at some length, and the Chairman took occasion to censure him for taking up twenty minutes in discussing some Socialistic question. When the Chairman had spoken for twenty minutes or more he sat down, but he had not answered the question. I have not yet found out why that whereas was cut out. If it is a bad thing we ought to bury it, but if it is a good thing and was drawn by a skillful hand I would be in favor of presenting some beautiful California flowers to the gentleman who drew it up. I wish we had more skillful drawers on this floor. The day is coming when the man who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow will not be characterized as a mere serf, but will be credited with having as much gray matter in his cranium as some of the fellows who wear better clothes and claim to belong to a better class.

Some of the delegates have proclaimed themselves as Socialists and others have taken great pleasure in disclaiming any connection with that society. For more than twenty years—because I commenced before I could vote—I thought I was a Democrat. I have held office—thanks to the labor-

ing people, and I did not forget them when I got there. The people in that community were not Socialists as I understand the term. It seems to me this question is not altogether Socialistic, and if it is a political question it will not hurt us. I heard the Socialists discussion in Boston, and was surprised to find myself classed with the Socialists. They were talking for some measures I thought would be good for the ordinary working man, that would raise the pay of the working man, and so I voted for them. I saw I was classed in the newspapers as a Socialist, although at that time I was a Democrat. I am not going to tell you I voted for a Democratic President this month, because I did not, and there are a whole lot others who did not. Last year on the floor of the Convention when some brother made a complimentary reference to our friend Roosevelt, I felt like they say Anarchists feel—I wanted to get up and stab him, or something of that sort, because I was a Democrat. However, if he continues improving for four years more I will be almost ready to vote for him, because I understand he has started out to investigate the Standard Oil Company, and that is something I have wanted for a long time to see investigated.

In my judgment we are assassinating ourselves in cold blood when we keep what they call politics out of the labor movement. A man's father may have been a Republican and fought for the Union forty years ago, but we as thinking men and women should not continue to be Republicans all our lives because our fathers voted that ticket. What we want is to obtain happy homes on this terrestrial sphere, to be able to spend some time with our wives and children, and to see them well clothed and taken care of. The trusts and their agents are always and forever taking off their glasses and smiling and saying, "Now, don't get reckless and bring politics into your unions and disrupt them yourselves." When they begin to talk that way I begin to think it would be a good thing to have politics in our unions.

More than twenty years ago, when this Federation was a baby—if it had yet been born—there was an organization of laboring men that did much for the men of this country. It did much for the men who carried hods and for the me-

chanics, much for all classes of men. At that time when it was suggested that the laboring men be divided into certain classes we were told it could not be done and the organizations last a day.

It took such men as Hayes and those who had the stamina of their convictions to speak and say why it would be better to have each craft control its own men than to have them all in one organization. They did succeed. Now what have we discovered? We have discovered that although we have been organizing for years, and have received now and then a little increase in wages, the cost of living has increased many times more than our wages have increased. Wealth is increasing. The "Whereas" of that resolution speaks the truth when it says so. Then I say, why should we cut it out? Is it not a well known fact that the capitalist class are sending men to Congress and putting them in the judicial places where they have power over you, where by the stroke of a pen they may strike down all your efforts of a year? Then why do you hesitate and look upon political discussions as though they were poison or something that will kill? A great many men may feel that way when they are laboring men, but when they become prosperous, they think they belong to another class, and they at once begin attacking labor. I think we should discuss politics in our unions, and through that means place men in the Senate and in Congress who will not be ashamed to say they are laboring men. You should have the same class of men in the judiciary positions, men who will go to death rather than take away from you and your families any of your rights.

The Chairman is unduly alarmed when he says the "Whereas" will not give us a right to own our own homes. What we want is to discuss the questions before the country, and then place our own people in the positions of responsibility. I see nothing anarchistic, nothing socialistic, nothing Democratic and nothing Republican in that "Whereas."

Delegate Victor Berger—I wish to deny the statement of my colleague Mr. Foster that the resolution is intended to be in favor of the abolition of the present economic system. If we wanted to express the idea of socialism in a resolution we would do so.

Brother Ryan spoke of the skillful drawing of the resolution. The resolu-

tion, if you leave out the first "Whereas," is just as acceptable to us, so far as we are concerned, as if you leave it in. But as we believe in enlightening the people, you ought to leave it in. So far as we are concerned, we are just as well satisfied without it as with it. I could explain to Mr. Sarman that he has misunderstood the word "capitalism," but I do not want to enter into a long discussion of this matter, because I am very hoarse and Socialism is not the subject before us. But, it seems, no matter what you do to keep the discussion of Socialism out it always creeps in. We had no intention of bringing that subject up when we introduced that resolution.

Delegate Thomas Burke—Mr. Chairman, our friend Berger has told more of the truth in regard to this question than any one I have heard speak in favor of this resolution. He says if you strike out the first "Whereas" the resolution will suit them just as well as if you leave it in. I hope, Mr. Chairman and delegates that you all heard that remark. I agree with them that it does not make any difference whether you strike it out or not, because the resolution means just the same without that "Whereas" as it does with it. It is a Socialistic resolution, and the speeches that have been made have convinced me that the entire resolution should be stricken out. There is no use in striking out one-half of it, for it is just as good a Socialistic resolution for the people who introduced it with half of it stricken out as if the whole resolution was adopted. It does not make any difference who we are going to vote for in four years, it does not make any difference whether or not we are going to vote for Roosevelt because he is going after the Standard Oil Company, but that resolution should be voted down.

Delegate Yarnell—Fortunately, or unfortunately, as the case may be, I have never affiliated with the Socialist party, I have never voted with the Socialist party, but there are a few observations I have made during the recent years which I should like to speak of. I am one of those who believe the conditions we now complain of most are the result of a lack of knowledge on the part of the rank and file of the working class. Something was said by a brother about the concentration of wealth in this country. If you examine the statistics for 1860 you will find that the wealth-producers and those

dependent upon them in this country composed 72½ per cent of the population and owned 62½ per cent of the wealth of the country. If you will examine the latest statistics you will find that while the laboring population has increased enormously their possessions have decreased from 62½ per cent to 16½ per cent. The wealth of the country in the meantime has increased from thirty-four billions to seventy billions; but those who have produced all that wealth have less than they had in 1860. I believe those conditions are the direct result of the ignorance of the rank and file of the men who have produced all this wealth. I believe if there had been greater latitude, if there had been larger discussion in our ranks upon economic questions these conditions would not exist to-day.

I listened with interest and with humiliation, if you please, to the discussion that went on here last week in regard to the condition of the textile workers in Massachusetts, where men, women and children were suffering for the common necessities of life, and many of us supposed we were living in the most prosperous period of the history of this republic, many of us supposed that everywhere existed the "full dinner pail." Just a few days before that discussion I read that Wall-street stocks had increased in value one billion six hundred thousand dollars—and men, women and children were starving in our country. I read in the reports of Dun and Bradstreet that the cost of living has increased thirty per cent since 1897, and still all along down the line there is a tendency to reduce the wages of the laboring man. My friends, this condition cannot last long. Add a few more hundred millions of dollars to Wall street, add a little greater per cent to the cost of living, and reduce the wages of the workers ten or fifteen per cent more, and we are face to face with bread riots, we are face to face with a revolution in this country. Let us then discuss these questions along economic lines, let us discuss them fairly and without strife between us.

Delegate W. B. Wilson—The statement has been made that the adoption of the report of the Committee on Resolutions would be identical with the adoption of the resolution as presented. The resolution as presented contains two different propositions. The first preamble stated that the trusts and combinations were becoming stronger and that in the natural



order of things they must soon give way to another phase of the situation, a declaration which, if adopted, could not be construed in any other manner than as a declaration in favor of the Socialist political movement. The report of the committee strikes out that clause and then recommends the adoption of the remainder, which simply specifies that we recommend to affiliated bodies a discussion of economic questions. The adoption of the report does not compel any affiliated body to open its doors to the discussion of these questions. It simply recommends that they do open their doors to a discussion of these questions, and the discussion of these questions in our local unions cannot do us any harm. If there is anything in economic conditions that needs changing it is by discussion and by getting information upon them that we can hope to be sufficiently well informed to undertake the remedy of the grievances complained of. There is no local union affiliated with anybody connected with the American Federation of Labor that does not at some time in its existence discuss economic questions. We send out circulars from our national headquarters asking for action—let alone discussion on the eight-hour question, on the question of government by injunction, and for action on other economic questions. There is no reason why every economic question that affects wage workers should not be discussed in our local unions, and then if we find that any of these ideas that are presented to us are dreams that cannot be realized we will be in a position to turn down the dreamers and accept that which is practical. No harm can be done to the wage workers of this country by a full, fair and free discussion of every economic question affecting the wage workers.

Treasurer John B. Lennon—From my standpoint, at least, there is the most essential difference between the report of the committee and the original resolution. I do not desire that it shall go out to the world—as it did from New Orleans—that the adoption of a substitute was the same thing as the adoption of the resolution originally introduced. I apprehend from some of the addresses that have been made that it is to be claimed that that which has been adopted, or will be adopted by this Convention, is absolutely the same as the original proposition, for that is not true. I want to resent the imputation that trade unions

can ever narrow their forum or prevent a discussion of economic or political questions. It is the trade union movement that has made possible the discussion of political and economic questions in this country and in the civilized world as no other movement has ever done. We have stood for the free schools, and the free schools have made our children competent to understand these questions and discuss them.

The position the trade unions has taken has been against the discussion of partisan politics and not against politics *per se*. We recognize the fact that politics is the science of government when it is properly interpreted, and we recognize the fact that it is the duty of every working man, and particularly of every trade unionist, to understand what is right as to government and to act accordingly. To say that trade unionists have opposed political action by the working men is a lie, and I care not who utters it. It has never been true of trade unionists that we have opposed political action by the working people. We have invited discussion of all questions that are of interest to the working class, and we approve of this report of the committee as emphasizing what has been stated on numerous occasions by the American Federation of Labor, that the organizations are in duty bound to discuss, to consider and to advise among themselves as to what is the truth upon the economic questions in which they should be interested. For that reason the report of the committee should commend itself to the delegates.

Delegate Dempsey—I agree with the delegate who said the latter part of the resolution is just what the Socialists in this Convention want. I believe the places of meeting of the trade unionists of this country are the proper places for a full and free discussion of trade unionism, and nothing else. Where the doors of our unions are open to the discussion of political questions the unions have deteriorated from trade unions into political meetings. I know whereof I speak. We have central bodies in our locality wherein Socialists have full sway and the trade unionists of that community are not represented there as they should be. Why is this? Because when they go to those meetings, instead of discussing that which is good for the trade union movement, they stay for

hours and hours listening to what we hear every night in the week down here in Crazy Alley. You can ask organizers who are in the field if there is one force more than another that is disorganizing the labor unions of this country to-day, and they will tell you it is the Socialist movement. I dare to say this here, and I dare to say it everywhere. It is time this Federation excluded from its Conventions the discussion of resolutions such as we have before us to-day. The Socialists have gained in this meeting to-day just what they wanted—a full discussion and a full hearing of their case before this Convention. They acknowledge to us that a hearing of their case is a victory. We have local unions in our organization where Socialism is talked and preached in the meetings, and it is almost impossible for us to get anything else before these meetings, even though the Socialists are in the minority in those places. Trade unionists who have no sympathy with Socialism are driven from those unions by the rangling and fighting continually going on between various branches of the Socialists. I say this is a trick to open the doors of our unions for a full discussion by the Socialists of their principles and platform, instead of for a full and free discussion of economic questions.

Delegate Zaring—I do not believe it needs a resolution to tell the trade unionists of America to educate themselves on economic questions. Delegate Hayes has made a confession I did not look for in this Convention, and that is that they seek to convert the trade union movement into a political one. He says the delegates we send to the British Trades Congress attend, not so much a trades union Congress as a political Congress. I believe that Delegate Ryan could have told us something of the conditions in Europe in the ranks of labor, conditions which may be attributed to the fact that the trade union movement had become subordinated to the political movement.

The conditions which prevail in America to-day have been spoken of. Those conditions undoubtedly prevail to a large extent, but what is the cause? I claim they are largely the result of industrial evolution, and if the system of the Socialists advocate

could be put into practice and could be made to predominate in this country, I venture to say it would not be many years before those who compose the brains and genius of their organization would be denounced by those who compose the rank and file to-day as they now denounce the capitalistic class of this country.

I believe with Delegate Dempsey that these discussions should be kept out of the local unions. If you permit discussions of politics and religion in the local unions it will result in driving away the true trade unionists and demoralizing the unions. I had hoped that discussion would not come up in this Convention. I do not exactly approve of the report of the committee. I believe all resolutions of this nature should be buried so deep they cannot be resurrected.

Vice-President James Duncan—The peculiarity of the discussion this afternoon upon the report of the Committee on Resolutions is that those who favor committing the American Federation of Labor to political action stand up and agree with the report of the committee, and then proceed as hard as they can to speak against it. I agree with my friend Ryan that this discussion has borne out his contention in the committee room that the endorsement of so much of this resolution as we have presented would be very likely to invite a discussion of this kind on the floor; but I did not at that time think it would do so.

The men who favor the political action have hurt their own cause by taking the position they have this afternoon more than they have hurt it by anything I have ever heard in a discussion of this subject on the floor of an American Federation of Labor Convention. Delegate Ramsey offered to put the question again that had been put by Delegate Barnes, and so cleverly answered by Secretary Foster of the committee, and thereby showed that to some extent he was laboring under the same mental delusion as a majority of the Committee on Resolutions. We did not have philosophical discernment enough to warrant us in approving of the following words in the first "Whereas:" "It is obvious that capitalism will soon reach its culminating point." We were not conclusively

shown that it was obvious. That was the first stumbling block. In the second place, we were not ready to agree that the culminating of capitalism was at hand, and we reported against the "Whereas." Nothing could be plainer than that. It is impossible for me to put it in the beautiful language of my friend Foster; therefore I suppose I shall fail to convince Friend Ramsey of the intention of the committee on the subject.

It is contended by a few delegates that with or without the first "Whereas," the resolution means the same thing. Is that correct? Is that true? Are they willing to re-read the resolution and still contend that is true? They are opposed to the "Whereas" stricken out by the committee. Not one delegate has spoken in favor of retaining it, although those who have spoken in favor of political action have spoken in favor of it. Let us see the position that would be occupied by the American Federation of Labor if the whole resolution was acted upon unfavorably. What position would your committee have been in had we recommended that the resolution be not adopted? That would be equal to saying that we could not and should not discuss economic subjects in our meetings. Why, the very root of the trade union movement is the discussion of economic questions. The report of the committee does not carry with it, however, political or partizan discussions. The part that has been eliminated is a particularly clever and shrewdly drawn "Whereas" that our friend Berger, of Milwaukee, probably thought the committee, in swallowing the whole resolution dose, would swallow with it the first "Whereas."

Have the delegates who say they favor the report of the committee, and yet talk against it, said one word in regard to economic subjects in our meeting? No; but they have spoken of politics, of getting into office, introducing this bill, and so on. My friends! I wish we could elect every delegate here to-day to Congress and have them spend the first six months they were in office repealing laws we now have instead of passing others.

Delegate Hayes told us that after the Boston Convention the newspapers

proclaimed the fact that Socialism was squelched. The Boston Convention did not vote upon a question of that kind. The Boston Convention did not oppose the advancement of Socialism, providing everything appertaining to it was done in the regular channels. The Boston Convention said those men were not to disrupt the unions by dragging in such subjects. It was not squelching Socialism that brought the big vote in the Boston Convention; it was the preventing of the disruption of our unions that brought it. I had hoped that we would have no more of those discussions that rend us apart instead of bringing us closer together. If there is any aftermath to the discussion of this afternoon it is not the fault of this committee or of this Convention, but the fault of those men who, professing one thing, take advantage of that to advocate another thing which is repugnant to two-thirds of the delegates in this Convention.

We are told that our friends in Great Britain are ahead of us, owing to the fact that they take political action. If the statement had been made that they take legislative action it would have been nearer right. There has never been a more clear headed, active and effective municipal reformer on the face of the earth than John Burns, of London, and every time he goes up for election he is supported by the Liberal Party, and without their votes he could not be elected. If any delegate here were to accept a nomination on the platform he does, the men of this Convention who advocate this "Whereas" would go out of their way to defeat him because he had the backing of that party.

We have been told of the Revolutionary dreamers. Yes, but because the dreams of one man of one class of men at one time have come true, is no reason why this Convention should accept all dreams as the just and proper thing. And I am not sure but they are nightmares.

Our friend Brown spoke of the necessity of advocating the eight-hour day in Congress. It would have been interesting had he told this Convention what machinery the Cigar Makers' Union used for the purpose of securing the adoption of the eight-hour day. Was it necessary to wait for action by

Congress? Has the eight-hour day of the Cigar Makers' Union been dragged into the courts and declared unconstitutional? Is it fettered in such a way that if the Cigar Makers' wish to change their hours of work from eight to seven they would have to go to Congress for a law? No! A few years ago I was active as a man would be in trying to get a nine-hour law passed in Maryland. The Legislature passed the law, the Governor signed it, and it was considered one of the greatest things that ever happened in the grand old State of Maryland. What is the condition to-day? A third of the workers in Baltimore are to-day working eight hours a day, but the law still says that nine hours a day shall apply. The strongest fight that has been made in Maryland has been to try to get the Legislature to change that law so the men could do so as law-abiding citizens. There is a safer and better way to secure the eight-hour day for our membership than by waiting for politicians of either the national or State brand. The report is in the right line. The results will be first-class if we followed along that line. If the other line is followed it will mean the disruption of our movement.

We heard some talk about the number of millions of dollars—and they were so many I could not even imagine the rows of figures—that surrounds capitalism. I want to call your attention to the fact that in this movement of ours we must needs look to the home as the start. If we have not fair conditions in our homes how can we sit down pacifically and discuss these other great questions that are brought before us? I will take as an instance a section of the country where there are members of my own union and give an illustration of what I mean. From 1885 to 1900 five thousand granite cutters in a small section of our country got an average increase of seventy-five cents a day in their wages because of being in a union. That will stand any test put to it. How much do you suppose we were putting into the homes of those men with the simple proposition of seventy-five cents a day to help our members to better things. Seventy-five cents a day each for five thousand members put \$375,000 per day into their homes, counting 300 working days, and in fifteen years that simple increase in their wages put into their families \$16,875,000. Now we have that as a gain

in so far as the mere item of our organization is concerned. Now, as to the cost. During that time the members paid on an average sixty cents a month to the organization. That for five thousand members for fifteen years equals \$450,000. By deducting the cost the union was to those men from the actual increase they had from that action, we find there is left \$16,335,000, which was put into their pockets by the simple process to which I have referred.

Take into consideration the changes that have occurred, and remember how you yourselves fared when you were boys, and how your fathers fared when they were boys, as they have told you.

Is the condition of your boy in school to-day the same as your condition was? Is he in the same position you were in regard to food, clothing, living and everything pertaining to the home? If not, where has the change come from? Do you suppose the advantages we have gained would have come to us by voting for them? Do you suppose they would have come if we had relied on Congress, if we had turned over to them the welfare of the people in this respect?

I feel that the report of the committee is right. To report anything else would be wrong. The Whereas we have stricken out has no place in this Convention. Not one word has been spoken in favor of that Whereas but has smacked of politics; not one word favoring trade unionism has been spoken during the discussion of it. I hope this Convention will go on record as approving the report of the committee as it has been presented.

Delegate Maloney—I came about thirty-five hundred miles to this Convention, and I did not come here to represent any political party or to speak for the advancement of any political disease. I came here as a trade unionist. Last year in Boston I heard the discussion of Socialism for over a day and a half, and at its close I cast my ballot against that disease. I feel to-day just as I did then. I have read and studied Socialism; I know what it is. I have read all their Socialist papers, and I know just how they speak of the officers and members of the trade union movement. I know how they treated a union resolution in their Convention in the City of Chicago, and I know they are absolutely opposed to the principles of trade unionism from every standpoint.

A week ago to-day, after the morning session adjourned, a small piece of paper was handed to me as I was leaving the hall. This leaflet, printed in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, is as follows:

#### ARE THEY TRAITORS?

Mr. Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L., Mr. John Mitchell, president of the Mine Workers, President Elliot of Harvard College, Mr. Thomas H. Higginson and one or two others, dined privately at the Exchange Club, yesterday. Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Gompers were guests of the above named gentlemen.—"Boston Herald," Nov. 16, 1903.

"The 'scab' is a very good type of the modern hero."—Pres. Charles W. Elliot of Harvard College, in an address before the Economic Club, Boston, Nov. 10, 1902.

In Buffalo, Jan. 22, 1903, Pres. Elliot, speaking before 1,500 high school pupils, said: "In 1896 I took occasion to say in a public speech that 'a scab is a hero,' and I still see nothing wrong in that remark."

On Nov. 18, 1902, at New Orleans, the A. F. of L. passed resolutions condemning Mr. Elliot's remarks as an uncalled for and intolerant attack, but Mr. Gompers don't care for that, for he was and often is the guest of Pres. Elliot at the Exchange Club (a notoriously unfair place), and under the ban of the Central Labor Union.

Now, why does the lover of scabs (Mr. Elliot) so love Mr. Gompers and Mr. Mitchell?

Why does Pres. Elliot dine our presidents and curse the rank and file?

Think it over and if you think hard enough you may discover why the power of the labor movement is so limited.

Send 10 cents for a ten weeks' trial of the Social Democratic Herald, 344 Sixth street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and keep posted on the labor movement.

I say the only traitors here are the people who are responsible for that circular, which is a lie. The Exchange Club of Boston is not now and never has been on the unfair list of organized labor.

Delegate Berger—I know nothing about the leaflet, and would like to see it.

President Gompers—Here it is; read it. Delegate Maloney—It is a deliberate lie that that club has been under the ban of organized labor. I thought at the time the leaflet was handed me it was from some of those fellows from Bug House Row down here, that it had been printed in this city, but when I examined it closer I saw that it was printed in the establishment of the Social Democratic Herald of Milwaukee, of which Mr. Berger is editor.

Delegate Berger—Of course this was issued by the business office, and of course I had not seen it. We may make a mistake off and on if we are misinformed, but as a rule I stand for everything that paper says—including this circular.

Delegate Maloney—After that dinner had taken place the Socialist party leaders went on the soap boxes and attacked President Gompers and President Mitchell for dining in this establishment. They also attacked them through the Socialist press. The labor leaders of Boston, hearing of this, secured affidavits that the club was not unfair, and that Mr. Gompers and Mr. Mitchell had been served by union waiters. Those of you who have read the Federationist know what was contained in those letters, because they were published in one issue of it. Two of the parties who wrote those letters were Socialists, and they denied what the Socialist papers said. Copies of these letters were sent to nearly every Socialist leader and paper in this country. Did they come out like men and say they had made a mistake? No; and that alone proves that this party is a dishonest and hypocritical one.

One delegate got up here and said there was something like a revolution coming. There is no sign of such a revolution unless it be the one sign of the increase in the Socialist vote. Should the Socialist party ever receive a majority of the votes for their crazy ideas there will be a revolution, because men will not stand to have their liberties destroyed and their property confiscated.

I have attended several Conventions, and I thought after the walloping the Socialists received in Boston they would walk out. If they would come to us like men and say, "We want you to adopt Socialism," we would know how to fight them; but instead of that they come here and under a cloak try to get us to adopt

resolutions, and then after the Convention adjourns they scatter broadcast through the country the statement that the American Federation of Labor stands for Socialism. Socialism is un-American, unpatriotic, and it ought to have no footing in this or any other Convention.

Delegate Barter moved the previous question. A sufficient number of delegates supported the motion, which was then seconded and carried.

President Gompers—It is adopted by a unanimous vote, and I have not had a chance to say a word.

Delegate Zaring moved that President Gompers be given an opportunity to speak.

President Gompers—That is not necessary. However, statements have been made upon the floor of this Convention to which I shall ask the Convention to give me an opportunity to reply. I shall not discuss the question before the house; it is not in order now, and I do not want any privilege not accorded to every delegate here. Charges were made in the course of the discussion both against Mr. Mitchell and myself, and particularly against myself, and if an opportunity is not given me now to speak I must ask the indulgence of the Convention at some other time. We will adjourn soon, however, and these charges will be put on the wires unanswered.

Delegate Tanquary—I ask the unanimous consent of the Convention to a motion to suspend the rules and stay in session until we can hear both President Gompers and Mr. Mitchell.

Delegate Barter—As the mover of the motion to close debate, I wish to withdraw that motion.

President Gompers—That is not in order at this time.

Vice-President Mitchell—I do not want to discuss the resolution or the question before the Convention, but I shall ask Mr. Berger before adjournment to prove the statements he has made. He said he would stand for anything printed in the Social Democratic Herald and for that circular. He will have to prove that I am a traitor or he will have to stand convicted before this Convention as a liar.

President Gompers—The question now is upon the adoption of the report of the committee. Now, don't vote against your judgment upon the report of the committee. After the report has been voted

upon I shall ask for an opportunity to make a statement.

Delegate Barnes—There was a show of hands for the previous question. Has the vote been taken?

President Gompers—A vote was taken on that motion. The question now is upon the report of the committee, and the adoption of the resolution as recommended by the committee.

The question was voted on and carried.

Delegates W. D. Ryan, John Fahy, John T. Dempsey and Thomas Burke of the Mine Workers asked to be recorded as voting against the motion to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Tanquary—President Gompers announced that the motion to close debate was carried by a unanimous vote. There must be some misunderstanding, because I have never in my life voted in support of a motion to close debate. I must be recorded as voting against any motion to close debate, now, and at all times.

I move that the rules be suspended, that the Convention remain in session, and that President Gompers and Vice-President Mitchell be given an opportunity to reply to the statements that have been made.

The motion was seconded and carried by a unanimous vote.

Vice-President Duncan in the Chair.

President Gompers—I regret very much, fellow delegates, that I did not have an opportunity to discuss the merits not only of the resolution as it was introduced and as it was recommended by the committee, but particularly of the statements and arguments that have been presented by those who, under the guise of favoring the report of the committee, took occasion to repeat and reiterate their attacks upon officers of the trade union movement. I should like to have met their statements and their arguments, and it would have been seen that their dreams were only the dreams of those who, priding themselves upon dreams, could improve their opportunity for dreaming if they were to consult the Chinese opium eaters and smokers, because they have the most fanciful dreams of all.

We are asked to follow the political lead of some of the workmen of Europe. I pray that that day may never come! A few months ago Mr.

John Mitchell went to Europe, and he studied conditions there. Read the letters he wrote in regard to conditions there. Some nine years ago I was sent by the American Federation of Labor as a delegate to the British Trades Congress, and incidentally I visited some of the cities of continental Europe and saw the conditions there.

Three months ago a delegation of workmen came from France to study our industrial conditions as well as to visit the St. Louis Exposition. They spent from two o'clock one afternoon until half past seven that evening in my office. They asked me all the questions they could think of regarding our movement, and then I too turned inquisitor and asked them some questions. I learned from their answers to my questions that the conditions of the working men in France have not materially improved in the past twenty years.

About a month ago, with Vice-President Duncan and others, I attended the International Peace Congress, and upon the platform of a mass meeting in Faneuil Hall, over which I presided, a former member of the Belgian Senate deplored that American working men do not have any political party; that they do not follow the example of the Belgian working men, and then, almost in the next breath, said that the Belgian working men are in a worse condition than any other workers in Europe. If that is the result of partisan political activity, pray, save the American Federation of Labor from its influence! Will any man, no matter how he may quote fabulous figures, pretend to say that the condition of the American working man has become worse since 1860? Look to your own homes and to the homes of your fellow working men and see whether that statement is borne out.

During this discussion Mr. Duncan said that if the trade unionists of America were to undertake to nominate one of their number for Congress or for the State Legislature you would find—what? You would find that the men who lay claim to being superior to the trade unionists would step in and oppose the nomination and try by all means to secure his defeat. Why, a delegate of the same character, class and caliber came to me a few days ago and with a great deal of glee told

me that a member of the Cigar Makers' Union, who had been a member of the New York State Legislature and had done his level best to advance the interests of labor, was defeated—by whom? Just by these same people.

I claim some little credit for arousing the public judgment of the trade unionists of the country to bring some influence to bear to make the Socialists of Colorado ashamed of themselves, or they would have secured the re-election of Governor Peabody. On the train coming through Colorado there was a Socialist who said it did not make any difference whether Governor Peabody was re-elected or not. Of course, from their peculiar standpoint, that is true. So far as they are concerned they do not live in Colorado, nor do they live in the United States; they live in a sphere all by themselves, a sphere ethereal and fanciful.

I wish to say something in reference to my statement to the visitors in the gallery when I requested them to refrain from manifesting approval or disapproval. I imagine that this Convention and all other Conventions of the American Federation of Labor ought to be conducted by the delegates attending the Convention. Take your most extravagant claims, you Socialists, and I think you will have to admit that in these Conventions the clean-cut trade unionists without any isms have a preponderance of numbers. Now suppose we were to follow your tactics, and when a trade unionist spoke, cheer him, and when a Socialist spoke, hiss him.

Delegate Barnes—They did not hiss.

President Gompers—If Delegate Barnes will listen I think he will find he is not justified in showing any temper. A manifestation of approval carries with it the right to hiss, the manifestation of disapproval. No man can be accorded one right without being accorded the other. I do not think Mr. Barnes will dispute that at the Boston Convention there was applause for some and hisses for others. He does not dispute that.

Delegate Barnes—One hiss, if you will have it.

President Gompers—If one man hisses, a thousand may. At the Boston Convention I respectfully asked that no demonstration be indulged in by

the visitors. I repeated the request several times, and at last stated that if it was again indulged in the galleries would be cleared. When I did so as a matter of last resort the galleries were cleared with a number of hisses from Socialists. Immediately after, when they had seen that the President of the American Federation of Labor also had some little nerve, and that they would have to conform to the ordinary rules of legislative procedure as visitors, the doors were again opened and they were admitted. On the first day when the reports of the officers were read and the reports were applauded I was not in the Chair, and of course could not control the matter. The statement made by Delegate Hayes was certainly uncalled for.

I ought to have said, when speaking of nominating trade unionists for office, that some months ago Mr. Victor Berger wrote an article in which he elaborately undertook to show the logic of the Socialists' position in antagonizing candidates for legislative honors, though they be trade unionists.

At the Boston Convention the officers of the Boot and Shoe Workers, and the officers of the Textile Workers' organizations approached a number of the representative men in the American Federation of Labor Convention and said that if they would consent to meet some of the representative boot and shoe manufacturers and some representative textile employers, it might do some good to organized labor to argue in favor of a trade agreement. Some of us went to the Exchange Club, and were very much surprised to find among the guests President Elliot, of Harvard. I am absolutely within the truth when I say there was not one word exchanged between President Elliot and myself. I do not claim that as a very great credit, for if an opportunity had presented itself to speak to him I should have tried to make him see the error of his ways.

We had a plain, open talk in the meeting on trade unionism. Vice-President Duncan was there and talked to President Elliot, he tells me.

Vice-President Duncan—I was present at the conference and talked for twenty minutes with President Elliot and came

very near convincing him that a scab is not a hero. I have no apology to make for that conversation.

President Gompers — Vice-President Mitchell and a number of other labor men were present, among them Mr. Hibbard, Mr. Tansey and Mr. John Tobin, who is present in this Convention. There was not a word uttered there by any labor man which could not be repeated in this Convention, or anywhere else, in the interest of our workers.

It comes with ill grace from the people who make these statements, when it is known that your Socialist parties are suborned and paid for your political campaigns in conducting them as you do, to charge the trade unionists with collusion and inconsistency or improper conduct. I will go anywhere to preach the gospel of trade unionism.

The charge was made that the club was on the unfair list of organized labor. That is untrue, and those who made the charge knew it. There is nothing you Socialists say against me as men about which I care. Only to show you the inconsistency of the charges against me, I will say that our friend, Max Hayes, a delegate to this Convention, in a recent article from his pen, made the statement that I had arranged a few months ago in Washington, in a conference with the powers that be, to retire voluntarily from the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor, and that I was assured that I would be appointed to the position of United States Commissioner of Labor, the position now held by Carroll D. Wright, evidently, I suppose, as a reward for my assistance to the Republican party. Otherwise, why reward me now?

On the other hand, the official organ of the Socialist party, *The Worker*, published in New York City, denounced me as a traitor to the cause of labor because I upheld Parker! In other words, they denounce me coming and going. I am sure there is not a man who, within the limitations of truth, can say that he has ever seen a written statement or heard a vocal expression of my opinion upon either candidate or either party during the entire campaign. I have tried, so far as I have been able, to keep the skirts of the labor movement clear from the besmirching influences of the Republican, the Democratic and your Socialist parties.



I have tried to do as nearly right as I know how—perhaps I do not know how. That is not my fault, and though one becomes accustomed to these charges and insinuations, they still leave a sting. One would be less than human to say they do not leave a sting. Upon the charlatan who prostitutes his every thought for self-advancement, for self-aggrandizement and gain, they may make no impression; but for men who have grown up in the labor movement and have no other hope or aspiration or love in the world of affairs than the trade union movement, they have a sting.

Upon one thing you may rely, and that is, so long as I retain my sanity, so long as I retain my power of expression, I shall lift up my voice and my pen to keep the trade union movement free from the influences of any party, no matter what its name.

I know I need not expect any, but I ask for no quarter from you—and do not expect it from me; but I deny the right of any man who claims any degree of intelligence and who desires to be regarded as a fair man, to insinuate—as our friend Berger did about two months ago in an article over his signature—that if my election depended upon my changing my mind, I would change my mind. I imagine that all of us more or less think of others as we ourselves think. I believe that there is no office, no position in the world more exalted or more honorable than the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor, but if the Convention shall now or at any time honor me with its confidence in any way, it must be because I have retained my self-respect, because I have not changed or played upon strings or thrown out a sheet anchor to catch every wind, so that votes might be cast for me. I think if we were only a little more tolerant and would tell the truth in regard to our movement, we would have better results.

Vice-President John Mitchell—I shall occupy only a few minutes of your time. Mr. Gompers has very fully explained the purpose of the dinner that has been spoken of. Had we succeeded in our efforts at that time, had we succeeded in bringing about an agreement between the textile workers and the manufacturers, there would have been no strike in Fall River, and it would have been unnecessary to have levied an assessment in this Convention last week.

I have made it a rule of my connection with the labor movement to pay little attention to charges that are made against me. If this were the only charge made by the papers published by the Socialist party I might possibly have been willing to let this go without notice; but the fact is that nearly every paper published by the Socialist party in the United States has weekly contained attacks upon me and upon other officers of the American Federation of Labor.

During the past summer the miners sent me to Europe to represent them in a convention there. A statement was published in the Socialist papers about my manner of living in London. They had me stopping at the best hotel there and paying twenty dollars a day. It was said that the labor leaders live as does royalty in Europe. When I came back to this country I found that in West Virginia the Socialists had employed a former member of our executive board, who had been expelled because he had committed some violation of the law, to go to our local unions and ask them to surrender their charters and become attached directly to the Socialist organization. I do not care particularly what they say about me, but I do care what they say about my organization. It is a matter of complete indifference to me what they say about me personally, except in so far as these charges may affect the membership of my union.

In the Central District of Pennsylvania some time ago we had speakers trying to organize the miners, and at every place at which we called a meeting and sent our speakers, the Socialist party also called meetings and sent speakers. The pit bosses went around the mines and told the miners that if they attended any meetings it should be the Socialist meetings. They did that because they were afraid their men would organize.

Now, gentlemen, it is such statements and assertions as these that make me suspicious of the resolutions these gentlemen introduce here. As far as I am concerned, no man living has ever heard me make an attack upon the Socialist party. I accord to every citizen the right to vote as he chooses and for whom he chooses; but when I accord him that right I claim the same right for myself. I will not per-

mit any living man or any organization of men to say for whom I shall vote or for what party I shall vote. As long as I can remember, labor organizations have fought for the right of the free exercise of citizenship. We have said to employers and to organizations, "You shall not interfere with your employes, but allow them to vote as they choose," and when we say that, we in turn must not interfere with the right of our members to vote as they choose.

Mr. Berger, in leaving the floor and taking up the leaflet he said he knew nothing about, said that he would stand for any statement that appeared in the Social Democratic Herald, and added, "and for this circular." I want him to tell this Convention in what way I have ever been unfaithful to the men who employ me, in what manner I have betrayed the interests committed to my care. Last year after the Convention the Socialist papers and speakers everywhere said they would put me out of business. The nominations of my organization are now in the headquarters, and, while we have nearly three hundred thousand members, at no time in the history of my union have I received so unanimous an endorsement as I have this year. They cannot put me out of business. They may put some of my local unions out of business, as they have done; but when many of these men who are attacking the workers in the trade union movement are dead and gone and forgotten, many of the men who have worked hard in this trade union movement and whose motives they have impugned will be held in grateful remembrance by the poor miners for whom we have labored and whose conditions of employment we have materially improved.

Delegate Victor Berger—I never was more sorry in my life to have a cold that prevents my speaking at length. Of course I had no knowledge of this squib; it was issued by the business office and I have no more to do with the business office than any other editor who has a department of his own. But being the editor of a paper

I assume the responsibility for the entire paper, and if any wrong has been done I am subject to your censure, of course.

But I cannot see anything so terrible in that squib if you look at it in the right light.

Delegate Devine—I rise to a point of order. He is not answering the question.

Vice-President Duncan—Delegate Berger will answer the question.

Delegate Berger—There is no statement in the leaflet. It is the question, "Are They Traitors?" The item is quoted from the Boston Herald. It says that they took part in the dinner at a club where the waiters were supposed to be non-union, a club that was supposed to be under the ban of organized labor. The statement was made that they dined with President Eliot, a well-known enemy of labor. The story went through the entire Socialist press, and we printed it in good faith. Now, I ask you gentlemen in all fairness will you take away from the labor press the liberty of free expression of opinion? I cannot say that this, coming from the business office as it does, is a very good business proposition. I don't see what induced the business office to issue such a circular, but as a fair proposition you cannot hold the editors responsible, although I stand subject to your censure, if you do so. The squib merely asks the question whether the gentlemen are traitors, but I shall not hide behind that. Of course we do not agree with the policy of Gompers and Mitchell, and we take every opportunity to fight them and their policy, and I suppose they thought this is one. I am not going to hide behind small things. When you had a strike, Mr. Mitchell, no one gave you better support than the Socialists and their papers.

Vice-President Mitchell—We will be glad to return it all to you if you will send in an application for it.

The Convention was then adjourned until 9 a. m., November 22d.

## EIGHTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, November 22d, Treasurer Lennon in the Chair.

Absentees—Butterworth, Tracy, Healy, Rickert, Farrell, Mahoney (T. J.), Smith (J. W.), De Villiers, Hutchinson, Keefe (D. J.), Warner, Downey, Pattison, Heron, Wilson (W. B.), Bahlhorn, Mason, Cain, Dix, Quick, Mahon, Orr, Maloney (P.), Powell, Kidd, Morgan, Triplett, Iglesias, Husted, Seaward, Michel, Brennan, Lock, Harris (R. F.), Ward, Walker, Dunn (J. P.), Payne, O'Shea, Morris (W. D.), Murray, Hyde, Coffey, Patterson, Edmonson, Daley, Catania, Bailey, Pillsbury, Bell, Damozonio, Schilling, Morey, Dowd, Fadilla.

The reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

FALL RIVER, Mass., Nov. 21, 1904.  
Frank Morrison, San Francisco:

Convey to Convention our heartfelt and sincere thanks for the splendid assistance given in this fight. Every-body firm.

ALBERT HIBBERT,  
General Secretary United Textile Workers of America,

Samuel Gompers, President, San Francisco, Cal.:

Mandate obeyed. Steam Fitters expelled by Washington Central Labor Union.

CHARLES W. WINSLOW.

Secretary Morrison read an invitation from the Building Trades Council of San Francisco to the delegates to visit the session of the Council to be held on Thursday evening, November 24th, at the headquarters of the Council.

Delegate J. B. Dale received the unanimous consent of the Convention to the introduction of a resolution, and submitted the following:

Resolution No. 156.—By J. B. Dale, of the Ship-Keepers' Union No. 8970, Vallejo, California:

WHEREAS, The Ship-keepers on the Mare Island Navy Yard were, prior to August 20, 1900, compelled by the ruling of those in authority, to work an average of twelve hours for a day's pay (in

violation of the eight-hour law) after said 20th day of August, 1900, by a decision of the Secretary of the Navy, the hours of the said Ship-keepers were reduced to eight for a day's pay, thereby confessing that when compelled to work twelve hours we worked an excess of four hours of overtime for each calendar day, and that,

WHEREAS, That said Ship-keepers have made demand upon the proper authority to pay for overtime for this excess of four hours for each calendar day so worked, yet the Auditor for the Navy Department has persistently refused to audit our claim for said overtime, though the fact has been called to his attention that the claims of Ship-keepers at other navy yards have been paid for this overtime in former years, and

WHEREAS, Congressman Metcalf on the 18th day of March, 1904, introduced a bill in the House of Representatives, bill No 14171, referring to the Court of Claims the claim of the Ship-keepers at Mare Island, California. To the Committee of Claims, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Twenty-fourth Annual Convention now in session at Lyric Hall, San Francisco, Cal., have thoroughly investigated this claim of the Ship-keepers' Union No. 8970, A. F. of L., and being fully convinced of the justness of the same, do hereby indorse the same, and earnestly urge the Law and Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. to use all means within their power to aid the attorneys for the Ship-keepers, Messrs Herbert and Micon, at Washington, D. C., in the effort the said firm is making to have an equitable adjustment of the claim of the Ship-keepers.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate James F. Grimes received the unanimous consent of the Convention to the introduction of a resolution, and submitted the following:

Resolution No. 157.—By Delegate James F. Grimes of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners:

WHEREAS, In the proper embellishment of our towns and cities, by parks, monuments, ornamental buildings, boulevards and driveways, there is too frequently an utter neglect in the removal of unsanitary and unhealthful conditions in the less favored localities, and

WHEREAS, In our opinion one of the first duties of town and city governments is to make wholesome, by good drainage, paving, water supply, and correct tene-

ment house construction, those portions of cities and towns, that are now neglected in these respects, thus imperiling the health and happiness of the working people; therefore be it

RESOLVED, In the interest of the poor and well-to-do also, town and municipal councils should give greater legislative attention with adequate appropriations, for the removal of these evil conditions in the less favored localities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the labor unions by supporting candidates pledged in advance, to the support of a necessary and wise ordinance, according with the foregoing principles, will materially advance the health conditions and material prosperity of the country, and those of the American Federation of Labor in this Convention assembled, recommends these principles to its affiliated national, State, district and local bodies.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Foster, for the Committee on Resolutions, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 139.—By Delegate Geo. C. Campbell of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The conflict between employers and laborers is being emphasized and brought out more plainly by the action of Organized Employers, Citizens' Alliances and Manufacturers' Associations; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we urge upon the workers to read, think and educate themselves on economic questions, and emphasize every industrial conflict by political action in the interest of the working people and defeat our unprincipled adversaries by the use of an united ballot.

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

The report of the committee was concurred in unanimously.

Delegate Foster—The committee has two resolutions, introduced by Victor L. Berger, who requests that consideration of them be postponed for a short time until he can be present.

The request was granted and consideration of the resolutions postponed.

Delegate John F. Tobin received the unanimous consent of the Convention to the introduction of a resolution, and submitted the following:

Resolution No. 158.—By Delegate John F. Tobin of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The J. E. Tilt Shoe Company of Chicago, Illinois, on June 7, 1904, made an agreement with the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, under which wages were fixed as then prevailing, and further agreed that no change in wages would be made unless

such change was first agreed upon between the firm and the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; and

WHEREAS, A notice has been posted that wages would thereafter be reduced, which reduction ranges from 15 to 50 per cent, without the consent of the Union; therefore

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to aid the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union in reaching an adjustment, and failing, the J. E. Tilt Shoe Company be placed on the unfair list, if in the opinion of the Council such course is justifiable.

The resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote of the Convention:

Delegate Foster, for the Committee on Resolutions, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 105.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, Experience has proven that the militia can be used by capitalists as an engine of destruction in the subjugation of the working people, workmen have thus been arrayed against workmen, and ordered to shoot down their comrades; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we declare our intention, and hereby instruct all affiliated bodies, to hold absolutely aloof from all connection with the militia, until the military system in vogue in Switzerland, or a similar system, is adopted in the United States.

The committee non-concurs in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Berger spoke against the adoption of the report of the committee.

Delegate Zaring discussed the resolution, and while not favoring it in its present form, suggested that a resolution be drawn up indicating the disapproval of the Convention to members of labor unions joining the State militia.

Delegate Brown spoke against the motion to concur in the report of the committee. Delegates Guerin, Foster and Lennon spoke in favor of adoption of the report of the committee.

A motion was made and carried that debate cease.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was then carried.

Resolution No. 104.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger, International Typographical Union:

WHEREAS, Labor creates all values or makes them useful and accessible to

mankind, but the present economic system is such that it is impossible for the great mass of wage-workers to save up a sufficient amount of money or property to secure them against want and misery and the indignities of capitalistic charity in their old age; and

WHEREAS, It is the prime object of the trade union movement to improve and elevate the standard of living of the working class everywhere and in every possible way; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use its best efforts to induce the Congress of the United States to pass a bill which will secure to every wage-worker in the United States who has earned no more than \$1000 average wages per year, a pension of not less than \$12 per month at the age of sixty, and thereafter for the rest of his or her natural life; provided, however, that such wage-worker is a citizen of the United States and has lived in this country for at least twenty-one years continually at the time when the application is made.

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Berger spoke at some length against the report of the committee.

A motion was made by Delegate Mackey that debate cease. The motion was seconded, but not carried.

Delegates Barnes and Ramsey spoke against the adoption of the report of the committee.

Delegates Duncan, Porter, Foster and Devine spoke in favor of the adoption of the report of the committee.

On motion of Delegate Hirsch debate ceased.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was then voted on and carried.

President Gompers—Under the special order of business we will now hear the representative of the Western Federation of Miners. I have the pleasure of introducing to you a members of the Executive Board of the Western Federation of Miners, Mr. D. C. Copley, who will now address you.

Mr. Copley—Mr. President and Delegates: It gives me the deepest pleasure at this time to appear before you. I see among the delegates present many with whom I have been in conventions in previous years when we were affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It

gives me great pleasure to renew those associations. I am gratified to be extended the courtesy of the floor of this Convention, and shall occupy your time but for a few minutes. I wish to thank the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions for the support, both financial and moral, that has been extended to the Western Federation of Miners during the past year.

I do not believe it either wise or necessary for me to take up your time by going into details of the Colorado situation for the past year and a half. Most of you are pretty well acquainted with the condition of affairs that has existed in that State. However, the complexion of things has changed somewhat in Colorado. As a result of organized effort our esteemed Governor, Mr. Peabody, has been relegated to the rear. We hope that Mr. Adams, who has twice been Governor of Colorado, will give us a fair and just administration. That is all that organized labor asks in Colorado or elsewhere.

As you know, my organization, the Western Federation of Miners, is not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. As a member of the Executive Board of that organization for the past two years it has been one of my pleasures to further as much as possible its affiliation with this body. I believe there is room in this great country for but one grand federation of labor. I believe under the present system of organized capital the time has arrived when it is absolutely necessary for all organizations of labor and all union men to be under one head, to stand solidly together and to proceed as one body. I hope the time is not far distant when all the union men of this great country will be under one tent, so to speak.

I am thankful for this opportunity to address you, and hope that the deliberations of your Convention will bring about many necessary changes in the benefit of organized labor. God speed you in your work

President Gompers—Permit me to say that we appreciate your visit and your kind expressions toward the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor, I may say, expects and has a right to expect that the National and International trade unions

shall become a part of the American Federation of Labor. We try to impress upon all unaffiliated international unions that we have no desire to dominate them, no desire to interfere with their internal affairs. Our main object is to try to federate the workmen for the promotion and advancement, and particularly the protection of their interests, and to spread a feeling of fraternity.

While we feel intensely on this subject, we still feel no ill-will toward the organization that has not affiliated itself with the American Federation of Labor. It is a misconception for anyone to believe that; it is a mis-statement for anyone to express it. We have nothing but the kindest feelings for the Western Federation of Miners.

We have tried to do our duty toward them. They were once affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, and for no reason that seems good to us they left us. In fact, I am not conscious that any reason has been assigned for the severance of that affiliation. I am sure we sincerely hope the Western Federation of Miners may soon become a member of the family of trade unions under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. In any event, we wish you God-speed and success.

Delegate J. R. Crozier received the unanimous consent of the Convention to the introduction of a resolution, and submitted the following:

Resolution No. 159, by J. R. Crozier, State Branch American Federation of Labor, Massachusetts:

WHEREAS, The firm of Walter Baker Co. of Milton, Mass., has been declared unfair to organized labor by the Boston Central Labor Union and State Branch of American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the above-named firm be placed on the "We Don't Patronize" list of the American Federation of Labor.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

Vice-President D. A. Hayes in the Chair.

Delegate D. D. Driscoll, for the Committee on State Organization, reported as follows:

The Committee of State Organization find that Resolution No. 118 has been acted upon, and needs no action of this committee. The committee approved the resolution.

The committee recommends that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor send to each National and International Union a request to report how many of their Locals are not affiliated with the State Branches and that the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be requested to report to the next Convention, if possible, how many Local Unions and Central Labor Unions are not affiliated with the State Branches chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

JAMES J. BEEGAN, Chairman,  
JOHN DAVIDSON,  
LOUIS M. JAEGER,  
JNO. G. GOSGRAVE,  
C. W. WOODMAN,  
WILLIAM WHITE,  
ROBERT WHARTON,  
D. D. DRISCOLL, Secretary.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate John P. Meade, for the Committee on Boycotts, made the following report:

Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Fischer and McAndrews of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Tobacco Workers' International Union has been and is still engaged in a severe contest with the American and Continental Tobacco Companies, commonly known as the "twin trust"; and

WHEREAS, The said trust controls a large proportion of the output in the tobacco industry, thus making it difficult for the Tobacco Workers to successfully push a boycott against each individual brand made by the trust; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its officers and organizers, give special aid and assistance to the Tobacco Workers in pushing a boycott against each individual brand and all brands of tobacco made by both the American and Continental Tobacco Trust; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor requests all affiliated unions to assist the Tobacco Workers by vigorously pushing a boycott against all brands of tobacco sold in their localities made by the American and Continental Tobacco Trust.

The committee recommends that the boycott be reaffirmed.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 42.—By Delegates Sarah Hagan and Nathan Wolf, of the United Garment Workers of America:

WHEREAS, The United Garment Workers of America are still engaged in the severe struggle with the

Clothiers' Exchange, of Rochester, N. Y., comprising the following firms, the Stein Bloch Co., Michaels Stern Co., Adler Bros., Garson, Meyer Co., A. Dinkelspeil, Moore & Biers, Black & Co., H. A. Hays, R. Goldstein & Co., I. Holz Son, Solomon Bros. & Bempert, Steefel, Strauss & Connor, Hickey Freeman Co., Ely Meyer & Simon, Herman Stern, Rosenberg Bros., Levy Bros., owing to its refusal as a body when presented with a request for the reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day, so as to conform to the working time in that branch of the trade in all competing markets; and

WHEREAS, The attitude of the said clothing combine has induced other clothing markets to force the open-shop; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, does hereby re-affirm the condemnation of the organized clothing manufacturers of Rochester as being unfair and contrary to the spirit of our time; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to notify all affiliated organizations and organizers of the American Federation of Labor to give the United Garment Workers of America their fullest support in defeating the actions of the Rochester Clothing Combine.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 70.—By Delegate Emil Schaefer, of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The boycott placed against the products manufactured by the Cracker Trust, known as the National Biscuit Co., with main office at Chicago, Ill., and having branches throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, It is the custom of this concern to hire whenever and wherever possible non-union and child-labor, trying to disrupt the organization of Bakery workers by discriminating against its members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention reaffirms the boycott on this concern and through its incoming President request all its affiliated organizations to instruct their members not to buy any product bearing the stamp of the National Biscuit Co.

The committee recommends the reaffirmation of the boycott.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 79.—By Delegate A. E. Kellington, of the International Union of Flour and Cereal Mill Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its Twenty-third Annual Convention at Boston, Mass.,

placed all products of the Washburn-Crosby Milling Company of Minneapolis, Minn., on the "We Do Not Patronize" list, and

WHEREAS, The Washburn-Crosby Company has not yet made a satisfactory settlement to the members of our International Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention reaffirm the placing of said corporation on the "We Do Not Patronize List," and instructs the incoming President to send circular letters to all affiliated unions in the States of New York, Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, West Virginia, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Missouri where the most flour made by the Washburn-Crosby Company is sold, requesting that the products of this firm be not patronized until such time as they will show a spirit of fairness in dealing with organized labor and are officially notified of the same by the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommends that that part of the resolution referring to the product of the mills be concurred in. The part regarding circulars referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 141.—By Delegate E. J. Lynch, of the Metal Polishers', Buffers', Platers', Brass Molders', Brass and Silver Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A lock-out has been on for the last eighteen months at the factory of the Waterbury Watch Co., Waterbury, Conn., against the members of our organization; and

WHEREAS, Said Waterbury Watch Co. manufactures the Ingersoll Dollar Watch; and

WHEREAS, Said watches are usually purchased by working people in general; and

WHEREAS, Said Waterbury Watch Co. refuses to employ any union men—after last Labor Day discharged three carpenters, members of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners who participated in the Labor Day parade, thus showing their antagonism against all organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Waterbury Watch Co., as well as the Ingersoll watch be placed on the "We Don't Patronize" list of the American Federation of Labor.

We recommend that the President of the A. F. of L. make further effort to bring about a settlement between the Metal Polishers', Buffers', Platers', Brass Molders', Brass and Silver Workers' International Union of North America and the Waterbury Watch Company of Wat-

erbury, Conn., and in the event of his failure to make a settlement that the matter be submitted to the Executive Council for immediate consideration.

Report of committee was non-concurred in and resolution adopted.

Resolution No. 54.—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, The Plano and Organ Workers' Union have requested the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to place the mentioned firm upon the unfair list; and

WHEREAS, The said Executive Council has not complied with this request; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor place the said firm on the unfair list.

In as much as the Executive Council, by the request of Frank Helle, President of the Plano and Organ Workers' International Association, has already selected a committee of three to make further investigation in the case of the Plano and Organ Workers' International Association against the W. W. Kimball Plano and Organ Manufacturing Company for the purpose of affecting and adjustment of any and all matters in dispute between the above-named parties, and endeavor to unionize the plant referred to; therefore, we, your committee, recommend that this resolution be referred to the above-named committee and they to report to the Executive Council as soon as possible after the adjournment of the Convention.

The recommendation was concurred in.

Resolution No. 55.—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, The firm of Hastings & Co. of Philadelphia, Pa., and Kemp & Co. of New York, both firms being identical, have been placed upon the "We Don't Patronize List" of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Bookbinders have been asked for their moral assistance in bringing these firms to terms, but have failed to do so; be it

RESOLVED, By this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the International Bookbinders' Union be and is hereby instructed to assist the Gold Beaters in this matter immediately.

Committee recommends reference to Grievance Committee.

Recommendation concurred in.

Resolution No. 69.—By Delegate Emil Schaefer of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The boycott against the McKinley Bread Co., of St. Louis, Mo., has been endorsed first by the Louisville Convention, again at the Scranton Convention, again at the New Orleans and Boston Conventions of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The McKinley Baking Co. has not as yet seen fit to make a satisfactory settlement to the members of our International Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention reaffirm the boycott against said corporation and instructs the incoming President to send circular letters to all affiliated unions in the States of Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee and Kentucky, where most of this unfair product is sold, requesting that that concern be not patronized.

The committee recommends the endorsement of that part of the resolution concerning the boycott, and on that part of the resolution relative to sending out circular letters to all affiliated unions in the States of Missouri, Illinois, Tennessee and Kentucky, to be referred to the President for his immediate consideration.

Recommendation of the committee concurred in.

The Convention was then adjourned until 2 p. m.

## EIGHTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 p. m., President Gompers in the Chair.

Absentees — Noschang, Butterworth, Gordon, Farrell, Mahoney (T. J.), O'Brien, Smith (J. W.), Sullivan, Hutchinson, Heron, Dempsey, O'Neil, Weber, Miller (Owen), Carey, Finan, Mason, Helle, Ramsay, Mahon, Hart, Maloney (P.), Morgan, Triplett, Husted,

Seaward, Goodwin, Michel, Brennan, Harris (R. F.), Ward, Walker, Dunn (J. P.), O'Shea (D.), Morris (W. D.), Murray (John), Hyde, Patterson, Dunn (M. T.), Edmonson, Daley, Catania, Bailey, Pillsbury, Bell, Keefe (M. O.), Damozonio, Schilling, Dowd.

President Gompers—The special order of business for this hour is the report of the Committee on Grievances.



Delegate Keefe—The Committee on Boycotts has a further report to make. The report will take but a few minutes and we would like to make it before the Committee on Grievances reports.

President Gompers—If there are no objections the report of the Committee on Boycotts will be heard.

Delegate Keefe made the following report:

We, your Committee on Boycotts, beg leave to report as follows on Resolutions Nos. 7, 23, 33, 41, 50, 52, 59, 66, 106, 121, 143, 151 and 159:

In accordance with the rules and practices of the American Federation of Labor we recommend that these resolutions be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor to make an investigation of the complaints, to make every effort to adjust the same, if possible, and in case of failure to do so, and the facts justifying the application, the Executive Council shall approve of and carry out the intent of the resolution.

That part of the report of the Executive Council relating to "The Unfair List" was referred to the Committee, and we heartily endorse the policy of the Executive Council.

Delegate Keefe was asked if the resolution of the Central Body of New York was among the resolutions referred to by number, and replied that it was.

Delegates Dold and Brown asked that the resolution be withdrawn, and their request was complied with.

Delegate C. P. Shea, of the Teamsters, asked permission to make an announcement, and said: I wish to inform the Convention that the indictments secured against the General officers of our organization by the Citizens' Alliance of St. Louis have been thrown out and our bond money returned to us. The teamsters' strike in Chicago is settled in our favor, and everything is bright.

The report of the Committee on Boycotts was concurred in.

Delegate T. L. Lewis, of the Committee on Grievances, reported as follows:

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 22, 1904.

To the Officers and Members of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the A. F. of L.:

We, your Committee on Grievances, have given careful consideration to all questions submitted to us, a hearing to the interested parties and submit the following for your consideration:

Resolution No. 4.—By Delegates Slocum and McDade of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths:

WHEREAS, There is at the present time a difference existing between the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers on the one side and the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union on the other side over a question of jurisdiction of the blacksmiths and helpers, it is the opinion of the undersigned, members of the craft they represent, that jurisdiction over all blacksmiths and helpers engaged in the carriage, wagon and automobile manufacture and those engaged in like labor, that jurisdiction over this class of mechanics, together with their finishers and helpers should be given by right to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers; and

WHEREAS, A meeting was held in the city of New York between an authorized representative of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers and an authorized representative of the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union in an attempt to adjust the difference, in compliance with the requirements of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and at said meeting no definite results were arrived at, consequently I am compelled to bring this before this Convention; and

WHEREAS, The charter of affiliation was granted to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths on October 30, 1897, and while the charter of affiliation was not granted to the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union until August, 1901, and at the time the charter of affiliation was granted to the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths exercised jurisdiction over this class of blacksmiths, and in granting a charter of affiliation to the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union, conceding to them jurisdiction over the members of our craft, was contrary to the spirit of the trade unionism upon which the American Federation of Labor is builded; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled grant to the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers full and entire jurisdiction over blacksmiths, their finishers and helpers engaged in any capacity in building or repairing carriages, wagons and automobiles.

Committee reports unfavorably.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 12.—By Delegate Thos. Westoby, of the International Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America:

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L., in its instructions to Organizers, advises that Ship Joiners are eligible for membership in the U. B. of C. and J. of A., notwithstanding that the International U. S., J. and C. of A. are given jurisdiction over all wood-work on ships, boats and all floating structures; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in the future it shall be made clear to Organizers of the A. F. of L. that Ship Joiners belong under the jurisdiction of the International Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America, and under the said named International Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers of America they shall be organized, and not under any other National or International.

Committee recommends resolution be referred to the Executive Council with full power to act on the subject matter of the resolution.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 15.—By Delegates Roady Kenehan and John Fitzpatrick, of the Journeymen Horse Shoers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers have permitted their local unions to accept as members men who clearly come under the jurisdiction of and are eligible to membership in the local unions of the International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union; and

WHEREAS, If this practice is allowed to continue it will cause considerable friction between the Blacksmiths and Horse Shoers throughout the country, and will greatly weaken and retard the progress of both International Unions; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Officers of the International Horse Shoers' Union have made repeated efforts to bring about a meeting with the officers of Brotherhood of Blacksmiths so that an understanding might be reached; and

WHEREAS, We have failed to arrange such meeting; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers be instructed to turn over to the International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union every horse shoer now holding membership in their organizations, and they be further instructed not to transgress the jurisdiction of the Horse Shoers in the future but confine themselves to their jurisdiction as outlined in their Constitution and By-Laws.

Committee recommends that no action be taken, as the interested parties

have reached a satisfactory agreement, which is herewith attached.

This Agreement, made and entered into in the city of San Francisco, in the State of California on this 22nd day of November, 1904, by and between The International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union of the United States and Canada, and the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers and for the purposes of this agreement the International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union of the United States and Canada shall be known as the Party of the First Part, and the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers shall be known as the Party of the Second Part. And for good and valuable trade reasons agree as follows, to-wit:

1st. It is conceded that all Horse Shoeing comes clearly within the jurisdiction of the Party of the First Part.

2d. It is also conceded that all Blacksmithing comes within the jurisdiction of the Party of the Second Part.

3d. That all Horse Shoers now holding membership in the organization of the Party of the Second Part shall be immediately turned over to the Party of the First Part.

4th. That all Blacksmiths now holding membership in the organization of the Party of the First Part shall be immediately turned over to the Party of the Second Part.

5th. In the event of any Horse Shoer making application for membership in the organization of the Party of the Second Part, they shall be referred to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Party of the First Part.

6th. In the event of any Blacksmith or Blacksmith's Helper making application for membership in the organization of the Party of the First Part they shall be referred to the President of the Party of the Second Part.

7th. On and after the date of the signing of this agreement the Party of the Second Part shall discontinue and so instruct their members not to do any horse shoeing in any city or town where a local union of Party of the First Part exists, or where the horse shoeing in such city or town comes under the jurisdiction of a near by local union of the Party of the First Part.

8th. That the Party of the First Part shall discontinue, and will so instruct their members not to do any jobbing work in any city or town where a local of the Party of the Second Part exists.

Signed. For the International Journeymen Horse Shoers' Union of the United States and Canada, by

ROADY KENEHAN,  
JOHN FITZPATRICK.

Signed. For the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, by  
JOHN SLOCUM,  
JAS. J. McDADE,

Resolution No. 21.—By Delegate Louis J. Gordon, of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers:

WHEREAS, Several unions affiliated with the Building Trades Council of S. F., Cal., paraded on Labor Day, 1904, in non-union cloth hats and caps; and

WHEREAS, The Building Trades Council of S. F., Cal., officially upheld and endorsed this action of these unions; and

WHEREAS, Such action resulted in the lockout and defeat of Local 9, U. C. H. and C. M. of N. A.; and

WHEREAS, Repeated actions of this character must inevitably result to the detriment of all unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in Convention assembled denounces and condemns the action of the Building Trades Council of S. F., Cal.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. requests and urges all affiliated and unaffiliated trade organizations to see to it that the label of the C. H. and C. M. of N. A. be on all cloth hats and caps union men wear on Labor Day parades.

Resolution withdrawn by request.

Resolution No. 26.—By Delegate B. B. Rosenthal, of the Upholsterers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor granted a charter to the Mattress Makers, who were formerly a part of the Upholsterers' International Union; and

WHEREAS, President Engel, of the Upholsterers' International Union, acted upon his own responsibility and without the advice and consent of the Executive Board of the Upholsterers' International Union in consenting to the issuance of a charter by the American Federation of Labor to the Mattress Makers; and

WHEREAS, The issuance of such charter has been detrimental to the best interests of the Upholsterers' International Union and the labor movement in general; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, herewith instructs its Executive Council, President and Secretary to revoke the charter granted the Mattress Makers and place them again under the jurisdiction and control of the Upholsterers' International Union.

Resolution No. 27.—By Delegate B. B. Rosenthal, of the Upholsterers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A Convention has been called for December 15, 1904, in the City of Washington, D. C., by the Carpet Layers, for the purpose of forming an international body; and

WHEREAS, Such Carpet Layers and Mechanics are now or have been members of the Upholsterers' Union, and have, as organizations, surrendered their charters and withdrawn from the Upholsterers' International Union, or propose doing so; and

WHEREAS, Jurisdiction over this class of work has been granted the Upholsterers' International Union by the American Federation of Labor, and such work in the past has been done by members of the Upholsterers' Union and rightfully belongs to the Upholsterers' craft; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Upholsterers' International Union that we vigorously protest against the issuance by the American Federation of Labor of a charter to the Carpet Layers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we call upon the American Federation of Labor Convention to instruct its Executive Council, President and Secretary to carry out the law of the American Federation of Labor and refuse a charter to the Carpet Layers and allow the Upholsterers to maintain jurisdiction over such men and work, which rightfully belongs to them, who should remain under the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union.

The committee is of the opinion that all parties engaged in upholstering and mattress making should be members of one organization, and therefore

Recommend, That the Executive Council use its efforts to have the Upholsterers, Mattress Makers and Carpet Layers become members of one organization at the earliest date possible.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 30.—By Delegate Wm. J. Gilthorpe and A. D. Porter, of the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders:

WHEREAS, Samuel Gompers, President, Frank Morrison, Secretary, and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, as at that time constituted, to-wit: James Duncan, John Mitchell, James O'Connell, Max Morris,

Dennis Hayes and J. B. Lennon, in violation of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor during the month of August or September, 1903, did issue a charter to the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, with the seal of the Federation affixed; and

WHEREAS, In doing so they violated the spirit and letter of Article IX, Section II, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, as made and provided, which Article and Section requires that all applications for charter shall first be submitted to the closely allied crafts for their inspection and approval before such charter can be issued; and

WHEREAS, Said charter was issued to the above-mentioned organization at the time this Brotherhood had already and beforehand made emphatic protest in writing to the Secretary of the Federation at Washington, D. C., against issuing said charter to the above-mentioned organization, until the letter and spirit of Article IX, Section II, had been complied with; and

WHEREAS, That notwithstanding our emphatic protest, said charter was issued and protest ignored, thereby creating a dual organization to this Brotherhood; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That judgment be rendered in accordance with the facts as here presented, and charter of the Structural Iron Workers be annulled and revoked.

Committee reports unfavorably on the resolution and recommends the following substitute, which is the decision of the Executive Council in defining the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America and the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers on certain kinds of work herein named:

First: Smokestacks are awarded to the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America.

Second: Gasometers, steam, air, gas or water-tight tank work, with the frame work to the coping of the outer tank, is awarded to the Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America, and the guide frame work above the coping of the outer tank is awarded to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers:

Third: Erection of rib, girder and angle iron work in connection with coal hoppers and ash chutes in buildings is awarded to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

Fourth: Assembling and erection of

the frame and plates on safety deposit vaults is awarded to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.

Delegate Frank Duffy in the Chair.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Gilthorpe spoke against the motion and said in part: The recommendation of the committee has nothing to do with the spirit of the resolution, and is contrary to and outside of our grievance. The Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, not what the Secretary has just read you, should settle this. We protested forty days before the charter for the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' organization was applied for. We protested against issuing that charter unless Section II was complied with. We want our rights in this matter, and nothing more. We ask that the decision arrived at by this committee be referred back to a committee that has no member of the Executive Council on it. We do not want the Executive Council to pass on it. They know nothing about it. We want it sent back to a committee, and when it comes before them we want justice.

Delegate Lewis, of the committee, said in part: I believe it is fair that the Convention should know the merits of the question. The resolution seems to charge the Executive Council and the officers with violating the Constitution, and asks that the charter of the Structural Iron Workers be revoked. I want to say right here that there was a member of the Executive Council of the committee, but he did not attempt to run the committee, and could not have done so. I make that statement in reply to Brother Gilthorpe's request that the resolution be referred to a committee on which there is not a member of the Executive Council. No one has denied on the committee that technically Mr. Gilthorpe and his colleagues may be right so far as consulting them about granting the charter is concerned. However, there was no protest made at Boston against seating the delegate, and that is why the committee has made the recommendation embodied in its re-

port, and asks this Convention to endorse the action of the Executive Council to whom was referred Resolution No. 146 at the Boston Convention, with instructions to use their best offices to try and define the jurisdiction line between the several organizations.

In discussing the resolution Delegate Buchanan said in part: The Bridge and Structural Iron Workers are in the trade union movement to do something to better the condition of the wage earners in the structural iron industry. We are not making these fights for the purpose of grabbing what belongs to them, or anything of that kind. Our only purpose is to have those men organized under a system that will give them results for their efforts. I have had applications from what is known as the Boiler Makers' Helpers Organization in different places, but have refused to consider them, because we could not take them without the consent of the A. F. of L. It is for that reason I made the best effort I could to get the stack workers conceded to us. We are not organized for the purpose of tearing down but of building up; we are not organized for the purpose of destroying but for the purpose of constructing. We are opposed by the U. S. Steel Corporation, by the structural iron manufacturers and by the employers' associations the latter of these organized for the purpose of seeing that we do not go much farther. Our rapid progress probably has alarmed these people. The men in our organization are becoming educated to the fact that they must be aggressive if they hope to get any part of their rights from the greed and avarice that is organized against us.

Delegate Barnes asked if Delegate Buchanan favored the report of the committee.

Delegate Buchanan—The report is not in favor of my organization, for the reason that we know the Boilermakers cannot do stack work, and we want to control that work.

Delegate Porter, of the Boilermakers, in discussing the question, said: This resolution, when it was put into the Convention, was not on the lines of division but of constitution. We want what belongs to us. We served our

apprenticeship and have done this work for years. The resolution was introduced on constitutional lines. We are asking for our rights under Article IX, Section 9.

Delegate O'Connell, of the committee, said: The proposition in the resolution is for the censuring of the Executive Council and the withdrawal of the charter of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers. The committee considered the fact that before the charter of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers was granted ten or twelve good sized local unions of that craft were directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. There had never been any protest from the Boilermakers against their being so affiliated, or asking for their transfer. The Executive Council, believing there was no desire on the part of any other organization to attach them to its International Union, because no application was made for these local unions, granted this charter when it was applied for.

Delegate Gilthorpe moved that the resolution be referred to a special committee of three.

Chairman Duffy—The question before the Convention is the motion to adopt the report of the committee.

The motion was voted on and carried.

Delegate Gilthorpe—I desire to go on record as protesting against the action of the Chair. Why was not my amendment considered?

Chairman Duffy—The amendment was not seconded.

Delegate Gilthorpe—The amendment was seconded.

Delegate Porter—I seconded the motion.

Chairman Duffy—The Chair did not hear a second.

Delegate Porter—I move a reconsideration of the motion.

President Gompers in the Chair.

The Chairman announced that the matter was settled.

Delegate Lewis continued the report of the committee as follows:

Resolution No. 40.—By Delegates Wm. McSorley and T. C. DeVilliers, of the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Bridge and Structural

Iron Workers, in their last Convention at Toronto, Canada, passed the following resolution:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association in Convention assembled:

WHEREAS, The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, at the Kansas City Convention, entered into an agreement with the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers for the purpose of unifying the forces of the metal industry; and

WHEREAS, The Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers have acted in bad faith without association in violating their agreement by calling strikes against our men and otherwise using their influence against our members by preventing them from working at the metal lathing industry; and

WHEREAS, Those that are working at the metal lathing industry can be better organized and protected by being a part of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, and will strengthen the Association by organizing them; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That in consideration of the foregoing facts that we declare the said named agreement null and void and declare our right by claiming the metal lathing industry.

The Committee recommends that the International Association control this work in its entirety.

Regularly moved and seconded the report of Committee be concurred in. Carried; and

WHEREAS, It is a direct violation of all agreements entered into by the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union, and Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union, also our craft jurisdiction, which has been conceded to us by the laws of the American Federation of Labor, long before the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and by their recent action, if it is sustained by this body, will be the starting of a labor war that will disrupt both of these International Unions and bring about no good results, as you can see by the above resolution, if concurred in by this body, would drive us out of the American Federation of Labor. Whereby this is a direct violation of Article IX, Section II of the Constitution of American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention go on record as disapproving of any organization violating agreements, and trying to disrupt bonafide International Unions, as is clearly shown by the action of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, at recent Convention; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention assembled instruct all National and International Unions to support the Wood, Wire and

Metal Lathers' International Union in its claim for jurisdiction, as set forth in its constitution, and approved by the American Federation of Labor, as we can prove we are the only legitimate organization entitled to do this work.

Committee recommends that the subject matter of this resolution be endorsed as embodied in the following agreement:

Articles of agreement entered into between the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, parties of the first part; and the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union, party of the second part.

#### ARTICLE I.

Section 1. Witnesseth, that the party of the first part recognizes the right of the party of the second part to erect and install light iron furring, bracket work, clips, hangers and other appurtenances to metallic lathing and floor construction, and steel corner beads erected for the purpose of holding plaster, cement, concrete or other plastic material.

Section 2. Cards of party of the second part will be honored and recognized by party of the first part in pursuance of all work as outlined by Section 1 of Article I of this agreement.

#### ARTICLE II.

Section 1. Witnesseth, party of the second part disclaims any right to install or erect any iron work other than that outlined in Article I of Section 1 in this agreement.

Section 2. Party of the second part agrees to recognize the cards of the party of the first part when same are in good standing and to permit holders thereof to work under the jurisdiction of party of the second part upon all work conceded under this agreement to party of the second part.

#### ARTICLE III.

Section 1. Party of the second part further agrees not to work for less than the standard rate of wages recognized by the party of the first part.

Section 2. It is further agreed by the parties to this agreement that they will not accept any person or persons who may have been members of either organization and have been suspended or expelled from either organization, until such person or persons have set-

tled to the satisfaction of the organization of which he or they may have been members.

Section 3. It is further agreed in case of a misunderstanding arising between the parties to this agreement, they shall be submitted to a joint committee of both organizations, to consist of the general President and general Secretary-Treasurer of each.

Signed, FRANK BUCHANAN,  
President,  
J. W. JOHNSON,  
Secretary,  
Bridge and Structural  
Iron Workers.

Signed, J. E. TOALE,  
President,  
JOHN T. TAGGART,  
Wood, Wire and Metal  
Lathers.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate McSorley—I would like to know if this is to give notice that the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers are ordered to rescind the action taken at their recent Convention in Toronto? This seems to be a start to disrupt the Wood, Wire and Metal Lath Workers' Organization. When this joint conference was held at the Boston Convention there was an agreement between the Structural Iron Workers and our organization. We have adhered to every principle of that agreement. The committee cannot show that we have not. This movement to absorb our organization started right here in San Francisco. However, their lovely dream of absorbing us will not be realized. I think this Convention should take action to compel the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers to rescind the action they took at Toronto.

Delegate Brady, in discussing the motion, said in part: I do not believe there is any intention on the part of the Structural Iron Workers to absorb this organization he speaks of, but there is a desire to confine them to their original work.

Delegate Barnes—I think there is a provision in the constitution that no grievances shall be considered by the committee or the Convention unless the

parties have conferred and made efforts to settle it themselves. I have been informed that these parties have not made such an effort.

Delegate O'Connell, of the committee, said: The agreement we read was drawn up between the two parties, but each claims the other has violated it.

Delegate McSorley—I claim we have not violated it; but we claim the action of the resolution at the Toronto Convention violated it.

Delegate Buchanan—This is another of the questions growing out of the development of industries. What is now known as the Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' Organization was composed some years ago of wood lathers. They changed their name and reached out to get work in the iron work of the modern buildings. They have been successful in having their claims substantiated. Our claims until recently have not developed into claiming the lathing proper. We made the agreement that was read and recommended by the committee in Kansas City at our convention. That agreement was made in good faith and we are carrying it out in good faith. We believed metal lathing was iron work, and we controlled it in a majority of the cities over the country. We considered this agreement because it is sometimes awkward to have two classes of men working on one building.

Delegate Buchanan spoke on the subject at some length.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was then carried.

Delegate Victor L. Berger received the unanimous consent of the Convention to make a statement, and said:

I wish to speak in regard to the unfortunate affair of last evening. The squib brought up here emanated from the business office. I did not write it, had nothing to do with it, and did not know it was sent here until this copy was shown me. Of course, being one of the editors of the paper, I am responsible, but personally I had nothing to do with the squib, and I don't say I like the contents. I repeat again that I stand for the Social Democratic Herald in its general policy, because I am a Socialist personally, but I want to disclaim being responsible for this squib.

Vice-President John Mitchell—In view of the assurance given by Mr. Berger that he is not personally responsible for the statements in the circular, and in view of the fact that he does not approve of the statements made there, I ask that my statement, wherein I said that unless Mr. Berger furnished proof of the allegations, he be branded as a liar, I ask that that part of my statement be stricken out of the minutes. I move that that part of my statements be stricken from the minutes.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Tanquary moved that the rules be suspended and that the time at which the Convention was to adjourn be taken up.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Wiseman—I move that it is the sense of this Convention that when we adjourn this afternoon's session we adjourn to meet in session Thursday morning at nine o'clock. (Seconded.)

Delegate Shea—I move as an amendment that we hold a session this evening from eight to eleven, then adjourn until nine o'clock Thursday morning. (Seconded.)

Delegate Sullivan—I move that the motion to hold a night session be laid upon the table.

President Gompers—That will carry the whole subject with it.

The motion was withdrawn.

Treasurer Lennon—I move as an amendment to the amendment that we hold a night session this evening and reassemble on Friday morning. For one I am not willing to attend a Convention on Thanksgiving day. (Seconded.)

Delegate D. D. Driscoll—I move as a substitute for the whole that we remain in session until seven o'clock this evening and then adjourn until nine o'clock Friday morning. (Seconded.)

Delegate Barnes asked to have the motion divided.

This was agreed to. The motion to remain in session until seven o'clock was carried by a vote of 102 to 83.

The motion to adjourn the Convention at the end of the session to meet at nine o'clock Friday morning was carried.

Delegate T. L. Lewis, for the Committee on Grievances, continued the report as follows:

Resolution No. 44.—By Delegate Bert H. Beadle, of the Watch Case Engravers' International Association:

WHEREAS, The following decision was rendered by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L on June 20, 1904:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 20, 1904.  
Mr. F. Huber, Secretary International Association of Watch Case Engravers, P. O. Box 263, Canton, Ohio:

Dear Sir and Brother:

On Saturday last a conference was held between two representatives of your organization and a representative of the Jewelry Workers' International Union relative to the question of the union label, and also upon the question of jurisdiction.

In regard to the question of jurisdiction over watch case engravers it was clearly understood and so decided that watch case engravers should properly come under the jurisdiction of your organization, and that the Jewelry Workers' International Union should be so advised and to surrender such watch case engravers who may be now members of that organization, some arrangement mutually agreeable to both organizations to be made by which the transfer of membership can be made with the least friction or difficulty.

At the conference the subject matter of a closer understanding and perhaps co-operation between your organization and the Jewelry Workers' International Union should be reached, both in regard to the issuance of the union label and to protect and promote the best interests of the entire craft. It is not understood nor urged that your organization should cease to issue its union label, but that some arrangement may be made whereby the best interests of all could be advanced and that in the near future the trade may be better organized and a joint label might be issued or a co-operative effort made for the issuance of the label.

It is further suggested that a representative of your International Association should be in attendance at the Convention of the Jewelry Workers' International Union, which is to be held on July 11th at Odd Fellows' Hall, No. 66-69 East Eighth street, New York City, where better opportunity will be afforded for the conference with the representatives of that organization, so that the Convention might be in a position to take effective action thereon.

Trusting that the same will be agreeable, and that in time matters may serve the best interests of all concerned, I am, with best wishes,

Fraternally yours,  
SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President American Federation of Labor.  
And

WHEREAS, The Watch Case Engravers' International Association of America has complied with the request of the



Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in sending delegates to the Jewelry Workers' International Union Convention, held in New York, July, 1904, and that that body did practically ignore our delegates, only allowing them fifteen (15) minutes to draft a resolution of an agreement by which the W. C. E. I. A. of A. and the J. W. I. U. could come to some agreement, it being impossible in the short time of fifteen minutes to draw up an agreement of such importance whereby the two aforesaid bodies could come to some mutual agreement in the settlement of their troubles, thus practically ignoring the delegates of the W. C. E. I. A. of A.; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Convention does hereby re-affirm and endorse the decision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. in their decision rendered on June 20, 1904, between the Watch Case Engravers' International Association of America and the Jewelry Workers' International Union, and compel the J. W. I. U. to surrender all watch case engravers in their union to the W. C. E. I. A. of A.; and be it

**RESOLVED**, That the W. C. E. I. A. of A. shall be the only body recognized by the A. F. of L. in regard to watch case engravers; be it also

**RESOLVED**, That the label of the Watch Case Engravers' International Association of America be the official label of all engraving done on watch cases.

Committee reports favorably.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Lewis—The committee has taken up a number of resolutions and, in the language of the street, "bunched them." They are Resolution No. 47, by the Delegates of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; Resolution No. 53, by Delegate Morris Brown, of the Central Federated Union of New York City; Resolution No. 113, by the Delegates of the International Union of Steam Engineers, and Resolution No. 148, of the Belleville Trades and Labor Assembly. Also all of the subject matter in the report of the Executive Council, beginning with "Brewery Workers', Engineers', Firemen's Agreements," and ending with certain recommendations by the Executive Council.

Committee has carefully read the resolutions and heard the statements of the parties in interest, and in addition has reviewed the action of the Executive Council on the unfortunate controversy existing between the different classes of wage-earners in the breweries of the country.

The committee desires to end the pres-

ent controversy in the interest of the many wage-earners affected and submits the following for your consideration.

We recommend that all agreements and decisions heretofore made by, or at the instance of, the American Federation of Labor, between the Brewery Workmen, Engineers, Firemen and Teamsters, be and are hereby substituted by a working agreement upon the following basis:

1. All brewery employes now members of the United Brewery Workmen's Union may remain such provided that such members of said United Brewery Workmen's Union as are now employed as Engineers, Firemen, or Teamsters, may withdraw from that organization, and join their respective unions, representing these crafts, without prejudice or discrimination on the part of their former associates.

2. Hereafter the United Brewery Workmen's Union shall not admit to membership any engineer, fireman or teamster, but shall refer all applicants, members of these trades, to the respective organizations of these trades, now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor where such organizations exist.

3. All engineers, firemen and teamsters employed in breweries shall conform to the laws, rules and regulations made by that organization of which the majority of the members of the respective crafts employed in each brewery are members.

4. Whenever a majority of men employed as engineers, firemen or teamsters in any brewery are members of the respective unions of these crafts, the organization or organizations representing such majority shall appoint a committee to act co-jointly with the United Brewery Workmen's Union in any negotiations which may arise with the employers, provided that the United Brewery Workmen shall have equal representation with all the other organizations in joint conference.

5. Failure to comply with the provisions of this agreement within a period of six months after the date of adjournment of this Convention shall work a revocation of the charter of the organization or organizations so failing.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be adopted.

It was moved as an amendment that the report of the committee be printed and distributed to the delegates and that final action be deferred until nine o'clock Friday morning. (Seconded.)

Delegates O'Connell, Hayes and Shea spoke against the amendment; Delegates Zaring, Kemper and Hammill in favor of the amendment.

The amendment was then voted on and carried.

The committee continued its report as follows:

Resolution No. 46.—By Delegate Manuel Alves, of the Riggers' Protective Union, 10,298:

WHEREAS, There has been a great deal of friction and ill-feeling created between the Riggers' Protective Union and Bridge and Structural Iron Workers over work claimed and performed by members of both unions, and if allowed to continue will deprive said Riggers' Protective Union of a great deal of work always performed in the past by them; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council, during the present session, adjust the differences if possible.

Committee recommends resolution be referred to Executive Council with instructions to institute an investigation for the purpose of adjusting differences.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 55.—By Delegate Morris Brown, of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

WHEREAS, The firm of Hastings & Co., of Philadelphia, Pa., and Kemp & Co., of New York, both firms being identical, have been placed upon the "We Don't Patronize List" of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The International Union of Bookbinders have been asked for their moral assistance in bringing these firms to terms, but have failed to do so; be it

RESOLVED, By this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the International Bookbinders' Union be and is hereby instructed to assist the Gold Beaters in this matter immediately.

Committee reports favorably on the resolution.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

#### NEW YORK CENTRAL BODY.

Repeated efforts were made by President Gompers to bring about an understanding, by mutual consent, between the Hotel and Restaurant Employees'

International Alliance, etc., and the New York Central Federated Union, for the full representation of the International's local. Agreements were signed and then repudiated by the Central Body.

Efforts to secure for the International's union the rights to which it was entitled were recommended frequently throughout the year, but without success. The matter is not now satisfactorily determined.

Resolution No. 74.—By the delegates of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America:

WHEREAS, The New York Central Federated Union, through their delegate, Mr. Morris Brown, have insisted in Resolution No. 53 that the decisions of former Conventions of the A. F. of L. touching upon the controversy between the Brewery Workers' and Engineers' and Firemen's National Unions be carried out; and

WHEREAS, The New York Central Federated Union itself has utterly failed to obey the decision of the Boston Convention in the matter of seating a bona fide local affiliated with the H. & R. E. I. A. and B. I. L. of A., and unseating a suspended local, formerly attached to the said Int. Union, which the said Central Body was instructed to do on penalty of losing its charter; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention enforce the decision of the Boston Convention and make it effective at once.

Committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council to enforce its decision.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Brown—If the report is adopted does that preclude an attempt being made to straighten out the matter between the officers of the National Body and a committee of the Central Federated Union of New York City?

Delegate Lewis—The purpose of the committee in referring that to the Executive Council is to have the Executive Council take the matter up with the parties interested, in line with the decision and enforce its own decision.

Delegates Robinson and Brown spoke against the motion; Delegates Sullivan, Wiseman, O'Connell and Lewis in favor of the motion.

On motion of Delegate Warner debate closed.

The report of the committee was then adopted.

Resolution No. 77.—By Delegate Matthew Canavan, of the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The Boston Convention gave jurisdiction over the Carriage and Wagon Painters to the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators of America; and

WHEREAS, The connection of the Carriage and Wagon Painters is much closer in general than to the work of the Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators; and

WHEREAS, It is the opinion of the mover of this resolution that the relation and interest of all parties concerned would be best served by the affiliation of the Carriage and Wagon Painters with the Carriage and Wagon Workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the decision of the Boston Convention be reversed and that the Carriage and Wagon Workers' International Body be given complete jurisdiction over the Carriage and Wagon Painters' Unions.

Committee reports unfavorably as the action of the Boston Convention remains in force until Convention decisions are complied with.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 86.—By Delegate John T. Smith, of the International Council of Kansas City, Mo.:

WHEREAS, The Stone Masons' Union No. 7049 of Kansas City, Mo., did communicate with the American Federation of Labor protesting the actions of the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. did communicate with the Stone Masons advising them to take out a charter from the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union without investigating existing circumstances in Kansas City; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Stone Masons' Protective Union No. 7049, most emphatically protest against the action of the Executive Council, and request the reconsideration of said action.

Committee reports unfavorably as it has no jurisdiction.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 94.—By the Delegates of the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, For a number of years past there has been a bitter warfare between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Woodworkers' International Union

over the question of trade jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, The New Orleans Convention of the American Federation of Labor, two years ago, decided to end the conflict by referring the entire subject matter to an arbitration tribunal composed of five members from each organization, these ten to select an umpire; and

WHEREAS, The delegates representing the U. B. of C. and J. and the A. W. at New Orleans declared their willingness to abide by the decision of said arbitration board; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the two organizations met in Indianapolis, in February, 1903, and selected P. J. Downey, of Albany, N. Y., as umpire; and

WHEREAS, After an exhaustive hearing of the case, the umpire rendered a decision, which the Amalgamated Woodworkers' International Union was, and still is, willing to be governed by; and

WHEREAS, This decision has been flagrantly violated by the United Brotherhood in many ways, such as encouraging their members to take the places of striking Woodworkers; breaking up our unions and offering inducements to our members to secede from our organization; and

WHEREAS, This policy of piracy of the United Brotherhood militates against our success; is detrimental to the Carpenters and does injury to the general labor movement. Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it be an imperative order of this Convention to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, that the decision of the Umpire must be adhered to, or said United Brotherhood shall suffer immediate suspension from the American Federation of Labor.

Committee recommends the following substitute:

That the Executive Council require the organizations to comply with the decision of the Boston Convention or stand suspended until decision is complied with.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 96.—By Delegate P. J. Donnelly, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The driving of packages in breweries in a great many cities, is being done by members of the Brewery Workers' Union; and

WHEREAS, As the driving of packages in breweries is cooper's work and a part of the cooper's trade; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention compel the Brewery Workers' Union to instruct its members to discontinue performing such work and allow members of the Coopers' International Union the right to drive packages in breweries.

Resolution No. 99.—By Delegate P. J. Donnelly, of the Coopers' International Union:

WHEREAS, At a former Convention of the A. F. of L. the following resolution was passed: "That where there is sufficient coopeage work for the employment of one or more men, said men shall belong to the Coopers' International Union"; and

WHEREAS, The coopers working in breweries in Columbus, Ohio; Indianapolis; Hamilton, Ohio; Los Angeles, Cal., and Providence, R. I., belong to the Brewery Workers' Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention compel the Brewery Workers' Union to give up these coopers, and also those of any other city who may belong to the Brewery Workers' Union, and have them become members of the Coopers' International Union

Committee reports unfavorably, but recommends the following:

That all coopers employed on new work or repair work in a brewery should be members of the Coopers' International Union.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Lewis—The recommendation of the committee carries with it the general understanding, as we had it in the committee when the delegates were before us, that it is carried out.

Resolution No. 114.—By Delegate A. A. Stewart, of Federal Labor Union 8,921:

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the A. F. of L. did, on May 25, 1904, instruct Federal Labor Union No. 8,921 to surrender their membership to the International Longshoremen's Association within sixty days; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Labor Union No. 8,921 could not find such an organization as the I. L. A. to surrender to, but did tender the fee on Dec. 6, 1903, to Henry C. Barter, Secretary-Treasurer of the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association and ask for a charter reading "International Longshoremen's Association," the only name recognized by the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, Such charter was refused for the stated reason that they could not grant the same on "such broad lines"; and

WHEREAS, Federal Labor Union No. 8,921 did, on July 26, 1904, adopt a resolution refusing to abide by the decision of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., and appealed to this Convention from the decision of the E. C. of the A. F. of L. on the ground that the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., assembled in Boston, did positively and imperatively instruct the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association to transact all its

business under the name chartered and recognized by the A. F. of L., viz: "International Longshoremen's Association"; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Federal Labor Union No. 8,921 be instructed to retain their charter and have full jurisdiction over all longshore work in the port of San Pedro, Cal., until such time as the International Longshoremen's Association will grant them a charter in conformity with the decision of the Boston Convention of the A. F. of L.

Committee recommends that the Longshoremen's Union send a representative to San Pedro, Cal., for the purpose of having the Federal Labor Union 8921 affiliate with the International Longshoremen's Association and that the Executive Council also select a representative, if necessary.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Westoby—But that is a Federal Labor Union.

Delegate Lewis—There seems to be a good deal of friction there, and it seems better to get them to come over than to force them to come over.

Delegate O'Connell—There are men employed in the work over whom the International Longshoremen have jurisdiction.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Resolution No. 117.—By Delegates S. R. Pattison, P. J. Downey and D. B. Heron, of the American Sheet Steel Metal Workers' International Association:

WHEREAS, That at the Twenty-third Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., held in Boston in November, 1903, the question of jurisdiction between the American Sheet Steel Metal Workers, International Association and the United Metal Workers as to which was entitled to the jurisdiction over Coppersmiths, was referred to the Executive Council for decision; and

WHEREAS, Said Executive Council decided that the Coppersmiths should affiliate with the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Association; and

WHEREAS, The United Metal Workers have made no effort to obey the instructions of the Executive Council; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. instruct the United Metal Workers to revoke all charters granted to locals of Coppersmiths, thereby obeying the mandates of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., or stand expelled from the A. F. of L. until said instructions are complied with.

Committee reports favorably, providing there are no technical objections to the admission of the Coppersmiths on transfer cards.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Downey said he did not understand the report.

Delegate Lewis—The position taken by the committee is that the Coppersmiths are members in good standing in another union, and they certainly ought to be transferred on transfer cards to the union that seeks to get them. They should not be compelled to pay an initiation fee.

The motion to concur in the report was carried.

Resolution No. 123.—By Delegate A. McAndrews, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union:

RESOLVED, That the Officers of International Union of Steam Engineers be instructed to order its Local Union No. 18, of Cincinnati, O., to admit all members of Union No. 1 within thirty days without prejudice, and upon No. 18's refusal to comply its charter shall stand revoked and the International Union of Steam Engineers be instructed to grant charter to No. 1.

Committee recommends the following substitute:

That the Executive Council request the officers of the International Union of Steam Engineers to transfer all members of Local Union No. 1, of Cincinnati, who are eligible for membership according to the National Constitution of the Steam Engineers Union.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 128.—By Delegate J. C. Bahlhorn, of the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators:

The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America request the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, to announce officially that the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has complete and undivided jurisdiction over all varnishers and wood finishers.

WHEREAS, The evolution of the building industry has changed the interior finish of woodwork of all large buildings, and the larger portion of that in residences, especially of the better class (which is finished with shellac or varnish), and this branch of our trade is no longer confined to the factory, but has become distinctly a building trade; and

WHEREAS, In all large cities, factor-

ies and planing mills which formerly confined themselves to the manufacture of furniture, now include within the scope of their business the manufacture of interior woodwork for buildings; and

WHEREAS, When this work has been placed in position in the buildings, it receives its final coats of varnish, and the job is completed, and, in many instances, the firm manufacturing the woodwork has the contract for finishing it, and the men who do the preparatory work in the factory complete it upon the building; and

WHEREAS, The work of the varnish-er, even if he be confined to the factory, is such that it qualifies him to enter into competition with the painter; and

WHEREAS, The wages of the varnisher now affiliated with the International Union of Woodworkers are in every instance lower than those of members of the Brotherhood engaged in the same class of work, which of necessity leads employers to discriminate against members of the Brotherhood, and induces owners of buildings to award contracts for this work to firms employing members of the Amalgamated Woodworkers' Union, with the result that the work is performed at a lower rate of wages, in many instances fifty per cent less; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Amalgamated Woodworkers be notified to instruct all members of their organization employed upon this class of work to transfer their membership to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

Committee reports unfavorably, as there is an agreement between the organizations and in the opinion of the committee the parties interested should enforce the terms of the agreement entered into.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Sullivan spoke against the motion, and said in part: The Painters are not satisfied with the report of the committee, and we denied before the committee that there was any agreement or contract between us. Our claim to these men is not because of the number there are, but because we want to protect the men in our line of business and for the protection of contract painters who do this work in competition with shop men.

Delegate O'Connell, of the committee, said: Delegate Sullivan states now that no contract or agreement is in force. Nothing was given to the committee that would indicate that such an agreement was not in force. The painters say that notice was given the Wood-

workers that the agreement was abrogated. The Woodworkers say no such notice was received. The agreement is signed by the President and Secretary of each organization.

The motion was discussed by Delegate Kidd.

Vice-President John Mitchell in the Chair.

The motion was discussed by Delegates Kidd, Balhorn, O'Connell, Driscoll, Swartz, Mulcahy, Duffy and McFarlane.

Delegate Driscoll moved that the entire matter be referred to a committee of three, to be composed of one member selected by each organization, the third member to be President Gompers.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was voted on and lost, the vote being 45 in favor of, 56 against.

Delegate Sullivan moved that the resolution introduced by the painters be adopted.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Vice-President Kidd—Does the vote of this Convention mean the abrogation of the agreement existing between the two organizations? If there is no agreement we want to know it.

President Gompers—May I ask whether this suggestion would be agreeable to the representatives of both organizations. It is stated there is an agreement or has been an agreement. Would it not be of some advantage if the representatives of both organizations would have a conference for the purpose of determining the course of both in regard to their future course in this matter?

Vice-President Mitchell—This suggestion is made to the representatives of the painters and woodworkers.

Delegate Balhorn—I stand by the decision of this Convention. The amendment would only leave the matter where it was before.

Vice-President Kidd—Does Delegate Balhorn consider this vote as nullifying the agreement between the two organizations?

Delegate Balhorn—I do.

Resolution No. 132.—By Delegate John Slocum of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths:

WHEREAS, The Boston Convention of the American Federation at one of its sessions duly and regularly adopted a resolution wherein it was ordered that

jurisdiction over the Carriage and Wagon Painters should be assigned to the International Brotherhood of Painters and Paperhangers; and

WHEREAS, This ruling of the Federation has not yet been complied with by the aforesaid Carriage and Wagon Workers' organization, that organization still exercising jurisdiction over that class of mechanics in defiance of the action of the ruling of the Boston Convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation, that inasmuch as the International Carriage and Wagon Workers is and are now acting in violation of the rulings of the Boston Convention, that be it

RESOLVED, By this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention, that the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to enforce the ruling of the Boston Convention on this matter; and be it further

RESOLVED, That at the expiration of thirty days succeeding the adjournment of this Convention, if the Carriage and Wagon Workers' Organization further fail to comply with the action of the Boston Convention, the Executive Officers of the A. F. of L. are hereby instructed to revoke the Charter of Affiliation of the offending organization.

Committee reports unfavorably on the resolution.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

#### NEW ORLEANS CENTRAL BODY.

A case has recently arisen in New Orleans similar to one which existed in Omaha a few years ago; that is, that the Central Labor Union of New Orleans has placed upon its unfair list a labor paper, published and edited by a member of the International Typographical Union.

The President of the International Typographical Union complained that Mr. R. P. Fleming, the proprietor and editor of the paper referred to, is a union member; that all the work done in connection with the paper is that of union members; that the reason for declaring this publication unfair is due to nothing more or less than the expression of opinion by the editor.

Acting upon principles of trade union law, as well as the decision rendered by the Executive Council in the Omaha case, already referred to, President Gompers communicated with the New Orleans central body, practically reiterating the decision reached in the similar case.

While we all reserve to ourselves the right of patronizing or refusing to patronize any publication, because of the views and judgment expressed in its columns, yet, as trade unionists, we have not the moral right to "boycott" any publication because of the expression of opinion through its columns.

We do not undertake to say that the statements complained of, as published by Editor Fleming, are justified or otherwise; we are not in a position to know, but whatever the expressions may have been, the untrammelled freedom of the press is so important to the well being, not only of organized labor, but to human, civilized life, that no conceivable circumstance could arise that would warrant trade unionists, in their organized capacity, in placing a publication upon a "boycott" list for the expression of opinion.

President Gompers has communicated to the New Orleans Central Body to this effect, but the Central Body has neither rectified the wrong nor complied with its repeated promises to answer the complaint made. In view of these facts, we recommend that unless the New Orleans Central Body removes from its unfair list the "United Labor Journal" within thirty days after the close of this Convention, and so notifies the President of the American Federation of Labor, the charter of said Central Body shall be withdrawn.

Committee reports favorably, and recommends that the Executive Council enforce its decision even to the extent of revoking the charter of the Central Body.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 149.—By Delegate D. D. Driscoll, of Boston Central Labor Union:

We, the United Gold Beaters of America, take this means of placing our grievances before this Convention.

Our membership being only three hundred and thirty, we are unable to send a delegate to represent us.

On July 21, 1902, the United Gold Beaters of America decided to strike for an increase in wages and better conditions of our trade, in which we were successful, with the exception of the shop controlled by the Hastings Company, in Philadelphia, who are yet on the Unfair List of the A. F. of L. The Hastings shops, in Philadelphia, employ 44 boys, 40 girls and 60 men. The girls are paid twenty cents for the work for which the

men in union shops are paid sixty cents. Also the apprentices who learn their trade under the system which the Hastings Company operates, when they are through their apprenticeship, are compelled to work for the Hastings Company, because they know only two branches of the trade, and the Hastings Company is the only firm who operate the German system of gold beating, employing child labor.

We have adopted and registered a union label to protect our trade against this cheap labor system, with the hope that organized labor, who consume our product, would give us their moral support and help us win our fight against a firm who are and always were opposed to union labor. The bookbinders are the largest consumers of gold leaf, and we have appealed to them numerous times to support our label, and our appeal was always blocked by a few influential members of the bookbinders who are friendly with the Hastings Company, and one in particular, who is a member of the Bookbinders' Union and a salesman for the Hastings Company. Also during our strike this gentleman was in Dresden, Germany, buying gold leaf for the firm, and it is principally through his efforts that our fight for union conditions in our trade is defeated.

Now, gentlemen and brothers, we hope before the adjournment of the Convention you will give our appeal your consideration and advise us as to what course to pursue to bring this firm to terms.

Committee recommends resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Lewis—That concludes the report of the Committee on Grievances, which is signed by the committee as follows:

JAS. O'CONNELL, Chairman,  
JOHN A. MOFFITT,  
W. D. MAHON,  
W. MACARTHUR,  
JAS. WOOD,  
WM. J. O'BRIEN,  
ED. HIRSCH,  
EMMET T. WALLS,  
JAS. G. CAIN,  
W. E. KLAPETZKY,  
T. L. LEWIS, Secretary.

Delegate E. J. Lynch received the unanimous consent of the Convention to the introduction of the following:

Resolution No. 160—By Delegate E. J. Lynch, Metal Polishers:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at the Scranton Convention, placed the product of the Wrought Iron Range Company of St. Louis, manufacturers of the Home Comfort Range, on their "We Don't Patronize List"; and

WHEREAS, Said firm has changed the name of their stoves and ranges to the Brothers Range Company, thus misleading organized labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor add to the Home Comfort Range Company, now on the unfair list, the name of the Brothers Range Company.

Referred to Executive Council.

Secretary Morrison—In printing the report of the Executive Council the decision of the committee covering the question of jurisdiction between the United Metal Workers and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers was left out. I have twenty-four copies of the decision at the Russ House, but I desire the permission of the Convention to insert the part omitted in the proceedings, with the understanding that it will appear in its proper place when the regular proceedings are bound in book form.

On motion, duly seconded, the request of the Secretary was granted.

Delegate Swartz—Action was taken this afternoon on a resolution relative to the Amalgamated Wood Workers. Why is it none of the carpenters were asked to appear before the Grievance Committee before a report was made on this resolution?

Delegate O'Connell—The committee in considering the resolution decided it would be almost useless for them to call either of the delegations before the committee. If they desired to discuss the resolution they could do so in the Convention.

Delegate Swartz—During the sessions of our Convention in Milwaukee a letter was sent there requesting a conference between a representative of the Carpenters and a representative of the Wood Workers and a member of the A. F. of L.

President Gompers—In view of the statement made by Delegate Swartz, I move that the Grievance Committee

invite the representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and the representatives of the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International to a joint conference for the purpose of adjusting any matters, or coming to any agreement that may be for the purpose of cooperation between them. (Seconded.)

Vice-President Kidd—What is the use of these dilatory tactics? In discussing the resolution the carpenters said they were going to keep on in the even tenor of their way and insinuated that they were going to make no agreement at all.

Delegate Gompers—I did not care to address myself to the motion I offered because I was of the opinion it would be adopted without any dissenting expression. When the relations of the two organizations were under discussion by the Executive Council Mr. Kidd was present and was asked if he would have any objection to such a conference. His answer was that he would not, but that he would go to the farthest limits possible in order that some agreement might be reached, some understanding arrived at. It was with his assent and consent that the letter was sent by instruction of the Executive Council to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, then in session in Milwaukee. We felt some regret that there was not a more ready or hearty response to the suggestion. However, in view of the fact that the representatives of the Carpenters were not before the Committee on Grievances when this matter was up, I believe a further attempt at reaching an understanding would be wise.

The motion was then voted on and carried by a vote of 53 to 18.

The Convention was then adjourned to meet at 9 o'clock a. m., Friday, November 25th.



## NINTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Friday, November 25th, Vice-President Duncan in the Chair.

### Absentees:

Butterworth, Buchanan, Gordon, Nelson, Kentzell, Farrell, Mahoney (T. J.), Maher, Smith (J. W.), Wharton, McSorley, DeVilliers, Hutchinson, Hamerstrom, Heron, Bahlhorn, Sullivan (Jas. H.), Finan, Thomas, Cain, Cornelius, Maloney (P.), Golden, Morgan, Harris (W. S.), Cosgrove, Iglesias, Lavery (J. T.), Husted, Seaward, Goodwin, Michel, Brennan, Porter, Harris (R. F.), Ward, Walker, Dunn (J. P.), O'Shea (Dennis), Ryan (J.), Morris (W. D.), McSherry, Murray (J.), Hyde, Patterson, Dunn (M. T.), Daley, Catania, Bailey, Hinton, Pillsbury, Bell, Damonzoio, Schilling, Morey, Dowd.

The reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

Delegate Devine, for the Committee on Organization, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 152.—By Delegate Mason Thomas, of the Paper Box Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A continued struggle is going on between the Paper Box Manufacturers and the Paper Box Workers' International Union, instantly discharging any help who joins our organization;

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in Convention assembled, be requested to assist the Paper Box Workers' International Union in organizing the Paper Box Workers throughout the country.

The committee recommends that the resolution be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate T. L. Lewis—The Committee on Grievances has completed its report, except that part which is the property of the Convention. The Secretary has that part of our report.

Secretary Morrison—The Secretary of the committee reported that they had "bunched" several of the resolutions that had been referred to them. The resolutions referred to are:

Resolution No. 47, by the delegates of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; Resolution No. 53, by Delegate Morris Brown, of the Central Federated Union of New York City; Resolution No. 113, by the delegates of the

International Union of Steam Engineers, and Resolution No. 148, of the Belleville Trades and Labor Assembly. Also all of the subject matter in the report of the Executive Council, beginning with "Brewery Workers," Engineers', Firemen's Agreements," and ending with certain recommendations by the Executive Council.

On these resolutions the committee reported as follows:

Committee has carefully read the resolutions and heard the statements of the parties in interest, and in addition has reviewed the action of the Executive Council on the unfortunate controversy existing between the different classes of wage-earners in the breweries of the country.

The committee desires to end the present controversy in the interest of the many wage-earners affected and submits the following for your consideration:

We recommend that all agreements and decisions heretofore made by, or at the instance of, the American Federation of Labor, between the Brewery Workmen, Engineers, Firemen and Teamsters, be and are hereby substituted by a working agreement upon the following basis:

1. All brewery employes now members of the United Brewery Workmen's Union may remain such provided that such members of said United Brewery Workmen's Union as are now employed as Engineers, Firemen, or Teamsters, may withdraw from that organization, and join their respective unions, representing these crafts, without prejudice or discrimination on the part of their former associates.

2. Hereafter the United Brewery Workmen's Union shall not admit to membership any engineer, fireman or teamster, but shall refer all applicants, members of these trades, to the respective organizations of these trades, now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor where such organizations exist.

3. All engineers, firemen and teamsters employed in breweries shall con-

form to the laws, rules and regulations made by that organization of which the majority of the members of the respective crafts employed in each brewery are members.

4. Whenever a majority of men employed as engineers, firemen or teamsters in any brewery are members of the respective unions of these crafts, the organization or organizations representing such majority shall appoint a committee to act co-jointly with the United Brewery Workmen's Union in any negotiations which may arise with the employers, provided that the United Brewery Workmen shall have equal representation with all the other organizations in joint conference.

5. Failure to comply with the provisions of this agreement within a period of six months after the date of adjournment of this Convention shall work a revocation of the charter of the organization or organizations so failing.

Vice-President Duncan—The report of the Grievance Committee, as read by the Secretary, is before the Convention. What is the pleasure of the Convention?

Delegate Smith—I move to amend Section 1 of the report by substituting the word "shall" for the word "may" in the sixth line. (No second.)

Delegate Priestersbach—I move you as an amendment that wherever the word "Teamster" appears in the report of the committee it be stricken out. (Seconded.)

Delegate C. P. Shea, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, opposed the amendment, and said the teamsters were perfectly satisfied with the report of the committee.

Delegate Ward spoke in favor of the amendment.

Delegate Monaghan moved as an amendment to the amendment that the word "may" be stricken from line 6 of Section 1, and the word "shall" substituted therefor. (Seconded.)

Delegate Lavery asked that the following resolutions be added to the fifth provision of the report of the Committee on Grievances:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to execute this mandate;

RESOLVED, That the United Brewery Workmen be compelled to withdraw those engineers and firemen who

have taken the places of striking engineers and firemen in the cities of St. Louis, Mo., and Belleville, Ill.

RESOLVED, That the United Brewery Workmen be requested to withdraw all injunction suits now pending and to dissolve such injunctions as have been secured against the International Unions of Stationary Engineers and Firemen affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Duncan—There is nothing closely relating the first amendment to the second amendment. If the Convention will decide on one point, then the other points mentioned may be considered. We will then be proceeding intelligently. I rule that at the present time the resolutions offered by Delegate Lavery are not germane.

Delegate Macarthur spoke against the amendment to the amendment.

Delegate C. P. Shea, of the Teamsters, said that the International Brotherhood of Teamsters did not ask the United Brewery Workers to compel the brewery drivers to join the Teamsters' organization, but that those who preferred to join the organization of their own craft be allowed to do so.

Delegate Kemper, of the United Brewery Workmen, spoke for ten minutes on the question before the Convention.

A motion was then made and carried by unanimous vote that Delegate Kemper's time for addressing the Convention be extended.

Delegate Timothy Healy spoke in favor of the amendment to the amendment, and at the expiration of ten minutes had his time for addressing the Convention extended.

Delegate Hammill, of the Steam Engineers, and Delegate Wendelken, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, spoke in favor of the report of the committee.

Delegate Fischer, of the Tobacco Workers, spoke against the amendment to the amendment.

The question was also discussed by Delegates Klapetzky, Shamp, T. L. Lewis, Greenlaw and James Wilson.

The amendment to the amendment was voted on and lost.

The amendment offered by Delegate Priestersbach was voted on and lost.

Delegate Lavery again moved the adoption of his resolutions.

The motion was seconded, but lost on a viva voce vote.

Delegate Conroy, of the Stationery Firemen—I wished to speak on the resolutions offered by Delegate Lavery. I supposed they would be argued. Representing the people mentioned in the resolutions, and who have suffered for the past year, I claim the right to lay their case before this Convention, and do not think the resolutions should have been considered at the same time; they should have been taken up separately.

Vice-President Duncan asked that the resolutions be re-read, which was done by Secretary Morrison.

Vice-President Duncan—The Chair did not know that Delegate Conroy wished to speak on the resolutions. As our purpose in this Convention is to be absolutely fair to all the delegates the resolutions will be taken up, and Delegate Conroy may proceed.

Delegate Ward—Will the Brewery Workers have the same right to bring up their amendments which have been lost?

Delegate Conroy spoke at some length in favor of the resolutions.

Secretary Morrison asked if the resolutions were to be considered separately.

President Gompers—That will depend upon the Convention. The matter may admit of separate consideration if it meets the approval of the Convention.

A motion was made and seconded that Delegate Lavery's resolutions be considered after action was taken on the report of the committee.

Delegate Kemper—If this motion is now to prevail why cannot the Brewery Workers ask that each and every one of the resolutions which, according to the report of the committee were bunched together, be taken up and acted upon separately. (Carried.)

The question was discussed by Delegates Morton and Guerin, who spoke in favor of the committee's report.

Delegates Kemper and Priestersbach spoke against the adoption of the report.

Delegate Priestersbach offered as an amendment to the original report of the committee that Section 2 of the committee's report be stricken out. (Seconded.)

Delegate Shea arose to a point of order, and stated that as a motion had been made and several amendments to the original motion acted on, an amendment was not then in order.

The Chair declared the point not well taken, and stated that amendments were in order until the debate was closed.

The amendment offered by Delegate Priestersbach was voted upon and lost.

The motion to concur in the report of the committee was carried by a viva voce vote, there being only one negative vote.

President Gompers—The question before the house now is the resolution submitted by Delegate Lavery.

Delegate Mahon—This resolution was first moved as an amendment to the report of the committee. Now, what is the position of the amendment?

President Gompers—The question is not necessarily in the form of an amendment. There are three different propositions in the resolutions. The sense of the propositions not only admit of it but necessitate a division in order that an intelligent vote may be had upon each.

Secretary Morrison read the first resolution as follows:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to execute this mandate.

Secretary Morrison—This is an addition to Section 5 of the committee's report.

It was moved by Delegate Tanquary, and seconded, that the resolution be adopted.

Delegate Mahon—Does that mean it is an amendment to Section 5 of the report of the committee?

Treasurer Lennon—That is where I am at sea. The mandate of this Convention is the report of the committee as adopted.

President Gompers—It cannot be regarded as an amendment to anything. It is original and must stand upon its own merits.

Delegate Miller spoke against the motion.

Delegate Buchanan asked if the United Brewery Workmen had secured an injunction against an International organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers stated that the Chairman was not in a position to answer that question.

Vice-President O'Connell, of the Committee on Grievances: The committee had presented to it an injunction secured in Buffalo by a local union of brewery workmen against some local union of the Firemen's International organization.

Delegate Tveitmoe received permission to ask Delegate Kemper a question, and said: Did the International

organization of the United Brewery Workers disapprove of the action of the local union when it asked for this injunction?

Delegate Kemper—Not to my knowledge.

At twelve o'clock a motion was made that the rules be suspended and the Convention remain in session and endeavor to dispose of the question before the house.

The motion was lost and the Convention adjourned until 2 p. m.

## NINTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 p. m., President Gompers in the Chair.

Absentees — Butterworth, Guerin Nelson, Kentzell, Farrell, Mahoney (T. J.), Smith (J. W.), McSorley, DeVillers, Hutchinson, Greenlaw, Sweeney, Warner, Heron, O'Neil, Bahlhorn, Finan, Lowe, Thomas, Cain, Woodward, Maloney (P.), Golden, Morgan, Harris (W. S.), Lavery (J. T.), Goodwin, Husted, Seaward, Michel, Brennan, Harris (R. F.), Ward, Walker, Dunn (J. P.), O'Shea (Dennis), Ryan (J.), Morris (W. D.), McSherry, Murray (John), Hyde, Patterson, Dunn (M. T.), Daley, Catania, Bailey, Hinton, Pillsbury, Bell, Keefe (M. O.), Damozio, Schrader, Morey, Dowd.

Delegate Jacoby received the consent of the Convention to the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 161.—By Delegate I. Jacoby, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Continuous attacks of organized employers have greatly embarrassed the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and have weakened a number of its locals, especially so the locals situated in Chicago, Ill., and Cleveland, Ohio, during the past year, and

WHEREAS, It is imperative for the future welfare of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union that its locals in Chicago, Ill., and Cleveland, O., be placed on a better footing and receive the full support of organized labor to that end, and

WHEREAS, For the reasons aforementioned the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is unable to render its locals in Chicago, Ill., and Cleveland, O., the necessary assistance required in reorganizing and strengthening the same, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor assembled in Twenty-fourth Annual Convention in San Francisco, Cal., that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to render the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union such assistance as may be necessary and as may be agreed upon between the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the general officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to carry out the objects herein set forth.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Organization.

Delegate Ketter spoke at length in favor of the resolution. At the expiration of ten minutes a motion was made and carried that his time be extended.

Delegate Buchanan also spoke in favor of the adoption of the resolution.

The motion to adopt the resolution was then voted on and carried.

Secretary Morrison read the second resolution, as follows:

RESOLVED, That the United Brewery Workmen be compelled to withdraw those engineers and firemen who have taken the places of the striking engineers and firemen in the cities of St. Louis, Mo., and Belleville, Ill.

A motion was made and seconded that the resolution be adopted.

Delegate Priestersbach spoke in opposition to the motion. At the expiration of ten minutes his time was extended.

Delegates Conroy, Patterson and Porter spoke in favor of the resolution.

On motion debate was then closed.

The motion to adopt the resolution was then voted on and carried by a vote of 110 to 20.

Secretary Morrison read the third resolution, as follows:

**RESOLVED**, That the United Brewery Workers be requested to withdraw all injunction suits now pending and dissolve such injunctions as have been secured against the International Unions of Stationary Engineers and Firemen, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded that the resolution be adopted.

Delegate Kemper—The Brewery Workers have asked for no injunctions; consequently cannot withdraw them.

The motion was voted on and carried, there being no dissenting votes.

Delegate W. D. Mahon voted the unanimous consent of the Convention to the introduction of the following resolution:

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council is hereby instructed to carry out the rulings of this Convention and the laws of this organization, and to suspend and revoke the charter of any organization violating the rules of this Convention or the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

When the charter of any organization has been revoked the officers shall at once notify all central and affiliated bodies of the same.

They shall further instruct all organizers to proceed at once to re-organize such members of the said suspended National or International Unions as are loyal to the American Federation of Labor, and charter them direct from the A. F. of L. until a sufficient number has been chartered to establish a National or International Union. Then the President of the A. F. of L. shall call a Convention of the locals so chartered and proceed to organize a National or International Union organization of that craft, that will abide by and conform to the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Mahon—I desire to offer this in line with what has been done. It covers, not only the Brewery Workers' case, but covers the report of the Grievance Committee.

Delegate Hirsch—Do you mean to say the resolution covers the report of the Grievance Committee?

Delegate Mahon—I intended to have it follow the report of the Grievance Committee.

Delegate Buchanan arose to a point of order, and said: The constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides for the action of the Executive Council in regard to carrying out the laws, and that resolution conflicts with it.

The chair declared the point not well taken.

Objection was made to the introduction of the resolution.

Delegate Mahon spoke in favor of the resolution.

Delegate Zaring arose to a point of order, and said that as the unanimous consent of the Convention had not been obtained for the introduction of the resolution, there was nothing before the house.

The chairman declared the point well taken.

Delegate Santiago Iglesias, representing the Porto Rico Free Workmen's Federation, received permission to address the Convention, and said:

I am here to represent the people of Porto Rico, a people who speak a different language from yours. When we came here to represent the working people of Porto Rico we brought with us many hopes and many good wishes, for the American Federation of Labor granted the first charter to the laboring men of that island.

The working men there recognize the good that has been done by trade unions. I want to tell you something of the condition of the working people in the Island of Porto Rico. Under the Spanish regime the people made living wages. At that time, it is true, the people of Porto Rico had no freedom of the press, had no freedom to express their thoughts in meetings on the streets or in halls, and such a thing as a labor union would have been disbanded by the police. Before the American troops landed on the island the people of Porto Rico had many hopes that they would be benefited by their coming. They dreamed that when the American flag floated over them and the American Republic took possession of the island their condition would be improved. They dreamed that factories and railroads would be built and that they would be able to work and better their condition. So Porto Rico received the troops with open arms, with greetings from the people of both the country and the cities. The people in general, as well as the working people, were glad to see them come, thinking that conditions existing on the island would be changed under American administration. In the first three or four years under American rule we sank down. We had not yet the right to organize freely. We did not have free-

dom of speech or of the press, and things were as bad as under Spanish rule. When the first strike took place on the island under the American flag many men were arrested and many labor leaders were persecuted and thrown into jail. We have several men of the character of Peabody there. The working people met in a convention in San Juan and resolved to send a representative to the American Federation of Labor, and we asked relief and protection from you. We wanted the good will of the American Federation of Labor. You answered us at once, and since your President went there the conditions of the working people have changed. Now we have freedom of speech, we have freedom of the press and we are allowed to associate ourselves into unions. We are not persecuted, we have a good government, but the mass of the working people have no work to do. There is misery and starvation among the people there. We have a right to speak and to associate ourselves together, but we have no work. I ask of this Convention and of the President of the American Federation that the speech President Gompers made in Washington be printed and distributed among American working people everywhere in order that they may know the condition of the people of Porto Rico. The people of Porto Rico do not know where they are. They don't know whether they are citizens of the United States or not. I have here a document issued by the Superior Court of this State. It is a declaration of intention to become a citizen made by Anthony Torbus. He is asked to make this declaration: "It is my intention to become a citizen of the United States of America and to renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to all and any foreign prince, potentate, State and sovereignty whatsoever, and particularly the Republic of Porto Rico."

The Republic of Porto Rico! What position do we occupy? This man was compelled to renounce the government of the United States in Porto Rico to become a citizen of the United States here.

My colleague and myself came here to tell you that the people of Porto Rico have suffered untold misery. We came here to represent them in the

hope that you would do something to better their condition. The people of Porto Rico realize that the American Federation of Labor is the only association that has recognized the citizenship of the men of Porto Rico. Porto Rico to-day is in an awful condition. There is great financial stagnation, and the trusts are controlling the trade. You will find men working for ten hours for twenty to thirty cents and women working twelve hours for fifteen and twenty cents. You will find thousands of people there without shoes and almost without clothes. They ask, "Where is the benefit we were to receive from the United States?" They do not see any benefit. I appeal to this Convention to do something for the people of Porto Rico. I want President Gompers to say something about the conditions there, to draw a picture of what he saw in Porto Rico. No one in the Spanish language could draw such an accurate picture as he drew in that speech in Washington. We had many hopes when the American flag was raised over Porto Rico, but now the men, women and children are dying of starvation. We hope the American Federation, and particularly President Gompers, who knows the conditions there, will do everything possible in order to help the people of Porto Rico who are dying in misery.

President Gompers—Since the American Federation of Labor extended its fraternal greeting and assistance to the people of Porto Rico there has been a larger liberty of speech, a better guarantee of the liberty of the press and of the citizens, and the manhood, the womanhood and the childhood of Porto Rico is the better recognized, irrespective of class or condition. The courts, the police, the executive officers and the legislative body are better. It may not be uninteresting to you to know that while I was there the eight-hour law was adopted for government employes, and that the Governor presented your humble servant with the pen with which he signed that law.

Delegate Keough, of the Iron Molders' Union asked permission to speak, and said: There has been, as you know, considerable newspaper notoriety for the past two or three days in reference to Mr. Joseph Valentine, of

the Iron Molders' Union. It is hardly necessary for me to enter upon any defense of Mr. Valentine here, because the large number of the delegates who are personally acquainted with him know he is not guilty of anything that has been charged against him in the newspapers. I have received from him this telegram which I desire to read to the Convention and move it be made a part of the record:

CINCINNATI, O., Nov. 25, '04.

M. J. Keough, care A. F. of L. Convention, San Francisco:

Say to our friends that we hope to uncover a plot here to ruin the standing of our organization.

JOS. VALENTINE.

A motion was made by Delegate Furuseth that the report of the Committee on Resolutions on the question of the Longshoremen's and Seamen's Unions be made a special order of business for nine o'clock Saturday morning. (Seconded.)

Delegate Tanquary moved as an amendment that it be made a special order of business for 8 o'clock Friday evening.

President Gompers—There is no provision for an evening session, hence we cannot adjourn until that hour.

The motion was voted on and carried.

Delegate Fyfe—When the Committee on President's Report made its report I stated that I wished to speak on a question relative to the Carpenters' question. I was told the matter would be brought up in the report of another committee. As no other committee has touched upon it I wish to state now that we have carried out the obligations imposed upon our organization in the New Orleans Convention, and are now voting on a plan of amalgamation. We were surprised to see that at the convention of the Brotherhood of Carpenters held in Milwaukee they seem to have evaded carrying out this plan of amalgamation, but appointed a committee of six to confer with a like committee of our members. We have carried out every part of the decision in its entirety.

Delegate Zaring—I would like to say for the Brotherhood of Carpenters that all over the country they are carrying

out the provisions of the agreement, and have complied with the terms of the decision in full. The matter came up in the Milwaukee Convention and there were a great many features in the plan of a large number of the delegates could not agree to, and that they were satisfied the rank and file would not agree to. It was put to a referendum vote and re-submitted to a committee of our organization to meet with a committee from theirs to see if they could not agree on a plan that would be acceptable to both sides.

A motion was made and carried that when the Convention adjourn it adjourn to eight o'clock Friday evening.

Delegate W. D. Ryan—I move you that the election of officers be made a special order of business for two o'clock Saturday afternoon. (Seconded.)

Delegate Lennon—I desire to offer as an amendment the following: Unless sooner reached on Saturday.

Delegate Ryan accepted the amendment. The motion was voted on and carried.

Delegate W. B. Wilson, for the Committee on Federated Bodies, reported as follows:

WHEREAS, The Contractors' Protective Association of New York City, which includes nearly all the excavating contractors of that city, among whom are some contractors for the great Pennsylvania tunnel, has refused to hold a conference with the Rockmen's and Excavators' Unions, and

WHEREAS, This association has also repeatedly broken its promise to hold a conference with the committee of the Central Federated Union of New York appointed for this purpose; be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to use its power to arrange such a conference before March 1, 1905, and in the event of the contractors refusing to meet the committee of the C. F. U. to recommend such action as it shall think best to that body, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council call upon the organization of the teamsters, the engineers, the hoist runners and other unions having members who are employed by this association to render all possible moral support and assistance to the Rockmen and Excavators in their just demands.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommended its adoption.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 145.—By Delegate Geo. Burns, of the Electrical Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A great many of the Central Bodies, as at present organized, are ineffective owing to the fact that many of the local unions are forming District Councils, Metal Trades Councils, Building Trades Councils and other subdivisions, thus weakening Central Bodies; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to formulate a code of uniform laws, under which all Central Bodies will be required to organize within six months.

#### UNIFORM LAWS FOR CENTRAL BODIES.

It has been urged that there ought to be somewhat of a uniformity in the constitution and at least part of the by-laws, for central bodies, and though one series of laws cannot be made applicable to all local conditions, yet there are a few fundamental principles which could be formulated into laws, that should apply to all, for the safety and convenience of all.

We therefore recommend that this entire subject matter be referred to the committee of local and federated bodies of this Convention, to consider the subject, and report to this Convention before adjournment.

Resolution No. 145 and that portion of the Executive Council's report under the caption of "Uniform Laws for Central Bodies."

Your committee is of the opinion that the work of formulating a constitution for the government of Central Bodies cannot be properly done by a mixed committee during the brief period of an Annual Convention. The lack of uniformity in the laws of Central Bodies is very apparent and as a result every Central Labor Union has a different method of work, which is frequently injurious to the welfare of the American Federation of Labor. The work of drafting a constitution for Central Bodies should be placed in the hands of men who from day to day come in contact with their different constitutions and different methods of work.

We therefore recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to draft a constitution for the government of Central Labor Unions and submit the same to the next Annual Conven-

tion for its approval, disapproval or amendment.

Fraternally submitted,

W. B. WILSON, Chairman,  
WILLIAM J. GILTHORPE,  
GEORGE K. SMITH,  
WILLIAM B. MACFARLANE,  
DAVID KREYLING,  
J. MAHLON BARNES,  
MATTHEW CANAVAN,  
J. W. MORTON,  
P. J. DOWNEY,  
JOSEPH N. WEBER,  
JERE L. SULLIVAN.

On motion, the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate Wilson—I move that the report of the committee be adopted as a whole and the committee dismissed.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Frank Duffy, for the Special Committee on San Francisco Central Bodies, reported as follows:

Report of Special Committee appointed for the purpose of bringing about if possible an amalgamation of the three Councils of Labor of this city into one Central Body.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your committee appointed by President Gompers in conformity with the request of the Organization Committee to whom was referred that part of the Executive Council's report dealing with the San Francisco situation, begs to report as follows:

We find that the report of the Executive Council in this matter is correct in every respect.

Three Councils of Labor exist, carry on and transact business in their own individual way, irrespective of one another. The three Councils are known as:

The San Francisco Labor Council,  
The Building Trades Council,  
The City Front Federation.

Representatives of all three Councils appeared before us, presented their grievances and objections, laws and proposed laws. Documentary testimony was also submitted in substantiation of statements made orally, all of which



received our most careful consideration.

From the temper displayed and the determination shown, neither "to give nor take," we are of the opinion that it would not be conducive to the best interest of the organized wage workers of San Francisco, nor a wise act on the part of the American Federation of Labor, to attempt at this time to bring about a centralization of the Labor Unions of this city into one body.

We deplore the fact that in San Francisco, where the unions have done so much to make our stay among them pleasant and agreeable, where hospitality has been offered us on every occasion possible, and where friendship and brotherly love has been extended to us liberally and freely, that the "labor forces" should be so divided and that they should so stubbornly and steadfastly resist any attempt to bring them together.

While our services have been offered in a spirit of friendship and good will, we are sorry to report we could not bring about the desired results.

Nevertheless, we are of the opinion that "discretion," coupled with "good plain common sense," will bring the members of Organized Labor in this city to realize, at no distant date, the absolute necessity of combined effort and action in one Central Body in order that they may be in a position to meet all emergencies as they arise and difficulties as they occur.

This is the only method in which the interests of the wage-workers can be served and protected.

JAMES M. LYNCH,  
JAMES WOOD,  
FRANK DUFFY.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in and the recommendation adopted.

Delegate T. L. Lewis, for the Committee on Grievances, reported as follows:

The Committee on Grievances, complying with the request of the Convention, requested the representatives of the Carpenters and Wood Workers to appear before the committee and found that the representatives of the two organizations seemed to be in no frame of mind to adjust their differences, and

for this reason we regret to report our inability to recommend anything to the Convention to have the Carpenters and Wood Workers to reach an agreement.

JAMES O'CONNELL, Chairman,  
JOHN A. MOFFITT,  
W. D. MAHON,  
WALTER MACARTHUR,  
JAMES G. CAIN,  
WILLIAM J. O'BRIEN,  
W. E. KLAPETSKY,  
JAMES WOOD,  
EDWARD HIRSCH,  
EMMETT T. WALLS,  
T. J. LEWIS, Secretary,  
Grievance Committee.

Delegate Lewis—We make this as our final report and ask to be discharged.

On motion the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate W. H. Haskins, for the Committee on Laws, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 6.—By Delegates John F. Tobin, Collis Lovely, John P. Meade, Emmet T. Walls and Chas. E. Lowell, representing the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Many complications have arisen through the indiscriminate action of local unions and central bodies placing firms on the unfair list without securing the proper sanction of the national or international union representing the particular trade or calling involved; and

WHEREAS, Hasty and ill-advised action of this kind has an adverse influence upon the general good reputation enjoyed by national and international unions in the conduct of their business; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Law of this Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to amend the constitution so as to absolutely prohibit placing any business concern on the unfair list by any local, central or State body connected with the American Federation of Labor without the sanction of the national or international union whose interests are involved and endorsed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, where such business concern manufactures and sells merchandise outside of the particular town, city or State in which such manufacturing concern is located. And be it further

RESOLVED, That where any business concern is on the unfair list contrary to the spirit and letter of this resolution a settlement shall be negotiated, and if no adjustment is made by February 1st, 1905, all firms then on the unfair list

contrary to this resolution shall be removed from such unfair list.

This resolution and proposed amendment to the constitution is not intended to interfere with any practice heretofore pursued by Building Trades Unions or unions representing trades or callings local in their nature.

The committee recommends that the resolution be not concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 11.—By Delegate W. Macarthur, International Seamen's Union of America:

WHEREAS, Certain city central bodies have adopted the assessment system of raising funds for the support of strikes, etc.; and

WHEREAS, The assumption by city central bodies or other representative organizations of power to assess the membership of the affiliated unions for any purpose is contrary to the principle upon which such bodies are founded, to-wit: mutual advice, voluntary co-operation and moral responsibility, and as such constitutes a danger both to the unions and to the bodies in which they are represented; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, that the power of assessment should be reserved exclusively to the respective unions and the individual members thereof, to be exercised in the manner provided by their own laws, Local, National or International; be it further

RESOLVED, That city central bodies and State Federations are hereby advised that all forms of assessment levied by them upon the unions affiliated therewith are opposed to the principle and policy of the American Federation of Labor and will therefor not be sustained by the Federation.

The committee suggested the following substitute for the resolution:

RESOLVED, That City Central Bodies and State Federations are hereby advised that all special assessments levied should only be declared upon a referendum vote of the unions affiliated.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 17.—By Delegate Mrs. O. P. Smith, of the Women's International Union Label League:

WHEREAS, The preconceived movement on the part of the people who are antagonistic to organized labor, and their efforts to defeat the aims and objects of our movement, are such that it will require the united labors of all members of organized labor and its friends, in order to maintain our prestige in the industrial field, with the "Citizens' Alliance," Manufacturers' Associations and like combinations of capital making every effort and using every

device and coercion in order to injure organized labor, by destroying and depriving labor of one of its most potent and powerful weapons (namely), the Union Label; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we use every means at our command to aid and encourage the use and influence of the "union label" and to this end we favor the adoption of such legislation and measures at this, the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, as will tend to further strengthen our position along this line, also to adopt such measures that will enable the members of organized labor to more effectually prosecute the sale of the products of union labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That as an organization known as the Women's International Union Label League has a representative in attendance at this Convention, and as said organization, the Women's International Union Label League, has been a powerful factor in the work of creating the demand for union made products, that we respectfully request that the Women's International Union Label League be granted a Certificate of Affiliation from the American Federation of Labor, and that every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is requested to assist the Women's International Union Label League in its efforts to enlarge the scope and influence of the labor movement.

The committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and action.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 36.—By Delegate W. Frank Moyer, of the Washington State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Pacific Coast States, with its large membership affiliating with the A. F. of L., deserves some recognition on the General Executive Board; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the A. F. of L. be so amended as to require at least one member of the said board to be a resident and citizen of either Washington, Oregon or California.

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 62.—By Delegate James Wilson of the Pattern Makers' National League:

To amend Section 4 of Article III of the constitution. The Executive Council of the Federation shall every six months appoint an expert accountant to audit the books of the Federation and make reports to all National, International, Central, State and Federal Unions affiliated of the findings of such audits. The expense of such audits to be paid from the funds of the Federation.

**New Section:** The President shall appoint a Credential Committee consisting of three (3) delegates elect. This committee shall meet at the place of holding the Convention three days prior to the Convention, and shall report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee to be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 63.**—By Delegate Thomas J. Mahoney of the Glove Makers' International Union:

**WHEREAS,** It is apparent to all that the enemies of labor have organized to assist each other, morally and financially, for the sole purpose of crushing and destroying organized labor, and the success that has been attendant upon their efforts if allowed to continue unchecked, will ultimately result in disaster to the labor movement, and,

**WHEREAS,** Under the system that at present exists, in order to successfully combat with the aggression of capital, we must fight them with capital; lack of said capital being principally responsible for the defeat that organized labor has suffered, and,

**WHEREAS,** The opponents of organized labor are becoming more bold and determined, through knowledge of the fact that the American Federation of Labor is not a financial institution, and realizing that the present system of raising funds to carry on a controversy to a successful issue by means of appeals for financial aid, is ineffectual, therefore be it

**RESOLVED,** That it is the sense of the delegates here assembled that Article XI, section 1 be amended to read, "from International and National Trades Unions' a per capita tax of ten and one-half cents (10½) per member per month be paid, ten cents (10) of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strike or lockout, and

**RESOLVED,** That Article X, section 1, be amended to read, "The Executive Council shall have power to levy upon all affiliated unions, such assessments as may be necessary to conduct any strike or lockout that may have been legally endorsed or sanctioned by the Executive Council.

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 86.**—By Delegate O. W. McCaslin of Hospital Employees' Union No. 10038:

**WHEREAS,** The wages of State Hospital Employees are paid and regulated by the various States, and the very nature of their employment is such that said employees could not inaugurate a

prolonged strike over wages or for any other cause; therefore be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Constitution be amended as follows: By adding to Section 1, Article XI, "State Hospital Employees' Unions shall pay a per capita tax of five cents per member per month, but shall not be entitled to strike or lockout benefits."

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate O. W. McCaslin spoke at length in opposition to the motion, and said in part: The resolution is intended to relieve the hospital employes of that part of the per capita tax that is set aside as a special fund for strikes and lockouts. These employes have the care of the unfortunate insane people, and it is our duty to look after them. You will realize the impossibility of the members of our union going on strike and leaving our charges. We could not possibly receive any benefit from this fund, and therefore ask to be relieved from paying it, that we may devote it to a fund to be used in helping our own members when they are discharged.

I move you as a substitute that the resolution be adopted.

The substitute was voted on and lost. The original motion was carried.

**Resolution No. 52.**—By Delegate Morris Brown of the Central Federated Union of New York City:

**WHEREAS,** The Piano and Organ Workers of New York City have made various attempts by committee and with committee from the Central Federated Union to amicably settle a grievance existing at their piano and organ factory (Ludwig & Co.) and have failed; be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby requested to place the firm of Ludwig & Co. upon its "We Don't Patronize List."

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

**Resolution No. 75.**—By Delegate Henry Simon, of the Central Labor Union, Jefferson City, Mo.:

**WHEREAS,** The policies declared for by organized labor at the Annual Conventions of the American Federation of Labor directly represent the interests of one-eighth the entire people of the United States and indirectly affect all; and

**WHEREAS,** These legislative policies are now decided in a single legislative

body, with only one short session each year of two weeks at which some three hundred bills are introduced, referred to committee and acted upon, which calls for an additional system whereby the far-reaching interests involved shall be subject to discussion in the Labor Press and review by the members in order to insure the greatest amount of stability and progress; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby submits to advisory vote of the affiliated local, central and State unions the following amendments to the Constitution of the Order, to be numbered Articles XV and XVI.

#### ARTICLE XV.—VETO POWER AND DIRECT INITIATIVE.

Section 1. All questions of policy, except those immediately necessary and are so declared in the body of the measure and which shall receive a two-thirds vote, shall not take effect until ninety days after the close of the Convention, and, in the meantime, if three per cent of the local, central and State bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall request in writing that a measure or measures shall be submitted to a direct vote of the local, central and State bodies, the measure shall be submitted by the Executive Council within thirty days from the filing of the request. The verdict of a majority of those who vote and whose unions are entitled to representation at the Convention shall decide each question. Each local in voting shall report the votes for and against each measure voted on within thirty days. The two preceding sentences shall apply to each section in this and the succeeding article.

Section 2. Measures may be proposed to the Annual Convention by three per cent of the local, central and State bodies, and each measure thus proposed together with the recommendation of the Convention shall go to a direct vote of all the local, central and State bodies except where the Convention adopts the measure as proposed.

#### ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended upon recommendation by the Convention and ratification by a majority vote of the locals, central and State bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Section 2. Three per cent of the local, central and State bodies may propose amendments to this Constitution, and such measure or measures thus proposed, together with the recommendation of the Convention, shall go to a direct vote of all the local, central and State bodies.

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Sarman spoke in opposition to the motion.

Delegate Lennon spoke in favor of the motion.

The motion was then voted on and carried.

Resolution No. 87.—By Delegate T. Westoby of the International Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers:

WHEREAS, The West, Middle West and the Pacific Coast have a very large proportion of members who are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, have not the representation on the Executive Council which they are entitled to in proportion to their membership; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council be increased by the addition of three members; one to be from the West, Middle West and one from the Pacific Coast.

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegates Westoby and Canavan spoke against the motion; Delegates Tveitmo and Lennon in favor of the motion.

The motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee was then carried.

#### APPEALS FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE.

During the past year we had numerous appeals for financial assistance, each urging that a special assessment be levied upon the unions. In view of the fact, however, that there were so many involved, and taking into consideration the financial condition of nearly all the international unions, we were strongly convinced of the inexpediency of levying such assessments.

We, however, issued several appeals, some of which brought fair returns.

We cannot too strongly impress upon the minds of our fellow-unionists the absolute necessity of providing their organizations with funds. During the period when they are employed, and without any difficulty confronting them, they should contribute to the dues that will afford them protection in all of the vicissitudes that may befall them, to aid in securing the improved conditions to which they are entitled.

Experience has demonstrated that the failure of unions to require the

contribution of higher dues, and the consequent absence of any fund, is the cause of many strikes and lockouts which could and would otherwise be averted.

When unions have no accumulated funds, they are often imposed upon by employers who undertake to calculate to a nicety how long the workmen can resist aggression and hold out to enforce a demand, no matter how reasonable it may be. The fact that men can and do economize, and live on less than usual during a contest, is not considered when the employers take an aggressive position, and strikes are thereby prolonged to a greater period than calculated upon by the employers. But the presence of a good fund would have the effect of moderating the employers' attitude and persuading them to a more reasonable consideration of labor's rights. It is true that appeals for financial aid have been of great material advantage; that for the Miners' strike, in the anthracite regions; for the Western Federation of Miners, for the Textile Workers, and for the Glove Workers, have had fairly reasonable results, but, generally speaking, the issuance of appeals for financial assistance is immediately considered by employers as a sign of weakness and as a token of distress, that influences them to take an obstinate position. In their supposed confidence that in a very brief time hunger will weaken the ranks and break the backbone of the strike.

In view of these absolute facts, demonstrated beyond doubt, we desire strongly to impress upon the minds of fellow-unionists, and to recommend and urge upon our international unions the absolute necessity and advantage to them, to their members, and to all labor, that the dues of the membership of their local unions should not be less than one dollar per month. Funds accumulated from the contribution of such dues would not only admit the payment of benefits of several kinds to the members, but would be the greatest preventive of the deterioration of the condition of labor, would be the easiest and most practical method of obtaining improvements in the condition of the workers, and accomplish these beneficial results without the necessity of strikes or lockouts.

The committee recommends that the action of the Executive Council be endorsed.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

#### LOCAL STRIKES.

We have endorsed a number of strikes of directly affiliated local unions and authorized the payment of the benefits. This will be fully covered in the reports to this attention of the President and Secretary.

There is another feature to which we desire to call attention. We have formed quite a number of international unions within the past few years, since the formation of the defense fund. Of course, when an international union is formed from directly affiliated local unions, these locals forfeit their further claim upon the defense fund, toward which they have paid. Desiring to overcome this, as well as to give the newly formed international unions a start, we have usually recognized the equity of the claim for some consideration and some financial assistance, and have appropriated sums of money toward the formation of these international unions, but such appropriations were made from the general fund, when in truth they should have been made from the defense fund, to which, as already stated, these unions had contributed. For that reason we recommend that when such appropriations are made, that authority be given that the same be drawn from the defense fund. We wish to add that it is not our desire to deplete the defense fund at all, but simply to accord justice, and in a legal manner. We therefore submit the recommendation.

The committee recommends that the Executive Council be given the authority asked.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 110.—By Delegate J. Barnes, of the Cigar Makers' International Union:

RESOLVED, That the Constitution be amended as follows: by adding to Section 1 of Article IX "provided that no lobby committee shall be maintained or money appropriated for such purpose."

The committee recommends that the resolution be non-concurred in.

A motion was made and seconded that the recommendation of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Mahlon Barnes—I propose to take you into my confidence to some extent in this matter, by way of introduction, and to say that the Socialist delegates expected to join the issue only on this one resolution. We disclaim responsibility for the consideration of the question of Socialist except at this time, and it will be in line with the policy of those who are persuaded we should take charge of the government as well as control of our industrial institutions that we should not beg for legislation.

All methods of lobbying are bowing the head and presenting ourselves in an undignified attitude, and the results obtained so far have not been commensurate with the efforts put forth or the funds expended in that direction. Trade unionists as such do not hold any consistent position on the subject of legislation. We find them on one question blowing hot and on another question blowing cold. There is no settled policy. I am reminded of what Brother Duncan said the other day when he asked: "Are we to wait on the slow process of law? No; we have an economic force we should exert, and it is more sure and certain. Take the cigar-makers, for instance, and did they secure their eight-hour day by legislation? No."

If that is good logic, then let us turn our faces away from the capital and let us confine ourselves entirely to our economic organizations. Some deprecate the idea of legislation. We contend to the contrary. We say, make every effort to better your conditions through your economic organizations. If you secure in a small territory by your economic power desirable things, extend them to all the people by law if you can.

For many years we have had a lobby committee more or less regularly at every session of Congress. You know and I know that the legislative committees' reports have been burdened with "I regret to report, I regret to report, I regret to report." Friends, we are in a new era! We are not in the infancy of capitalism. The lines of demarkation have been clearly drawn. The capitalists, as such, know their interests, and the workmen at least are beginning

to awaken to theirs. It was not difficult during Grant's administration to get an eight-hour law. But the capitalists are wiser to-day, and they know when you ask them to concede something to you which will injure them it is to the interests of the representatives of the capitalist class to refuse your request. Both the Democratic and the Republican parties vie with each other in using the big club to bowl down the laws you request. Both the political parties will respect us when we cease to beg, and not before. In the words of the Irish patriot, "The great are only great because we are on our knees. Let us rise." While we are in humble attitude they spurn us with the toe of their shoe, and I don't blame them. It is in line with the simile of the slave bringing a petition to his master and saying, "Please free me." The master had property rights in the slave; his wealth was invested in him, and it would have been to his detriment to comply with the request presented. In like manner the capitalist does not propose to readily assent to your requests. We will secure those things when we have the power and the will to take them. We have the power; it yet remains for us to have the will to take charge of the government and then rectify all along the line the things we want abolished, and secure the legislation we now beg for.

A story is told of a gunner who when out hunting shot one bird and wounded another. The wounded bird fluttered off. The gunner did not pursue the dead bird, but went after the one that was wounded because it had started to escape. Just so long as the politicians, both Democrats and Republicans, find us moored to one spot, or coming to them with heads bowed down, just so long they will turn a deaf ear to petitions. But should we pursue a policy of ignoring them except to say, "Thus and so are the demands of organized labor; we demand of you their adoption," they would pay attention to us. And such a course would be dignified. Don't go down to Washington and shake the glad hand of the Senators and Representatives day in and day out during the whole session of Congress, but present your demands in a dignified way and then retire.

I am reminded at this time that in the spring of 1893 at one of the district

meetings of the anthracite miners, becoming nauseated at the dilatory tactics of the politicians and their refusal to accede to our demands for legislation the miners voted almost unanimously that they would not send another lobby to the State Capital at Harrisburg. What was the result of that action? It was not three hours after that action was taken before Governor Pennypacker sent a message post haste saying, "Please send a committee of your organization to Harrisburg. I desire to confer with you on a matter of interest to your craft."

I want to make clear the proposition as it appears to me, and I do not want to minimize any of the laws that have been secured in the past. There have been many beneficial laws secured by this policy in the last fifteen years. I myself have appeared before the legislative committees in Pennsylvania in the interest of laws for the protection of the cigar-makers' label. That was in '91 and '93. At that time they were not as wary as they are to-day, and the later enactments of that Legislature have not been towards increasing the value of that law. By two later amendments they have detracted from it, notwithstanding the fact that during the last Legislature there was a committee five times as large to present the facts. They are brighter-eyed, they are clearer-visioned to-day and they know the issue better, and they take their stand according to their class interests.

I contend that our best interests as organized workmen will be subserved if we take the stand that we shall no longer beg from the capitalist class, but respectfully present our demands and desires, then let them know that we are in our homes in this great nation watching to see whether or not they are going to accede to our desires and our wishes. If they prove recreant to their trust and forget the wishes of organized labor they will know that some other plan will be pursued.

Treasurer Lennon in the Chair.

President Gompers—Some one has said that I have placed myself at an advantage in addressing the conventions of the American Federation of Labor on questions akin to this one. As delegate as well as President I have an opportunity to quit presiding for a brief period in order that I may present what I have to

say on any question. I desire now to make an argument, brief though it may be, and to submit it to the criticism of those who may want to take issue.

There may come a time when we may with some degree of safety do away with—not the lobby, as it is sneeringly termed, but the legislative committee—and rely entirely upon our economic organizations. I believe that time may come; but I am confident that time has not yet arrived, and I feel it will not arrive for a considerable period of time. To-day more than ever, as intimated by Delegate Barnes, the capitalist class, or the worst elements in that class, stand as a constant opposition to anything we may demand, and also as a constant force to try and invade the rights we have already secured, and to take away from us the advantages we have achieved. I look upon the efforts of our legislative committee as those of a watchman, of a guard there to prevent iniquitous and hostile legislation. It is true that at times we have been required to report our regrets that much has not been achieved of an affirmative character; but I do not believe we should lose sight of the wonderful effect our movement and our legislative committee has had in preventing hostile legislation. The legislative committee can bear that out, and the history of our movement can bear that out.

If it had not been for our legislative committee, and the President of the American Federation of Labor co-operating with it, we would have upon our statute books to-day a law that would bind us hand and foot and prevent us from exercising our natural functions as trade unionists and citizens.

I think it is about time this sneering, sturring tirade against the legislative committee and the officers of the American Federation of Labor should cease. The assertion has been made that we bow our heads and bend our knees, that we "wear off the knee pads," as some have said. That may be the conception of some who attack the trade union movement in season and out of season; but that does not conform to the facts. Stenographic reports of the hearings before the House of Representatives and the Senate Committees are published, and I challenge any man to produce one sentence, one

remark, one indication of an attitude on the part of the American Federation of Labor or its President that is not a bold assertion of labor's rights.

I have taken occasion as editor of the "American Federationist" to print the arguments and statements made by our legislative committee, by Vice-President Duncan, Vice-President O'Connell and by your humble servant, and I challenge any man to show that in the slightest degree, either directly or indirectly, anything can be distorted so as to indicate a demeaning of the character, the dignity, the strength or honor of the labor movement of our country.

Delegate Barnes—You have referred to slurring tirades. I am the only one who has spoken.

President Gompers—Do you believe we have bidden good-by to our memories? Do you think for a moment we are unconscious of the fact that others—those who are associated with you and whom you designate as Socialists—conform themselves very differently in this Convention to the way they do out of it? Do you think we are entirely unconscious of these things? To show the consistency of our friends. They say they have concentrated what they hoped to present to the Convention in the proposition now under discussion, that is, the abolition of the legislative committee—I decline to accept their terminology in or out of the labor movement. They are asking us to abolish the legislative committee, and yet during this same Convention they have asked us to use our best efforts to get from Congress a law for pensioning workers. They say that these things will come about anyway, regardless of whether we have legislative committees or whether we abolish them. This reminds me very much of an incident that occurred in a hunting party. A very ignorant colored man accompanied his employer on a hunting trip. The hunter was preparing to shoot any game in sight when the servant said: "You needn't shoot; dey come to you." The hunter said, "The game will not come; I will have to shoot it."

At that moment a flock of ducks flew across his horizon, and the hunter, with accurate mark, aimed and shot, and down came a duck with a dull thud.

He then turned to the colored man and said, "You see what I have done.

I got the duck, but I had to shoot it." The darkey said, "Well, it wouldn't have made any difference; the fall would have killed him."

"Everything comes to him who waits," may be a very excellent maxim, but we have seen nations and people wait and wait and decay because of their failure to act. We want to exercise every function we possess. We deny the assertion made by some of our opponents when they say the American Federation of Labor is against political action. We are against the American labor movement being made a political party machine.

Sitting here I have jotted down a few things that have been secured. Ask the seamen what the American Federation of Labor has done for them. Last night I heard one of the seamen refer to the fact that the shackles were placed upon his wrists a few years ago simply because he walked off his ship after his day's work was done, and that ship in safe harbor. He was arrested and taken in irons to jail because he did this. He said: "Thanks to the American Federation of Labor, every seaman in the country can now do that without fear of the master, the policeman or the jail."

Through the legislative committee of the American Federation of Labor we have abolished slavery in Hawaii. If it had not been for that legislative committee there would be slavery still in Hawaii. If it had not been for that committee we would have no Chinese Exclusion Act, and the ports of our country would be open to this "Yellow Peril." We have lien laws that protect the working man, and assure him that at the end of his week's work he will receive the wages he has earned. I do not know that Mr. Barnes was a wage-earner in the period when men would work week after week and then find that their employer had absconded with the money given him by the man whose buildings were being erected, and they were left without wages for the work they had done. Through the efforts of our legislative committee we have made it possible to secure the ventilation of mines.

Through the legislative committees in the various States we have made it more safe for men to work in mines; we have had safety appliances placed in machine shops; we have secured to a greater degree safety of life and limb for



the worker. To you that may not be important, but to us it is. We have also secured practically a uniform coupler system on all railroads, so that many of the lives of our fellow workers have been saved—and surely their limbs have been. Through the efforts of our legislative committee we have abolished child labor in most of the States of our Union, and within the past few years we have secured the enactment of laws for the protection of the lives and limbs of the children in several of the Southern States.

I cannot go through the entire gamut, and I do not want to, of the laws that have been secured and the benefits that have been achieved. If we in the next two or three years cannot secure more beneficial laws, we shall at least be on guard against the efforts of our opponents. We have not secured all the laws we want or should have or to which we are entitled; but with all the attacks, with all the criticisms and fault-findings

of our opponents, I say here and now we have more beneficent laws for the protection of the rights and interests and lives of the laborers of our country than there are in any country on the face of the globe. It is true some of the laws that were enacted have been declared unconstitutional; but there is not an essential factor we have surrendered, there is not a thing for which we cannot make a further fight. We move on and on. Sometimes we are forced back, or cannot proceed further, but those who have the grit, the intelligence and the courage to fight and use every legal and moral weapon at their command are the men that make up a movement that knows no defeat—no, I shall modify that, but even though defeated now and then they cannot be and will not be conquered.

The Convention at 6:30 was then adjourned to 8 P. M.

## NINTH DAY—Evening Session.

Convention called to order at 8 o'clock p. m., President Gompers in the Chair.

Absentees—Smith (G. K.), Gilthorpe, Tobin, Hank, Butterworth, Koeneck, Curren, Duffy, Swartz, Tarnell, Zaring, Guerin, Gordon, Baum, Donnelly, Burns, Nelson, Hammill, Bechtold, Wolf, Hayes, Farrell, Mahoney, Smith (J. W.), De Villiers, Hutchinson, Greenlaw, Barter, Joyce, Warner, Ireland, Pattison, Heron, Murray, O'Neill, Weber, Miller, Carey, Bahlhorn, Sullivan (J. H.), Lowe, Thomas, Cain, Higgins, Mulcahy, Dinan, Sauer, Woodward, Cornelius, MacArthur, Brown (J. G.), Lindow, Golden, Fischer, McAndrews, Mulcahy, Morgan, Davidson, Harris (W. S.), Crozier, Iglesias, Lavery (J. T.), Husted, Seaward, Michel, Brennan, Porter, Harris (R. F.), Hess, Ward, Walker, Dunn (J. J.), Leavitt, Payne, Moffitt, O'Shea (Dennis), Ryan, Morris (W. D.), McSherry, Murray, Hyde, Patterson, Dunn, Daley, Cantania, Forrest, Bailey, Hinton, Bricker, Pillsbury, Bell, Keefe (M. O.), Damozono, Alves, Schrader, Schilling, Morey, Morris, Meinert, Dowd, Padilla.

Discussion on Resolution No. 110 continued.

Delegate J. G. Brown spoke upon the question.

Delegate Ramsay spoke in favor of report of the Committee.

Delegate Monaghan called for the previous question.

The report of the committee was then concurred in.

Delegate Berger requested to be recorded as voting in the negative.

Resolution No. 134.—By Delegate C. W. Petry, of the Alameda County Central Labor Council:

WHEREAS, Many instances occur in which members of organized labor occupy political positions; and

WHEREAS, The laws of the American Federation of Labor do not allow politics or religion to enter into any of their discussions; and

WHEREAS, There is danger of partisan political discussion entering our deliberations, as was conclusively shown at the session of Wednesday, November 16, 1904; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That no delegate occupying a political position shall be seated as a delegate to any Convention.

Committee recommends non-concurrence.

Delegate Petry opposed the report of the committee and favored the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 89.—By Delegate T. Westoby of the International Union of Shipwrights, Joiners and Caulkers:

WHEREAS, The rapid growth of trades unions have in proportion increased the amount of business in the various central bodies until it has become impossible to give the time for the consideration of important matters that such matters require; and

WHEREAS, The time of the central bodies is taken up with matters that belong to department councils and could be better discussed and decided by said department councils; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Committee take action on dividing the various trades into department councils, such department council to be chartered by the A. F. of L. and under the jurisdiction of the central body of the city in which it is located.

The committee reports to non-concur.

The report of the committee was concurred in.

Resolution No. 78.—By Delegate Edward Hirsch of the Baltimore Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Section 2, Article XII, Local Central Bodies, sets forth it shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor bodies and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist, and similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, This law is not being carried out; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor insists upon all affiliated National and International Unions to compel their Local Unions to join the Central Labor Bodies and State Federations in the vicinity where they exist.

Your committee finds from the report of the Secretary as submitted, that this matter is being carried out, and recommends non-concurrence in the proposition to so amend the constitution.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

The committee submitted the following amendments to the constitution:

To amend Section 3, Article III, by striking out the words "or Federated" in the ninth line, and inserting after the word "bodies" in the ninth line the words "Central Bodies," and changing number of the committees named thereafter to conform thereto.

Delegate W. B. Wilson opposed the amendment.

The recommendation of the committee was non-concurred in by a vote of 43 for and 68 against.

To amend Section 1, Article XIII, by striking out the entire section and substituting the following:

Section 1. The money of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of local trade and federal labor unions, when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, endorsed and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this article.

Committee recommends adoption  
The recommendation of the committee concurred in.

To amend the last clause of Section 2 of Article XIII to read as follows:

"unless the strike or lockout shall have been authorized and approved by the president and Executive Council."

Committee recommends adoption.  
Delegate Mahon requested the Chair to state the mode of procedure by which applications are made in cases of strikes and how local unions become entitled to the benefits of the defense fund.

President Gompers—The mode of procedure is this: Local unions anticipating any difficulty, or proposing to make any demand, make application to the American Federation of Labor, setting forth the demands that are to be made, or the cause of the matter in contention. Immediately upon receipt of this information at our office, a competent organizer or other representative of the American Federation of Labor is communicated with by mail or telegraph, as is most necessary or convenient. In the meantime, manifold copies of the application of the local union are submitted to the members of the Executive Council by mail, with the request for a telegraphic vote as to whether or not the union shall be sustained and become entitled to the benefits of the defense fund should a strike occur or a lockout be inaugurated. When a majority vote of the members of the Executive Council has approved the application, the union is immediately advised that if a strike or lockout is unavoidable, it will become entitled to the benefits of the defense fund. The effort of the organizer or representative of the American Federation of Labor is continued in the

meantime for an advantageous and peaceful adjustment of the matters in dispute.

The recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

To amend the first clause of Section 3, Article XIII, as follows:

"When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council."

Committee recommends adoption.

Recommendation of committee concurred in.

To amend the two last clauses of Section 3, Article XIII, to read as follows:

"The President of a local union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union. Also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved."

Committee recommends adoption.

Recommendation of committee concurred in.

To amend Section 6 of Article XIII by striking out the last clause and inserting the following:

"Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits."

Committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee concurred in.

To amend Section 9, Article XIII, line 5, inserting between the words "paid" and "and" the following:

"Furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid."

Committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee concurred in.

To amend Section 5, Article IV, to read as follows:

Section 5. No organization or person that has seceded or has been suspended or expelled by the A. F. of L., or by any National or International organization

connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Committee recommends adoption.

Delegate Furuseth wanted to know if the American Federation of Labor expelled individual members.

Delegate Lennon for the committee said that International organizations expelled individual members.

The recommendation of the committee concurred in.

To amend Section 8, of Article XII by striking out "unless upon charges duly proved against such delegation or local union" and inserting:

"Provided, however, that upon written charges signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated union may upon conviction after a fair trial be expelled or suspended."

Committee recommends adoption.

Delegate Mahon offered the following amendment:

That where any International organization has been expelled for violating the laws of the A. F. of L., the President of the A. F. of L. shall direct the organizers of the same to reorganize the loyal members of the organization into locals, and again bring them into an International in affiliation with the A. F. of L.

Delegate Mahon's amendment lost by a vote of 22 for and 69 against.

The following delegates spoke upon the amendment: Barnes, Mangan, Petry, Conroy, Brown, Mahon, Driscoll, Wilson, Dold, Spencer, Keough.

Delegate Warner called for the previous question.

The previous question was ordered by a vote of 60 for and 50 against.

The recommendation of the committee concurred in by a vote of 90 for and 46 against.

Delegate Dale desired to be recorded as voting in opposition to committee's report.

On motion the report was adopted as a whole, and the committee discharged.

The Convention was then adjourned until 9. a. m., November 26th.

## TENTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Convention was called to order at 9 o'clock a. m., Saturday, November 26th, Vice-President Duncan in the Chair.

The reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

### Absentees:

Tracy, Barnes, Kentzell, Farrell, Mahoney (T. J.), Thomas (Mason), Woodward, Golden, Kidd, Morgan, Harris (W. S.), Husted, Seaward, Michel, Brennan, Porter, Harris (R. F.), Ward (Chris.), Walker, Dunn (J. P.), O'Shea (D.), Ryan (John), Morris (W. D.), McSherry, Murray (J.), Hyde, Patterson, Dunn (M. T.), Daley, Catania, Bailey, Hinton, Pillsbury, Bell, Damozonio, Schilling, Morey, Dowd.

Secretary Morrison read invitations from the following cities desiring the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

J. C. Hayner, Mayor of Minneapolis; Hugh Jennings, President Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly; L. Lund, Secretary of the Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly; W. G. Nye, Secretary Public Affairs Committee of the Minneapolis Commercial Club; H. V. Eva, Secretary Commercial Club, Duluth, Minn.; James H. Wyman, Mayor of Alleghany, Pa.; George H. Anderson, Vice-President Chamber of Commerce, Pittsburg, Pa.; George A. Ness, President Iron City Central Trades Council, Pittsburg, Pa.; R. C. Knoll, President of the Allied Printing Trades Council, St. Louis, and D. Kreyling, Central Trades and Labor Council of St. Louis.

The Secretary also read a fraternal greeting from Golden Gate Lodge No. 91 of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, San Francisco.

Vice-President Duncan—The special order of business for this hour is the report of the Committee on Resolutions on the resolution concerning the Seamen's and the Longshoremen's International Unions. Vice-President Mitchell will please take the Chair.

Vice-President Mitchell in the Chair. Delegate Frank K. Foster, for the Committee on Resolutions, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 112.—By Delegates of the Seamen's International Union:

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association continues to use the name of, and to, in part, claim jurisdiction as the "International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportation Association"; and

WHEREAS, Such action on the part of the International Longshoremen's Association is in open and flagrant contempt of the American Federation of Labor, as expressed by the New Orleans Convention of 1902 and reiterated by the Boston Convention of 1903; and

WHEREAS, Since the last-named decision of the A. F. of L., the I. L. A. has chartered bodies of seamen on the Lakes and Gulf Coast, and its representatives have, in local and national convention, formally declared their refusal to work on board ships with members of the International Seaman's Union of America; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in annual Convention assembled, does hereby again reiterate its decision in this matter, and does require said International Longshoremen's Association to discontinue using the name or claiming any jurisdiction implied by the term "International Longshoremen's, Marine and Transportation Association."

Delegate Foster—The committee has a majority and a minority report to present. The following is the report of the majority of the committee:

While technically we believe that the contention of the resolution is correct, as far as the action of the Boston Convention is concerned, yet as the evidence submitted to the committee absolutely proves that thousands of men now belong to the International Longshoremen's Association who are entitled to be called Marine and Transportation Workers, and as the delegates of the Seamen's International Union do not claim that this present membership should be transferred to their organization, we recommend non-concurrence in the resolution.

We further recommend that representatives of the organizations interested meet and endeavor to formulate an agreement as to the limitations of future jurisdiction in the trades concerned and that a copy of such agree-

ment be filed with the President of the A. F. of L.

The following is the minority report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor:

As a member of your Committee on Resolutions, I am unable to agree with the majority in their report to non-concur in the pending resolution. The committee admits that the Seamen are technically correct, but still non-cur. To my mind this is equivalent to inviting the International Longshoremen's Association to go on taking all they can get, and while it is the seamen to-day it may be the teamster or street car men next. I therefore recommend concurrence in the resolution.

Respectfully submitted,

WILLIAM COHEN.

It was moved by Delegate Foster and seconded by Vice-President Duncan that the majority report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Furuseth—I would like to ask the Chairman of that committee if, in his opinion, a sailor is a transportation worker?

Vice-President Duncan—To some extent, yes, the same as a railroad man or anyone else that handles freight of any kind that is being transported.

Delegate Furuseth—Do you consider that a marine fireman is a marine workman or that a marine engineer is a marine workman?

Delegate Duncan—Yes.

Delegate Furuseth—The name claimed by the Longshoremen at present, the name under which they are known throughout the country, the name under which locals in different parts of the country are affiliated with them, is that of International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association. That name takes in Longshoremen, Marine Workers and Transportation Workers, and it is therefore within the ordinary acceptance of the word an organization claiming jurisdiction over all workers in transportation. The Chairman of the committee has said that he considers a railroad man a transportation worker, a sailor a transportation worker, a marine fireman a marine worker, and yet he and his colleagues bring in here a report which is equivalent to an invitation to

the Executive Council to give the Longshoremen the name and jurisdiction which they claim. How does it come that a Committee on Resolutions of the American Federation of Labor is willing that a transportation federation of the United States shall be chartered by this body and shall be permitted to grow up as a dual organization within this body? What has become of the old-time, straight trade unionism of the members of this committee? What has become of their respect for the law of the American Federation of Labor? The American Federation of Labor says: "We declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every trade and labor organization in America, organized under the trade union system."

Now we thought the trade union system meant organization of craftsmen consisting of locals scattered throughout the country, the members of which might take transfer cards and go from one to another without paying a new initiation fee. In other words, that this was an organization for the purpose of perfecting the mobility of labor. If we take up the proceedings of the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association we will find that that organization consists of different trades or sections of trades organized by themselves, and even different locals of the Longshoremen organized by themselves, and no transfer from one to the other even in the same city, will be accepted. Gentlemen, this is not a trade union; this is a transportation federation. That the President of it considers it so is unquestionably true, because he says in his address, "This federation should have a permanent Committee on immigration." That the men sitting in that Convention as delegates so considered it is evidenced by the fact that throughout the entire proceedings you find it considered as a federation, not as a union. You find the proceedings filled with jurisdiction disputes such as we have in this Convention. At the same time they send organizers out throughout the different parts of the country to organize the maritime workers. The President in his address says, "We must get together all maritime workers; we must have all in order to accomplish our purpose." The Committee on Organization recommended that organiza-

tion of carpenters, it recommended the organization of bridge builders, it recommended the organization of brakemen. They have organized in their locals the brakemen. They adopted resolutions instructing the Executive Board to endeavor to absorb the Inland Freight Handlers' International Union which is seated in this Convention. Recommendations introduced refer to the Committee on Organization, and they were referred to the Executive Committee with power to act.

Is there anything in transportation business they are not looking for? Is the American Federation of Labor going to adopt a report which is equivalent to instructions to the Executive Council to issue to this conglomeration, this transportation federation, a charter under which it can use the organizers of the American Federation of Labor to eat into and destroy the American Federation itself? This is a dual organization to the American Federation of Labor itself. It instructs its Executive Board to affiliate with the transportation federations of Europe. It considers in every one of its acts, as shown in these proceedings—which I recommend to the careful reading of trade unionists throughout the country—that it is a transportation federation, intent upon having one organization cover all the different transportation workers, whether by land or by water, within the United States, and recommends affiliating with the same kinds of organizations in Europe.

The International Seamen's Union of America is a trade union pure and simple, and does not desire to be anything else. It desires that this Federation shall, so far as it is able, prevent the Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers from absorbing, or endeavoring to absorb, other organizations within this American Federation of Labor. Of course we understand its limitation in that direction, except in so far as its moral power is concerned, and when it has determined what is right it has done all, but we insist that so far as it can do something it should be done. The International Seamen's Union was affiliated in 1893. At the Chicago meeting the Longshoremen were chartered as Longshoremen. It was not until 1902 that they undertook to change their name, not until after the City Front

strike in San Francisco, that they undertook to take in maritime men. We protested against this claim, and it was referred to the new Orleans Convention. The committee in the New Orleans Convention reported against them. After a long debate there a motion was made by Max Hayes that it be referred to a committee of two from each organization, the four to select a fifth member of the committee, and then upon an amendment made by me a motion was carried which prevented them from changing their name.

Vice-President Duncan—That is not so.

Delegate Furuseth—I shall ask disinterested men who were there if that motion was not adopted. But it went on in the same way, and they were seated in the Boston Convention—on what kind of credentials I know not, but I do know on what kind of credentials they are seated here in this Convention. They are not seated as a Longshoremen's Union but as an International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association. It is thus their credentials read, and the farce about their being only Longshoremen here and something else outside should be stopped.

I am pleased at this at least, that the committee says they should be given a charter under the name with which they travel throughout the country. What would maritime men think of a vessel that flies one flag in port and another out at sea? We would consider that a pirate, and we would, without hurting our consciences much, go and sink it. If it were not for the fact that in the Longshoremen's Union, as such, there are a very large number of good union men, there would have been trouble along the shores of this country about this matter ere now. Perhaps there would have been a question as to whether the legitimate craft would have sunk the pirate or the pirate the legitimate craft. We have held off from these things because we had an abiding faith in the justice of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and in this Convention. But I find to my unutterable surprise that, so far as I can discover, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in every way treated the Longshoremen as if it was recognized as the Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Asso-

ciation of the United States, and the Longshoremen's delegates have been seated here on credentials bearing that title.

Are we who go to sea, we who labor under entirely different conditions to be told what to do, as seamen, by men on shore? I thought the American Federation of Labor stood for the landsmen as landsmen and the seamen as seamen. I thought the American Federation of Labor would have said the tailor should deal with the tailors' affairs, the shoe worker with the shoe workers' affairs, the longshoreman with the longshoremen's affairs and the seaman with the seamen's affairs. Even such staunch trade unionists throughout their entire careers as Mr. Duncan, of the Granite Cutters, and Mr. Foster, of the Printers, come in here and make this report! In heaven's name, what kind of "metaphysical dope" was administered to those men that could possibly induce them to do those things? What is there behind all this business? If you will read the little pamphlets that were placed on your tables last week you will know what is behind it.

The Seamen got into a position through legislation through which they could assert themselves and demand better conditions and wages. What was done by the employers on the lakes and elsewhere? Inasmuch as they had failed to fight the Seamen by law they set to work to fight them by industrial associations, to take away from them by industrial combination what they had gained through the liberty-loving sentiment of the country. Of course it is in the interest of the Lake Carriers' Association—I know that—it is in the interest of the dock companies on the lakes, in the interest of the great stevedore concerns in the country. We know that if the Seamen got more the Longshoremen would have to get less or the sum total of transportation cost would have to be increased.

I have said all I care to on this subject, except that the transportation federation is after the Seamen to-day, and, as the minority report says, it will be after the teamsters and some of the other transportation workers some other time. It will go on annexing organizations as long as it is not curbed, or as long as the American Federation of La-

bor will permit. I therefore move the adoption of the minority report.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Keefe—Up to the present time we have taken little or none of the time of the Convention, either in San Francisco or in any of the previous Conventions, and we do not propose to start in at this late day. I first want to call my friend's attention to a very odd statement he has made. He refers to a statement made at our recent Milwaukee Convention, in which he contends, among other things it was said this Association should have a Committee on Immigration. That statement was not made there; it was part of a paper that was read by me at a meeting of the National Civic Federation at Chicago, early last year. Among other things that were said in that paper is the following:

"This Federation should have a Standing Committee on Immigration, to study cause and effect, and assist the labor organizations in the work of assimilation; also from time to time to make recommendations to Congress of reasonable and humane regulations relative to immigration, in order that the American standard may not be lowered; also to use every endeavor to stimulate industrial education in all parts of the country."

I merely call the attention of the Convention to that particular point made by Mr. Furuseth. All my official acts during the year were reported to the Convention in Milwaukee, this among others. In our definition of Transport Workers belonging to our organization we have confined ourselves wholly and solely to the water. We have said nothing about Transport Workers on land; neither does this Committee on Resolutions. We have no desire to attach to our organization any organization or part of any organization already existing and doing transportation work on the land. This same argument was made by my friend Furuseth in New Orleans, relative to Transport Workers. Representatives of these organizations, Mahoney and Tanquary, have said they were not afraid that we would annex their organizations. In order to make my statement brief I have prepared an outline of our marine organizations.

A local of the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders of the American Great Lakes was organized at Cleveland,

Ohio, on the 20th day of April, 1888, under the Knights of Labor. Eight days later another Local was organized at Buffalo, N. Y., and the Firemen generally on the Lakes worked under the jurisdiction of both charters at Cleveland and Buffalo until the spring of 1891, when they returned their Knights of Labor charter, and re-organized with a charter incorporated under the laws of the State of New York with headquarters at Buffalo.

In 1899 the members of this organization went on strike in sympathy with the Grain Shovelers of Buffalo, New York (a Local of our Association) without any solicitation on the part of the Grain Shovelers, and materially assisted them in their fight. After the strike was over, which terminated successful in the interests of the Grain Shovelers, the Marine Firemen applied for membership with our Association. Their membership at that time did not exceed three hundred. After the matter was submitted to our Executive Council, it was decided that the appeal made by the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders should be granted.

We then directed our members in the different ports on the American Lakes to insist upon the Captains carrying union Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders. This request was complied with, with the result that the membership has grown from 300 in 1899, to over 4,000 in 1904.

The men following this particular vocation are working under agreements which were secured and approved of by our International Association, and none but union men to be employed. No other organization has ever had anything to do with these workers with the single exception of the Knights of Labor and our Association.

It might not be out of place at this time to state that the condition of these men has been changed from \$1.00 a day or less, at the time they joined our Association to \$45.00 per month, from the opening of navigation to the first of October, and \$65.00 per month, from the first of October to the laying up of the boats, together with board, bath and good sanitary conditions, which they never enjoyed prior to joining our Association.

In addition to the organizing of the above workers, we have organized the

Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders along the Canadian Great Lakes and Rivers, and have materially assisted them in securing much better conditions than under which they were formerly employed.

We have also organized the following maritime interests along the American Great Lakes, and some of them have been members of our Association for several years:

	Members.
Marine Engineers .....	460
Licensed Tugmen .....	2,800
Tug Firemen .....	1,765
Marine Divers, Helpers and Tenders .....	285
Steam Shovel and Dredge Engineers .....	700
Firemen and General Laborers on Dredge Scows .....	1,100
Drill-Boat Workers .....	480
Marine Pile Drivers .....	360
General Fishermen, including Gill Net Fishermen, Pound Net and Seine Fishermen .....	1,680
Marine Firemen, Oilers and Watertenders on American Lakes.....	4,250
Total .....	13,880

I presume that this Convention will not say the governed have no right to say who shall govern them.

Every man employed as a licensed officer on tugs on the Great Lakes is a member of the Licensed Tugmen's Association and affiliated with us.

Those men we did not take in as individuals or seceders from any organization. Those organizations had been in existence for some time, and through their own volition, without any solicitation on our part, deemed it advisable and to their own best interest to attach themselves to our organization. It is a well-known fact that those men did not become a part of the Longshoremen's organization because they wanted to be considered Longshoremen; it was because they were confident our organization was the one that would render them the greatest assistance. It was immaterial to them whether the fellow wore a blue coat or a black coat, so long as they got results.

As far as the Seamen's organization is concerned, we have repeatedly tried to reach an understanding. They say, "We want something you have." If they



want it they will have to get it with the consent of those who have control over that matter (the men themselves). Our branches known as the Marine Workers, I am sure, can never be induced or persuaded to join the Seamen's organization. Why? Because the wages of our branches are as much as three or four hundred per cent higher than the wages paid the seamen. The lowest paid men we have as a part of our organization known as Marine Workers receive the same wage as the highest paid men in the Seamen's Union, viz., forty-five dollars and sixty-five dollars per month.

The men who handle the steam donkeys on the boats belong to both organizations. Our men's wages have been increased nearly one hundred per cent. The dock workers themselves, the men termed Longshoremen, have had their wages increased more than one hundred per cent in many instances within the last five years. Other branches have had the wages of their men increased from forty to sixty per cent and their conditions bettered. Are these men going to attach themselves to an organization that can do nothing for itself or for them? Perhaps it is good practice for a man who has nothing better to do (our friend) to study law for twenty years; but we bring about results that are practical. We defy the representatives of the Seamen's Union to say that where our organization is in existence, and where we are in control (as we are on the Great Lakes and in other places as well), that we do not regulate conditions and get results. We have agreements with employers who no other branch of labor has been successful in getting agreements with. The great steel trust that has refused to treat with other organizations have made contracts with us. We have contracts with the great lines of railroads. That was not done through sentiment; it was done only because it was the best the employers could do under the circumstances. We are a peaceful organization; we never made a threat in our lives, and we don't propose to make any threats. Whenever we have in mind the intention of making a threat we put it into execution without any formality. The results obtained by us have been brought about through organization, perfect organization and perfect discipline.

The New Orleans Convention did not take the action referred to by our friend. Mr. Duncan was in the Chair when the matter was under consideration, and the point raised by Mr. Furuseth was not adopted by the Convention. Suppose you were to say to us, "You cannot have the name of your own people; you cannot govern the Transport Workers, thousands of whom are working on the water loading and unloading boats." In nearly every important port on the Lakes they unload part of the load at one point and part at others, just as a delivery wagon unloads its merchandise. They are what we term Transport Workers, and we claim them as part of our organization. We have no wish or intention to get away from on or about the water front.

In the New Orleans Convention the question was raised by some person concerning freight handlers. We voluntarily notified the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council that we had no desire to claim the interior freight handlers if any other organization claimed them, because they were not in our sphere and we were not able to accomplish results for them as rapidly as we were for our own people employed on the water.

We have the Transport Workers; that cannot be denied; and if we have the workers we surely have a right to the name to cover them. We have the Marine Workers; that cannot be denied, and this Convention has no right to say to forty-two or forty-three hundred firemen, everyone on the Lakes, that they must disassociate themselves with the organization that helped and perhaps made nearly all the conditions they now enjoy. You have no right to say to the tug firemen, men who command wages ranging from fifty-five to sixty-five dollars per month and their living that they must leave our organization. The licensed officers' wages have been increased twenty per cent, and range from \$120 to \$165 a month. On some of the smaller tugs where they formerly received forty and fifty dollars they now receive ninety dollars a month. Do you mean to say to those men that they must leave the organization that has done so much for them? The same is true of all the other affiliated branches, and yet in the face of that they say we cannot have the name of these crafts. They are

afraid we will get after the landsmen. I think the landsmen are able to take care of themselves.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we had a meeting, as per the instructions of the Executive Council. The meeting was held and President Gompers and Delegates Duncan and Foster were present. We outlined what might be a settlement of the dispute. Everything seemed to be entirely satisfactory. When we next met we were told, "There will be no meeting unless you disassociate yourselves from your name, no meeting unless you take from your present title Marine and Transport Workers." We cannot do that. They are our people and we are going to protect them, with the consent of the Seamen if we can get it, without their consent if we cannot. The Seamen ought to be the most closely related with us in our work, especially on the Coast. On the Lakes we do not have any trouble, but here there seems to be a constant turmoil, at least in the minds of one or two men. There can be no adjustment of any difference, unless at their suggestion. We have the Marine and Transport Workers, and when they sever their connection with our organization it will be because they desire to do it voluntarily.

Vice-President Duncan—On behalf of the Committee on Resolutions I propose to say a few words on this question. I do so at this time because, although it is generally a fact that when a committee report is made to the Convention the report is dealt with and not the personnel of the committee. One or two of the members of the committee have been singled out and are given more attention than the subject before the Convention. The question was asked what "dope" had been given members of the committee. If it can be called "dope" it was the evidence submitted and nothing else. That peculiar statement was followed by another inquiring what was back of all this, as if the members of this committee were going around the question and dealing with something else than appears on the face of the report. What was back of it were the facts that were submitted, these and nothing else.

Perhaps a little of the history of this controversy may help to clear the atmosphere, especially as the resolution we are considering and the statement made a few moments ago by Delegate Furu-seth do not coincide with what the com-

mittee knows to be the facts in the case. In New Orleans the Executive Council reported to the Convention on this subject as follows:

The last convention of the International Longshoremen's Association changed its title to the "International Longshoremen and Marine and Transport Association," and claim as its jurisdiction, besides Longshoremen, "Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders, Engineers, Masters, Pilots, Licensed Tugmen," etc. Protests against these claims were received from several sources; among others from the Seamen's International Union. The Longshoremen disclaimed Seamen. The Seamen, however, insist that Firemen, Oilers, Water Tenders, Engineers and others working upon a vessel are Seamen. Apart from this, the Railway Freight and Baggage Handlers' International Union is organized, and application for charter for such an International Union was received, thus claiming jurisdiction over railway freight and baggage handlers.

It appears to us that jurisdiction might be conceded with advantage over all Freight Handlers, whether at railways or the water front; but the question arises as to the jurisdiction of this and other callings to which reference has already been made.

The International Longshoremen's Association has made application for a new charter under the title of International Longshoremen and Marine and Transport Association. We have no objection to the charter under the new title, providing it does not extend jurisdiction over trades or callings already organized.

The entire subject-matter is, therefore, referred to you with the recommendation that it be referred to a special committee to take under advisement the subject-matter, and to that committee also be referred several subjects to which we shall refer in this report.

As far as the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor are concerned, this constitutes the starting point.

A special committee was named at the New Orleans Convention which deliberated on the subject and reported to the Convention. Much discussion ensued, and after much debate, Delegate Max Hayes arose and offered one of those resolutions which were so plentiful in that Convention, and which came under the head of so-called "harmony" procedure as follows:

**RESOLVED.** That it is the sense of this Convention that, in the controversy between the Transport Workers' Union and the Seamen's Union, both organizations shall select, within ninety days, two members, the four to select a fifth disinterested person, for the purpose of defining the jurisdiction of the organizations affected.

The substitute was carried by a vote of 90 for, 54 against.

Andrew Furuseth then offered the following resolution:

Delegate Furuseth moved that the Executive Council be instructed not to issue a charter to the Longshoremen with such a change in name as applied for.

The Furuseth resolution was not acted upon by the New Orleans Convention, but, as will be seen later in the proceedings, on the same page was referred with the rest of the subject to a special committee named in the Hayes' substitute. This constitutes the whole of the action taken by the New Orleans Convention on the subject, and the resolution of Delegate Furuseth was referred to the committee along with the resolution of Delegate Hayes.

No resolution was presented to the Boston Convention on the subject. The only reference to the subject was a short paragraph in the report of the Executive Council, which reads as follows:

The conference directed at the last Convention to be held between the representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association and the International Seamen's Union has not been held. We are, therefore, unable to make report thereon.

Delegate Macarthur was Secretary of the committee dealing with the report of the Executive Council, and took advantage of that fact to report to the Convention the following:

In reporting upon this head we would point out that notwithstanding the refusal of the last Convention to sanction the change in name asked for by the International Longshoremen's Association, that organization has been for some time past, and still is, transacting business under the title of "International Longshore, Marine and Transport Workers of America." This we regard as an act of bad faith on the part of the International Longshoremen's Association, calculated to mislead the public, and to injure the interests of other affiliated organizations and to cause serious complications, and we recommend that the action of the International Longshoremen's Association in this regard be disapproved and that that organization be required to transact all its business under the title recognized by the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was concurred in without one word of debate. It was read in the committee's report within one hour of the adjournment of the last session. The delegates of the Longshoremen's Association had left twenty-four hours before the close of the Convention, and knew nothing about the action of this committee until they

read the printed proceedings of the Convention after adjournment. No action was therefore taken of a tangible nature excepting to refer the whole subject to a committee to endeavor to adjust the contention.

The Committee on Resolutions, as stated by Delegate Foster, shows that, so far as the Boston Convention is concerned, the resolution is correct. Now, as to the other part. My friend Furuseth in his address was voluminous on points not touching the root of this dispute but upon that point he was silent. This committee recommends that, inasmuch as the membership referred to is not claimed by the Seamen, that we non-concur in the resolution and that parties interested meet and draw up a plan which will set forth the nature of the labor to be performed by those men, and when that is drawn up and recorded at headquarters of the organizations affected and the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, you will have as near a solution of the contention as is possible for this Convention.

I have no feeling in the matter whatever. My trade unionism has not suffered from contact with the opposing parties, and I think it will take a little more than the evidence I have upon this or any similar subject to change my views favoring straightforward, clear-cut trade unionism.

Just before the adjournment of taking evidence by the committee, this statement, in effect, was made: The Seamen, on their part, with some exceptions which could be adjusted, said, "for the sake of argument we are willing to admit that you can have all the members in your Longshoremen's Association now held by you, but we want you to strike out the words "Marine and Transport Workers" from your title. Secretary Foster asked the Seamen if the members, about whom we were taking evidence, in the Longshoremen's Association were claimed by the Seamen, and they immediately answered: "No; we claim no jurisdiction over them and don't want them, but we want the name of their Association changed." They also said they preferred to see the Marine Engineers in an organization by themselves rather than to have them affiliated with the Longshoremen's Association and that this was also true of the Masters' and Pilots' Union. The principal point at issue between

them, therefore, was that although there was little contention as to the membership, as far as the Seamen were concerned, they objected to the new title. On the other hand, evidence was laid before us that the Marine Engineers were taken in, not as individuals or by the Longshoremen going from union to union and getting them to secede from their International union, but that they voted solidly as a union to affiliate with the Longshoremen's Association. It was shown that the Pilots and Masters did the same thing; also that the Steam Shovel and Dredgemen voted as a body to go into the Longshoremen's Union. It was none of the business of this committee that they did so. Has it come to the time in this great democratic country of ours when the consent of the governed is not to be respected in the labor movement? If the Engineers and Dredgers and Steam Shovel men voted to ally themselves with the Longshoremen under a title covering all of them, who is to say they are not to do so? Is this Federation of Labor to take the Steam Shovel men and Dredgers by the back of the neck, as you would handle a bag of flour, and say, "You are not in your proper place; you belong elsewhere." That is not trade unionism. The other branches of employment mentioned in this report were gone through, one after the other and the delegates from the Seamen's Union said, "We have nothing to do with them." That was the stand taken before your committee when it came down to a hard and fast proposition as to where the men should belong. Therefore your committee recommend non-concurrence in the resolution. We also recommend that a clean-cut statement be made as to what constitutes the different employments.

The Seamen's Union is to be as much a party to this statement as the Longshoremen's Union. The American Federation of Labor is to be another party to it. I hope the minority report will be voted down and that the report of the committee will be carried by a nearly unanimous vote of this Convention.

Delegate Macarthur—I shall preface my remarks by stating a suppositious case. Let us suppose a man is hauled into court and charged with misappropriating a certain piece of property. He is undoubtedly guilty, but his counsel sets up, as a plea in his defense, the

argument that, inasmuch as the accused is the indubitable possessor of the property, there is nothing left for the court to do but award him jurisdiction over it; nothing for the court to do but say possession is nine points of the law, and award him the tenth point also. That is precisely the position we are now placed in.

We charge the International Longshoremen's Association with misappropriating for their own uses as Longshoremen certain maritime crafts. The committee admits that technically we are correct, and goes on to say that, inasmuch as the Longshoremen have thousands of maritime workers in their organization, there is nothing left for the Convention to do but to award them jurisdiction over these men, nothing left for it but to place the seal of its approval upon the petit larceny committed by the Longshoremen. If that view shall prevail the American Federation of Labor will henceforth be estopped from protesting against similar aggressions on the part of any organization.

Of course, I am not oblivious of the fact that the committee suggests we might get together and confer as to how much further the Longshoremen will be permitted to go without disapproval in appropriating the men of our craft to their own uses. Under the circumstances, to tell the Seamen to confer with the Longshoremen is like telling the man who is being throttled and robbed to "confer" with his assailant.

The issue involved in the resolution (No. 112), now before you is a very clear and simple one. In brief, the question is whether jurisdiction over all Maritime Workers, already granted to a maritime organization, to-wit: The International Seamen's Union of America, shall be retained by that body, or whether such jurisdiction shall be divided between said maritime organization and a body of purely land workers, to-wit: The International Longshoremen's Association.

This question has already been decided by the American Federation of Labor upon at least three occasions. It was decided at first by the granting of charters to the respective bodies—Seamen and Longshoremen—at which time the line of demarkation between the respective callings was tacitly understood to be the

line that separates the vessel from the dock—in other words, the line between land and water.

The question of jurisdiction was settled again in 1902, when the New Orleans Convention of the American Federation of Labor refused to grant the request of the International Longshoremen's Association for permission to use the name "International Longshoremen, Marine and Transportworkers' Association."

The question of jurisdiction was settled for the third time in 1903, when the Boston Convention formally declared that the International Longshoremen's Association should discontinue using the assumed name herein cited.

Practically speaking, therefore, the question now before the Convention is whether it shall re-affirm these decisions and continue to support the International Seamen's Union in its rightful and necessary jurisdiction over all Maritime Workers, or abandon the ground heretofore maintained, withdraw the protection thus far granted the Maritime Workers and turn them over in whole or in part to a body of land workers who do not understand the conditions of sea life and who in the past have shown no disposition to concern themselves with the improvement of these conditions.

At this point the Seamen desire to make formal acknowledgment of the aid rendered them by the American Federation of Labor. That aid has been of inestimable value to us in the upbuilding of our organization. Through the American Federation of Labor, in its Conventions and with the co-operation of its officials, the Seamen have secured legislation that has revolutionized the legal status of our craft and immensely improved the material conditions of our lives. Without detracting in the least from the gratitude owing by the Seamen to the American Federation of Labor for its assistance in legislative matters, we would suggest that the greatest aid rendered us by that body consists in the fact that it has at all times encouraged us in the aim, and protected us in the practice of organizing all classes of Maritime Workers in a union composed exclusively of such workers and dominated in all its acts by the sentiment common to the seafaring classes, a sentiment which can not be intelligently shared by landsmen, notwithstanding the best intentions upon the part of the latter.

In a word, the American Federation of Labor has helped the Seamen to help themselves. For many generations well intentioned men and women throughout the United States and other countries have sought to secure redress of the wrongs under which the Seamen suffered. Those efforts have failed in the main. Not until the Seamen became organized and were thus enabled to help themselves has any measure of protection and progress been possible to that craft. The essential factor in the success of the International Seamen's Union of America has been trade-union autonomy, the organization of the Seamen, of themselves, by themselves and for themselves. We earnestly and respectfully submit to this Convention that to infringe upon the jurisdiction of the Seamen's Union over all classes of Maritime Workers, if only to the extent of recognizing the claim of the Longshoremen's Association to jurisdiction over a single class of such workers, no matter how small or where located, would be to destroy, or at least to seriously endanger, the vital element of our success, to-wit, the spirit of our common interest as Seamen and the conservation of our common organization as such.

It has been intimated that in opposing the title assumed by the Longshoremen's Association we are contending for mere forms; in other words, we are told that there is nothing in the name, "International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association." In reply to this statement of the case, we would ask, "If there be nothing in the new name, why have the Longshoremen adopted it, and why do they adhere to it in spite of the refusal of the American Federation of Labor to sanction it?" It must be apparent from the conduct of the Longshoremen themselves that they do not regard the new name as a mere formality. That, on the contrary, they have assumed that name for the purpose of extending their jurisdiction from Longshore Workers to Maritime and Transportation Workers.

As a matter of fact, the Longshoremen's Association has already chartered bodies of purely seafaring, or Maritime Workers, as, for instance, Marine Firemen, Engineers, Tug-Boatmen and Cooks.

Further, the Longshoremen on the Pacific Coast have formally declared their

refusal to work on board ship with members of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. These statements are matters of record, and they prove, if proof were needed, that the name assumed by the Longshoremen is more than a formality, that, in fact, it implies actual jurisdiction over Maritime Workers and is so understood and intended by the Longshoremen. It would be folly upon our part to ignore the situation thus presented, and it would be a misfortune should this Convention fail to take cognizance of the real, the material issue now before it.

There has been much talk of conference between the parties to this controversy. In that connection, we would say that we have exhausted every means within our power to reach an understanding in conference. However, we submit to the judgment and common sense of the Convention that there is little hope of results from such negotiation when it is stipulated as a first condition that the main point at issue, namely, the claim implied in the new name assumed by the Longshoremen, shall not be touched, that, in effect, that claim shall be recognized by the Seamen. Any conference that might be held, or arrangements that might be entered into such understanding as to the main issue would in the very nature of things prove fruitless.

The Longshoremen claim, and have adopted, the title of Marine Workers; they claim, and have chartered, certain bodies of Marine Workers; they declare that they will not surrender jurisdiction over these bodies. Under these circumstances any agreement by the Seamen with reference to incidental questions would be equivalent to an agreement upon our part to concede the main issue in controversy.

Regardless of all disclaimers on the part of the Longshoremen, their assumption of the title "Longshore, Marine and Transportworkers" is a claim to jurisdiction over Seamen, since the terms "Marine Workers" and "Seamen" are practically synonymous. So regarded, the claim of the Longshoremen is a constant threat to the Seamen's Union, a threat that is being put into practice almost every day and in almost every maritime locality in the country. Any agreement that might be entered into under that threat would simply be to

make our last condition worse than our first.

The point in disagreement between the Seamen and Longshoremen involves no subtle question of jurisdiction, no fine lines of demarkation between this or that branch of a given trade or calling. The line that separates the two trades is as clear as the line that separates the land from the sea. We claim that every man who works on board ship as a member of the crew, whether as sailor, fireman, cook, steward or waiter, is a Seaman, and should therefore be organized under authority of the Seamen's Union. The lines of demarkation between the various crafts on board ship are merely lines of convenience. In law, in sentiment, in practice, in the very nature of their beings, all hands on board ship are Seamen. Experience, bitter and long, has shown, where common sense has not sufficed, that the Seamen must depend upon themselves, through their organizations, for the redress of their common wrongs and the realization of their hopes. No organization composed in large part or small of land workers can accomplish anything for the Seamen, except in cooperation with the Seamen's organizations themselves. Not that other organizations are not willing to help us, but because they do not understand.

Before closing I would advert briefly to one or two statements made by Delegate Keefe. The gentleman said they had confined themselves entirely to the Transportation Workers on the water. That, I take it, is a bid for the Transportation Workers on land to take sides with the Longshoremen against the Transportation Workers on water. We must assume that the gentleman's statement implies a promise to the Transportation Workers on land that the Longshoremen's organization will make no further claims on their organizations. The Transportation Workers on land should not be deluded with the idea that the Longshoremen's organization will not make further aggressions, since it is not in human nature that the Longshoremen will stop short of any steps necessary to the realization of their iridescent dream of a Transportation Federation of the World.

The International Longshoremen's Association is, as my friend Furuseth said, a federation, not a union. Let me

characterize the Longshoremen's Association as I see it, as a heterogeneous hodge-podge of incongruous conglomerates. You laugh at that as a windy and vacuous term. I assure you it is no more windy and vacuous than the organization it is applied to. The Longshoremen's Association, as now constituted, is neither fish, flesh nor good red herring.

Delegate Keefe speaks of practicing law, and admits it may be a good thing for the Seamen's Union to practice law, but that the Longshoremen's organization is "practicing results, and with success." I don't deny that; it is altogether too successful for my taste. If the report of the majority of this committee be adopted it will make their final success a certainty, or very nearly so.

"We are a peaceful organization," says Delegate Keefe, if you please; "we have never made a threat." I should like to know what they call the proceedings that have taken place here along the Pacific Coast in recent times. I should like to know what they call the practice of going to the shipowners with whom the Seamen's Unions have agreements and telling them that if they do not do so and so their vessels will be held up in the next port. They have levied fines on shipowners who employed none but union men, so far as these men could be obtained. I would like to know what they call such a procedure. I call it blackmail, and the courts have so held time after time.

Delegate Keefe concludes his remarks with the declaration: "We have Maritime Workers in our organization, we have Transportation Workers in our organization, and it would not be right for this Convention to do anything that would deny the Longshoremen the right to hold these men." And he intimates that, no matter what the Convention may do, they will hold them anyhow.

Now, I want to refer to a statement made by Vice-President Duncan, the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. He says the resolution is silent as to the root of the dispute, which root, in the judgment of the committee, is whether or not the Seamen claim the right to transfer the Maritime Workers now in the Longshoremen's Association into our Union. We are not silent upon that point; we simply waive it. We claim this as our position: If the Maritime and Transportation Workers now in the

Longshoremen's Association have been deceived and inveigled and trapped into joining that organization simply by the colors under which it is sailing, they will of their own volition and out of an appreciation of their own common interests voluntarily affiliate themselves with that organization which best represents their craft.

Vice-President Duncan has said that the Engineers and other crafts have voted to join the Longshoremen. So be it; we don't deny that. But he asks: "What is this Convention going to do? Is it going to take the position that it will take the Engineers and Firemen and force them out of one body into another? Is that trade unionism?" No; it is not trade unionism, and that is precisely where the International Longshoremen's Association is following a policy contrary to trade unionism when it claims these men.

Fellow delegates, the Seamen come before you with clean hands, a clear conscience and absolute confidence in your sense of justice and sympathy for the cause of the men who go down to the sea in ships. That sympathy has been demonstrated in practical ways upon many occasions in the past. We here and now renew our acknowledgment of our debt to our fellow trade unionists organized under the glorious banner of the American Federation of Labor. We have tried to show our appreciation in practical ways, and we make bold to believe that we have succeeded in doing so to some degree. We present our case in reason and truth. We ask a favorable judgment at your hands. We ask that you again declare for the principle of union and solidarity among all classes of Maritime Workers, so that the light of hope, lit here upon the tribunal of the American Federation of Labor and carried by the organized Seamen into the remotest corners of the earth, may not be quenched, but that it may glow anew to give added inspiration and courage to the workers of all crafts in all lands.

We ask you to reject the recommendation of non-concurrence made by the majority of the Committee on Resolutions, and to adopt the resolution as introduced by the International Seamen's Union of America, and concurred in by the minority report.

Delegate Frank Foster—I regret that my good friend Delegate Macarthur has seen fit to interject so much hostility into his remarks. It is one of the saddest things in the world to have your fond illusions so rudely dispelled. Until this morning I regarded my associates composing the Committee on Resolutions as a band of honorable men, and felt myself decidedly complimented by being in their company. I did not know, as I have learned since the delegates from the International Seamen's Union took the floor, that they were in reality a band of pirates, armed to the teeth, sailing under the black flag in company with that formidable buccaneer of the Great Lakes, Commander Keefe. I am not quite sure that I know it yet. I am not quite sure but there may be some doubt. I regret that I am deficient in legal education and qualifications, and I shall not attempt to question the validity of the illustration cited by Delegate Macarthur—the comparison drawn by him between an organization of labor and a highwayman.

As one member of the Committee on Resolutions I do not understand that an organization that has brought thirteen thousand men into the fold, that has increased their wages and reduced their hours of labor is a highwayman's organization. I may be wrong. I confess that when this case was opened my sympathies went naturally to the Seamen. Theoretically they occupied an impregnable position, but theories must sometimes bow before the hard weight of facts. I would like to ask the delegates to this Convention if they can understand what the Seamen want done with those men who are in the organization of the Longshoremen? They are Marine Workers, they are Transportation Workers—you may call them by what name you will. They are organized, not as seceders from the Seamen's or any other organization, but, as has been told you, some of them joined the Longshoremen as organizations; others have been brought in from unorganized fields. They are there, but the Seamen do not tell you what you can do with them. They distinctly deny laying claim to the present membership of this organization. What then? Shall we call them Longshoremen? What difference does it make so far as this present membership is concerned? If the Seamen do not want

them, what difference does it make what name you call them by, so far as the future line of jurisdiction is concerned? The Committee on Resolutions, I think, went to the whole limit of time and patience and endeavor in order to find some ground on which a future agreement might be made. We were in session longer over this case than over all the other resolutions that came before the committee. On four separate occasions we called these representatives together, but it is the spirit that says "we will not confer" that has prevented a settlement, and so long as that spirit dominates the policy of any organization of labor so long must we have internecine war.

We asked the name by which these men should be called. They said, "Call them Longshoremen." But they are not Longshoremen in the way that term is generally applied, and why should we call them that which they are not? It is a mere quibble of words. There is but one way out. The Seamen themselves say we cannot take these people like a carload of cattle and cart them from one organization to another. They do not ask us to do this. They say they are willing to let them stay there as long as they are satisfied. I don't know whether Commander Keef has in his equipment a hypnotic instrument by which he hypnotizes these people into thinking they want to stay with the Longshoremen; but it seems that if these men did not want to belong to that organization they would not be there. Now the committee is up against that proposition. These men are here, they are organized, and they are not claimed by anyone else. We don't believe in extending the line of jurisdiction except by legitimate methods; but we do protest against the insinuation that this committee had any purpose in view other than the bringing together of these organizations. We are not acting as special pleaders for either side. The preponderance of evidence was that these men were what they were called, the name under which the organization works. If somebody on this floor, or somewhere else, can suggest something that will fit the case better than the name they now wear, we would be glad to have the suggestion. The committee has received no such suggestion, and it acted solely in accord with the hard, cold



facts presented to it. It has not been denied that this organization has been efficient. It may be that there will be no conference; it may be that this eternal round of wearying struggle, one against the other, shall go along all down the jurisdiction line. It may be, from the bitter experiences of this American Federation of Labor there may come no lesson of wisdom. It may be that we cannot demonstrate that we can use power wisely and judiciously. That has been the failure, I believe, of almost every kind of reform movement, the failure of the men in power to use their power and influence wisely. Man, dressed in a little brief authority, grasps that and wants more, and so we exemplify to the world that our labor organizations are but a part of the other organizations outside, subject to the same weaknesses and follies. The lesson has not been bitter enough; but if we can bring into our deliberations and conferences that spirit of fraternity which we profess, but do not always practice, the question of jurisdiction and of name will be but a trifle and men will unite and accomplish the greatest good for all.

Secretary Morrison—For my own information I would like to ask the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions if the Convention sustains the majority report of the committee, non-concurring in Resolution No. 112, would you consider it instructions to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to issue a charter to the Longshoremen upon application, conceding them jurisdiction over marine and transport workers?

Vice-President Duncan—No one can foretell what will happen from one day to another. Whether I will be a member of the Executive Council after this Convention is over I cannot tell until later in the day; but to answer the question now would put me in a position of forestalling what my action would be on a certain question. If this Convention non-concurs in the substitute and adopts the report of the committee, the subject matter goes to the two organizations with the recommendation that they draw up a paper that will be mutually satisfactory, setting forth the nature of employment covered in the disputed words in the Longshoremen's title. If that is put

on deposit at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor I think the Executive Council would consider favorably issuing such a charter.

Secretary Morrison—I regret that Vice-President Duncan should think I desired to place him on record as a member of the Executive Council. I asked him as Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions whether he believed it would be instructions to the Executive Council. The committee has reasons for bringing in this report. The Chairman is the only person in authority that can furnish either myself as a delegate or the Convention with that information.

Delegate Westoby spoke in favor of the adoption of the minority report.

During the discussion Delegate Westoby asked Delegate Keefe if the Longshoremen's organization claimed the ship carpenters and the reply was that they did not claim them. He also asked Delegate Keefe if the Longshoremen claimed firemen and seamen. Delegate Keefe replied that they had all the firemen on the lakes organized, and that the membership of firemen was 4,200. He stated that the Longshoremen had never claimed seamen.

President Gompers in the Chair.

The question was asked if changing the name of the Longshoremen's organization would give them the privilege of taking in craftsmen already organized in their own craft unions.

President Gompers—The Chair is not justified in defining or interpreting a resolution unadopted by this Convention.

The question was then asked of the Resolution Committee.

Vice-President Duncan—No, would be the most direct answer I could give. The report of the committee provides that the points in discussion between the Longshoremen and the Seamen be taken up when representatives of the two organizations meet, to draw up a report defining the attitude of the organizations.

Delegate Cohen spoke at some length in defense of the minority report.

On motion of Delegate Warner debate was closed.

A delegate asked for a roll call on the motion to adopt the minority report. A sufficient number of dele-

gates supported his request, and Secretary Morrison proceeded with the roll call.

President Gompers—The result of the

roll call will be announced after the noon recess. The hour for adjournment has arrived. The Convention stands adjourned until 2 o'clock.

## TENTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Convention was called to order at 2 p. m., President Gompers in the Chair.

The reading of the minutes was dispensed with.

Absentees: Slocum, McDade, Porter, Butterworth, Beadle, Healy, Kentzell, Rickert, Farrell, Mahoney (T. J.), Smith (J. W.), McSorley, Sweeney, Ireland, Heron, Murray (D. J.), O'Neil, Metcalf, Finnan, Thomas (Mason), Mackey, Woodward, Maloney (P.), Cohen (Wm.), Mulcahy (D. D.), Morgan, Michel, Brennan, Porter, Ward (Chris.), Hudson (M. A.), Walker, Hudson (Fred), Moffitt (C. M.), Ryan (John), Hyde, Patterson, Dunn (M. T.), Catania, McCaslin, Bailey, O'Leary, Hinton, Pillsbury, Keefe (M. O.), Damozonio, Timilty, Alves, Schradler, Schilling, Morey, Meinert, Dowd, Padilla.

The Secretary announced the result of the roll call on the motion to adopt the minority report on Resolution No. 110, as follows:

Ayes—Noschang, Smith (G. K.), Tobin, Lovely, Hank, Butterworth, Buchanan, Hoeneck, Brady, Curren, Brockowsky, Duffy (Frank), Grimes, Swartz, Yarnell, MacFarlane, Zaring, Guerin, Fyfe, Canavan, Gengenbach, Tveitmo, Gompers, Wood, Gordon, Baum, Cook, Donnelly, Sherman, Sullivan (M. J.), Burns, Nelson, Ketter, Hammill, Glass, Monaghan, Healy, Sharp, Morton, Conroy, Kellington, Rickert, Hagan, Wolf, Jacoby, Morris (J. J.), Moffitt, Lawlor, Maher, Lillen, Smith (J. W.), Kenehan, Fitzpatrick, Sullivan (D. P.), McSorley, DeVilliers, Hutchinson, Greenlaw, Sweeney, May, Schmidt, Downey, Pattison, Heron, Murray (D. J.), Weber, Miller (Owen), Carey, Wilson (James), Doid, Helle, Hailes, Tanquary, Ramsay, Mahon, Orr, Cornelius, Frazier, MacArthur, Furseth, Penje, Westoby, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, Lindow, Brown (Ed.), Flood, McGraw, Wendelken, Cohen (Wm.), O'Shea (C. P.), Morrison, Rosenthal, Mulcahy (D. D.), Miller (E. W.), Davidson, Triplett, Madden, Crozier, Cosgrove, Woodman, Lavery (J. T.), Driscoll, Schardt, Smith (J. T.), Smith (Wm. S.), Brown (M.), Petry, Hess, Hudson (M. T.), Rentelman, Hepp, Frayne, Wood, Leavitt, Stewart, Bell, Forrest, Mangan, McCaslin, O'Leary, Dale, Schradler, Killian, Meinert—7,025 votes.

Nays—Schaerer, Shanessy, Abernethy, Slocum, McDade, Gilthorpe, Porter, Lowell, Kemper, Ward (E. F.), Priestersbach, Zepp, O'Brien (J. R.), Morris (Max), Devine, Robinson, Feehey, Beadle, Hayes (D. A.), Beegan, Duncan, Lyons, O'Brien (W. J.), Sullivan (T. J.), Sullivan (Jere L.), Wharton, Reichenbacher, Wiseman, Keefe (D. J.), Barter, Joyce, O'Connell, Warner, Ireland, Hamerstrom, Lynch (E. J.), Mitchell, Wilson (W. E.), Lewis (T. L.), Ryan (W. D.), Haskins, Fahy, Dempsey, Keough, O'Neil, Metcalf, Bahhorn, Sullivan (Jas. H.), Campbell, Finan, Lowe, Mackey, Murphy, Spencer, Clark, McKee, Duffy (T. J.), Higgins, Mulcahy (T.), Dinan, Sauer, Brown (J. G.), Hart, Maloney (P.), Keane, Fischer, McAndrews, Foster, Berger, Braunschweig, Jaeger, Behrens, Iglesias, Goodwin, Hirsch, Grant, Thomas (H. D.), Maloney (R. S.), Shaver, Kreyling, Dowler, Sawyer, Burke, Jones, Pacelli, Padilla—7,729 votes.

President Gompers—The motion is lost. The question recurs on the motion to concur in the majority report.

Delegate Macarthur asked for a roll call, and as a sufficient number of delegates supported the demand the Secretary was instructed to call the roll.

Delegate Gompers—The hour of two o'clock has been set for a special order of business. If there are no objections the special order will be deferred until the matter now before the house is disposed of.

Objection was made to deferring the special order, and Delegate Tanquary moved that consideration of the special order of business be deferred, and that a vote be taken on the motion to adopt the majority report of the committee. The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Abernethy wished to be recorded as voting against the motion to defer.

The Secretary proceeded with the roll call, which resulted as follows:

Ayes—Abernethy, Slocum, McDade, Lowell, Kemper, Ward, Priestersbach,

Zepp, Buchanan, Barnes, O'Brien (J. R.), Morris (Max), Devine, Robinson, Sullivan (T. J.), Feeney, Beadle, Hayes (D. A.), Beegan, Duncan, Lyons, O'Brien (W. J.), Sullivan (T. J.), Sullivan (J. R.), Wharton, Reichenbacher, Wiseman, Keefe (D. J.), Barter, Joyce, O'Connell, Warner, Ireland, Hamerstrom, Lynch (E. J.), Mitchell, Wilson (W. B.), Ryan (W. D.), Haskins, Fahy, Dempsey, Keough, O'Neill, Metcalf, Bahlhorn, Sullivan (J. H.), Campbell, Finan, Lowe, Mackey, Murphy, Spencer, Clark, McKee, Duffy (T. J.), Brown (J. G.), Hart, Maloney (F.), Keane, Hayes, Foster, Berger, Jaeger, Behrens, Iglesias, Lavery (J. T.), Goodwin, Hirsch, Grant, Thomas (H. D.), Sarman, Maloney (R. S.), Porter, Shaver, Kreyling, Dowler, Sawyer, Moffitt (C. M.), Burke, Pacelli, Padilla—6,952 votes.

Nays—Shaerer, Klapetzky, Noschang, Smith (Geo. K.), Shannessy, Gilthorpe, Porter, Tobin, Lovely, Walls, Meade, Hank, Butterworth, Hoeneck, Curran, Brockowsky, Duffy (F.), Grimes, Swartz, Yarnell, Macfarlane, Zaring, Guerin, Eyfe, Canavan, Gengenbach, Tveitmo, Gompers, Tracy, Wood, Gordon, Baum, Cook, Donnelly, Sherman, Burns, Nelson, Ketter, Hammill, Glass, Monaghan, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Conroy, Kellington, Rickert, Hagan, Wolf, Jacoby, Morris (J. J.), Moffitt (J. A.), Lawlor, Maher, Lilien, Smith (J. W.), Kenehan, Fitzpatrick, Sullivan (D. P.), Hutchinson, Greenlaw, Sweeney, May, Schmidt, Downey, Patison, Heron, Murray, Lewis, Weber, Miller (Owen), Carey, Wilson (James) Cain, Dold, Helle, Hailes, Higgins, Mulcahy (T.), Dinan, Tanquary, Ramsey, Mahon, Orr, Cornelius, Frazier, Macarthur, Furuseth, Penje, Westoby, White (E. A.), Fitzsimmons, Lennon, Lindow, Brown (E.), Flood, McGrau, Wendelken, Cohen, Shea, Golden, Lynch (J. M.), Morrison, Rosenthal, Mulcahy (D. D.), Kidd, Braunschweig, Miller (E. W.), Davidson, Triplett, Madden, Crozier, Cosgrove, White (Wm.), Driscoll, Smith (J. T.), Maloney (R. S.), Smith (Wm. S.), Brown (M.), Petry, Hess, Lavery (J. A.), Hudson (M. T.), Rentelman, Hepp, Frayne, Wood, Leavitt, Stewart, Jones, Bell, Forrest, Mangan, McCaslin, O'Leary, Timilty, Alves, Dale, Schrader, Killian, Meinert—8,434 votes.

President Gompers—The motion is lost, and there is nothing before the Convention except the special order of business.

Delegate Martin P. Higgins was called to the Chair, and announced that the special order of business, the election of officers, would be taken up, and that nominations for President were in order.

Delegate Frank Duffy placed in nomination Samuel Gompers. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Westoby.

On motion of Delegate Dold nominations were closed and the Secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for

the Convention for Mr. Gompers as President for the ensuing year.

The Secretary complied with the instruction, and Mr. Gompers was declared elected as President for the ensuing year.

Delegate Victor L. Berger wished to be recorded as voting against the unanimous election of President Gompers.

The Chair announced that nominations were in order for First Vice-President.

Delegate W. B. Wilson, of the Mine Workers, placed in nomination James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters.

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Westoby and Delegate Dale.

On motion of Delegate Driscoll nominations were closed and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for James Duncan for First Vice-President.

The Secretary complied with the instruction, and the Chairman declared Vice-President Duncan elected.

The Chairman announced that nominations for Second Vice-President were in order, and Delegate O'Brien, of the Granite Cutters, placed in nomination John Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers.

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Mackey.

On motion of Delegate Warner, nominations were closed and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Mr. Mitchell.

The Secretary complied with the instruction, and the Chair announced that Vice-President Mitchell was elected.

Delegate James Wilson placed in nomination for the office of Third Vice-President James O'Connell, of the Machinists' International Organization. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Metcalf.

On motion nominations were closed, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Vice-President O'Connell.

The Secretary complied with the instruction and the Chairman announced that Vice-President O'Connell was elected.

Delegate Keough placed in nomination for Fourth Vice-President Max Morris, of the Retail Clerks' International organization. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Cohen, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

On motion of Delegate Kennehan, nominations were closed and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Vice-President Morris.

The Secretary complied with the instruction and the Chairman announced that Vice-President Morris was elected.

Delegate Lee M. Hart placed in nomination for Fourth Vice-President Thomas I. Kidd. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Mahon.

Delegate C. P. Shea placed in nomination for Fourth Vice-President Joseph C. Bahlhorn, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators.

The nomination was seconded by Delegate Sullivan.

The Secretary proceeded with the roll call, which resulted as follows:

For Kidd-Schaerer, Klapetzky, Noschang, Smith (Geo. K.), Shanessy, Sloucum, McDade, Giltner, Porter, Tobin, Lovely, Walls, Lowell, Meade, Kemper, Ward (E. E.), Priestersbach, Zepp, Hank, Butterworth, Curren, Brockowsky, Tyfe, Gengenbach, Gompers, Tracy, Wood, Barnes, O'Brien (J. R.), Morris (Max), Devine, Robinson, Gordon, Baum, Cook, Donnelly, Burns, Feeney, Ketter, Hammill, Glass, Monaghan, Beadle, Healy, Conroy, Kellington, Kentzell, Rickert, Hagan, Wolff, Jacoby, Hayes, Beegan, Morris (J. J.), Duncan, Lyons, O'Brien, Stoffitt (J. A.), Lawlor, Maher, Lilen, Smith (J. W.), Kennehan, Fitzpatrick, Sullivan (T. J.), Sullivan (Jere L.), Wharton, Reichenbacher, Wiseman, Sullivan (D. P.), Keefe, O'Connell, Warner, Ireland, Hamerstrom, May, Schmidt, Lynch (E. J.), Downey, Pattison, Heron, Murray (D. J.), Mitchell, Wilson (W. B.), Lewis, Ryan (W. D.), Haskins, Fahy, Dempsey, Keough, O'Neil, Metcalf, Weber, Miller (Owen), Carey, Mackey, Wilson (James), Cain, Helle, Murphy, Duffy (T. J.), Halles, Higgins, Mulcahey (T.), Dinan, Sauer, Tanquary, Ramsay, Mahon, Orr, Cornelius, Frazier, MacArthur, Fursueh, Penje, Westoby, Hart, Maloney (P.), Fitzsimons, Lennon, Keane, Ladow, Brown (Ed.), Flood, McGrau, Wendelken, Cohen, Lynch (J. M.), Morrison, Hayes (Max), Foster, Berger, Mulcahy (D. D.), Kidd, Braunschweig, Miller (E. W.), Davidson, Triplett, Jaeger, Crozier, White (Wm.), Goodwin, Thomas (H. D.), Smith (J. T.), Smith (W. S.), Petry, Shaver, Hepp, Frayne, Kreyling, Wood, Leavitt, Sawyer, Moffitt (C. M.), Burke, Stewart, Jones, Bea. O'Leary, Bricker, Timilty,

Alves, Pacelli, Dale, Schrader, Killian, Morris (E. C.), Meinert-11,879 votes.

For Bahlhorn-Abernethy, Buchanan, Hoeneck, Brady, Duffy (Frank), Grimes, Swartz, Yarnell, Macfarlane, Zaring, Guerin, Canavan, Tveitmoe, Sherman, Sullivan (M. J.), Nelson, Shamp, De Villiers, Hutchinson, Greenlaw, Sweeney, Barter, Joyce, Bahlhorn, Sullivan (J. H.), Campbell, Finan, Lowe, Doid, Spencer, Clark, McKee, White (E. A.), O'Shea (C. P.), Rosenthal, Cosgrove, Sarman, Hess, Rentelman, Dowler, McCaslin-3,569 votes.

On motion of Delegate Bahlhorn, the election of Vice-President Kidd was made unanimous.

Delegate Tracy placed in nomination for Sixth Vice-President Dennis A. Hayes, of the Glass Bottle Blowers.

The nomination was seconded by W. D. Ryan.

On motion of Delegate Driscoll nominations were closed and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Vice-President Hayes.

The Secretary complied with the instruction, and the Chairman announced that Vice-President Hayes was elected.

Delegate John Mitchell placed in nomination for Seventh Vice-President Daniel J. Keefe, of the Longshoremen's International Association. The nomination was seconded by several delegates.

On motion, nominations were closed and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Vice-President Keefe.

The Secretary complied with the instruction, and the Chairman announced that Vice-President Keefe was elected.

Delegate Westoby placed in nomination for Eighth Vice-President O. A. Tveitmoe, of the Cement Workers. The nomination was seconded by Delegate May.

Delegate Guerin placed in nomination for Eighth Vice-President James Grimes, of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. The nomination was seconded by several delegates.

Delegate Frank Buchanan placed in nomination for Eighth Vice-President William J. Spencer, of the Plumbers', Gas Fitters' and Steam Fitters' International organization.

The nomination was seconded.

Delegate Lee M. Hart placed in nomination for Eighth Vice-President H.

W. Sherman, of the Electrical Workers' International Brotherhood.

On motion of Delegate Martin McGraw, nominations were closed.

President Gompers in the Chair.

The first roll call on the election of Eighth Vice President resulted as follows:

For Spencer—Abernethy, Kemper, Ward (E. F.), Priestersbach, Zepp, Buchanan, Hoeneck, Brady, Curren, Morris (Max), Feeney, Ketter, Hammill, Glass, Monaghan, Hayes (D. A.), Beegan, Duncan, Lyons, O'Brien (W. J.), Lillian, Smith (J. W.), Wiseman, Sullivan (D. P.), Keefe (D. J.), Barter, Joyce, O'Connell, Warner, Ireland, Lynch (E. J.), 64 votes, Sheet Metal Workers' delegation (76 votes), Mitchell, Wilson (W. B.), Lewis, Ryan (W. D.), Haskins, Fahy, Dempsey, Keough, O'Neil, Metcalf, Musicians' delegation (73 votes), Bahlhorn, Sullivan (J. H.), Murphy, Spencer, Clark, Duffy (T. J.), Hailles, Higgins, Mahon, Orr, Cornelius, Lennon, Keane, Lindow, Lynch (J. M.), Morrison, Hayes (Max), Foster, Berger, Goodwin, Hirsch, Grant, Porter, Sawyer, Burke, Mangan—6,761 votes.

For Grimes—Schaerer, Duffy (Frank), Grimes, Macfarlane, Zaring, Guerin, Fyfe, O'Brien (J. R.), Devine, Shamp, Morton, Fitzpatrick, Sullivan (T. J.), Campbell, Finan, Lowe, Mackey, Brown (J. G.), Brown (Ed.), Flood, McGraw, Wendelken, Cohen (Wm.), O'Shea (C. P.), Triplett, Madden, Cosgrove, Smith (J. T.), Brown (Morris), Hess, Shaver, Lavery (J. A.) Hepp, Dowler—3,118 votes.

For Tveitmoe—McDade, Githorpe, Porter, Tobin, Lovely, Walls, Lowell, Meade, Swartz, Yarnell, Canavan, Gengenbach, Tveitmoe, Baum, Morris (J. J.), De Villiers, Hutchinson, Greenlaw, Sweeney, May, Schmidt, Murray (D. J.), Frazier, MacArthur, Furuseh, Penje, Westoby, White (E. A.), Fitzsimmons, Davidson, Rentelman, Leavitt, McCaslin, O'Leary, Dale, Killian, Meinert—2,002 votes.

For Sherman—Klapetzky, Noschang, Smith (G. K.), Shanessy, Slocum, Hank, Butterworth, Brockowsky, Gompers, Tracy, Wood, Barnes, Robinson, Gordon, Cook, Donnelly, Sherman, Sullivan (M. J.), Burns, Nelson, Beadle, Healy, Conroy, Kellington, Kentzell, Rickert, Hagan, Wolff, Moffitt (J. A.), Lawlor, Maher, Sullivan (Jere L.), Reichenbacher, McSorley, Hamerstrom, Lynch (E. J.), Sheet Metal Workers' delegation (77 votes), Musicians' delegation (147 votes), Wilson (James), Cain, Dold, Helle, Mulcahey (T.), Dinan, Sauer, Tanquary, Ramsay, Hart, Maloney (P.), Golden, Rosenthal, Mulcahy (D. D.), Kidd, Braunschweig, Miller (E. W.), Crozier, White (William), Driscoll, Thomas (H. D.), Smith (W. S.), Kreyling, Wood, Stewart, Bell, Alves, Pacelli—3,476 votes.

President Gompers—No candidate having received a majority of all votes cast, another roll call will be had. The candidate receiving the lowest number of votes will drop out. The candidates

to be voted on are Spencer, Grimes and Sherman.

The second roll call resulted as follows:

For Spencer—Abernethy, Tobin, Lovely, Walls, Lowell, Meade, Kemper, Ward (E. F.), Priestersbach, Zepp, Buchanan, Hoeneck, Brady, Curren, Swartz, Yarnell, Canavan, Gengenbach, Tveitmoe, Morris (Max), Cook, Donnelly, Feeney, Ketter, Hammill, Glass, Monaghan, Hayes (D. A.), Beegan, Duncan, Lyons, O'Brien (W. J.), Lillian, Smith (J. W.), Hotel and Restaurant Employees' delegation (98 votes), Sullivan (D. P.), McSorley, De Villiers, Keefe (D. J.), Barter, Joyce, Machinists' delegation (471 votes), Lynch (E. J.) 64 votes, Sheet Metal Workers' delegation (76 votes), Mitchell, Wilson (W. B.), Lewis, Ryan (W. D.), Haskins, Fahy, Dempsey, Keough, O'Neil, Metcalf, Musicians' delegation (147 votes), Bahlhorn, Sullivan (J. H.), Murphy, Spencer, Clark, McKee, Duffy (T. J.), Hailles, Higgins, Mulcahey (T.), Dinan, Sauer, Mahon, Orr, Cornelius, White (E. A.), Fitzsimmons, Lennon, Keane, Lindow, Lynch (J. M.), Morrison, Hayes, Foster, Berger, Hirsch, Grant, Leavitt, Sawyer, Keefe, Tilmity, Dale, Killian—7,984 votes.

For Grimes—Schaerer, Klapetzky, Noschang, Smith (Geo. K.), Shanessy, Githorpe, Porter, Duffy (Frank), Grimes, Macfarlane, Zaring, Guerin, O'Brien (J. R.), Devine (J. R.), Shamp, Morton, Kenahan, Fitzpatrick, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' delegation (198 votes), Hutchinson, Greenlaw, Sweeney, May, Schmidt, Campbell, Finan, Lowe, Mackey, Brown (J. G.), Westoby, Brown (Ed.), Flood, McGraw, Wendelken, Cohen (Wm.), O'Shea (C. P.), Triplett, Jaeger, Cosgrove, Smith (J. T.), Brown, (Morris), Shaver, Lavery (J. A.), Hepp, Dowler, Mangan, McCaslin—4,083 votes.

For Sherman—Slocum, McDade, Hank, Butterworth, Brockowsky, Fyfe, Gompers, Tracy, Wood, Barnes, Robinson, Gordon, Sherman, Sullivan (M. J.), Burns, Nelson, Healy, Conroy, Kellington, Kentzell, Rickert, Hagan, Wolff, Jacoby, Morris (J. J.), Hotel and Restaurant Employees' delegation (198 votes), Machinists' delegation (156 votes), Lynch (E. J.), 64 votes, Sheet Metal Workers' delegation (77 votes), Musicians' delegation (73 votes), Wilson (James), Cain, Dold, Helle, Tanquary, Ramsay, Frazier, MacArthur, Furuseh, Penje, Hart, Maloney (P.), Golden, Rosenthal, Mulcahy (D. D.), Kidd, Braunschweig, Miller (E. W.), Davidson, White (Wm. S.), Driscoll, Sarman, Smith (Wm. S.), Petry, Hudson (M. T.), Rentelman, Kreyling, Stewart, Bell, Alves, Pacelli, Meinert—3,204 votes.

Delegate Higgins placed in nomination for Secretary Mr. Frank Morrison. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Tveitmoe.

On motion of Delegate Lynch, nominations were closed and the First Vice-President was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention

for Mr. Morrison as Secretary for the ensuing year.

Vice-President Duncan complied with the instruction, and the Chairman announced the election of Secretary Morrison.

Delegate Hirsch placed in nomination for Treasurer Mr. John E. Lennon. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Monaghan.

On motion, nominations were closed, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Mr. Lennon for Treasurer.

The Secretary complied with the instruction, and the Chairman announced the election of Treasurer Lennon.

Each of the newly elected officers in turn was requested to address the Convention, and each responded in a few well-chosen words.

President Gompers—The Convention will now proceed to elect two fraternal delegates to the British Trades and Labor Council and one fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Council. The Convention will nominate and elect one delegate at a time.

Delegate D. D. Driscoll placed in nomination for delegate to the British Trades and Labor Congress John A. Moffitt, of the United Hatters. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Wendelken.

A motion was made and carried that the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of the Convention for Delegate Moffitt.

The Secretary complied with the instruction, and the Chairman announced the election of Delegate Moffitt.

Delegate Moffitt thanked the Convention for honoring him with the election.

Delegate Barter nominated Delegate Edmond F. Ward of the United Brewery Workmen for fraternal delegate to the British Trades and Labor Council. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Louis Kemper.

Delegate Wendelken placed in nomination for fraternal delegate to the British Trades and Labor Council James Wood of the Cigar Makers' International Union. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Grimes.

On motion nominations were closed.

The hour for adjournment having arrived, Vice-President Duncan moved that the rules be suspended and that the Convention remain in session until a vote was taken on the nominations that had been made for the second fraternal delegate to the British Trades and Labor Congress.

The motion was seconded and carried.

A motion was made and carried that when the Convention adjourned it be to convene at 8 p. m.

The Secretary announced the result of the roll call on the election of a fraternal delegate as follows:

For Ward—Schaerer, Barbers' delegation (177 votes), Abernethy, Slocum, McDade, Gilthorpe, Porter, Kemper, Ward, Priestersbach, Zepp, Hank, Butterworth, Brockowsky, Fyfe, Clerks' delegation (250 votes), Baum, Cook, Donnelly, Hammill, Monaghan, Conroy (22½ votes), Kentzell, Morris (J. J.), Duncan, O'Brien, Lillen, Smith (J. W.), Hotel and Restaurant Employees' delegation (197 votes), Sullivan (D. P.), Keefe (D. J.), Barter, Joyce, Machinists' delegation (313 votes), Mitchell, Wilson (W. E.), Lewis, Ryan (W. D.) Haskins, Fahy, Dempsey, Weber, Miller (Owen), Carey, Painters' delegation (304 votes), Murphy, Spencer, Clark, McKee, Higgins, Mulcahy (T.), Dinan, Sauer, Tanquary, Ramsay, Westoby, Hart, Maloney (P.), Fitzsimmons, Lindow, Typographical Union delegation (186 votes), Wood Workers' delegation (141 votes), Driscoll, Thomas (H. D.), Hudson (M. T.), Rentelman, Kreyling, Dowler, Timilty, Alves—6962½ votes.

For Wood—Barbers' delegation (59 votes), Tobin, Lovely, Walls, Lowell, Meade, Buchanan, Hoeneck, Brady, Curran, Duffy (Frank), Gimes, Swartz, Yarnell, Macfarlane, Zaring, Guerin, Canavan, Gengenbach, Tveitmo, Gompers, Tracy, Wood, Barnes, Clerks' delegation (250 votes), Sherman, Sullivan (M. J.), Burns, Nelson, Feeney, Ketter, Glass, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Conroy (22½ votes), Kellington, Rickert, Hagan, Wolff, Jacoby, Hayes (D. A.), Beegan, Lyons, Kenehan, Fitzpatrick, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' delegation (297 votes), McSorley, Hutchinson, Greenlaw, Sweeney, Machinists' delegation (314 votes), May, Schmidt, Downey, Pattison, Heron, Murray, Keough, O'Neil, Metcalf, Painters' delegation (303 votes), Mackey, Wilson (James), Cain, Doid, Helle, Mahon, Orr, Cornelius, Frazier, Macarthur, Furuseth, Penje, White, Lennon, Keane, Brown (E.), Flood, McGraun, Wendelken, Cohen (Wm.), Shea, Golden, Typographical Union delegation (281 votes), Wood Workers' delegation (142 votes), Davidson, Triplett, Jaeger, Cosgrove, White (Wm.), Grant, Smith (J. T.), Smith (Wm. S.), Brown (M.), Shaver, Lavery, Hepp, Wood, Leavitt, Sawyer, Stewart, Mangin, McCaslin, Pacelli, Dale—8123½ votes.

The Convention was then adjourned until 8 o'clock.

## TENTH DAY—Evening Session.

The Convention was called to order at 8 p. m., President Gompers in the Chair.

Absentees—Smith (G. K.), Aoernethy, Giltthorpe, Tobin, Lovely, Walls, Meade, Kemper, Hank, Buterworth, Curren, Yarnell, Gengenbach, Cook, Nelson, Beadle, Shamp, Bechtold, Wolff, Farrell, Mahoney, Moffitt (J. A.), Lawlor, Maher, Smith (J. W.), Hutchinson, Greenlaw, Ireland, Hamerstrom, Lynch, Heron, Ryan, Haskins, Carey, Thomas, Spencer, Duffy, Halles, Higgins, Mulcahey, Dinan, Woodward, Maloney, Flood, Fischer, McAndrews, Morgan, Davidson, Harris (W. S.), Madden, Crozier, Iglesias, Woodman, Moyer, Goodwin, Scharzt, Husted, Seaward, Sarman, Smith (J. T.), Michel, Brennan, Porter, Petry, Harris (R. F.), Ward, Hudson (M. T.), Walker, Dunn (J. P.), Hudson (Fred), Dowler, Payne, O'Shea (Dennis), Morris (W. D.), Burke, McSherry, Murray, Hyde, Patterson, Dunn (M. T.), Daley, Jones, Catania, Forrest, Baley, Hinton, Brycker, Pillsbury, Bell, Keefe (M. O.), Daszonic, Schrader, Morey, Meinert, Dowd, Padilla.

President Gompers—Nominations are in order for fraternal delegate to the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress.

Delegate Patterson nominated James A. Lavery. The nomination was seconded by Delegate Grimes.

Vice-President Hayes nominated Frank Feeney. The nomination was seconded by Delegates Tveitmoie and Franey.

The roll call on the election of a fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Assembly resulted as follows:

For Lavery—Slocum, McDade, Duffy (Frank), Grimes, Swartz, Yarnell, Macfarlane, Zaring, Guerin, Robinson, Gordon, Baum, Steam Engineers' delegation (132 votes), Morton, Conroy, Kellington, Kentzell, Jacoby, Kenehan, Fitzpatrick, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' delegation (247 votes), Sweeney, Downey, Pattison, Heron, Mine Workers' delegation (736 votes), Molders' delegation (100 votes), Bahlhorn, Sullivan, Campbell, Finan, Lowe, Mackey, Cain, Sauer, Westoby, Fitzsimmons, Brown (Ed.), Flood, McGrau, Wendelken, Cohen (Wm.), O'Shea (C. P.), Lynch (J. M.), Morrison, Hayes (Max), Foster, Berger, Triplet, Cosgrove, White (William), Moyer, Hirsch, Shaver, Lavery, Sawyer, Managan, Killian—5,586 votes.

For Feeney—Schaeerer, Klapetzky, Noshang, Smith (Geo. K.), Shanessy, Tobin, Lovely, Walls, Lowell, Meade, Kemper, Ward (E. F.), Priestersbach, Zepp, Buchanan, Hoeneck, Brady, Brockowsky, Fyfe, Canavan, Gengenbach, Tveitmoie, Gompers, Tracy, Wood, Barnes, Clerks' delegation (375 votes), Sherman, Sullivan (M. J.), Burns, Nelson, Feeney, Steam Engineers' delegation (44 votes), Healy, Rickert, Hagan, Wolff, Hayes (D. A.), Beegan, Morris (J. J.), Duncan, Lyons, O'Brien (W. J.), Lillen, Smith (J. W.), Hotel and Restaurant Employees' delegation (247 votes), Sullivan (D. P.), McSorley, De Villiers, Keefe (D. J.), Barter, Joyce, O'Connell, Ireland, Warner, Hamerstrom, May, Schmidt, Murray, Mine Workers' delegation (1841 votes), Molders' delegation (200 votes), Weber, Miller (Owen), Carey, Wilson (James), Dold, Helle, Murphy, Spencer, Clark, McKee, Higgins, Mulcahy (Thomas), Dinan, Tanquary, Ramsay, Mahon, Orr, Cornelius, Frazier, Macarthur, Furuseth, Penje, Brown (J. G.), White (E. A.), Hart, Maloney (P.), Lennon, Keane, Lindow, Rosenthal, Mulcahy (D. D.), Kidd, Braunschweig, Miller (E. W.), Thomas (H. D.), Smith (W. S.), Hepp, Frayne, Kreyling, Dowler, Leavitt, Moffitt (C. M.), Stewart, Bell, McCaslin, Alves, Dale—9,029 votes.

On motion of Delegate Lavery Delegate Feeney was declared elected unanimously.

Delegate Hess placed Pittsburg in nomination as the city for the holding of the next Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate D. J. Sullivan seconded the nomination.

Delegate Kreyling placed St. Louis, Mo., in nomination.

Delegate Lennox placed Toronto, Canada, in nomination.

J. R. O'Brien placed Niagara Falls, N. Y., in nomination.

Delegate Wiseman seconded the nomination of St. Louis.

Delegate Burns seconded the nomination of Toronto.

Delegate D. A. Hayes seconded the nomination of Pittsburg.

Delegate Swartz seconded the nomination of Pittsburg.

When the nominations were closed, on motion, it was decided that the city receiving the highest number of

votes upon the first ballot should be selected as the city for holding the next Convention.

For Pittsburg—Schaerer, Klapetsky, Smith (G. K.), Kemper, Ward, Priest-ersbach, Zepp, Buchanan, Hoeneck, Brady, Brockowsky, Duffy (Frank), Swartz, Yarnell, Zaring, Guerin, Fyfe, Gompers, Tracy, Wood, Barnes, Cook, Donnelly (P. J.), Feeney, Ketter, Ham-mill, Glass, Monaghan, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Kentzell, Jacoby, Hayes (D. A.), Began, Duncan, Lyons, O'Brien (W. J.), Lilien, Smith (J. W.), Kenehan, Fitzpatrick, Sullivan (D. P.), McSorley, De Villiers, Sweeney, O'Connell, Warn-er, Ireland, Hamerstrom, Downey, Pat-tison, Heron, Murray (D. J.), Mitchell, Wilson (W. E.), Lewis, Ryan (W. D.), Haskins, Fahy, Dempsey, Bahhorn, Sullivan, Campbell, Finan, Lowe, Wil-son (James), Dold, Helle, Murphy (J. P.), Spencer, Clark, McKee, Tanquary, Ramsay, Mahon, Orr, Cornelius, Fraz-ier, Macarthur, Furuseh, Penje, West-oby, White, Hart, Maloney, (P.), Fitzsim-mons, Flood, McGrau, Wendelken, Cohen (Wm.), O'Shea (C. P.), Golden, Lynch (J. M.), Morrison, Hayes (Max), Foster, Berger, Rosenthal, Mulcahy (D. D.), Kidd, Braunschweig, Miller (E. W.), Cosgrove, Hirsch, Driscoll, Grant, Thomas (H. D.), Hess, Rentelman, Lea-vitt, Moffitt (C. M.), Stewart, McSher-ry, Bell, Mangan, O'Leary, Alves, Pa-cell, Dale, Killian—9841 votes.

For St. Louis—Shanessy, Grimes, Conroy, Brown (Edward), Jaeger, Mor-ris (J. J.), Sullivan (T. J.), Sullivan (Jere), Wharton, Reichenbacher, Wise-man, Weber, Miller (Owen), Carey, Kreyling—1230 votes.

For Toronto—Slocum, McDade, Tob-in, Lovely, Walls, Lowell, Meade, Can-avan, Gengenbach, Tveitmo, Sherman, Sulivan (M. J.), Burns, Nelson, Kel-lington, Rickert, Hagen, Wolff, Keefe (D. J.), May, Schmidt, Brown (J. G.), Lennon, Keane, Lindow, Michel, Smith (W. E.), Hepp, Wood, Sawyer, McCas-lin—2052 votes.

For Niagara Falls—Nosehang, Mac-farlane, O'Brien (J. R.), Morris (Max), Devine, Robinson, Barter, Joyce, Keough, O'Neil, Metcalf—1414 votes.

For Porto Rico—Timilty—1 vote.

For New York—Brown (Morris)—1 vote.

The Committee on Resolutions contin-ued its report, as follows:

Resolution No. 108.—By Delegate D. D. Driscoll of the Central Labor Union of Boston:

WHEREAS, A difference exists between the Steam Fitters and Plumbers in many cities which is detrimental to organized labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates repre-senting both crafts select one man each, and said two men select the third man, and each side submit their whole matter to said committee, whose decision shall be final.

The committee finds that this reso-lution is at variance with consti-

tutional law (Art. III, Section 2) and the action of the Louisville Convention (fourth full paragraph of proceedings, page 185), and therefore not properly before either this committee or the Convention.

Moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in.

Delegate Driscoll spoke in support of the resolution.

Delegate Duncan raised the point of order that the question was not prop-erly before this Convention and could not be discussed.

The Chair declared the point of or-der well taken.

Report of committee concurred in.

Delegate Duncan read the following from the Constitution of the A. F. of L., and the report of the Grievance Committee adopted at the Louisville Convention in support of his point of order:

#### ARTICLE III.

Section 11.—No grievance shall be con-sidered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the par-ties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

#### LOUISVILLE PROCEEDINGS.

Second.—When a dispute has once been decided upon by this Convention, neither party shall have the right to introduce it again for the period of three years unless it can convince the Executive Council, previous to the meeting of the annual Convention, that it has new evi-dence of an essen<sup>t</sup>ial character at its dis-posal, or that conditions have so changed that the interest of the general move-ment would be best served by the re-opening of the case. If there be suffi-cient merit in these representations, in the judgment of the Executive Council they shall recommend its further con-sideration to the Convention, or give it consideration themselves, if agreeable to the parties interested.

Third.—That the American Federation of Labor shall hereafter refuse to decide questions of jurisdiction involving Na-tional or International affiliated bodies unless by consent of the opposing inter-ests, and with the understanding that each is willing to accept the decision of the American Federation of Labor as a final settlement of the dispute.

Resolution No. 156.—By J. B. Dale of the Ship Keepers' Union No. 8970, Val-lejo, Cal.:

WHEREAS, The Ship Keepers on the Mare Island Navy Yard were, prior to August 20, 1900, compelled by the rul-



ing of those in authority, to work an average of twelve hours for a day's pay (in violation of the eight-hour law) after said 20th day of August, 1900, by a decision of the Secretary of the Navy, the hours of said Ship Keepers were reduced to eight for a day's pay, thereby confessing that when compelled to work twelve hours we worked an excess of four hours of overtime for each calendar day, and that

WHEREAS, That said Ship Keepers have made demand upon the proper authority to pay for overtime for this excess of four hours for each calendar day so worked, yet the Auditor for the Navy Department has persistently refused to audit our claim for said overtime, though the fact has been called to his attention that the claims of Ship Keepers at other navy yards have been paid for this overtime in former years; and

WHEREAS, Congressman Metcalf, on the 18th day of March, 1904, introduced a bill, in the House of Representatives, Bill No. 14171, referring to the Court of Claims, the claim of the Ship Keepers at Mare Island, California, to the Committee of Claims; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor at its Twenty-fourth Annual Convention now in session at Lyric Hall, San Francisco, Cal., have thoroughly investigated this claim of the Ship Keepers' Union No. 8970, A. F. of L., and being fully convinced of the justness of the same, do hereby endorse the same, and earnestly urge the Law and Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. to use all means within their power to aid the attorneys for the Ship Keepers, Messrs. Herbert and Micon, at Washington, D. C., in the effort the said firm is making to have an equitable adjustment of the Claim of the Ship Keepers.

Committee recommends reference to the Executive Council to have the purpose of the resolution carried into effect.

Moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in. Agreed to.

Resolution No. 157.—By Delegates James F. Grimes of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners:

WHEREAS, In the proper embellishment of our towns and cities, by parks, monuments, ornamental buildings, boulevards and driveways, there is too frequently an utter neglect in the removal of unsanitary and unhealthful conditions in the less favored localities, and

WHEREAS, In our opinion one of the first duties of town and city governments is to make wholesome, by good drainage, paving, water supply, and correct tenement house construction, those portions of cities and towns, that are now neglected in these respects, thus imperiling the health and happiness of the working people; therefore be it

RESOLVED, In the interest of the poor and well-to-do also, town and municipal councils should give greater legislative

attention with adequate appropriations, for the removal of these evil conditions in the less favored localities, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the labor unions by supporting candidates pledged in advance, to the support of a necessary and wise ordinance, according with the foregoing principles, will materially advance the health conditions and material prosperity of the country, and those of the American Federation of Labor in this Convention assembled, recommends these principles to its affiliated National, State, District and Local bodies.

Committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee concurred in.

On the telegram to President Gompers from John W. Foster, as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 19, 1904.  
Samuel Gompers, care American Federation of Labor, San Francisco, Cal.:

Arbitration treaties with France, Germany, England, Mexico and other powers will be sent to Senate in December. Can you not get them endorsed by Federation.

(Signed.) JOHN W. FOSTER.

The committee recommends re-endorsement of the principle of arbitration between nations, and refer the special treaties mentioned to the Executive Council for consideration and support if found satisfactory.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

RESOLVED, That this Convention expresses its sincere appreciation of the generous hospitality and universal cordiality with which the delegates have been greeted by the citizens of California. Our thanks are especially due to the union men and women of San Francisco, to the Mayor of the city, and to the press, local and national, for the many courtesies extended us. We assure the members of the local committee of arrangements that we shall carry back from the Golden Gate abundant and pleasant memories, largely contributed to by their efforts, and that joined to our recollections of your land of fruits and flowers, of your salubrious climate and beautiful scenery, will be the grateful memory of the many kindnesses shown us by yourselves and your colleagues.

JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman,  
W. D. RYAN,  
J. C. BALHORN,  
RICHARD B. METCALF,  
ARCHIE GRAFT,  
DENNIS MULCAHY,  
SANTIAGO IGLESÍAS,  
JOHN SLOCUM,  
WM. COHEN,  
FRANK B. MONAGHAN,  
FRANK K. FOSTER, Secretary.

Moved that the report of the committee as acted upon be adopted as a whole and the committee discharged. Agreed to.

Delegate Mangan read the following communication, which on motion was ordered printed in the Proceedings:

CHICAGO, ILL., March 1, 1904.

Mr. E. N. Nockels, Secretary Chicago Federation of Labor, 155 Washington street, Chicago, Ill.:

Dear Sir and Brother:

Your favor of the 27th has been laid before the Executive Board of the United Association now in session in this city, and on motion the acting Secretary was instructed to write you in reply, stating that our organization stands ready to meet a committee from the National Association at any time or place such a meeting can be arranged.

We feel, however, that since your Chicago Federation has initiated this matter, that you should call the meeting, and we would be especially pleased if you could so arrange a meeting as to occur before the adjournment of our executive session and the departure of the Board from Chicago.

Fraternally yours,

(Signed.) WM. J. SPENCER.

Delegate Mangan also desired that it be recorded that his organization stands ready to comply with above request.

Delegate Devine for the Committee on Resolutions submitted the following:

Resolution No. 161.—By Delegate I. Jacoby of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Continuous attacks of organized employers have greatly embarrassed the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, and have weakened a number of its locals, especially so the locals situated in Chicago, Ill., and Cleveland, Ohio, during the past year; and

WHEREAS, It is imperative for the future welfare of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union that its locals in Chicago, Ill., and Cleveland, Ohio, be placed on a better footing and receive the full support of organized labor to that end, and

WHEREAS, For the reasons aforementioned the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is unable to render its locals in Chicago, Ill., and Cleveland, Ohio, the necessary assistance required in reorganizing and strengthening the same; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor assembled in Twenty-fourth Annual Convention in San Francisco, Cal., that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to render the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union such assistance as may be necessary and as may be agreed upon between the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the general officers of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union to carry out the objects herein set forth.

The committee recommends that this matter be referred to the Executive Council.

On motion the report of the committee was concurred in.

On motion it was decided that the report of the committee, as acted upon, be adopted as a whole and the committee discharged.

Delegate Spencer for the Committee on Building Trades submitted the following report:

To the American Federation of Labor in Convention Assembled:

Your Committee on Building Trades to whom was referred that part of the Executive Council's Report dealing with the Structural Building Trades Alliance, which reads as follows:

#### STRUCTURAL BUILDING TRADES ALLIANCE.

An alliance of the above title was instituted during the past year. We have made inquiries regarding its aims and purposes and have had it explained to us by its Secretary, Vice-President Spencer. We are informed by him that it is not intended to be in rivalry or antagonism to the American Federation of Labor, nor to the Building Trades Sections, which we have recommended to, and which have been instituted by, many central bodies.

We are not in a position at this time to express definite judgment as to the result of the work of this alliance. Of course, we favor and encourage the closest possible co-operation between kindred trades in all industries, experience having demonstrated the good results accomplished thereby. It was for that purpose that the New Orleans Convention provided for the election of a committee on Building trades; such a committee was appointed and reported to the Boston Convention.

If an alliance of the character re-

ferred to was advisable, we are of the opinion that it should have been reported to that Convention. We are confident that the delegates to the Boston Convention would have given their assurance of sympathetic approval and co-operation to any proposition calculated to advance the interests of the building trades.

We can only express the hope that the Structural Building Trades Alliance, as formed, will so conform its work as to co-operate with, rather than diviate from, the make-up and the purposes of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee begs leave to report as follows:

That the entire matter has been carefully considered by us. The objects, aims, desires, principles, preamble and methods of the Alliance have also been minutely investigated.

Despite the sounding note of alarm in the Executive Council's Report, we find that the Structural Building Trades Alliance is a friendly body, willing to encourage and maintain fraternal relations with all existing recognized Central Bodies, particularly desirous of co-operating with them, and more than pronounced in its preamble as to the absolute necessity of the centralization of all organized wage-workers.

There is nothing that we can find in its make-up that is antagonistic to the American Federation of Labor. On the contrary, we are informed that its Board of Governors are willing and desirous of meeting with the officers and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of creating a better understanding and a closer affiliation.

Some of the objects of the Structural Building Trades Alliance are:

To avoid strikes.

To prevent internal strife and friction in the Building Trades.

To keep agreements inviolate.

To substitute arbitration in the settlement of trade disputes.

To oppose the formation of dual and rival bodies in the Building Trades.

To assist only such Unions as are affiliated with their respective National or International Unions.

To give international sympathetic support to all trades affiliated, where

the Local Boards fail in their efforts to adjust difficulties.

These objects we commend, and hope that at no distant date the Structural Building Trades Alliance may become part and parcel of the American Federation of Labor, and we further recommend that the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council use their best efforts and energies to accomplish that end.

During the past year efforts have been made in many localities to secure a closer federation of the Building Trades in order to obtain better conditions for the men employed in the building industry and to further secure the unqualified establishment of the eight hour work day.

It is to be regretted that we have not secured the co-operation of two of the most important International Unions of Building Mechanics, viz., the Brick Layers' and Masons' International Union and the Operative Plasterers, who for some reason best known to themselves continue to remain unidentified with the centralized forces of the American Labor movement. It is to be hoped, however, that through the friendly offices of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L., coupled with the friendly influences of Associated Building Trades, that these two organizations will join hands with their fellow-workmen on the Building and thus complete the establishment of the American Federation of Labor in the Building Industry throughout the country.

Your committee is of the opinion that an earnest effort should be made by all affiliated organizations and subordinate Central Bodies to abolish the contract system on all public Building work, be it Municipal, County, State or National.

The evils of the contract system have been so often demonstrated and are so manifest, there is no occasion at this time to warrant comment at any great length. Aside from declaring that in the minds of your committee the day work system, under proper supervision and management will not only greatly reduce the cost of public work, but will at the same time guarantee to the

public a higher and better grade of workmanship.

We also desire to call the attention of the American Federation of Labor to the lack of suitable mechanics' lien laws or the non-enforcement of them where they have been enacted. The Building Trades especially suffer for want of suitable lien laws in various States, and we feel it incumbent to draw your attention to the necessity of instructing affiliated and subordinate bodies to urge the enactment of such laws as will give the mechanic and laborer the prior claim on liens. We feel called upon to emphasize the urgency of bending every effort in this direction, and appeal for united co-operation to protect the workmen from designing contractors and employers.

We are called upon at this time to reiterate our belief in the necessity to secure the enactment of municipal and State ordinances for the proper protection of life and limb of the men engaged in building construction and repair work. Too often are the lives of our workmen sacrificed by the erection of cheap and improper scaffolding, without regard to the injuries often sustained.

This is a matter of more than passing moment, and your committee is of the opinion that all Central Bodies should insist upon the enactment of such precautionary measures as will safeguard the lives of our members.

And in this connection we are called upon to remind you that the Legislative Committees of the Central Bodies should stand instructed to secure the passage of a sound and practical Employers' Liability Act that will make the employer liable for injuries sustained through his carelessness or in-

difference to the reckless exposure of his workmen.

Respectfully submitted,

WM. J. SPENCER, Chairman,  
HERMAN LILLIEN,  
O. A. TVEITMOE,  
FRANK FEENEY,  
E. V. HOENECK,  
THOMAS J. LYONS,  
GEORGE C. CAMPBELL,  
W. H. SHERMAN  
JOSEPH HAMMILL,  
EDWARD A. WHITE,  
THEODORE PAINE,  
W. W. WOODWARD,  
WILLIAM FYFE,  
HENRY KETTER,  
FRANK DUFFY, Secretary.

On motion, the report of the committee was concurred in.

Delegate O'Brien for the Committee on Labels submitted the following report:

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegate Owen Miller of the American Federation of Musicians:

RESOLVED, That in addition to the regular committee already provided for the President shall appoint a special committee of eleven, to be known as the "Universal Label Committee," to whom shall be referred all resolutions relating to the adoption of a universal label. The members of this committee shall comprise delegates representing trades directly interested in the use of a label; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this committee shall report before the adjournment of the Convention, ways and means for the adoption of such a universal label.

Committee reports unfavorably.

Report of committee concurred in.

The Chair then announced that the business of the Convention was concluded, and on motion the Convention was adjourned sine die.

FRANK MORRISON,  
Secretary A. F. of L.

WILL J. FRENCH,  
Assistant Secretary.

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