

PROCEEDINGS
of the AMERICAN
FEDERATION
O F L A B O R

1881 : 1882 : 1883 : 1884 : 1885
1886 : 1887 : 1888

Reprinted in 1905



PANTAGRAPH PRINTING AND STATIONERY CO.
BLOOMINGTON, ILLINOIS

R331.8 82 A512r

1st-8th 1881-1888 c.1

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Report of the First Annual Session

OF THE

Federation of Organized Trades and Labor
Unions of the United States
and Canada

HELD IN

PITTSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

December 15, 16, 17 and 18

1881

Published by Authority of the Federation
PRICE TEN CENTS

FEDERATION
OF
Organized Trades and Labor Unions
OF THE
UNITED STATES AND CANADA.

Declaration of Principles.

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between capital and labor, which must grow in intensity from year to year and work disastrous results to the toiling millions of all nations if not combined for mutual protection and benefit. The history of the wage-workers of all countries is but the history of constant struggle and misery engendered by ignorance and disunion; whereas the history of the non-producers of all ages proves that a minority, thoroughly organized, may work wonders for good or evil. It behooves the representatives of the workers of North America, in Congress assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the people of our country as will unite them for all time to come, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled. Conforming to the old adage, "In union there is strength," the formation of a Federation embracing every trade and labor organization in North America, a union founded upon a basis as broad as the land we live in, is our only hope. The past history of Trades Unions proves that small organizations, well conducted, have accomplished great good, but their efforts have not been of that lasting character which a thorough unification of all the different branches of industrial workers is bound to secure.

Conforming to the spirit of the times and the necessities of the industrial classes, we make the following:

PLATFORM.

1. RESOLVED, That an organization of workmen into what is known as a Trades or Labor Union should have the right to the protection of their property in like manner as the property of all other persons and societies, and to accomplish this purpose we insist upon the passage of laws in the State Legislatures and in Congress for the incorporation of

Trades Unions and similar labor organizations.

2. That we are in favor of the passage of such Legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children; that if the State has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the right of the State to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands.

3. That we are in favor of the passage of laws in the several States forbidding the employment of children under the age of fourteen years in any capacity, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

4. That necessity demands the enactment of uniform apprentice laws throughout the country; that the apprentice to a mechanical trade may be made to serve a sufficient term of apprenticeship, from three to five years, and that he be provided by his employer, in his progress to maturity, with proper and sufficient facilities to finish him as a competent workman.

5. That the National Eight Hour law is one intended to benefit labor and to relieve it partly of its heavy burdens; that the evasion of its true spirit and intent is contrary to the best interests of the Nation; we therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit of its designers.

6. That it is hereby declared the sense of this Congress that convict or prison labor, as applied to the contract system in several of the States, is a species of slavery in its worst form; that it pauperizes labor, demoralizes the honest manufacturer and degrades the very criminal whom it employs; that, as many articles of use and consumption made in our prisons under the contract system come directly and detrimentally in competition with the products of honest labor, we demand that the laws providing for labor under the contract system herein complained of be repealed, so as to discontinue the manufacture of all articles which will compete with those of the honest mechanic or workman.

7. That what is known as the "order" or "truck" system of payment, instead of lawful currency as a value for labor performed, is one not only of gross imposition, but of downright swindle to the honest laborer and me-

chanic, and calls for entire abolition, and we recommended that active measures shall be enforced to eradicate the evil by the passage of laws imposing fine and imprisonment upon all individuals, firms or corporations who continue to practice the same.

8. That we favor the passage of such laws as will secure to the mechanic and workman the first lien upon property the product of his labor, sufficient in all cases to justify his legal and just claims; that proper provisions be made for legally recovering the same.

9. That we demand the repeal and erasure from the statute books of all acts known as conspiracy laws, as applied to organizations of labor in the regulation of wages and the number of hours which shall constitute a day's work.

10. That we recognize the wholesome effects of a Bureau of Labor Statistics as created in several States, and we urge upon our friends in Congress the passage of an act establishing a National Bureau of Labor Statistics, and recommend for its management the appointment of a proper person, identified with the laboring classes of the country.

11. That we recommend to the Congress of the United States the adoption of such laws as shall give to every American industry full protection from the cheap labor of foreign countries.

12. That we demand the passage of a law by the United States Congress to prevent the importation of foreign laborers under contract.

13. That we recommend all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all law-making bodies by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTIONS.

1. WHEREAS, The experience of the last thirty years in California and on the Pacific Coast having proved conclusively that the presence of Chinese, and their competition with free white labor, is one of the greatest evils with which any country can be afflicted; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we use our best efforts to get rid of this monstrous evil (which threatens, unless checked, to extend to other parts of the Union) by the dissemination of information respecting its true character, and by urging upon our representatives in the United States Congress the absolute necessity of passing laws entirely prohibiting the immigration of Chinese into the United States.

2. That we urge upon the Legislature of our several States the passage of laws of license upon stationary engineers, and the enforcement of proper restrictions which will better preserve and render protection to life and property.

3. That we demand strict laws for the inspection and ventilation of mines, factories, and work-shops, and sanitary supervision of all food and dwellings.

4. That stricter laws be enacted, making employers liable for all accidents resulting from their negligence or incompetency to the injury of their employes.

ORGANIZATIONS.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This association shall be known as "THE FEDERATION OF ORGANIZED TRADES AND LABOR UNIONS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA," and shall consist of such Trades and Labor Unions as shall, after being duly admitted, conform to its rules and regulations, and pay all contributions required to carry out the objects of this Federation.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

The object of this Federation shall be: SECTION 1. The encouragement and formation of Trades and Labor Unions.

SEC. 2. The encouragement and formation of Trades and Labor Assemblies or Councils.

SEC. 3. The encouragement and formation of National and International Trades Unions.

SEC. 4. To secure legislation favorable to the interests of the industrial classes.

ARTICLE III.—SESSIONS.

The sessions of the Federation shall be held annually, on the third Tuesday in November, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Congress.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

The basis of representation in the Congress of this Federation shall be: From National or International Unions, for one thousand members or less, one delegate; for four thousand, two delegates; for eight thousand, three delegates; for sixteen thousand, four delegates; for thirty-two thousand, five delegates, and so on. From local Trades Assemblies or Councils, one delegate.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

At the annual sessions of this Federation, the delegates shall elect a Legislative Committee consisting of five delegates, one of whom shall be the Federation Secretary, and who shall be elected separately.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Legislative Committee shall be to exercise a supervision over the organization, and the execution of its laws, and to carry out such instructions as may, from time to time, be given them at the sessions of this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Legislative Committee shall choose from among themselves a Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairman, and Treasurer for the ensuing year.

ARTICLE VII.—REVENUE.

The revenue of this Federation shall be derived from a capitation tax of three cents per member annually from each Trade and Labor Union, Trades Assembly or Council affiliated with this Federation, which shall be paid quarterly in advance.

ARTICLE VIII.—ACCOUNTS.

The accounts of the year shall be closed fourteen days prior to the assembling of the Congress, and a balance sheet duly certified and presented to the same.

ARTICLE IX.—REMUNERATION.

The remuneration for loss of time by the Legislative Committee shall be at the rate of three dollars per diem, traveling and incidental expenses to be also defrayed.

STANDING ORDER.

1. The annual meeting of this Federation shall be held on the third Tuesday in November, at such place as the delegates to the preceding Congress may have selected.

2. The time of meeting shall be as follows: On the first day, to assemble at noon; on all other days, at 9 A. M.; adjourn at 12:30; reassemble at 1:30 and adjourn at 5 P. M. each day.

3. At the opening of the Congress the chairman of the Legislative Committee shall take the chair until the Congress has elected its own President, which shall be its first business. The Congress shall then elect a Vice-President, two Secretaries, two Auditors, a Doorkeeper and Messenger.

4. A Standing Order Committee shall then be elected, to whom shall be remitted the whole business of the Congress, the discussions, together with the whole financial arrangements of the Congress.

5. The Congress having been formally opened by the President, the Legislative Committee shall present their report for the past year, which shall be read by the Secretary, and shall be laid on the table for discussion by the Congress; said report shall contain a list of the Committee meetings, with dates and names of those present.

6. The reader of a paper shall be allowed twenty minutes; the mover of a resolution fifteen minutes; succeeding speakers ten minutes each. No one to speak more than once on any one subject.

7. No second amendment to an original proposition shall be put to a vote until the amendment is disposed of.

8. No papers shall be read except those which are required for legislative purposes; no member to read more than one paper.

9. All papers shall be sent to the Secretary of the Legislative Committee at least two weeks before the meeting of the ensuing Con-

gress, the same to be read and arranged by the Committee to facilitate the business of the Congress.

10. The Secretary, who shall also be Secretary of the Legislative Committee, shall be elected at the annual Congress. Should a vacancy occur between the annual meetings of the Congress, the Legislative Committee shall have power to fill the vacancy.

11. The duties of the Legislative Committee shall be to watch legislative measures directly affecting the question of labor; to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Congress may direct, or as the exigencies of the time and circumstances may demand.

12. No candidate shall be elected on the Legislative Committee unless he is a delegate from his own trade society or represents a Trades Council, and the body so represented must have contributed its capitation tax during the year previous to his nomination. In no case shall two members of one trade be elected on the Committee.

13. All surplus moneys, after the payment of the expenses of the Congress, shall be handed over to the Treasurer of the Legislative Committee for the general purposes of such Committee.

14. The Legislative Committee shall assist and co-operate with the Local Committee of the city where the next Congress is to be held, for the purpose of making the arrangements as complete as possible, and preparing the questions to be discussed, and together to take such joint action as their business, or other special circumstances of the time, may render necessary or desirable.

15. A sub-committee of the Legislative Committee shall meet a week before the meeting of each Congress, to arrange matters for the Congress.

16. That in the case of any amendment of the Standing Orders of the Congress being desired by any society or delegate, it shall be necessary for every such proposed amendment to be forwarded to the Legislative Committee at least one month before the meeting of the Congress.

17. The Legislative Committee shall be members of the succeeding Congress, from which they have been credited, but without a vote.

REPORT. FIRST DAY—Morning Session.

Pittsburg, November 15, 1881.

The International Trades and Labor Congress convened in Turner Hall, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, at 2 P. M. of the above date, pursuant to the call issued by the preliminary Congress, held in Terre Haute, Indiana, on August 2d and 3d, 1881, for the purpose of forming an International Federation of Trades and Labor Unions.

The Congress was called to order by Lyman A. Brant, Detroit, Michigan, representing the International Typographical Union, and Chairman of the Standing Committee appointed by the Terre Haute Convention.

Prayer was offered by Mr. K. Mackenzie, of the Bookbinders' Union, of New York.

Mr. Brant read the following:

INTERNATIONAL TRADES UNION CONGRESS.

To all Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canadas:

Fellow Workmen: The time has now arrived for a more perfect combination of Labor—one that will concentrate our forces so as to more successfully cope with concentrated capital.

We have numberless trades unions, trades assemblies or councils, and various other local, national and international labor unions, all engaged in the noble task of elevating and improving the condition of the working classes. But, great as has been the work done by these bodies, there is vastly more that can be done by a combination of all these organizations in a federation of trades.

In Great Britain and Ireland annual trades union congresses are held; France and other countries have, also, similar gatherings. The work done by these assemblages of workmen speaks more in their favor than a volume of other arguments.

Only in such a body can proper action be taken to promote the general welfare of the industrial classes. There we can discuss and examine all questions affecting the national interests of each and every trade, and by a combination of forces secure that justice which isolated and separated trade and labor unions can never fully command.

A National Trades Union Congress can prepare labor measures and agree upon laws they desire passed by the Congress of the United States; and a Congressional Labor Committee, after the manner of the Parliamentary Committees of Trades Unions in England, could be elected to urge and advance legislation at Washington on all such measures, and report to the various trades.

In addition to this, an annual congress of trades unions could organize a systematic agi-

tation to propagate trades union principles, and to impress the necessity of protective trade and labor organizations, and to encourage the formation of such unions and their amalgamation in trades assemblies. Thus we could elevate trades unionism and obtain for the working classes that respect for their rights, and that reward for their services, to which they are justly entitled.

A federation of this character can be organized with a few simple rules and no salaried officers. The expenses of its management will be trivial and can be provided for by the Trades Union Congress.

Impressed with the necessity of such a federation, and the importance of an International Trades Union Congress to perfect the organization, we the undersigned, delegates, in a preliminary national convention, assembled at Terre Haute, Indiana, held August 2, 1881, do hereby resolve to issue the following call:

That all international and national unions, trades assemblies or councils, and local trades or labor unions are hereby invited to send delegates to an International Trades Union Congress, to be held in Pittsburg, Pa., on Tuesday, November 15, 1881. Each local union will be entitled to one delegate for one hundred members or less, and one additional delegate for each additional five hundred members or major part thereof; also, one delegate for each international or national union, and one delegate for each trades assembly or council.

J. E. COUGHLIN, President National Tanners' and Curriers' Union.

E. POWERS, Gen. Pres't Lake Seamen's Union.

LYMAN A. BRANT, International Typographical Union.

P. J. MCGUIRE, St. Louis Trades and Labor Assembly.

T. THOMPSON, I. M. U., Dayton, O.

GEORGE W. OSBORN, I. M. U., of Springfield, O.

W. C. POLLNER, Cleveland Trades Assembly.

SAM'L L. LEFFINGWELL, Indianapolis Trades Assembly.

J. R. BACKUS, Terre Haute Amalgamated Labor Union.

The following gentlemen have also sent in their names as indorsers of the call:

GEORGE CLARK, President International Typographical Union.

P. F. FITZPATRICK, President Iron Molders' Union of America.

JOHN KINNEAR, Pres't Central Trades and Labor Assembly, Boston.

GEORGE RODGERS, President Chicago Trades Assembly.

Note.—Several large and influential Labor Unions, such as the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, International Cigar Makers, National Granite Cutters, National Mule Spinners, International Typographical, and others, as well as numberless large

local unions, assure us that they will be represented. I think each and all should heartily work to push any movement looking to the solidifying of our labor associations into an International Congress—a Congress of Workers of the New World. "When Capital combines, LABOR must Amalgamate." Agitate! Educate! Consolidate!

MARK. W. MOORE, Cor. Sec'y and
Treas., 230 N. 12th Street.
Terre Haute, Ind., Sept. 15, 1881.

Mr. Brant then announced that the first order of business would be the election of a Temporary Chairman, and declared the meeting open for nominations.

Mr. H. S. Streat, representing Typographical Union No. 16, Chicago, nominated John Jarrett, President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of the United States and Canada, who was elected by acclamation.

Mr. Jarrett, on taking the chair, thanked the Congress for the honor conferred, and declared that he appreciated fully the honor of presiding over such a body, if only for a few minutes. He expressed the hope that the deliberations of the Congress would be marked by harmony and good feeling, because of the importance of the work the delegates had come here to transact. He had no doubt of the good that would follow from the labors of the Congress, if truth should underlie and govern every act of the delegates. Truth, he claimed, should be the guide of the Congress, and if so, success would certainly crown the efforts that would be put forth to form a closer tie between the various labor organizations of the country.

Mr. Lyman A. Brant nominated for Secretary Mr. Mark L. Crawford, representing the Trades Assembly of Chicago, Illinois.

Mr. Alexander C. Rankin, of Pittsburg, representing Iron Molders' Union No. 14, nominated Mr. H. H. Bengough, representing Pittsburg Printers' Assembly N. 1630, Knights of Labor.

On motion the nominations for Secretary were closed.

Mr. Richard Powers, of Chicago, General President of the International Lake Seamen's Union, suggested, as there were only two nominees, that they should be chosen as Secretaries, with the addition of Mr. William C. Pollner, representing the Trades Assembly of Cleveland, Ohio, as the services of that gentleman would be valuable on account of his having been Secretary of the Terre Haute Convention.

The suggestion was accepted as a motion, and carried.

A Committee on Credentials, consisting of

one delegate from each State represented was, on motion of H. S. Streat, appointed, as follows:

Massachusetts—JOHN KINNEAR.
New York—KENNETH MACKENZIE.
Pennsylvania—ROBERT D. LAYTON.
Ohio—WILLIAM C. POLLNER.
Michigan—CHARLES D. LYNCH.
Illinois—PERRY G. SOMERS.
Missouri—A. MADERA.
California—C. F. BURGMAN.
Maryland—GUSTAV FOWITZ.
West Virginia—A. M. OWENS.
New Jersey—RICHARD EDMUNDS.
Indiana—SAM L. LEFFINGWELL.
Wisconsin—MIKE P. WALSH.

The Committee immediately retired to examine credentials and prepare a report.

During the absence of the Committee on Credentials the Congress went into an informal meeting for the purpose of listening to addresses on the subject of labor, and any remarks tending to the good of the meeting, though a motion following this prohibited any save delegates from exercising the right of the floor. Addresses of five and ten minutes were then made by the following: Alex. C. Rankin, of Pittsburg, representing Iron Molders' Union No. 14; Samuel Compers, of New York, representing the International Cigarmakers' Union; W. G. McKean, of Erie Typographical Union No. 77; R. E. Weber, of Pittsburg, of the Printers' Assembly, Knights of Labor, and Richard Powers, of Chicago, President of the Lake Seamen's Union.

A motion was adopted requiring each delegate, on his name being announced by the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, to answer to the call, and give the number of members in the organization represented by him. It was also arranged to provide each delegate, in the same order, with a ticket entitling him to a seat in the Congress.

The Committee on Credentials, through its chairman, Mr. Kinneer, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Credentials would most respectfully submit that they have examined the credentials of the following named delegates, and report favorably thereon:

DELEGATES AND SOCIETIES REPRESENTED.

CALIFORNIA.

1. Burgman, Charles F., 134 Fourth Street, San Francisco, Representative Assembly of the Pacific Coast Trades and Labor Unions.

ILLINOIS.

2. Betting, William, 733 North Avenue, Chicago, Cigarmaker's Protective Union No. 14, Chicago.

3. Crawford, Mark L., 77 Jackson Street, Chicago, Amalgamated Painters' Union of Chicago.

4. Dwyer, Leo P., 178 West Taylor Street, Chicago. Amalgamated Painters' Union of Chicago.

5. Powers, Richard, 99 West Randolph Street, Chicago. Chicago Seamen's Benevolent Union.

6. Somers, Perry, C., Lock Box 847, Joliet, Illinois. Fourth District Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.

7. Sreat, H. S., 301 Wells Street, Chicago. Typographical Union No. 16, Chicago.

INDIANA.

8. Leffingwell, Sam. L., 36 1-2 West Washington Street, Indianapolis. Trades and Labor Assembly of Indianapolis and vicinity.

MARYLAND.

9. Fowitz, Gustav, Baltimore. Deutsch-Amerikanische Typographia (German-American Typographical Union).

MASSACHUSETTS.

10. Cummin, Sherman, Boston. Typographical Union No. 13, Boston.

11. Howard, Robert, Fall River. Cotton and Mule Spinners' Association, Fall River.

12. Kinnear, John, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Central Trades and Labor Union of Boston.

MICHIGAN.

13. Brant, Lyman A., 315 Third Street, Detroit. International Typographical Union.

14. *Erb, Charles, 579 Dequindre Street, Detroit. Council of Trades and Labor Unions of Detroit.

15. Lynch, Charles D., 303 Michigan Ave., Detroit. Brass Finishers' and Molders' Protective Union No. 1, Detroit.

MISSOURI.

16. Madera A., 618 South Fourth Street, St. Louis. Trades and Labor Assembly of St. Louis.

17. Wilson, William, 122 North Third Street, St. Louis. Typographical Union No. 8, St. Louis.

18. Wind, E., 1621 Montgomery Street, St. Louis. Carpenters' Union Nos. 1, 2, and 3, St. Louis.

NEW JERSEY.

19. Edmund, Richard, Unionville, Gloucester County, New Jersey. District Assembly No. 2, Knights of Labor, Malaga.

NEW YORK.

20. Byrne, Michael, J., 406 Fargo Avenue, Buffalo. Operative Plasters' Union of Buffalo.

21. Cooke, George, Brooklyn. Amalgamated Society of Engineers, etc., Brooklyn Branch.

22. Gompers, Samuel, 85 Columbia Street, New York. Cigarmakers' International Union of America.

23. Kelley, John, 378 South Division Street, Buffalo. Unions' Assembly of Buffalo.

24. Klokke, Fred. J., 3 Union Wharf, Buffalo. Buffalo Branch of Chicago Seamen's Union.

25. Lynch, James, New York. Amalgamated Trades and Labor Union of New York and vicinity.

26. Mackenzie, Kenneth, New York. Book-binder's Protective Association of New York and vicinity.

27. *Moore, William, 381 Main Street, Buffalo. Boot and Shoemakers' Union of Buf-

*Credentials received subsequent to the committee's first report, but the names are inserted for convenience.

OHIO.

28. Foster, W. H., 14 Eastbourne Terrace, Cincinnati. Trades and Labor Assembly of Cincinnati and vicinity.

29. *Hennsberry, Thomas, 11 Frankfort Street, Cleveland, Ohio. Coopers' International Union of North America.

30. Menke, George C., Marietta. Iron Molders' Union No. 207, Marietta.

31. Osborn, George W., 94 1-2 East Main Street, Springfield, O. Iron Molders' Union No. 72, Springfield, Ohio.

32. Pollner, William C., 101 Hicks Street, Cleveland, Ohio. Trades Assembly of Cleveland.

33. Shay, William J., 18 Public Landing, Cincinnati. National Marine Cooks' and Pastry Cooks' Association No. 1, Cincinnati.

PENNSYLVANIA.

34. Adams, John F., Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, K. of L., Pittsburg, South Side.

35. Bengough, H. H., Labor Tribune Office, Pittsburg. Printer's Local Assembly 1630, Knights of Labor, Pittsburg.

36. *Brennan, W. J., Pittsburg, L. A. 791, K. of L., Pittsburg.

37. Carroll, Thomas, Pittsburg. Horse-shoers' L. A. 1586, K. of L. Pittsburg.

38. Cline, Isaac, executive Office, L. A. 300, Carson Street, Pittsburg, South Side. Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, K. of L., Pittsburg, South Side.

39. Conway, Michael F., Pittsburg. Miners' Association, Pittsburg District.

40. Cowan, Archibald, Coal Bluff, Washington county, Pennsylvania. L. A. 151 K. of L., Coal Bluff.

41. Cox, M. W., New Castle. Good Will Lodge No. 59, A. A. of I. and S. W., New Castle.

42. Crawford, Daniel, Pittsburg. Carpenters' and Joiners' L. A., 1498 K. of L., Pittsburg.

43. Crozier, James W., Pittsburg. L. A. 1632, K. of L., Pittsburg.

44. Cumming, Thomas, Allegheny. Carpenters' L. A. 1588, Allegheny City.

45. Davis, W. H. Pittsburg. Sligo Lodge No. 8, A. A. of I. and S. W., Pittsburg.

46. *Dolan, William, Pittsburg. Iron and Brass Molders' L. A. 1030, K. of L., Pittsburg.

47. Donahue, John W., Pittsburg. L. A. 1686, K. of L., Pittsburg.

48. Dovey, George, Pittsburg. Iron and Brass Molders' L. A. 1030, K. of L., Pittsburg.

49. Egan, M. D., Pittsburg. Stonecutters' Association of Allegheny county.

50. Evans W., Pittsburg. Harmony Lodge No. 18, A. A. of I. and S. W., Pittsburg.

51. Exler, John W., Pittsburg. Boiler-makers' L. A. 1595 K. of L., Pittsburg.

52. Feese, John H., Pittsburg. Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, Pittsburg, South Side.

53. *Fisher, D. A., Pittsburg. L. A. 1302, K. of L., Pittsburg.

54. Francis, David, Pittsburg. Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, Pittsburg, South Side.

55. Gaw, R. R., Pittsburg. Tailor's L. A. 1620, K. of L., Pittsburg.

56. Grandison, Jeremiah, Pittsburg. L. A. 1665, K. of L., Pittsburg.

57. Gray John, West Elizabeth. L. A. 109, K. of L., West Elizabeth.

58. Gullyes, Robert, Pittsburg, L. A. 1548, K. of L., Pittsburg.
59. Hanigan, Patrick, Pittsburg. L. A. 1638, K. of L. Pittsburg.
60. Hill, John, Pittsburg. Iron Molders' Union No. 243, Pittsburg.
61. Hunter, Thomas J., Pittsburg. Carpenters' L. A. —, K. of L., Pittsburg, South Side.
62. Jarrett, John, 116 Smithfield Street, Pittsburg. National Lodge, A. A. of I. and S. W.
63. Kelly, John M., Pittsburg. Friendship Lodge No. 50, A. A. of I. and S. W., Pittsburg.
64. Kugelmaier, Jacob, Pittsburg. L. A. 1534, K. of L., Pittsburg.
65. Layton, R. D., P. O. Box 870, Pittsburg. Third District K. of L.
66. Lucker, D., Pittsburg. L. A. 1397, K. of L., Pittsburg.
67. McBride, Thomas, J., Pittsburg. Iron and Brass Molders' L. A. 1030, K. of L. Pittsburg.
68. McClure, Joseph, Pittsburg. Cigarmakers' L. A. 1374, K. of L., Pittsburg.
69. McGill, Michael, Pittsburg. L. A. 1606, K. of L., Pittsburg.
70. McGonnell, Thomas J., Pittsburg. Pattern-Makers' L. A. 1302, K. of L., Pittsburg.
71. McIver, M., Pittsburg. Stonemasons' L. A. 1621, K. of L., Pittsburg.
72. McKean, William G., Erie. Typographical Union No. 77, Erie.
73. McMasters, Thomas, Pittsburg. L. A. 1525, K. of L. Pittsburg.
74. McWilliams, Alexander McK., Dispatch Office, Pittsburg. Typographical Union No. 7, Pittsburg.
75. Maloy, John, Soho Lodge No. 70, A. A. of I. and S. W., Pittsburg.
76. Meagher, John, Erie. Iron Molders' Union No. 38, Erie.
77. Michels, James, Pittsburg. Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, K. of L., Pittsburg, South Side.
78. Moore, C. T., Pittsburg. L. A. 1575, K. of L., Pittsburg.
79. Morgan, David W., Pittsburg. L. A. 1477, K. of L., Pittsburg.
80. Morgan, John J., Allegheny. Bishop Lodge, No. 38, A. A. of I. and S. W., Allegheny City.
81. Pollitt, William, Pittsburg. Glass Packers' L. A. 1653, K. of L., Pittsburg, South Side.
82. Powell, Eli, Pittsburg. Engineers' L. A. 1536, K. of L., Pittsburg.
83. Rankin, Alexander C., 61 Robinson Street, Allegheny. Iron Molders' Union No. 14, Pittsburg.
84. Reibenstein, Theo. Allegheny. Tanners and Carriers' L. A. 1447, K. of L. Allegheny City.
85. Riley, J. M., Pittsburg. L. A. —, K. of L., Pittsburg.
86. Rennel, Valentine, Pittsburg. Chimney Glass Blowers' L. A. 319, K. of L., Pittsburg.
87. Rodgers, Daniel, Pittsburg. Miner's Association, Pittsburg District.
88. Rodgers, M. T., Pittsburg. Plumbers' L. A. 1659, K. of L., Pittsburg.
89. Sennett, J. C., P. O. Box 301, Beaver Falls. Iron Moulders' Union No. 217, Beaver Falls.
90. Shattuck, John S., Beaver Falls. L. A. 1569, K. of L., Beaver Falls.
91. Sheers, James, Pittsburg. Victory Lodge No. 33, A. A. of I. and S. W., Pittsburg.
92. Shuttinger, John F., Pittsburg. Carpenters' L. A. 1705, K. of L., Pittsburg.
93. Slicker, W. H., Pittsburg. Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300, K. of L., Pittsburg, South Side.
94. Smith, Joseph B., Allegheny. Bricklayers' L. A. 1627, K. of L., Allegheny City.
95. Smith, M. H., Pittsburg. Grainers' Union, Pittsburg.
96. Staub, John, Pittsburg. Ever Faithful Lodge No. 51, A. A. of I. and S. W., Pittsburg.
97. Stewart, Andrew, Allegheny. Allegheny Lodge No. 14, A. A. of I. and S. W., Allegheny City.
98. Sullivan, J. W., Pittsburg. Coopers' L. A. 1662, K. of L., Pittsburg.
99. Thomas, D. H., Houtzdale, Clearfield county, Pennsylvania, Miners' Association, Clearfield District.
100. Towelson, Charles A., Pittsburg. Sheffield Lodge No. 72, A. A. of I. and S. W., Pittsburg.
101. Weber, R. E., Pittsburg. Printers' L. A. 1630, K. of L., Pittsburg.
102. Woodhall, George, Brownsville. L. A. 1610, K. of L., Brownsville.

RHODE ISLAND.

103. Thompson, John J., Westerly, Rhode Island. Granite Cutters' National Union.

WEST VIRGINIA.

104. Owens, A. M., Clarksburg. D. A. 39, K. of L., Clarksburg.
105. Rigg, Charles, Cannelton. Miners' Association, Cannelton.
106. Robertson, Richard, Wheeling. L. A. 1551, K. of L. Wheeling.

WISCONSIN.

107. Walsh, Michael, P., Milwaukee. Trades Assembly of Milwaukee and vicinity.

The report, signed by the entire Committee on Credentials, was adopted, and the committee continued.

The Committee on Credentials made a special report in the case of the double representation of the International Typographical Union, and recommended that, inasmuch as the organization was represented by Mr. L. A. Brant, of Detroit, who was a member of the Terre Haute convention, Mr. Thomas Brennen, holding a credential from the same body, be entitled to a seat on the floor of the Congress without a vote. Mr. Thomas Henneberry, President of the International Coopers' Union, was granted a like privilege.

Through the negligence of the proper officers to provide the necessary credential, Mr. R. D. Layton, General Secretary of the Knights of Labor, representing District No. 3, was present without such document, but, his election being vouched for by several delegates, their statements were, on motion, accepted in lieu of a credential, and Mr. Layton admitted to a seat.

A representation having been made by President Isaac Cline, of the Window Glass Work-

ers' Assembly No. 300, that said organization had authorized him to substitute a member to serve as delegate to the Congress, in the event of failure or inability of the elected representative to serve, on motion he was permitted to substitute W. H. Slicker for J. T. Adams, as delegate from that body.

On motion, a Committee on Permanent Organization was appointed, consisting of one delegate from each of the States represented, as follows: Massachusetts, Robert Howard; New York, James Lynch; New Jersey, R. Edmunds; Ohio, W. H. Foster; Michigan, L. A. Brant; Wisconsin, M. P. Walsh; West Virginia, R. Robertson; Missouri, E. Wind; Pennsylvania, R. E. Weber; Maryland, Gustave Fowitz; Illinois, H. S. Streat; Indiana, Sam. L. Leffingwell; California, C. F. Burgman.

A resolution was offered and adopted fixing the hours of the sessions of the Congress from 8 o'clock a. m. to 12 m. and from 1 p. m. to 5 p. m.

On motion it was agreed to hold an informal meeting of the delegates, at 8 p. m. the same day, at Turner Hall, for the purpose of interchanging ideas on the labor question.

A motion was offered and adopted that each State delegate select a representative to serve on the Committee on Resolutions and Platform of Principles.

The following preamble and resolution was offered by J. S. Shattuck, of Beaver Falls:

WHEREAS, the united labor organizations of Western Pennsylvania, Eastern Ohio, and West Virginia have, by unanimous resolutions, denounced the proprietors of the Pittsburg *Evening and Sunday Leader*, *Daily Post* and

Times, for their unjust and unwarranted action in discharging from their employment competent and faithful Union printers, and employing in their stead imported "Rats," therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of representatives of organized labor of this country, recognizing the importance of keeping the public press square on the labor question, do hereby ratify the action of the organizations referred to, and in order that the determined opposition by said journals against organized labor may be further condemned, the representatives of the above Pittsburg papers, viz., the *Leader*, *Post* and *Times*, be debarred from seats upon the platform with the representatives of honorable and fair journals.

Mr. Shattuck sustained the resolution by a short but spirited address, alluding to the Union printers of Pittsburg in a commendable manner. He was followed in support of the resolutions by R. E. Weber, a member of the Printers' Assembly, who reviewed the contest that had been going on between the printers and the papers referred to in the resolution. Mr. Weber paid a compliment to the fair journals and expressed the hope that the time was not far distant when the newspapers opposed to Union men and Union principles would see the error of their course, and fall into line with the honorable and fair-dealing establishments of the city.

Alex. C. Rankin also defended the course pursued by the printers, and urged the adoption of the resolution.

The resolution was then placed to a vote and adopted.

Adjourned to meet at 8 o'clock next morning.

SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

The Congress was called to order by President Jarrett.

The minutes of the previous day were read and confirmed.

Mr. Gompers requested the floor, to make a personal explanation, and asked that the following extract from the Pittsburg *Commercial-Gazette* be read.

The latter [Mr. Gompers] is the leader of the Socialistic element, which is pretty well represented in the Congress, and one of the smartest men present. It is thought that an attempt will be made to capture the organization for Mr. Gompers [for Permanent President] as the representative of the Socialists, and if such an attempt is made, whether it succeeds or not, there will likely be some lively work, as the

delegates opposed to Socialism are determined not to be controlled by it. If the Socialists do not have their own way, they may bolt, as they have always done in the past. If they do bolt, the power of the proposed organization will be so seriously crippled as to almost destroy its usefulness.

Mr. M. P. Walsh, of Wisconsin, rising to a personal explanation, said that the western delegates had been accused of instigating the publication of the slander referred to, but disclaimed their having any connection with it; their first knowledge of it being that morning, on seeing the newspaper referred to.

Mr. James Lynch, of New York, stated that now, as the coming report of the Committee on

Permanent Organization had leaked out, he was desirous of placing Mr. Gompers square before the Congress. As a member of that committee, he had urged the selection of Mr. Gompers as Permanent President without the knowledge or consent of that gentleman, and paid a high tribute to his ability and strict unionism.

Chairman Robert Howard submitted the following, as the report of the Committee on Permanent Organization:

Pittsburg, Nov. 16, 1881

To the Temporary Officers and Delegates of the International Trades Union Congress:

Gentlemen—In accordance with the duty imposed on us, your Committee on Permanent Organization met last night. After due deliberation, your committee agreed to recommend that the permanent officers of the Congress shall consist of a President, Secretary, and Assistant Secretary. The delegates recommended for these offices by your committee are as follows:

For President—Samuel Gompers, of New York, representing the Cigarmakers' International Union.

For Secretary—William Wilson, of St. Louis Typographical Union No. 8.

For Assistant Secretary—H. H. Bengough, of Local Assembly No. 1630.

Signed for Committee,

ROBERT HOWARD, Chairman.
W. H. FOSTER, Secretary.

Mr. H. S. Streat offered a minority report as follows:

Pittsburg, Pa., Nov. 16, 1881.

To the Temporary Officers and Delegates of the Labor Congress:

Gentlemen—We, the undersigned, differing from the adopted report of the Committee on Permanent organization, would respectfully report as follows:

For President—Richard Powers, of the Lake Seamen's Union, Chicago.

First Vice-President, Robert Howard, of Spinners' Union, Fall River, Mass.

Second Vice-President—William Wilson, of Printers' Union, St. Louis, Mo.

Secretary—R. E. Weber, of Printers' Assembly No. 1630, Pittsburg.

First Assistant Secretary—Michael J. Byrne, Buffalo, New York.

Second Assistant Secretary—W. C. Pollner, of the Cleveland Trades Assembly.

Respectfully submitted,

H. S. STREAT,
C. F. BURGMAN,
M. P. WALSH,
RICHARD EDMUNDS,
GUSTAV FOWITZ.

On motion, both reports were received in the order reported, and laid on the table.

Mr. Jarrett was then nominated for Permanent President by Mr. Maloy, of Pittsburg, who claimed that the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel workers should have a representative among the permanent officers.

Mr. Powers thought, as the Congress was as-

sembled in the interest of labor of all kinds, that the question as to what organization the officers belonged should not be taken into consideration, but that all should work together, hand in hand, and let the officers command the respect and attention of all.

Mr. Rankin concurred in Mr. Powers' views, and remarked that Pittsburg had not put forth any candidate for President, though labor organizations were as numerous and strong there as anywhere else.

Mr. Walsh nominated Mr. Powers, and claimed that a great work was to be done in the west in organizing the trades there, and he knew of no man so well qualified for the work as Mr. Powers. He hoped the Congress would honor the gentleman he had suggested by selecting him as permanent presiding officer of the body.

Mr. Lynch, of New York, nominated Mr. Gompers, as being a man in every manner eminently qualified for the position.

Messrs. Gompers and Powers withdrew their names as candidates for the chair in favor of Mr. Jarrett, who was, on motion, unanimously chosen Permanent Chairman of the Congress.

Mr. McClurg, of Pittsburg, moved that Messrs. Gompers and Powers be chosen as Vice-Presidents of the Congress, which was unanimously agreed to.

By a unanimous vote, the Temporary Secretaries, Messrs. Crawford, Bengough, and Pollner, were made permanent.

The resolution creating the Committee on Resolutions and Platform of Principles was, on motion, reconsidered. After striking out the words "Resolutions and," the original resolution was adopted.

The committee called for by said resolution was then chosen, one member from each State, as follows:

Indiana—SAMUEL L. LEFFINGWELL.
Wisconsin—M. P. WALSH.
New Jersey—RICHARD EDMUNDS.
Maryland—GUSTAV FOWITZ,
Massachusetts—HERMAN CUMMIN.
New York—MICHAEL J. BYRNE.
Pennsylvania—ALEXANDER C. RANKIN.
Michigan—LYMAN A. BRANT.
Illinois—LEO P. DWYER.
Ohio—GEORGE W. OSBORN.
West Virginia—RICHARD ROBERTSON.
Missouri—A. MADERA.
Rhode Island—J. J. THOMPSON.
California—CHARLES F. BURGMAN.

A delegate announced, from the floor, that a reporter of the *Evening Leader* was present, taking notes. He retired from the hall at the request of the Chair.

It was ordered that, on a call of the States, the delegates should, in turn, read any papers or resolutions they had prepared or been instructed to introduce, and that the same be referred, without debate, to the Committee on Platform of Principles.

On the States being called, delegates reported from New York, Illinois, California, and Pennsylvania. (As many of the documents read were afterwards embodied in the Platform, all such are omitted in this part of the Report.)

Mr. Powers read a bill which he desired the Congress to petition the Congress of the United States to enact. Its objects were for the better regulation of the merchant marine service, both in internal waters and inter-oceanic commerce, and the protection of life and property on vessels.

Mr. Burgman read a method of organization which had received the unanimous approval of the Representative Assembly of

Trades and Labor Unions of the Pacific Coast. It recommended the Unions of kindred occupations, in addition to maintaining their separate organizations, to amalgamate under heads, as follows: Iron Trade, Building Trade, Printing Trade, Leather Trade, Clothing Trade, and Purveyors. Each amalgamated association to choose delegates to a National Council of Federated Trades, whose duties should be simply executive.

Mr. Exler read a paper condemning button-set rivets in boilers as unreliable, and the cause of so-called accidents.

Delegate J. W. Crozier, of Pennsylvania, presented resolutions of sympathy with the people of Ireland in their efforts to free themselves from British oppression, and moved that the rules be suspended and the resolutions adopted.

The hour of adjournment having arrived while the above resolution was pending, the Congress stood adjourned until 1 P. M.

SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Congress convened at 1 P. M., President Jarrett in the chair.

The reading of the minutes of the morning session was, on motion, dispensed with.

The re-reading of the resolution with regard to Ireland was ordered. A lengthy discussion ensued on the motion to suspend the rules. It was finally agreed to refer the resolution to a Special Committee of five, appointed by the Chair, as follows: Messrs. J. W. Crozier, George Dovey, Sherman Cummin, John Kinneer, and W. G. McKean.

The regular order being called, the reading of resolutions, by delegates from Pennsylvania, was continued.

Delegate Daniel Rogers, of the Miners' Association, introduced resolutions demanding the abolition of the truck system, reduction of the number of working hours, and the enforcement of all laws relating to mines and miners. He asked that the Congress adopt them at once without referring, which was done. (See Platform and Supplementary Resolutions.)

The same course was taken with the following resolution, introduced by the same gentleman:

WHEREAS, This Congress learns with great sorrow of the death of Alexander Macdonald, M. P., of Great Britain, and realizes that a heavy loss has befallen the cause of Labor

throughout the world by reason of his death; therefore

RESOLVED, That a letter of condolence be sent to the Miners' National Union of Great Britain, signed by the officers of this Congress.

A motion was adopted that the chair appoint a Committee of five on Plan of Organization. Messrs. Gompers, Brant, Howard, Somers, and James Lynch were appointed as such Committee.

On motion, a Committee on Rules was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Powers, D. Rogers, and Betting.

Messrs. Slicker and McClurg were appointed Sergeants-at-Arms, in compliance with a motion ordering the appointment of such officers.

The Committee on Rules made the following report, which was adopted.

RULES.

1. At the appointed time the Chairman shall call the Congress to order.
2. During the hours of meeting no delegate will be allowed to leave the room, unless on special business.
3. Every delegate, when he rises to speak, shall respectfully address the Chair. While

speaking, he shall confine himself to the question.

4. Should two or more rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless to call him to order for words spoken, or for the purpose of explanation.

6. 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.

7. A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same subject, or question, until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so, nor more than twice without permission from the house, nor any longer than five minutes at one time.

8. 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 any member.

9. When a question is before the house, no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide, to commit, or to amend; which motions shall severally have precedence in the order herein arranged.

10. On the call of (7) seven delegates, debate shall cease, and a vote be taken on the motion or question under debate.

11. A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

12. A motion for a reconsideration shall not be received unless made in the same session by a delegate who voted in the majority.

13. Any delegate who shall misbehave himself in the meeting, or disturb the harmony or order thereof, either by abusive, disorderly, or profane language, or shall refuse obedience to the presiding officer, shall be admonished of his offense from the Chair, and, if he offend again, he shall be excluded from the room for the session, and afterward dealt with as the Congress may determine.

Mr. Wilson, of St. Louis, called for the report of the transactions of Mark W. Moore, Secretary of the General Committee of the Terre Haute Convention, who failed to put in appearance at the present Congress.

The Secretary read the following report, which had been forwarded by Mr. Moore.

REPORT.

Terre Haute, Ind., Nov. 12, 1881.

To the Officers of the International Trades Union Congress and Delegates:

Gentlemen: As Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the Committee of Arrangements for this Congress, I herewith submit my report:

1. The Committee, consisting of Lyman A. Brant, Chairman, of Detroit, Mich.; W. C. Pollner, of Cleveland Trades Assembly; Mark L. Crawford, of Chicago Trades Assembly; P. J. McGuire, of St. Louis Trades Assembly; and Mark W. Moore, held a meeting at the National Hotel, in this city, Aug. 3, 1881, and organized by electing L. A. Brant Chairman, and M. W. Moore Secretary. I transmit with this report the minutes of the meeting.

2. I also send the minutes of the meeting held on Aug. 2, in this city, by which the above Committee was appointed. This will give you the history up to Aug. 2.

3. On the 3d of August, I communicated with the annual meeting of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, then in session at Cleveland, the result of which was the election of Mr. John Jarrett as a delegate to represent that grand organization at large.

4. On the 5th of August, I began sending the call out, for the purpose of securing signatures to the same, and also wrote letters to the prominent Trades Unionists throughout the country, asking their opinion of the movement for a Congress of Labor. I found that *all* were in favor of the undertaking, while many were enthusiastic over the subject. Mr. P. F. Fitzpatrick, President of Iron Molders' Union of North America, was the first to respond to the call for signatures. Geo. Clark, of International Typographical Union, came next. Then followed Kinnear, of Boston Trades and Labor Assembly, and Geo. Rogers, of Chicago, at which time, it being the 15th of September, the call was issued, of which I send a copy. The President of the St. Louis Trades Assembly afterward sent in his signature to the call, but too late. However, all those who should have signed the call received it.

5. Success seemed to have set her seal on the efforts put forth from the beginning. My letter circular, asking for means to carry on the correspondence, issue circulars, advertise in papers in places where there were no labor papers, and to cover the incidental expenses of Secretary and Treasurer, was sent to all organizations to whom the call was mailed. The response, at first, was slow; but, by advancing money and collections, I managed to keep up with the work. Day by day, the correspondence grew heavier, the indorsements more numerous, and the work of the office, at last, during the latter part of September and first part of October, became so heavy that it required my constant attention. I am glad to know, however, that the work has not been done in vain, as you will see by the large number of delegates. I have sent out over 2,000 copies of the call (three editions), putting the same before every Union in the United States and Canadas of which I could obtain any information. A large number of local Unions have answered that, although they could not be to the expense of electing a delegate and sending him to Pittsburg, they did most heartily concur in the movement. My greatest drawback is the neglect of working-

men in answering correspondence. They seem to infer that the letter is sent them to read and leave unanswered. This not only applies to local officers, but to some of those who are placed in the positions they occupy for the purpose of corresponding on labor matters, and are paid for the same out of the earnings of labor. This is deplorable, but, nevertheless, a fact. The following are the names, and amounts of money received from all sources, of those who contributed to the funds of the Secretary and Treasurer for defraying expenses:

Collection from Terre Haute Union printers	\$1 05
Springfield, O., Iron Molders' Union	4 90
Cleveland Trades Assembly	5 00
Chicago Trades Assembly	3 00
Chicago Seamen's (Lake) Union	5 00
Chicago Painters' Union	1 00
Detroit Trades Council (col.)	1 00
Sandwich, Ill., I. M. U.	1 00
Lorain, O., I. M. U.	2 00
Indianapolis Trades Assembly	1 00
Indianapolis I. M. U.	1 00
Pittsburg I. M. U. (14)	1 00
Buffalo Branch Chicago Seamen's Union	5 00
St. Louis Trades Assembly	5 00
Troy, N. Y., Cigar Makers' Union	2 00
Muskegon, Mich., C. M. U.	1 00
Erie, Pa., I. M. U.	10 00
New Haven C. M. U.	1 00
London, Ont., C. M. U. (col.)	1 20
Chicago C. M. U.	2 00
Cincinnati Trades Assembly	5 00
St. Louis C. M. U.	5 00
Marietta, O., I. M. U.	2 00
Chicago Tin and Sheet Iron Workers' Union (1)	1 00
Brockport, N. Y., I. M. U.	4 00
St. Louis Typographical Union	5 00
Lawrenceburg, Ind., I. M. U.	2 00
Pittsburg Tailors (K. of L., 1620, L. A.)	1 00
Milwaukee I. M. U.	2 00
Chicago Carpenters and Joiners, No. 4	1 00
Binghamton, N. Y., C. M. U. (col.)	1 15
Ironton, O., I. M. U.	1 00
Maysville, Ky., C. M. U. (col.)	1 95
Fall River Mule Spinners' Association	2 00
Pittsburg I. M. U., No. 243	1 00
Kimmswidge, Mo., Amalgamated I. & S. W.	2 00
Rochester, N. Y., C. M. U.	1 00
Allegheny City, Bishop Lodge, A. A. I. & S. W.	1 00
Frostburg, Md., A. A. I. & S. W.	1 00
Cincinnati Custom Tailors' Protection Ass'n.	3 00
Buffalo Trades Assembly	5 00
Norwich, Conn., I. M. U.	15 00
Sharon, Pa., (Shenango L., 4) A. A. I. & S. W.	1 00
Ashland Ky., (Mutual) A. A. I. I. & S. W.	1 00
Chicago, Ill., L. A., 1,597, K. of L.	2 00
Pittsburg, L. A., 791, K. of L.	1 00
New Haven, Conn., Trades Assembly	1 10
Pittsburg Window Glass Workers of U. S.	1 00
Hubbard, O., No. 27, A. A. I. & S. W.	1 00
Pittsburg "Soho L., No. 70," A. A. I. & S. W.	1 00
Hancock, Mich., I. M. U., 127	1 00
Beaver Falls, Pa., L. A., 1,569, K. of L.	2 00
Brownsville, Pa., L. A., 1,610, K. of L.	1 00

Chicago Typographical Union, 16, (col.)	\$1 30
Pittsburg L. A., 1,030, K. of L.	1 00
Cincinnati Pastry and Marine Cooks' Ass'n	3 00
Chicago No. 1, A. A. I. & S. W.	1 00
Pittsburg L. A., 319, K. of L.	1 00
Allegheny City L. A., 1,595, K. of L.	1 00
New York Trades and Labor Assembly	5 00
New York Ornamental Confectioners	1 00
New York Cigar Packers, No. 1	2 00
New York Cigar Packers, No. 2	2 00
Joliet, Ill., No. 13, A. A. I. & S. W.	1 00
Quincy, Ill., I. M. U., 44	14 80
Chicago Labor Union (German)	5 00
Toronto, Ont., C. M. U., 27	3 50
Pittsburg L. A., 1,477, K. of L.	1 00
Pittsburg L. A., 1,397, K. of L.	1 00

Total money received.....\$174 00

The money has been placed in bank as received, and used as required. There is still on hand, and to credit of the Congress, about \$20, which will be remitted to the proper person as soon as designated.

6. I also send with this report several letters, which appear to have been forwarded to me as credentials.

7. Also, a letter, in reply to my inquiry of Mr. Fitzpatrick, of the International Iron Molders, and one from Josiah B. Dyer, which I commend to you for consideration. Yet there is no cause for complaint on any account. Sacrifice every thing but principle for perfect union, and we must eventually place *our* Labor Congress on a footing that will command the respect of the law-making power of the world—in fact, *our* Congress must, on all matters affecting the man who earns his living by his own efforts and by labor, be the dictator of that other National Congress which has done so much to oppress the workman, and speak with no uncertain sound. Let the word go forth the world over that the American workman is not a slave, and that *our* Labor Congress is the champion of right, justice, and equality.

You are here at this hour to form a Federation of Trade Unionists—the fraternity of toil, of enterprise and invention. The character is to be international. The objects to be promoted by this meeting, its designs and its influences, are to be as far-reaching as the abodes of civilized men. Let your action be cool, deliberate, and not too over-reformatory. Grasp one idea, viz., less hours and better pay, and carry it into all your work as the first principle. How will we accomplish this? As the capitalists and wage-grabbers obtain their ends—by law. In my opinion, it is about time for those who create all wealth and all comfort to enjoy some benefit from their exertions.

By law can be wiped out those damnable conspiracy laws which have been placed on the statute books of many of our States, and which employers invoke to our detriment and disadvantage.

It should be the aim of this Congress to form a plan or organization so just and comprehensive in its entirety and working details as to come fully up to the great needs of the hour, so that into its ample folds may be gathered the representatives of all the trades in our country, putting an end to antagonism and jealousy among workmen and different organizations of labor. Let the good of one be the good of all.

In closing this report, I wish to extend my thanks to the *Progressive Age*, of Chicago; *The Union*, of St. Louis; *The Labor Tribune*, of Pittsburg; *The Labor Standard*, of Paterson, New Jersey; *The Labor Standard*, of Fall River, Mass.; *The Carpenter*, of St. Louis; and a great many others who, although not devoted to labor and its advancement, have kindly inserted the call in the columns of their papers, or noticed the meeting. Also, to Mr. P. F. Fitzpatrick, for inserting call in *Iron Molders' Journal*; to Mr. A. Strasser, for assistance and inserting call in the report of Cigarmakers' Convention in the *Official Journal*; to Jas. F. Fraim, of Pittsburg, of Knights of Labor; to W. H. Foster, of Cincinnati, for complete list of Unions and secretaries, with residences; to M. L. Crawford, of Chicago, for active, earnest work in the interests of the Congress; to Josiah B. Dyer, for inserting call in the *Granite Cutters' Journal*, and co-operation; to W. H. Traves, Secretary and Treasurer of International Typographical Union; to Robert Howard, Secretary of National Mule Spinners' Union, Fall River, Mass.; and to hundreds of good, solid Trade Union men throughout the country, who have aided me to spread the knowledge to workmen's organizations. 10 a. and each I return my sincere thanks, and hope the next session of the Congress will find our Unions represented from the South, and some other portions of the United States which have failed to send delegates.

GERMAN SECRETARY.

In my correspondence, I have found several German Unions, some of whom could not send

a delegate to transact business in English. Such Unions should be looked after, and corresponded with by an earnest German Secretary.

AN ORGAN.

Some have written me for information as to which of the labor papers, of which there are less than a dozen, was the organ of the Labor Congress. I have always been glad to answer that, as the movement must be international, so must the "organ" be, and we should consider all the labor papers the especial help and mouthpiece of Unionism and the Congress. I have found them each and all ever ready to publish any matter for the information or advancement of the cause of labor.

And, finally, gentlemen of the Congress, if, in your further efforts, the information in my possession, or I, myself, can be of use to you, command me.

Yours, for labor,

M. W. MOORE,

Cor. Secretary and Treasurer.

To the International Trades Union Congress, Pittsburg, Pa., Nov. 15, 1881.

Mr. Weber, of Pittsburg, announced that it would be impossible to obtain Turner Hall for the remaining sessions of the Congress, as it had been previously secured by other parties. The Local Committee had secured Schiller Hall for all further sessions.*

The Congress then adjourned, the hour fixed by rule having arrived.

THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

The Congress convened in Schiller Hall, at the specified hour, President Jarrett in the chair.

The minutes of the previous day were read, corrected and approved.

The reports of Committees being called for, Mr. Brant, from the Committee on Plan of Organization, reported the Chairman absent.

Mr. Leffngwell, Chairman of the Committee on Platform of Principles, announced that the committee was not yet ready to report.

The following resolution was offered by Mr. Brant, which was adopted:

RESOLVED, That the officers of this, the first session of the Trades Union Congress of the United States and Canada, be, and they are hereby instructed to exchange appropriate greetings with Mr. Henry Broadhurst and the Parliamentary Committee of Great Britain, and through them with their brethren of that country.

Mr. Brant read a resolution adopted by the

Brass Finishers' and Brass Molders' Protective Union No. 1, of Detroit, which was referred to the proper committee.

Mr. Daniel Rodgers moved that a committee of two be appointed to draft suitable resolutions of sympathy with D. R. Jones, President elect of the Miners' Association of the Pittsburg and Steubenville District, who was reported as dangerously ill. The motion was adopted and the following committee appointed: Messrs D. Rodgers and R. E. Weber.

Mr. Gompers, Chairman of the Committee on Plan of Organization, announced that the committee was ready to report, and submitted the 1st article, as follows:

Article 1. This association shall be known as "The Federation of Organized Trades Unions of the United States of America and Canada," and shall consist of such Trades Unions as shall, after being duly admitted, conform to its rules and regulations, and pay all contributions required to carry out the objects of this Federation.

A motion was made to adopt the article as read, and discussion ensued.

Mr. Weber hoped that the name of the Federation would read so as to include all laboring people.

Mr. Kinner: I want this organization to reach all men who labor, such as the 'long-shoremen in our seaport towns. For that reason I desire the article so amended so as to read "Trades and Labor Unions."

Mr. Grandison (the colored delegate), of Pittsburg: We have in the city of Pittsburg many men in our organization who have no particular trade, but should not be excluded from the Federation. Our object is, as I understand it, to federate the whole laboring element of America. I speak more particularly with a knowledge of my own people, and declare to you that it would be dangerous to skilled mechanics to exclude from this organization the common laborers, who might, in an emergency, be employed in positions they could readily qualify themselves to fill.

Mr. Pollinger: We recognize neither creed, color, nor nationality, but want to take into the folds of this Federation the whole labor element of the country, no matter of what calling; for that reason, the name should read, "Trades and Labor Unions."

Mr. Gompers: The expressions of the section seems to me to be not thoroughly understood. We do not want to exclude any working man who believes in and belongs to organized labor.

Mr. Jarrett said he was in favor of accepting all men who worked for a living and belonged to an organized body of workers, but did not want to include those who would not work and maintain themselves.

Mr. Cowan: Do you want to exclude miners? We have many thousands of them, and we want them in this Federation. You will find them to be worthy your attention.

A Voice: That is a trade.

Messrs. Byrne, Towelson, McKean, and Conway gave expression in favor of amending the name to include Labor Unions.

Mr. Jas. Lynch: I think trade organizations covers the whole matter, and will reach the objects of the Congress.

Mr. Powers: I am in favor of the report as read, as I believe it will keep out of the Federation political labor bodies which might try to force themselves into our future deliberations.

Mr. Dwyer: Am I to understand that local Unions, not attached to national or international organizations, are debarred from representation by the section reported?

A Voice: No, we want you, also.

Mr. Dwyer: I represent a local organization, the Painters' Union of Chicago. Are they to be excluded because they do not belong to a national or international organization?

Mr. Henneberry: I am in favor of helping any body and every body, but let all trades join their respective national organizations.

Mr. Layton: I am opposed to excluding from the Federation all organizations except those of skilled mechanics. The Knights of Labor wish to be with you, and they embrace all laborers.

Mr. Dovey: I would like the name of the Federation to read "Trades and Labor Unions."

Mr. Pollner to Mr. Dovey: Amend so that it be "Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions," and I will second it.

Mr. Dovey: I do make the amendment as suggested.

Mr. Brant: That suits me exactly. I wish this Federation broad enough to encompass all working people in its folds.

The previous question being called for by a sufficient number, the President (Vice-President Gompers in the chair) cautioned the delegates that, when the previous question was called for, the vote would be on the article as reported, and the amendment would be cut off.

Mr. Leffingwell: Do I understand that to be the decision of the Chair?

The Chair: I do decide in accordance with Cushing's Manual.

Mr. Leffingwell: I appeal from the decision.

Vice-President Powers assuming the chair, the question on the appeal was put, and the President's decision sustained by a vote of 34 years to 27 nays.

The call for the previous question being withdrawn, by unanimous consent, a motion to close debate was carried, the amendment agreed to, and the article, as amended, adopted.

By this time the Special Committee, to draft resolutions of sympathy with D. R. Jones, was announced, and the Chairman of the Committee on Plan of Organization gave way to the report of that committee, which was introduced by Chairman D. Rodgers, as follows:

WHEREAS, This Congress learns with feeling of profound concern and sorrow of the great affliction of Mr. D. R. Jones, President-elect of the Miners' Association of Pittsburg and Steubenville District; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this body extends heartfelt sympathy to our co-laborer, Mr. Jones, and also the Association of which he is President.

RESOLVED, That in the gentleman named we recognize a stalwart champion of industrial liberty and a martyr to the oppressive con-

spiracy law with which the statute books of Pennsylvania are disgraced.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The Chairman of the Committee on Plan of Organization resumed his report.

Article 2, "Objects," and Article 3, "Sessions," were adopted without debate.

This Committee not being prepared to report further, and no other business being presented, the Congress, at 11:30 A. M., adjourned until 1 P. M.

THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Congress was called to order at 1 P. M., Vice-President Gompers in the chair.

The Committee on Plan of Organization continued its report.

Articles 4. The basis of representation in the sessions of this Federation shall be, for National or International Trades and Labor Unions, one delegate for 5,000 members or less, and one delegate for every 5,000, or major portion thereof, above the first 5,000. For local Trades Assemblies of Councils, one delegate. No local Trade or Labor Union shall be entitled to a representation in the sessions of this Federation where International or National Unions of said craft exist, or where there are Trades Assemblies or Councils in the locality.

Mr. Kinnear moved to adopt as read.

Mr. Weber objected to the article, saying that, by its terms, the larger the constituency the smaller would be the proportionate representation, which he did not think would conduce to the objects desired.

Mr. Pollner spoke in favor of the article if amended so as to give one delegate for every additional 2,500 above 5,000.

Mr. Erb advocated its adoption as read.

Mr. Gompers supported the report, explaining its adaptability.

Mr. James Lynch supported the report.

Mr. Rankin wished to know how delegates were to be elected, by Local or International Unions?

Mr. Powers would prefer its being so changed as to give every State full and fair representation, irrespective of National or International Unions.

Mr. Cummin objected to select bodies, like International Unions, having the choosing of delegates, and stated that he should insist on all members having a voice in electing representatives to this Congress.

Mr. Stewart took the same stand as Mr. Cummin.

The main question was called for, and ordered put.

On a vote being taken, the article was rejected by 50 against 28.

Mr. Brant offered the following, to be inserted as a substitute for Article 4, as reported by the Committee.

That all International and National Unions, Trades Assemblies or Councils, and Local Trades or Labor Unions shall be entitled to one delegate for 100 members or less, and one additional delegate for each additional 500 members, or major part thereof; also, one delegate for each International or National Union, and one delegate for each Trades Assembly or Council.

Mr. Jarrett here resumed the chair.

Mr. Gompers opposed the proposed article as an unjust basis.

Mr. Crawford raised the point of order that this proposition must be referred back to the committee, which was sustained.

At this juncture, the following communication, just received by the Secretary, was read:

Washington, November 11, 1881.

To the Officers and Members of the Labor Congress, Pittsburg:

Brothers: At a meeting of the Confederation of Labor of this city, the following was adopted:

RESOLVED, In view of the brief time intervening between the perfecting of this organization and the meeting of the convention at Pittsburg, it will not be practicable for us to send a representative to that body.

RESOLVED, That we heartily sympathize with the object sought to be accomplished, and wish you godspeed in your undertaking, and hope to be represented in your next convention.

THOMAS S. DONAHOE,
G. EDMONSTON,
S. W. HEASLEY.

The communication was ordered to be received and filed.

The report of the Committee on Plan of Organization was resumed.

Articles 5 and 6 were adopted as read.

This was as far as the report had been prepared, and the report of the committee, to whom was referred resolutions of sympathy with Ireland, was called for.

Mr. J. W. Crozier, Chairman of that Committee, submitted the following, which was adopted:

WHEREAS, We greatly deplore the unjust land laws that have been enforced against the Irish people in the past; and

WHEREAS, Hundreds of Ireland's honest spirits now suffer an unjust imprisonment in consequence of their heroic attempts to ameliorate the condition of her oppressed people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we extend to these champions, battling in the cause of human liberty, our hearty sympathy, and that we also extend to the oppressed of all nations, struggling for liberty and right, the same encouraging words of sympathy.

Mr. Leffingwell, Chairman of the Committee on Platform, presented his report.

A motion to consider the sections seriatim prevailed.

It was then moved to reconsider the motion by which the Rules were adopted, for the purpose of striking out that portion closing debate on the call of seven delegates. The motion was lost.

The report of the Committee on Platform was read, as follows:

Gentlemen of the Labor Union Congress:

Your Committee appointed to prepare a Declaration of Principles and to whom was referred the various resolutions presented to this Congress, having carefully considered all matters pertaining to the subject in question, have the honor to submit the following as the result of their labors:

(See Platform, page 3.)

Signed,

SAM. L. LEFFINGWELL,
R. ROBERTSON,
MICHAEL J. BYRNE,
GUSTAV FOWITZ,
JOHN J. THOMPSON,
A. C. RANKIN,
LEO. P. DWYER,
L. A. BRANT,
A. MADERA,
CHAS. F. BURGMAN,
M. P. WALSH,
SHERMAN CUMMIN.

The preamble and resolutions Nos. 1 and 2 were adopted without discussion. No. 3, having reference to the employment of children, was opposed by Mr. Brennan, of Pittsburg, on the ground that its enforcement would be an interference with individual rights.

Mr. Powers: I want this plank to go through this meeting with all the force that can be given it. With hundreds of examples under my own observation in Chicago, I say that there is no crime greater under the heavens than that of employing child labor in mills, factories, and industrial establishments. Chicago is raising up an army of criminals by this very thing. Children from the

tender age of ten up to fourteen are driven into factories by brutal fathers that they may earn a livelihood for them. Boys are training for criminals and girls for prostitutes. See what I have seen of the gigantic evils of this, and if you had a hundred votes you would cast them for this resolution.

Mr. Dwyer: I want to raise my voice in favor of giving this resolution to the world as the sentiment of the Labor Congress. I, too, have seen the effects of this curse. I know of little children that support families, their drunken fathers and elder brothers, by the toil of their little hands. Before they have the chance of a rudimentary education they are put out to labor for the support of lazy, drunken fathers. I am the father of fifteen children, yet I would work till my fingers were worn to the bone before I would allow one of my little ones to go forth and toil day by day as some I have seen.

Mr. Michels: The employment of children under fourteen years of age is prohibited in many States by statute, but is not always enforced. What do the law-makers care for the children of the masses? What care they for the hordes of boys and girls at work that should be at school? John B. Gough has said that the saddest thing he ever saw was a little child with an old face. Oh, I have seen them by hundreds—seen them in mills and factories. I want these law-makers, who protect the capitalist to know, like Napoleon, that they must heed the mutterings of the masses. By all means set this resolution before the world as our sentiment—as our demand. Blazon it high up, where all may see and read what we think of the employment of children in any capacity of work.

Mr. Gompers: Not long since I was on a committee appointed to visit the tenement cigar shops. I saw there on that visit scenes that sickened me. I saw little children, six and seven and eight years of age, seated in the middle of a room on the floor, in all the dirt and dust, stripping tobacco. Little pale-faced children, with a look of care upon their faces, toiling with their tiny hands from dawn till dark; aye, and late into the night, to help to keep the wolf from the door. I asked them how long they worked, but they did not, could not understand. In the simplest way I talked to them, and learned that they began before daylight, and worked till long after dark. Often they would be overcome with weariness and want of sleep, and fall over upon the tobacco heap. Shame upon such crimes; shame upon us if we do not raise our voices against it.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

Nos. 4 to 10 were adopted as read.

No. 11, as reported, was read, as follows:

RESOLVED, In view of the rapid concentration of aggregated capital in the form of gigantic monopolies, we affirm it to be the duty of the Congress of the United States and State Legislature to assume, as rapidly as possible, a wholesome supervision over the railroad and telegraph companies of the country, with a view that their operations, as in the postal service, may be for the benefit of the people whose franchises they have secured.

Mr. Rankin offered the following substitute:

RESOLVED, That it is the duty of Congress to regulate inter-state commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair, and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic.

Mr. Rankin supported his substitute by a speech of some length, in which he denounced in strong terms grasping monopolies who, by the power of money, almost totally shut out small shippers from the use of their lines, and charged them rates of transport that were simply extortion in comparison with those paid by wealthy firms. By bribery they controlled State governments, and made it impossible for justice to be meted out to those who took their bribes and voted at their bidding, and if a check were not put to their aggressions they would shortly control State Legislatures and the General Government itself, and rule the people with despotic power.

President Jarrett ruled that both resolutions were foreign to the purpose for which this Congress was convened, as stated in the call.

The decision of the Chair was appealed from by Mr. Charles Erb.

A rising vote sustained the decision of the chair.

Resolution No. 12, as offered by the Committee, read as follows:

RESOLVED, That railroad land grants forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract, should be immediately reclaimed by the Government, and henceforth the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

The Chair took the same view as he had taken on No. 11, and ruled this also out of order.

No. 13, appearing in the Platform of Principles as No. 11, was then read.

Mr. Brant: If there is any one rock on which this Congress of Trades Unions will split, it is this tariff plank. I oppose its introduction because I foresee plainly that it will be the cause of trouble and will raise up two factions. The West does not look at

protection as the East does. I am from the West and in favor of free trade. The farmers and workmen of the West are in favor of free trade.

President Jarrett: I want this issue settled here and now. I want the indorsement of this Congress on this tariff resolution. I tell you that I am ready now or at any time to discuss this question with any delegate. It is a matter that is of vital importance to the West, let the gentleman say to the contrary if he choose. Do you want the wages of the workmen dragged down? Do you want foreign cheaply-produced articles imported to compete with our manufactures?

Mr. Burgman: I fail to see the importance which some of the delegates present here attach to the tariff question. I am for free trade. Protective tariff is a party issue; it is of no importance to the country at large. Protective tariff means protection to the American manufacturer against the importation of foreign cheap goods, but it does not mean protection to the American laborer against the importation of foreign cheap laborers. The American manufacturers want protection against foreign competition, yet will force their cheaply manufactured goods into foreign markets, and in order to have the name of selling cheap will bring the toilers of this country to the lowest notch of living. I attach no importance to protective tariff, yet, as a matter of experiment and to preserve harmony, I shall vote in favor of it.

Mr. P. G. Somers: As a western man I stand in opposition to the policy of the first speaker. I am a protectionist. I want to see our American workmen and manufacturers protected. Free trade does not only affect iron workers, but the miners who dig coal for us, the coke burners that furnish us our coke, the printers that give us the newspaper—all these are affected. It is protection that gives us work and wages and enables us to beautify our homes.

Mr. Cummin: This tariff question is foreign to the object of our meeting here. It should not be allowed to intrude itself. It is merely a political scheme for political purposes. We have no right to meddle in politics now, for we are not ready. Every political convention has its tariff plank. We are not a political convention, and we want no tariff measure introduced in our Declaration of Principles.

Mr. Crawford thought it was a mistake to force the resolution through, as it would only cause dissension. As long as the East and West are situated as they are at present they would not agree on this subject. Therefore he

was in favor of not making any reference to the tariff, promising at the same time that if the East offered no tariff resolutions, none advocating free trade would come from the West.

Mr. Michels was sorry the question had been broached, but, now that it had been mentioned, it must go through.

Mr. Brant, seconded by Mr. Pollner, moved to table the resolution.

The motion was lost by 38 nays to 35 yeas,

after which the resolution was adopted as read.

The remaining two sections were adopted, and the Platform was then ratified as a whole.

Mr. Leffingwell stated that other resolutions which had been referred to the committee, and which were not germane to the Platform, would be introduced next morning.

The President declared the Congress adjourned, the specified hour having arrived.

FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Congress assembled at the regular hour, President Jarrett in the chair.

The minutes of the previous day were read and confirmed.

Mr. Burgman offered a resolution opposing the further importation of Chinese Coolies. (See No. 1 of Supplementary Resolutions, following Platform.) He supported it by a lengthy address, reviewing the evils which have already resulted from the unrestricted importation of that class of labor.

Mr. Cummin did not believe the Chinese would swallow up our civilization, although they represented a civilization that had endured much longer than ours. The Constitution of the United States guaranteed them the hospitality of our shores, and they should have the same rights as other foreigners.

Mr. Byrne: The gentlemen does not represent the views of Massachusetts workmen when he makes such statements. Let the Chinese be civilized in China.

Mr. Cummin moved to amend the resolution by striking out "prohibiting" and inserting "regulating."

The amendment was lost, and the resolution adopted with one dissenting voice.

On motion the resolution just adopted was ordered placed in the Supplementary Resolutions following the Platform.

The Committee on Platform submitted Supplementary Resolutions Nos. 2, 3, and 4, which were adopted.

Article 4 of the Plan of Organization, as reported, having been referred back, the committee recommended the substitute, now printed under that head, which was adopted.

The same committee reported the Standing Orders as prepared.

Sections 1 to 8, inclusive, were adopted as read.

A section providing for the reading of papers in the order in which they have been received by the committee, and another stating that papers in defense of Trades Unions were unnecessary, were, after some discussion, laid on the table.

Sections 9 to 17 were adopted as read. This completed the Standing Orders.

President Jarrett announced that business would call him from the city, and he would have to withdraw from the Congress.

Mr. Bengough moved that a rising vote of thanks be tendered President Jarrett, for the able manner in which he had presided over the deliberations of the Congress. Adopted.

Mr. Jarrett thanked the Congress heartily, and expressed the hope that the work performed would bring forth lasting results for the benefit of labor throughout the land.

On motion, a recess of five minutes was taken, in order to allow the delegates to take leave of Mr. Jarrett.

On motion, it was agreed that members of the Legislative Committee may be members of the next Congress, without a vote, and the same was ordered incorporated in the Standing Orders.

The following telegram, from Buffalo, was read and filed:

Brothers: We send you fraternal greeting. We have elected our state, county, and city Workingmen's ticket.

Fraternally yours,
COUNTY COMMITTEE.

The same course was adopted with regard to the two telegrams which follow:

Paterson, N. J., November 16, 1881.
The Labor Congress, Pittsburgh:

The labor men of Paterson, though not represented at your Congress, are in full sympathy with your work.

J. P. McDONNELL,
Editor Labor Standard.

Boston, November 17, 1881.

President Jarrett, Labor Congress, Pittsburg:

On March 9th, Secretary of the Navy Hunt promised a delegation of workmen to recognize the national eight-hour law—a promise he has not complied with. Will the Labor Congress appropriately notice this insult to the United States wage workers?

JOHN B. WRIGHT.

A communication from a Committee of New York Trades Unionists asked the Congress to select three delegates to represent America; to invite the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Unions Congress of Great Britain, and the Syndical Chamber of France to choose each a like number; these nine to form a Commission to proceed to Ireland, hear evidence and acquaint themselves with the causes of discontent, then to proceed to London or Paris, make deductions from the evidence collected and publish same. The Committee engaged to do all in its power to make the Commission a success.

One from R. F. Trevellick, Detroit, offered to present to the Congress the old National Labor Union seal.

Mr. John Phillips, Secretary of the National Hat Finishers' Trade Association, wrote that his organization would probably have been represented in the Congress, but they had not seen the call, and only learned that the Congress was in session from the newspaper reports of the first day's proceedings.

Cigarmakers' Union No. 63, Corry, Pennsylvania, sent a congratulatory communication, and inclosed an order for \$1.50 toward the expenses of the Congress.

A letter from C. Speyer, General Secretary of the International Labor Union of America, gave advice as to the best plan to perfecting and perpetuating a Federation of Trades.

These communications, after being read, were ordered filed.

The following resolutions were offered and adopted:

By Mr. Pollner:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee is hereby instructed to publish the proceedings of this Congress for distribution to the constituencies of the country, and that they be authorized to charge a reasonable rate for the same, sufficient to defray the cost of said printing.

By Mr. Brant:

RESOLVED, That the officers of this, the first session of the Trades Union Congress of the United States and Canada, be, and they are hereby, instructed to exchange appropriate greetings with Mr. Henry Broadhurst and the Parliamentary Committee of Great Britain, and, through them, with their brethren of that country.

By Mr. Gompers:

RESOLVED, That the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses is detrimental both to the interest of the manufacturers (except about thirty who unfairly profit by this nefarious system) and working people, and upon this ground should be prohibited.

RESOLVED, That inasmuch as the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses in the city of New York is highly injurious to the health of the tenant workers and, on sanitary, economical, moral, and social grounds, should be prohibited, we therefore demand the abolishment of the system.

By Mr. Powers:

RESOLVED, That we concur in the late action of the Seamen's Union of North America, at Cleveland, in their appeal to Congress of the United States, for the enactment and enforcement of such laws as will preserve the life and health of seamen upon the waters of our northern lakes; compelling all vessels, steam and sail, to carry a proper number of competent seamen, the number to be regulated by the tonnage of the vessel; requiring proper sanitary inspection and regulation of all vessels, to the end that the present sacrifice of human life, caused by the unhealthy condition of the living and sleeping apartments, may be prevented; the repeal of laws permitting United States Marshals to charge a fee of fifteen dollars for executing a libel for wages upon a vessel; to regulate the loading of vessels; to prevent the discharging and laying-off of crews in foreign ports, and that Congress shall make provision for the inspection of all sailing vessels as well as steam vessels.

By Mr. Dwyer:

RESOLVED, That this Congress request the painters of the United States, wherever located, to enter into correspondence with each other with the object in view of forming a National Association, and that the delegates from the different Trades Assemblies here represented be requested to endeavor to form local Painters' Unions in their respective cities, and, when so formed, to communicate with the *Progressive Age*, of Chicago, Ill.

By Mr. Mackenzie:

RESOLVED, That delegates to this Congress be requested to impress upon bookbinders in their respective cities the necessity of forming protective unions, to assume the duty of organizing the same, and, when successful, to forward the names and addresses of the officers to the Bookbinders' Protective Association, 10 Stanton street, New York.

By Mr. Charles D. Lynch:

WHEREAS, The brass finishers and brass molders of Detroit, Mich., recognize the fact that their interest and welfare is in international unity.

WHEREAS, We find it impossible to obtain the desired result alone. We avail ourselves of this opportunity to communicate with our trade through this Congress. We therefore request that this Trade and Labor Congress do pledge itself to support our efforts in organizing local Unions of our trade throughout the United States and Canada.

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be tendered to the Trade and Labor Congress by our delegate, with the request that it receive favorable consideration.

By Mr. Burgman:

RESOLVED, That this Congress tenders a vote of thanks to Mr. James A. Whitney, of New York City, for sending a number of copies of his able monograph, entitled "The Chinese and the Chinese Question," and expresses its high appreciation of the valuable information contained therein.

By Mr. Streat:

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the present session of the Labor Congress are hereby instructed, upon their return to their respective homes, to use all their endeavors in organizing local Unions with the object of forming national or international bodies of the same; also, that the Secretary be instructed to enter into correspondence with cities where there are no Trades Assemblies, for the purpose of organizing such, and with local Unions having no national or international head, requesting them to form the same.

The Committee on Plan of Organization also recommended the passage of the following:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee are empowered and hereby authorized to solicit subscriptions from Trades and Labor Unions and labor sympathizers, for the purpose of assisting in defraying the necessary expenses of the committee for the ensuing year.

All of which your committee most respectfully submits.

ROBERT HOWARD, Chairman.
P. C. SOMERS,
JAS. LYNCH,
LYMAN A. BRANT,
SAMUEL GOMPERS, Secretary.

The resolution was adopted, as were also those which here follow:

By Mr. Betting:

WHEREAS, The smoking public are imposed upon by buying cigars that are manufactured by Chinese in California, by prisoners in State prisons, and by the filthy tenement-house system of manufacturing in New York and Brooklyn; and

WHEREAS, The Cigar-Makers' International Union of America, the White Cigar Makers' Union of California, and the Cigar-Makers' Assembly of Pittsburg have issued Union labels, in order to guarantee clean, honest workmanship, and discourage these illegitimate systems of manufacture; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Congress of Trades and Labor Unions hereby recommends all smokers not to buy or smoke cigars which do not come out of boxes bearing the Union label or blue seal.

By Mr. Brant:

RESOLVED, That this convention hereby expresses its sympathy with the Brass Molders and Finishers of Detroit, and Painters, and all other partially organized trades of the country, and asks the delegates to this convention to render all assistance in their power to perfect such organizations on returning to their homes.

On motion, it was agreed to go into nomination and election of Legislative Committee and Secretary at 2 P. M.

The hour of adjournment having arrived, the Congress stood adjourned until 1 P. M.

FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Congress convened at 1 P. M., Vice-President Powers in the chair.

The Committee on Plan of Organization continued to report.

Articles 7 and 8 were adopted as read.

Article 9. The salary of the Federation Secretary shall be _____ dollars per annum.

Mr. Brant moved to insert five hundred dollars in the blank.

A substitute, offered by Mr. Rankin, to leave the matter of Secretary's salary to the discretion of the Legislative Committee, was adopted, but not to be inserted in the Plan.

The remaining article was adopted as read, after which the entire Plan and Standing Orders, as amended, were adopted as a whole.

The hour of 2 P. M. having arrived, the President announced the special order of bus-

iness to be the election of General Secretary and Legislative Committee.

The following nominations for Secretary were then made:

Mr. Burgman nominated Samuel Gompers, of New York.

Mr. Brant nominated W. H. Foster, of Ohio.

Mr. Streat nominated M. L. Crawford, of Illinois.

Mr. Bryne nominated Samuel L. Leffingwell, of Indiana.

No further names being suggested, the President declared the nominations closed.

A committee of five tellers was, on motion, appointed, as follows:

Messrs. Streat, Henneberry, Rankin, Burgman, and Byrne.

A motion prevailed to drop the name receiving the lowest vote on each successive ballot until a choice was reached:

First ballot:	
Gompers, N. Y.	32
Crawford, Ill.	17
Foster, Ohio	16
Leffingwell, Ind.	15
Second ballot:	
Gompers	34
Foster	25
Crawford	21
Third ballot:	
Foster	44
Gompers	31

On motion of Mr. Gompers, Mr. Foster was made the unanimous choice of the Congress for Secretary.

The following nominations were made for the remaining four members of the Legislative Committee:

Messrs. Gompers, Rankin, Crawford, Powers, Howard, Weber, Cline, Burgman, Mackenzie, Henneberry, and Thompson.

Considerable discussion ensued on the possibility of violating the article precluding two men from one trade serving on the Legislative Committee, and a motion passed to submit the nominations to a committee consisting of one from each State.

A recess of five minutes was declared by the Chair while the delegates for the various States held caucuses to nominate their committee members.

The following committee was then named, and retired to make their nominations:

California—C. F. BURGMAN.
 Indiana—SAMUEL L. LEFFINGWELL.
 Illinois—H. S. STREAT.
 Massachusetts—JOHN KINNEAR.
 New York—F. J. KLOKKE.
 Missouri—WM. WILSON.
 Michigan—CHAS. ERB.
 New Jersey—R. EDMUNDS.
 Ohio—THOMAS HENNEBERRY.
 Pennsylvania—H. H. BENGOUGH.
 West Virginia—A. M. OWENS.
 Rhode Island—J. J. THOMPSON.
 Maryland—GUSTAV FOWITZ.

During the absence of the committee, Mr. Brant offered the following:

RESOLVED, As the sense of this Federation, that the bill in relation to our public domain submitted to Congress in February, 1880, as part of the report of the Public Lands Commission, would speedily have the effect, if enacted into law, of passing into the hands of western cattle kings and other capitalists nearly all of our public land that is of any value for other than mining purposes; that, judging by past experience, much of the land which would be sold in vast tracts as pasturage and irrigable lands at the nominal price of \$1.25 per acre, will within a few years be found highly valu-

able for farming purposes, and that those who then want to cultivate it will either have to rent it from the great landlords which this bill would create, or else to serve these landlords as hirelings in competition with the cheap labor of Chinamen.

RESOLVED, Further, that in view of the deplorable effects of landlordism in Ireland, it seems incredible that some men should deliberately propose to build up a vastly larger system of monopoly in this country; that the bill under consideration would nevertheless have this effect, and that a vote in its favor by any member of Congress will be an act of treason to the interests of labor, and will be resented as such by the workmen of the United States.

RESOLVED, Further, that the Trades Unions, Workmen's Assemblies, and other labor organizations in the several Congressional Districts, should pass resolutions upon this subject and transmit them to their Representatives in Congress, giving these Representatives to understand that betrayal of the interests of labor in this matter will be punished by the political opposition of the working-class portion of their constituents.

The resolutions were adopted.

The Committee on Suggestion of a Legislative Committee having returned, presented the following report:

Your committee appointed from the different States to select candidates for the Legislative Committee, convened and called Mr. T. Henneberry to the chair. After deliberation they present the following names:

Samuel Gompers, of New York; Alex. Rankin, of Pennsylvania; Richard Powers, of Illinois; C. F. Burgman, of California.

T. HENNEBERRY, Chairman,

For the Committee.

The Congress, on motion, made the nominations unanimous, and afterward elected the above committee.

The members of the newly-elected Legislative Committee thanked the Congress at some length for the honor conferred, and pledged themselves to the faithful performance of their duties.

The next business on hand was the selection of a place to hold the next meeting of the Congress. After considerable discussion the whole matter was reverted to the same committee that had been appointed to nominate the Legislative Committee.

The committee retired, and in a few minutes returned and reported in favor of Cleveland, Ohio.

On motion the report was adopted and Cleveland made the choice of the Congress for its next annual session.

In order that the Legislative Committee should not be entirely without funds with which to commence their duties, the Chair called for voluntary subscriptions, which were paid in by the delegates to the amount of

\$53.60. Mr. M. L. Crawford handed over \$2.50 which had been paid to him in his capacity of Secretary of the Congress, making a total of \$56.10.

On motion it was made the duty of the Legislative Committee to require from Mr. Mark W. Moore, Secretary of the Committee appointed by the Terre Haute Convention to call this Congress, vouchers for his expenditures a correct statement of receipts, and the balance of money remaining in his hands as such Secretary.

The following, offered by Mr. Gompers, was unanimously agreed to:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this Congress are due and are hereby tendered to the following newspapers of Pittsburg, *Commercial Gazette, Dispatch, Labor Tribune, Chronicle, Telegraph, Sunday Critic, and Globe*, for their very faithful reports of the proceedings of this Congress.

The work of the Congress now having drawn to a close, the Chairman, Mr. Powers, called for silence while Mr. Mackenzie, of New York, led in prayer, after which the Chair announced the Congress adjourned to meet the third Tuesday in November, 1882, at Cleveland, Ohio.

LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE.

On Saturday morning, November 19th, the Legislative Committee met in Room 22, St. Clair Hotel, Pittsburg, and was called to order by W. H. Foster, Secretary of the Federation, and ex-officio member of the Committee.

The Legislative Committee organized by electing the following officers for the ensuing year: President, Richard Powers; First Vice-President, Samuel Gompers; Second Vice-President, Charles F. Burgman; Treasurer, Alex. C. Rankin.

The Secretary was directed to have the proceedings printed in pamphlet form, and Messrs. Bengough and Pollner, Secretaries of the Congress, were employed to assist in completing the minutes for that purpose.

Sub-Committee on Seal and Adresses to Unions were appointed. The design of the former was adopted, and a seal procured, and the report of the latter Sub-Committee was concurred in.

It was agreed that the Treasurer and Secretary be required to give bonds, the former, \$1,000, and the latter \$500, with real estate security, to be forwarded to the President within one month from date, the amounts of the bonds to be increased hereafter, if the sums in trust warrant the same.

A resolution adopted by the Committee precludes its member from publicly advocating the claims of any of the political parties.

Considerable discussion on the work before the Committee ensued, and, the course to be adopted having been agreed upon:

The Committee gave final instructions to the Secretary and adjourned.

The postoffice addresses of the permanent officers are as follows:

President, Richard Powers, No. 99 West Randolph street, Chicago, Illinois.

First Vice-President, Samuel Gompers, No. 85 Columbia street, New York City, New York.

Second Vice-President, Charles F. Burgman, No. 134 Fourth street, San Francisco, California.

Treasurer, Alex. C. Rankin, No. 61 Robinson street, Allegheny City, Pennsylvania.

Secretary, W. H. Foster, No. 14 Eastborne Terrace, Cincinnati, Ohio.

