

*Labo Omnia Vincit*

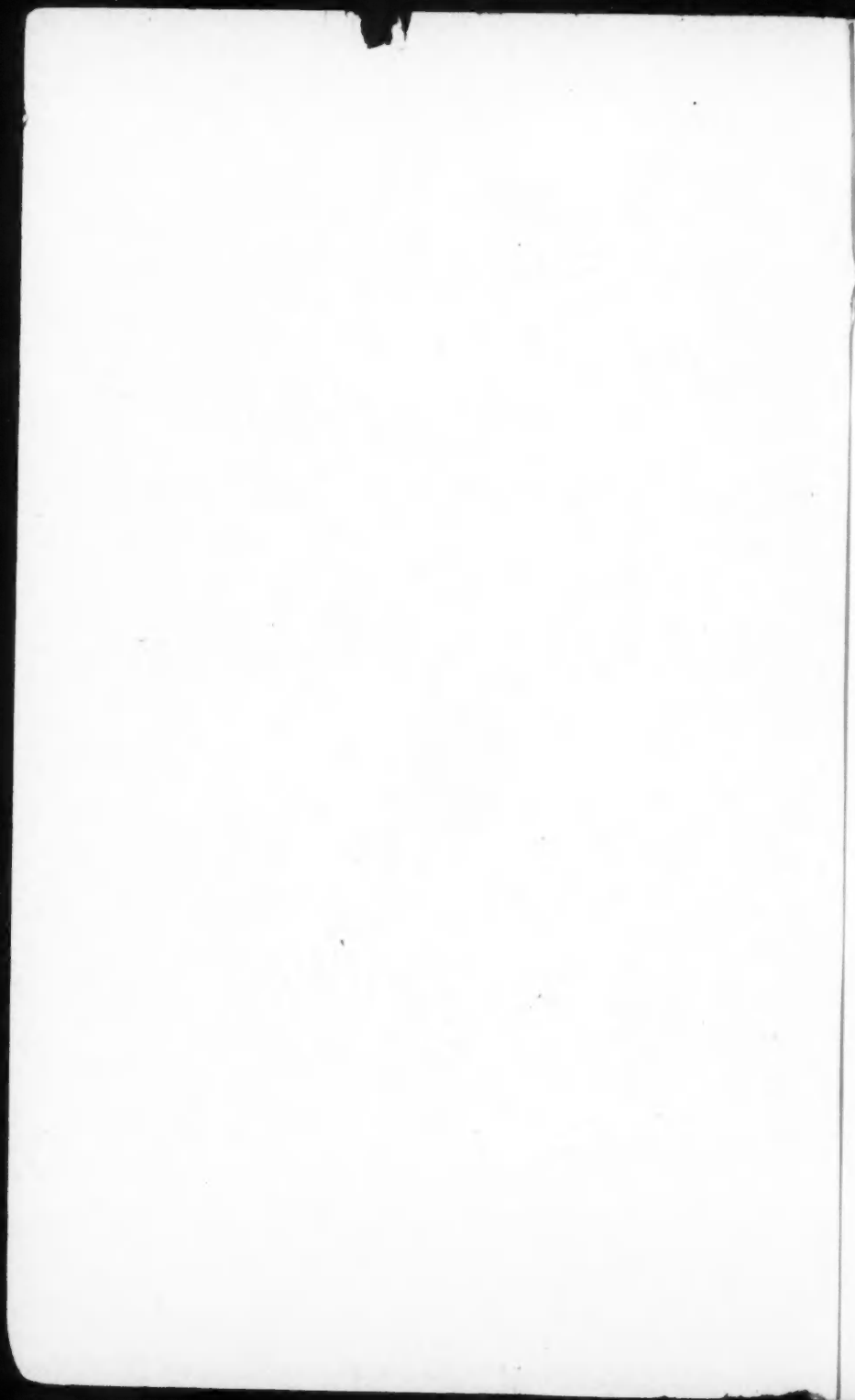
REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL  
CONVENTION  
OF  
THE AMERICAN  
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT CINCINNATI, OHIO  
June 12 to 24, Inclusive  
1922



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1922



# OFFICERS

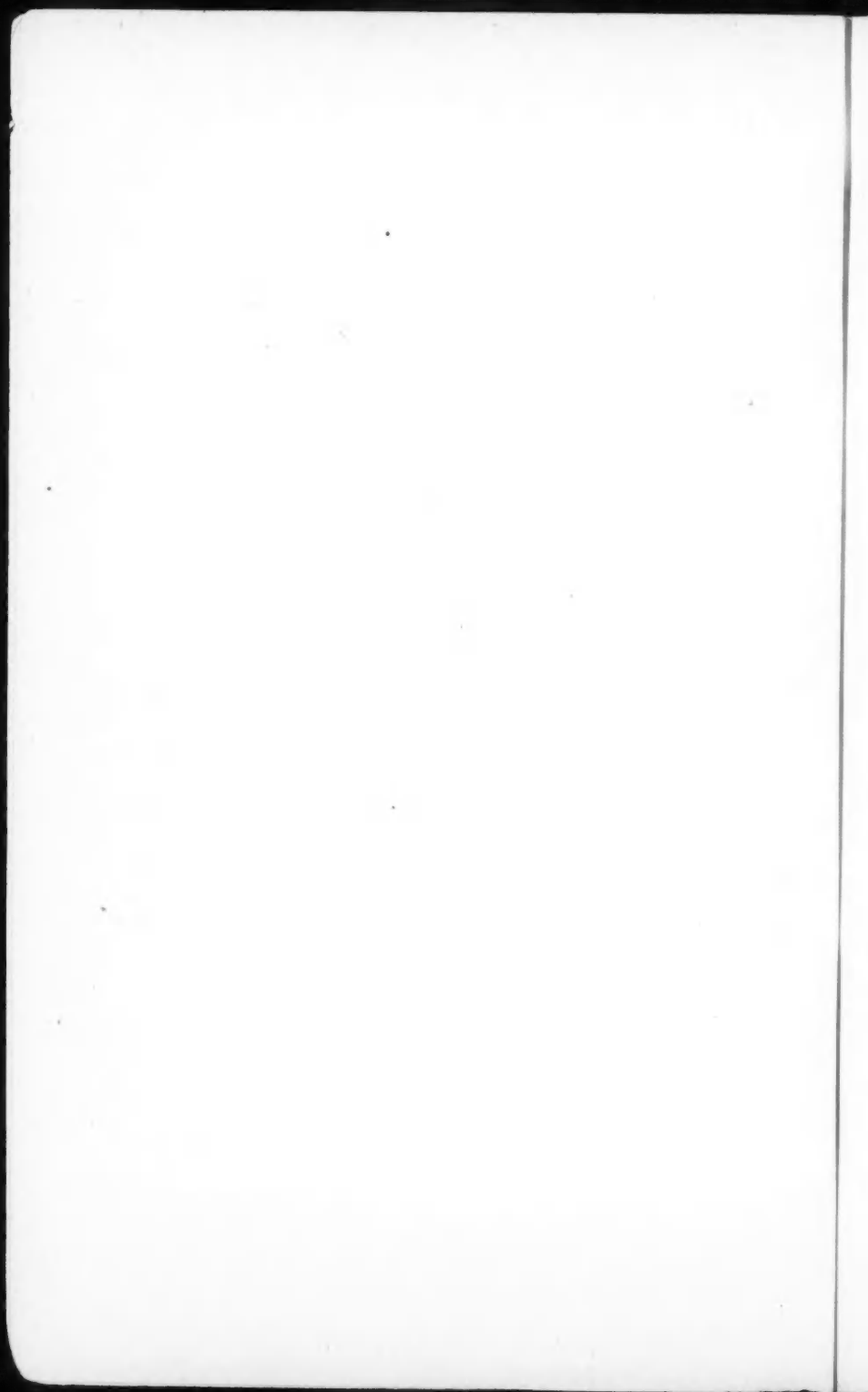
## OF THE

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1922-1923

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|                     |                                |                    |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| SAMUEL GOMPERS      | <i>President</i>               | Washington, D. C.  |
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# DELEGATES

## TO THE

# Forty-Second Annual Convention

| ORGANIZATIONS.  | No. of Delegates | No. of Votes for each Delegate | NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.                                  |
|---|------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Actors and Artistes of America.....   | 2                | 47                             | Harry Mountford, 1440 Broadway, New York City.                  |
|   |                  | 47                             | Frank Gilmore, 115 W. 47th St., New York City.                  |
| Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and.....         | 1                | 20                             | Joseph A. Mullaney, 15 Eleventh St. Elmhurst, L. I., N. Y.      |
| Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America.....                     | 3                | 83                             | A. A. Myrup, 310 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.                     |
|   |                  | 83                             | Peter Beisel, 4106 S. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.                  |
|   |                  | 82                             | Jacob Goldstone, 1823 Holland Ave., Bronx, N. Y.                |
| Barbers' International Union, Journeymen.....   | 5                | 91                             | James C. Shanessy, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.      |
|   |                  | 91                             | Jacob Fischer, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.          |
|   |                  | 90                             | George H. Wahl, 333 Washington St., Buffalo, N. Y.              |
| Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of.....                       | 1                | 90                             | C. F. Foley, 341 E. Norwegian St., Pottsville, Pa.              |
|   |                  | 90                             | Roe H. Baker, 112 Valencia St., San Francisco, Calif.           |
|   |                  | 16                             | Julius Dannenberg, 1339 Prospect Ave., Bronx, New York City.    |
| Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers' International Brotherhood of.....                  | 4                | 92                             | James W. Klme, 1150-9 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.       |
|   |                  | 92                             | W. G. Powlesland, 250 Beatrice St., Toronto, Ontario, Can.      |
|   |                  | 92                             | Roy Horn, 1150-9 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.            |
| Boilermakers Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of..... | 4                | 91                             | M. W. Martin, 1150-9 Transportation Bldg., Chicago, Ill.        |
|   |                  | 105                            | J. A. Franklin, Suite 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kans. |
|   |                  | 104                            | Charles Scott, 824 Heed Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.                |
| Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of.....  | 3                | 104                            | Chas. MacGowan, 1917 Chase Ave., Rogers Park Sta., Chicago.     |
|   |                  | 104                            | John Dohney, 7915 S. Sangamon St., Chicago, Ill.                |
|   |                  | 55                             | Walter N. Reddick, 307 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.     |
| Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....   | 5                | 54                             | John B. Haggerty 361a Forest Park Boulevard, St. Louis, Mo.     |
|   |                  | 54                             | Anna Neary, 2509 St. Paul St., Baltimore, Md.                   |
|   |                  | 81                             | C. L. Baine, 246 Summer St., Boston, Mass.                      |
|   |                  | 81                             | Charles E. James, 632 W. Central Ave., St. Paul, Minn.          |
|   |                  | 80                             | John A. Brennan, 35 Blaine St., Brockton, Mass.                 |
|   |                  | 80                             | Mollie Guinan, 7121 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.                 |
|   |                  | 80                             | Ralph Trainor, North Avenue, Rockland, Mass.                    |

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|---|------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Brewery Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United..... | 4                | 48                             | John Sullivan, 126 E. 98th St., New York City.                           |
|   |                  | 48                             | Albert J. Kugler, 156 Grant Ave., Jersey City, N. J.                     |
|   |                  | 47                             | Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.                       |
|   |                  | 47                             | Joseph J. Hauser, 3631 Salena St., St. Louis, Mo.                        |
|   |                  | 117                            | William J. Bowen, University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.              |
|   |                  | 117                            | William Dobson, University Park Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.                |
| Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....                         | 6                | 117                            | Peter S. Shaughnessy, 910 W. Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.                   |
|   |                  | 117                            | Walter V. Fricc, 400 Manhattan Ave., New York City.                      |
|   |                  | 116                            | William J. Skinner, 511 E. 86th St., New York City.                      |
|   |                  | 116                            | Thomas J. Murphy, 511 E. 86th St., New York City.                        |
| Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....  | 2                | 21                             | Frank Kasten, 166 West Washington St., Chicago, Ill.                     |
|   |                  | 20                             | Thos. Hutson, Room 309, 323-331 So. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.          |
| Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....                              | 3                | 47                             | P. J. Morrin, Suite 1615-20 Syndicate Trust Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.        |
|   |                  | 47                             | Edward Ryan, 325 River St., Chicago, Ill.                                |
| Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International.....   | 1                | 46                             | M. J. Cunnane, 1924 Spring Garden, Philadelphia, Pa.                     |
|   |                  | 8                              | Will R. Boyer, 853 King Pl., Chicago, Ill.                               |
| Building Service Employees' International Union.....  | 3                | 32                             | William F. Quesse, 4732 Indiana Ave., Chicago, Ill.                      |
|   |                  | 31                             | Ambrose O'Brien, care of Wm. F. Quesse, 4732 Indiana Ave., Chicago, Ill. |
|   |                  | 31                             | Steve Kelleher, 59 E. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.                       |
|   |                  | 246                            | Martin F. Ryan, 503 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.                         |
| Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....   | 7                | 246                            | Robert M. Ware, 620 N. Tennessee Ave., Palestine, Texas.                 |
|   |                  | 245                            | J. W. Buckley, 7 Victoria Blvd., Mount Dennis P. O., Ontario, Can.       |
|   |                  | 245                            | Thos. P. Hyland, Box 401, Horton, Kans.                                  |
|   |                  | 245                            | John Williams, 408 Dakota Bldg., St. Paul, Minn.                         |
|   |                  | 245                            | Sam C. Hunt, Florence, Ala.  |
|   |                  | 245                            | D. T. Cunningham, 7238 High St., Maplewood, Mo.                          |
|   |                  | 393                            | William L. Hutcheson, Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.              |
| Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....                                   | 8                | 393                            | Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.                       |
|   |                  | 392                            | W. M. Michaels, Jacobs Hotel, Tulsa, Okla.                               |
|   |                  | 392                            | W. T. Allen, 1803 Spring Garden St., Philadelphia, Pa.                   |
|   |                  | 392                            | J. H. Weaver, 49 Oglethorpe Ave., Atlanta, Ga.                           |
|   |                  | 392                            | Alex Kelso, 12 St. Mark's Pl., New York City.                            |
|   |                  | 392                            | Wm. J. Kelly, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.                              |
|   |                  | 392                            | P. H. McCarthy, Merchants Bank Bldg., San Francisco, Calif.              |

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| Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....   | 5                | 64                             | G. W. Perkins, Room 620, 508 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.           |
|  |                  | 64                             | Samuel Gompers, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.                  |
|  |                  | 64                             | R. S. Sexton, Room 620, 508 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.            |
|  |                  | 64                             | W. A. Campbell, Room 620, 508 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.          |
|  |                  | 64                             | Henry Abrahams, 11 Appleton St., Boston, Mass.                        |
|  |                  | 45                             | Thos. F. Flaherty, Room 304 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.      |
| Clerks, National Federation of Post Office.....  | 4                | 45                             | William P. Hohmann, 209 Lincoln Inn Court, Cincinnati, Ohio.          |
|  |                  | 44                             | Mark B. Greene, 5350 Eastern Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio.                  |
|  |                  | 44                             | Charles W. Redfern, 9 Edith St., Rochester, N. Y.                     |
|  |                  | 197                            | E. H. Fitzgerald, Room 606, 2d National Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio. |
| Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....  | 7                | 197                            | A. C. Hay, 26 Waverly St., Ottawa, Ontario, Can.                      |
|  |                  | 197                            | H. B. Odell, 15 Evans Block, Denver, Colo.                            |
|  |                  | 197                            | Mable Emery McNulty, Box 101, St. Paul, Minn.                         |
|  |                  | 197                            | Wade Shurtleff, 11610 Kinsman Road, Cleveland, Ohio.                  |
|  |                  | 197                            | J. Louie England, 510 Slaughter Bldg., Dallas, Texas.                 |
| Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail.....                                | 4                | 196                            | Richard P. Dee, 517 N. Solomon St., New Orleans, La.                  |
|  |                  | 42                             | E. E. Baker, 195 Jefferson Road, Newark, Ohio.                        |
|  |                  | 42                             | H. J. Conway, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Ind.                        |
|  |                  | 42                             | W. G. Desepte, 2940 16th St., San Francisco, Calif.                   |
| Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....   | 1                | 41                             | C. C. Coulter, 606 5th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.                   |
| Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America.....  | 1                | 26                             | J. E. Davis, 2710 Rosina Ave., Latonia, Ky.                           |
| Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and..... | 1                | 5                              | Jacques Veder, 40 Hamilton Terrace, New York City.                    |
|  |                  | 10                             | C. L. Rosemund, 200 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.              |
| Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....                         | 7                | 203                            | James P. Noonan, 506 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.              |
|  |                  | 203                            | Frank J. McNulty, 209 N. 6th St., Newark, N. J.                       |
|  |                  | 203                            | Gustave M. Bugnizet, 506 Machinists Bldg., Washington, D. C.          |
|  |                  | 203                            | Julia O'Connor, 1109 Tremont Bldg., Boston, Mass.                     |
|  |                  | 203                            | Edward Barton, 5741 W. Ohio St., Chicago, Ill.                        |
|  |                  | 203                            | Martin T. Joyce, 12-13 Pemberton Bldg., Boston, Mass.                 |
| Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....                                       | 1                | 202                            | Edward J. Evans, 175 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.            |
|  |                  | 38                             | Frank Feeney, 391 Fulton St., Brooklyn, N. Y.                         |

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| Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating.....             | 5                | 64                             | Arthur M. Huddell, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Ill.  |
|  |                  | 64                             | Dave Evans, 6334 Yale Ave., Chicago, Ill.   |
|  |                  | 64                             | John Posschl, 1314 Bull St., Savannah, Ga.  |
|  |                  | 64                             | E. L. Edgerton, 659 Madison St., Syracuse, N. Y.  |
|  |                  | 64                             | Harry L. Saddler, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.   |
| Engravers' International Union, Metal.....                             | 1                | 1                              | Otto A. Laibly, 4725 Berenice Ave., Chicago, Ill.   |
| Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....            | 2                | 33                             | Matthew Woll, 6111 Bishop St., Chicago, Ill.  |
|  |                  | 32                             | Henry F. Schmal, Tower Grove Bank Bldg., 3136 South Grand Ave., St. Louis, Mo.                    |
| Federal Employes, National Federation of.....                          | 1                | 250                            | Luther C. Steward, 1423 New York Ave. N. W., Washington, D. C.                                    |
| Fire Fighters, International Association of.....                       | 2                | 81                             | Fred W. Baer, Room 105, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.                                      |
|  |                  | 80                             | Joseph A. Kirby, No. 3 Fire Station, Dayton, Ohio.  |
|  |                  | 63                             | Timothy Healy, 229 E. 47th St., New York City.  |
| Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary.....       | 4                | 63                             | C. L. Shamp, 3611 N. 24th St., Omaha, Nebr.   |
|  |                  | 62                             | J. W. Morton, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.  |
|  |                  | 62                             | W. J. Brennan, 66 S. Orange Ave., Newark, N. J.   |
| Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of.....                    | 2                | 20                             | Leonard Holschult, 2604 Gravois Ave., St. Louis, Mo.  |
|  |                  | 20                             | Arthur Austin, 2604 Gravois Ave., St. Louis, Mo.  |
| Fur Workers' Union of United States and Canada, International.....     | 1                | 47                             | Morris Kaufman, 9 Jackson Ave., Long Island City, N. Y.   |
|  |                  | 95                             | T. A. Rickert, Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Ill.  |
| Garment Workers of America, United.....                                | 5                | 95                             | B. A. Larger, 117 Bible House, New York City.   |
|  |                  | 95                             | F. Doyle, Room 117 Bible House, New York City.  |
|  |                  | 95                             | A. Adamski, 105 Doris Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.  |
|  |                  | 95                             | Mrs. D. A. Houck, 117 Bible House, New York City.   |
|  |                  | 157                            | Benjamin Schlesinger, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, 3 W. 16th St., New York City. |
| Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies.....                      | 6                | 157                            | Louis Langer, Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union, 40 E. 23d St., New York City.                |
|  |                  | 157                            | Max Amdur, Cloakmakers' Union, 232 N. 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa.                                  |
|  |                  | 156                            | Louigi Antonini, Italian Waistmakers' Union, 8 W. 21st St., New York City.                        |
|  |                  | 156                            | Harry Greenberg, Children's Dressmakers' Union, 22 W. 17th St., New York City.                    |
|  |                  | 156                            | Louis Pinkofsky, Joint Board of the Cloakmakers' Union, 40 E. 23d St., New York City.             |
| Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada..... | 3                | 33                             | John A. Voll, 1006 Colonial Trust Bldg., Philadelphia, Pa.  |
|  |                  | 32                             | Louis Colin, 115 Elk Run Ave., Punxsutawney, Pa.  |
|  |                  | 32                             | George W. Most, 41 S. East St., Bridgeton, N. J.  |



DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION

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| Glass Workers' Union, American Flint.....   | 3                | 29                             | Wm. P. Clarke, 337-46 Ohio Bldg., Toledo, Ohio.                                  |
|   |                  | 29                             | Harry H. Cook, 337-46 Ohio Bldg., Toledo, Ohio.                                  |
|   |                  | 29                             | John B. O'Brien, 28 Ewan Terrace, Vineland, N. J.                                |
| Glass Workers Window, National.....   | 2                | 25                             | J. M. Siemer, 1103 Ulmer Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.                                 |
| Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....   | 1                | 25                             | William C. Well, 281 Cypress St., Columbus, Ohio.                                |
|   |                  | 100                            | James Duncan, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.                                       |
| Hatters of North America, United.....   | 3                | 39                             | Martin Lawlor, 72 Bible House, New York City.                                    |
|   |                  | 38                             | Bernhard Hollander, 118 Market St., Newark, N. J.                                |
|   |                  | 38                             | Hugh C. Shalvoy, 303 Main St., Danbury, Conn.                                    |
| Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International.....                            | 5                | 92                             | Domenico D'Alessandro, 25 School St., Quincy, Mass.                              |
|   |                  | 92                             | Joseph V. Moreschi, 822 W. Harrison St., Chicago, Ill.                           |
|   |                  | 92                             | Joseph Marshall, 200 Guerrero St., San Francisco, Calif.                         |
|   |                  | 92                             | J. B. Etchison, 120 N. Noble St., Indianapolis, Ind.                             |
| Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen.....                             | 1                | 25                             | W. W. Cordell, 3056 Mentor St., Cincinnati, Ohio.                                |
|   |                  | 25                             | Hubert S. Marshall, 2d National Bank Bldg., 9th and Main Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. |
| Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America..... | 5                | 93                             | Edward Flore, 375 Oak St., Rochester, N. Y.                                      |
|   |                  | 93                             | Jere L. Sullivan, 610 Commercial Tribune Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.                |
|   |                  | 93                             | Thomas S. Farrell, 1303 W. Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio.                           |
|   |                  | 93                             | Emanuel Kovcleski, 104 Reynolds Arcade, Rochester, N. Y.                         |
|   |                  | 93                             | John J. McDevitt, 2908 Aramingo St., Philadelphia, Pa.                           |
| Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated Association of.....  | 3                | 53                             | M. F. Tighe, 510 Fourth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.                                    |
|   |                  | 53                             | Ben I. Davis, care of 510 Fourth Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.                           |
|   |                  | 53                             | Wm. E. Brewster, 2164 L St., Granite City, Ill.                                  |
| Jewelry Workers, International.....   | 1                | 2                              | Abraham Greenstein, 714 1674 Broadway, New York City.                            |
| Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....   | 3                | 27                             | Wm. J. McSorley, 401 Superior Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.                            |
|   |                  | 27                             | Jos. H. Duty, 507 Washington Trust Co. Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.                    |
|   |                  | 26                             | Charles J. Case, 31 E. 12th St., Cincinnati, Ohio.                               |
| Laundry Workers' International Union.....   | 1                | 65                             | George T. Johnson, 1139 Broadway, Fresno, Calif.                                 |
| Leather Workers, United, International Union.....   | 1                | 34                             | W. E. Bryan, 504-505 Postal Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.                              |
|   |                  | 65                             | Edw. J. Gainor, 404 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.                         |
|   |                  | 65                             | Ed. J. Cantwell, 407 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.                        |
| Letter Carriers, National Association of.....   | 5                | 65                             | Charles D. Duffy, 834 Elmwood Ave., Oak Park, Ill.                               |
|   |                  | 65                             | Luther E. Swartz, Stahlman Bldg., Nashville, Tenn.                               |
|   |                  | 65                             | John T. Mugavin, 621 Main St., Cincinnati, Ohio.                                 |

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| Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....                     | 2                | 38                             | Phillip Bock, 499 Chestnut St., Brooklyn, N. Y.                                     |
|   |                  | 38                             | Samuel H. Maitland, 4018 Carter St., Norwood, Ohio.                                 |
| Longshoremen's Association, International.....  | 1                | 463                            | A. J. Chlopek, 702-4 Brisbane Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.                                 |
| Machinists, International Association of.....   | 6                | 259                            | Wm. H. Johnston, Machinists Bldg., 9th and Mt. Vernon Pl., N. W., Washington, D. C. |
|   |                  | 259                            | Wm. Schoenberg, 4523 Keokuk Ave., Chicago, Ill.                                     |
|   |                  | 259                            | C. F. Grow, 404 Date Ave., Alhambra, Calif.   |
|   |                  | 259                            | William Larkin, 28 June St., Lowell, Mass.  |
|   |                  | 259                            | George W. Marshall, 511 E. 36th St., Savannah, Ga.                                  |
| Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, International Association of..... | 1                | 17                             | Stephen C. Hogan, 446 E. 149th St., New York City                                   |
|   |                  | 66                             | C. J. Hayes, 1523 Winstanley Ave., E. St. Louis, Ill.                               |
| Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....   | 3                | 65                             | Dennis Lane, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.                                   |
|   |                  | 65                             | Patrick E. Gorman, 514 S. Wenzel Ave., Louisville, Ky.                              |
|   |                  | 63                             | John J. Hynes, 122 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.                                  |
| Metal Workers' International Alliance, Amalgamated Sheet.....   | 4                | 63                             | Fred Hock, care of John J. Hynes, 122 So. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.              |
|   |                  | 62                             | Harry Dorsey, care of John J. Hynes, 122 So. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.           |
|   |                  | 62                             | Richard Pattison, 12 St. Mark's Pl., New York City.                                 |
|   |                  | 23                             | Chas. H. Moyer, 502 Mercantile Bldg., Denver, Colo.                                 |
| Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of.....   | 2                | 23                             | Edward Crough, P. O. Box 266, Mulberry, Fla.  |
|   |                  | 622                            | John L. Lewis, 1114 Merchants Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.                        |
| Mine Workers of America, United.....  | 6                | 622                            | William Green, 1107 Merchants' Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.                       |
|   |                  | 622                            | Philip H. Murray, 1109 Merchants' Bank Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.                    |
|   |                  | 621                            | Frank Farrington, Illinois Miners' Bldg., Springfield, Ill.                         |
|   |                  | 621                            | John Moore, 209 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.                                |
| Molders' Union of North America, International.....   | 4                | 621                            | Thomas Kennedy, 54 Seager Bldg., Hazleton, Pa.                                      |
|   |                  | 67                             | Joseph F. Valentine, L. Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.                                  |
|   |                  | 66                             | John P. Frey, L. Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.   |
|   |                  | 66                             | Arthur R. Burns, Room 202, Labor Temple, Portland, Oreg.                            |
|   |                  | 66                             | Dan Regan, 3140 S. Alhambra Ave., Alhambra, Calif.                                  |

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|  |                  | 125                            | Joseph N. Weber, 110-112 W. 40th St., New York City.  |
|  |                  | 125                            | D. A. Carey, 170 Montrose Ave., Toronto, Ontario, Can.  |
|  |                  | 125                            | Claude O. Taylor, Observer Office, Grand Rapids, Mich.  |
| Musicians, American Federation of.....   | 6                | 125                            | Edward Canavan, 210 E. 86th St., New York City.   |
|  |                  | 125                            | C. A. Weaver, Musicians' Club, Des Moines, Iowa.  |
|  |                  | 125                            | Jos. F. Winkler, 175 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.   |
| Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America.....                                   | 2                | 31                             | R. H. Stüchel, 208½ W. 12th St., Fort Worth, Texas.   |
|  |                  | 30                             | Walter J. Yarrow, 208½ W. 12th St., Fort Worth, Texas.  |
|  |                  | 163                            | Stephen J. Angleton, Painters and Decorators' Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.                          |
|  |                  | 163                            | C. J. Lammer, Painters and Decorators' Bldg., Lafayette, Ind.                                 |
| Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....                      | 6                | 163                            | John J. Doyle, 15 Chenango St., Buffalo, N. Y.  |
|  |                  | 163                            | Thos. H. Mugavin, 3890 Isabella St., Cincinnati, Ohio.  |
|  |                  | 163                            | Christian M. Madsen, 3220 Cortez St., Chicago, Ill.   |
|  |                  | 163                            | N. F. Smith, 2882 Howard St., San Francisco, Calif.   |
| Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....  | 3                | 28                             | J. T. Carey, 25 S. Hawk St., Albany, N. Y.  |
|  |                  | 28                             | George J. Schneider, 941 State St., Appleton, Wis.  |
|  |                  | 27                             | M. H. Parker, 25 S. Hawk St., Albany, N. Y.   |
| Pattern Makers' League of North America.....   | 1                | 80                             | James Wilson, Second National Bank Bldg., Rooms 8 and 9, 9th and Main Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. |
| Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers, Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International Union of..... | 1                | 20                             | Edward I. Hannah, 336 E. 59th St., New York City.   |
| Paving Cutters' Union of the United States of America and Canada.....                      | 1                | 24                             | Carl Bergstrom, Box 30, Rockport, Mass.   |
|  |                  | 62                             | Ed. J. McGivern, 17 Robbins Road, Arlington Heights, Mass.                                    |
| Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative.....      | 4                | 62                             | John Donlin, 500 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.   |
|  |                  | 61                             | Henry Biehl, 906 W. Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.   |
|  |                  | 61                             | John Rooney, 2116 E. 79th St., Cleveland, Ohio.   |
|  |                  | 88                             | John Coefield, 1138 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.  |
| Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.....     | 4                | 88                             | Charles Anderson, Labor Temple, Pittsburgh, Pa.   |
|  |                  | 87                             | William Gunther, 126 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.   |
|  |                  | 87                             | James Murphy, 165 Waverly Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.   |
|  |                  | 28                             | W. W. Britton, 408 Neave Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.   |
| Polishers', Metal International Union  | 3                | 27                             | Chas. R. Atherton, Neave Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.   |
|  |                  | 27                             | George Leary, care, Department of Public Safety, Newark, N. J.                                |
|  |                  | 31                             | John T. Wood, P. O. Box 6, E. Liverpool, Ohio.  |
| Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....  | 3                | 31                             | Thomas Farrell, 220 Ravine St., E. Liverpool, Ohio.   |
|  |                  | 30                             | Frank H. Hutchins, Rms. 1009-11 American Mechanics' Bldg., Trenton, N. J.                     |

## DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION

| ORGANIZATIONS.   | No. of Delegates | No. of Votes for each Delegate | NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.  |
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| Printers and Die Stammers' Union of North America, International Plate.                              | 1                | 15                             | Andrew Fallon, 1236 Maryland Ave. N. E., Washington, D. C.                                  |
|  |                  | 74                             | George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tenn.   |
|  |                  | 74                             | John F. Geckler, 707 Odd Fellow Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.                                   |
| Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International.                             | 5                | 74                             | Clyde P. Frater, 409 E. Hanford St., Columbus, Ohio.  |
|  |                  | 74                             | William C. Pepper, 6 Greenwood Office Exchange, 6th and Vine Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio.        |
|  |                  | 74                             | Edward Stier, Room 1, Bavaria Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio.                                      |
| Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of. | 2                | 34                             | John P. Burke, Drawer V, Fort Edward, N. Y.   |
|  |                  | 34                             | Maurice LaBelle, 232 Turner St., Ottawa, Ontario, Can.                                      |
| Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.  | 1                | 30                             | Fred W. Suito, Scampini Bldg., Barre, Vt.   |
|  |                  | 200                            | W. D. Mahon, 260 E. High St., Detroit, Mich.  |
|  |                  | 200                            | Wm. Quinlan, 328-338 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.  |
| Railway Employes of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric.                         | 5                | 200                            | Fred Schultz, 606 Finance Bldg., 750 Prospect Ave., care of Mr. W. M. Rea, Cleveland, Ohio. |
|  |                  | 200                            | James Rodgers, 433 Gravier St., 2d floor, care of Mr. Gus J. Bienvenue, New Orleans, La.    |
|  |                  | 200                            | A. Conn, 167 Church St., care of Mr. W. D. Robbins, Toronto, Ontario, Can.                  |
| Railway Mail Association.  | 3                | 56                             | Chester M. Harvey, 394 North Exchange, St. Paul, Minn.                                      |
|  |                  | 55                             | B. E. Thompson, 916 14th St. N. W., Apr. 3, Washington, D. C.                               |
|  |                  | 55                             | J. P. Cleland, 4103 Lafayette Ave. Omaha, Nebr.   |
| Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Composition.               | 1                | 30                             | Peter J. O'Brien, 162 E. 102d St., New York City.   |
|  |                  | 164                            | Andrew Furuseth, 409 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.                                   |
| Seamen's Union of America, International.  | 3                | 164                            | Thos. A. Hanson, 355-359 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.  |
|  |                  | 164                            | Peter McKillop, 513 E. Main St., Norfolk, Va.   |
| Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad.  | 2                | 53                             | D. W. Helt, Room 416, Bush Temple 800 N. Clark St., Chicago, Ill.                           |
|  |                  | 52                             | D. C. Cone, 1535 Westchester Ave., New York City.   |
|  |                  | 49                             | Charles C. Shay, 110 W. 40th St., New York City.  |
| Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical.                                     | 4                | 49                             | P. J. Ryan, 448 Clarke St., Quebec, Can.  |
|  |                  | 49                             | Kohn Suarez, 1434 North Garrison Ave., St. Louis, Mo.                                       |
|  |                  | 48                             | Thomas Malloy, 59 E. Van Buren St., Chicago, Ill.   |
| Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International.                               | 2                | 30                             | James J. Frecl, 56 Gould Ave., Caldwell, N. J.  |
|  |                  | 30                             | Charles A. Sumner, 3110 Olive St., Kansas City, Mo.   |
| Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen.   | 2                | 23                             | M. W. Mitchell, 324 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis Ind.                          |
|  |                  | 23                             | Joseph Blasey, 324 American Central Life Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.                          |

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| Stove Mounters' International Union.....   | 1                | 20                             | W. L. Funder Burk, 6466 E. Jefferson Ave., Detroit, Mich.       |
| Switchmen's Union of North America   | 3                | 30                             | Thomas C. Cashen, 39 North St., Buffalo, N. Y.                  |
|  |                  | 29                             | James B. Conners, 5441 S. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.            |
|  |                  | 29                             | W. J. Trost, 714 Scoville Ave., South Oak Park, Ill.            |
|  |                  | 40                             | Thos. Sweeney, 6700 Stony Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.            |
| Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....   | 3                | 40                             | M. J. Sillinsky, 2450 E. 9th St., Cleveland, Ohio.              |
|  |                  | 40                             | Arthur Keep, Missouri State Life Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.          |
| Teachers, American Federation of.....  | 1                | 70                             | Charles B. Stillman, 1620 Lake Ave., Wilmette, Ill.             |
|  |                  | 128                            | Daniel J. Tobin, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.        |
|  |                  | 128                            | Thos. L. Hughes, 222 E. Michigan St., Indianapolis, Ind.        |
| Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of..... | 6                | 127                            | John M. Gillespie, 15 Allston Heights, Allston 34, Mass.        |
|  |                  | 127                            | John McLaughlin, 536 Bryant St., San Francisco, Calif.          |
|  |                  | 127                            | Daniel Rox, 781 8th Ave., New York City.                        |
|  |                  | 127                            | Steve C. Sumner, 166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.           |
|  |                  | 100                            | E. J. Manion, Missouri State Life Bldg., St. Louis, Mo.         |
|  |                  | 100                            | D. G. Ramsay, Room 1628, 127 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.     |
| Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....   | 5                | 100                            | H. B. Perham, 1378 Montclair Ave., St. Louis, Mo.               |
|  |                  | 100                            | J. H. Williams, 301 Old Dominion Trust Bldg., Richmond, Va.     |
|  |                  | 100                            | D. C. Smart, 547 Webster Bldg., Chicago, Ill.                   |
| Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial.....  | 1                | 34                             | Roscoe H. Johnson, 113 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, Ill.          |
|  |                  | 75                             | Thomas F. McMahon, 110 Bible House, New York City.              |
|  |                  | 75                             | Sara A. Conboy, 110 Bible House, New York City.                 |
| Textile Workers of America, United....   | 4                | 75                             | J. E. Garrity, 33 Rye St., Providence, R. I.                    |
|  |                  | 75                             | Joseph R. White, 52 White St., Cohoes, N. Y.                    |
| Timber Workers, International Union of.....  | 1                | 8                              | Ray R. Canterbury, 207-8-9 Maynard Bldg., Seattle, Wash.        |
| Tobacco Workers' International Union   | 1                | 34                             | W. R. Walden, Rooms 50-53, Our Home Life Bldg., Louisville, Ky. |
| Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union.....                                   | 1                | 30                             | Thomas J. Curtis, 206-208 E. 128th St., New York City.          |
|  |                  | 115                            | John McParland, Bankers' Trust Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.        |
|  |                  | 115                            | Frank Morrison, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.            |
|  |                  | 115                            | Charles P. Howard, 61 Putnam Ave., Detroit, Mich.               |
| Typographical Union, International....   | 6                | 115                            | Max S. Hayes, 2829 Coventry Road, Cleveland, Ohio.              |
|  |                  | 115                            | T. W. McCullough, 1134 S. 33d St., Omaha, Nebr.                 |
|  |                  | 114                            | William Young, 5947 Webster St., Philadelphia, Pa.              |
| Upholsterers' International Union of N. A.....   | 1                | 67                             | William Kohn, 230 E. 58th St., New York City.                   |

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|--|------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Building Trades Department.....                              | 1                | 1                         | William J. Spencer, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.                                       |
| Metal Trades Department.....                                 | 1                | 1                         | James O'Connell, 400 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.                                      |
| Mining Department.....                                       | 1                | 1                         | James Lord, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.   |
| Railroad Employes Department.....                            | 1                | 1                         | B. M. Jewell, Riviera Bldg., 4750 Broadway, Chicago, Ill.                                      |
| Union Label Trades Department.....                           | 1                | 1                         | John J. Manning, A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.  |
| Alabama State Federation of Labor.....                       | 1                | 1                         | H. O. Cline, Albany, Ala.  |
| Arizona State Federation of Labor.....                       | 1                | 1                         | Lester B. Doane, P. O. Box No. 772, Globe, Ariz.   |
| Arkansas State Federation of Labor.....                      | 1                | 1                         | G. E. Mikel, Jenny Lind, Ark.  |
| California State Federation of Labor.....                    | 1                | 1                         | James E. Hopkins, 87 Tingley St., San Francisco, Calif.  |
| Colorado State Federation of Labor.....                      | 1                | 1                         | August Koester, 246 S. Lincoln St., Denver, Colo.  |
| Georgia State Federation of Labor.....                       | 1                | 1                         | Jerome Jones, 321 Austell Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.  |
| Illinois State Federation of Labor.....                      | 1                | 1                         | John H. Walker, 728 Illinois Mine Workers' Building, Springfield, Ill.                         |
| Indiana State Federation of Labor.....                       | 1                | 1                         | T. N. Taylor, 1260 Lafayette Ave., Terre Haute, Ind.   |
| Iowa State Federation of Labor.....                          | 1                | 1                         | Alfred Hjort, care of Ed. Willey, care of Journal, Sioux City, Iowa.                           |
| Kansas State Federation of Labor.....                        | 1                | 1                         | Alexander Howat, Box 216, Pittsburg, Kans.   |
| Kentucky State Federation of Labor.....                      | 1                | 1                         | William E. Hulsbeck, 1406 Vine St., Cincinnati, Ohio.  |
| Louisiana State Federation of Labor.....                     | 1                | 1                         | Ernest H. Zwally, P. O. Box No. 291, Shreveport, La.   |
| Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor..... | 1                | 1                         | Frank J. Coleman, 414 Washington Loan and Trust Bldg., 9th and F Sts. N. W., Washington, D. C. |
| Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....                 | 1                | 1                         | Thomas H. Gerraughty, 129 Stoughton St., Dorchester, Mass.                                     |
| Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....                     | 1                | 1                         | Geo. W. Lawson, 75 W. 7th St., St. Paul, Minn.   |
| Missouri State Federation of Labor.....                      | 1                | 1                         | J. L. Fritz, 3024 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.  |
| Montana State Federation of Labor.....                       | 1                | 1                         | Stephen Ely, P. O. Box, No. 1152, Helena, Mont.  |
| New Hampshire State Federation of Labor.....                 | 1                | 1                         | John L. Barry, 50 Conant St., Manchester, N. H.  |
| New Jersey State Federation of Labor.....                    | 1                | 1                         | John E. Murphy, care of Henry Hiifers, 16 Clinton St., Newark, N. J.                           |
| New York State Federation of Labor.....                      | 1                | 1                         | James P. Holland, 229 E. 47th St., New York City.  |
| Ohio State Federation of Labor.....                          | 1                | 1                         | James H. Roach, 2450 E. 9th St., Cleveland, Ohio.  |
| Oklahoma State Federation of Labor.....                      | 1                | 1                         | Edgar Fenton, 516 Baltimore Bldg., Oklahoma City, Okla.  |
| Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor.....                  | 1                | 1                         | Lawrence F. Hart, 125 Franklin Ave., Scranton, Pa.   |
| Porto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.....                   | 1                | 1                         | Santiago Iglesias, Box, No. 270, San Juan, Porto Rico.   |
| Rhode Island State Federation of Labor.....                  | 1                | 1                         | Lawrence A. Grace, 37 Weybosset St., Providence, R. I.   |
| Tennessee State Federation of Labor.....                     | 1                | 1                         | David Hanly, Labor Temple, Nashville, Tenn.  |
| Texas State Federation of Labor.....                         | 1                | 1                         | Geo. W. Fisher, 2614 Travis Ave., Fort Worth, Texas.   |

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|---|------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| West Virginia State Federation of Labor.....                                      | 1                | 1                              | Fred Mooney, care of H. S. Franklin, Box 138, Charleston, W. Va.   |
| Wisconsin State Federation of Labor....   | 1                | 1                              | Henry Ohl, Jr., 306 Perceps Bldg., 85 Oneida St., Milwaukee, Wis.  |
| Wyoming State Federation of Labor....   | 1                | 1                              | Harry W. Fox, L. Drawer 892, Cheyenne, Wyo.                        |
| Alexandria, La., Central Labor Union  | 1                | 1                              | M. E. Steadman, 18 Bolton Ave., Alexandria, La.                    |
| Ashland, Ky., Central Labor Council....   | 1                | 1                              | Sam Pascoe, Box, No. 368, Ashland, Ky.                             |
| Astabula, Ohio, Central Labor Union....   | 1                | 1                              | G. W. Troutman, 241½ Main St., Astabula, Ohio.                     |
| Astoria, Oreg., Central Labor Council   | 1                | 1                              | H. M. Lornsten, Astoria, Oreg.                                     |
| Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....   | 1                | 1                              | James A. Miller, Peters Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.                        |
| Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union.....                                    | 1                | 1                              | Wm. C. Clendinning, 50 Obert Ave., Atlantic City, N. J.            |
| Bakersfield, Calif., Kern County Labor Council.....                               | 1                | 1                              | Josh Clark, 1114 Monterey St., Bakersfield, Calif.                 |
| Balboa Heights, Canal Zone, Central Labor Union.....                              | 1                | 1                              | William C. Hushing, 402 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.       |
| Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor....   | 1                | 1                              | Edward D. Bieretz, 507 American Bldg., Baltimore, Md.              |
| Berlin, N. H., Central Labor Union.....   | 1                | 1                              | James A. Legassie, 435 High St., Berlin, N. H.                     |
| Bloomington, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....                                 | 1                | 1                              | John B. Lennon, Bloomington, Ill.                                  |
| Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union....  | 1                | 1                              | William J. Doherty, 987 Washington St., Boston, Mass.              |
| Brownwood, Texas, Central Labor Union.....  | 1                | 1                              | Albert R. Lehman, 1103 Vines St., Brownwood, Texas.                |
| Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Council   | 1                | 1                              | John B. Kolb, 27 Johnson St., Buffalo, N. Y.                       |
| Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union.....                       | 1                | 1                              | Frank Snyder, 1581 Washington St., Charleston, W. Va.              |
| Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....   | 1                | 1                              | John G. Clay, 7210 S. Wood St., Chicago, Ill.                      |
| Chillicothe, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....                                       | 1                | 1                              | Henry Oberting, care of 343 N. High St., Chillicothe, Ohio.        |
| Cincinnati, Ohio, Central Labor Union   | 1                | 1                              | William Niemeier, 217 W. 12th St., Cincinnati, Ohio.               |
| Cleburne, Texas, Central Labor Council.....                                       | 1                | 1                              | W. F. Brydon, 711 S. Main St., Cleburne, Texas.                    |
| Cleveland, Ohio, Federation of Labor  | 1                | 1                              | John G. Owens, 2450 E. 9th St., Cleveland, Ohio.                   |
| Colvis, N. Mex., Central Labor Union  | 1                | 1                              | A. J. McGahey, Clovis, N. Mex.                                     |
| Coalgate, Okla., Trades Council.....  | 1                | 1                              | W. B. Thornsbrough, Box, No. 689, Coalgate, Okla.                  |
| Coffeyville, Kans., Central Labor Union.....                                      | 1                | 1                              | Paul Robbins, Jackson Hotel, Coffeyville, Kans.                    |
| Columbus, Ohio, Federation of Labor   | 1                | 1                              | John E. Sullivan, 870 S. 5th St., Columbus, Ohio.                  |
| Colorado Springs, Colo., Federated Trades Council.....                            | 1                | 1                              | Roy C. Winans, Gazette Publishing Company, Colorado Springs, Colo. |
| Ovington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties, Ky..... | 1                | 1                              | John L. Williams, 516 Overton St., Newport, Ky.                    |
| Dallas, Texas, Central Labor Council..  | 1                | 1                              | R. E. Roberts, Box, No. 1313, Dallas, Texas.                       |
| Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union   | 1                | 1                              | John H. Riley, 13 James St., Danbury, Conn.                        |

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| El Dorado, Ark., Central Labor Union               | 1                | 1                              | W. C. Franklin, El Dorado, Ark.   |
| Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Central Labor Union | 1                | 1                              | Jacob C. Taylor, 343 S. 9th St., Newark, N. J.                                |
| Fort Dodge, Iowa, Trades and Labor Assembly        | 1                | 1                              | Jas. Lochray, care of Box 399, Fort Dodge, Iowa.                              |
| Fremont, Nebr., Central Labor Union                | 1                | 1                              | William Feinauer, 64 S. Logan St., Fremont, Nebr.                             |
| Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council | 1                | 1                              | Geo. T. Johnson, 1139 Broadway, Fresno, Calif.                                |
| Glouster, Ohio, Central Labor Union                | 1                | 1                              | Robert Marshall, Gloucester, Ohio.  |
| Grand Rapids, Mich., Trades and Labor Council      | 1                | 1                              | Edward Kosten, 538 Curtis St. N. E., Grand Rapids, Mich.                      |
| Hamilton, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council           | 1                | 1                              | Stanley Ogg, 11 Ross Ave., Hamilton, Ohio.                                    |
| Hamilton, Ontario, Can., Trades and Labor Council  | 1                | 1                              | E. W. O'Dell, 20 Rutherford Ave., Hamilton, Ontario, Can.                     |
| Hammond, Ind., Lake County Central Labor Union     | 1                | 1                              | Carl Mullen, 247 Sibley St., Hammond, Ind.                                    |
| Hannibal, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly           | 1                | 1                              | B. F. Brown, Room 15, Holmes Bldg., Hannibal, Mo.                             |
| Herrin, Ill., Trades Council                       | 1                | 1                              | J. W. Ford, 916 S. 13th St., Herrin, Ill.                                     |
| Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union                | 1                | 1                              | John P. Bleasius, 34 Hitchcock St., Holyoke, Mass.                            |
| Houston, Texas, Labor and Trades Council           | 1                | 1                              | L. M. Andler, 4411 Wood St., Houston, Texas.                                  |
| Hutchinson, Kans., Central Labor Union             | 1                | 1                              | Clarence E. Kerns, 902 N. Plumb St., Hutchinson, Kans.                        |
| Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council     | 1                | 1                              | Madge Argo, 405 Grant Ave., Joliet, Ill.                                      |
| Kankakee, Ill., Federation of Labor                | 1                | 1                              | Frank Harrison Smith, 519 S. Lincoln Ave., Kankakee, Ill.                     |
| Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union            | 1                | 1                              | M. J. McSpadden, 751 Stewart Ave., Kansas City, Kans.                         |
| Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union              | 1                | 1                              | C. B. Nelson, 1322 Monroe Ave., Kansas City, Mo.                              |
| Kokomo, Ind., Trades and Labor Council             | 1                | 1                              | Guy Bennett, 719 N. Main St., Kokomo, Ind.                                    |
| Lake Geneva, Wis., Central Labor Union             | 1                | 1                              | C. A. Downes, 1029 Park Row, Lake Geneva, Wis.                                |
| Lexington, Ky., Central Labor Union                | 1                | 1                              | Caleb Utterback, 147 Arceme Ave., Lexington, Ky.                              |
| Linton, Ind., Central Labor Union                  | 1                | 1                              | J. L. Sims, L. Box 161, Linton, Ind.  |
| Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council         | 1                | 1                              | A. W. Muir, Room 203, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Calif.                       |
| Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly  | 1                | 1                              | Robert J. Kaiser, 1014 Ellison Ave., Louisville, Ky.                          |
| Marion, Ohio, Central Labor Union                  | 1                | 1                              | James N. Steele, 596 Miami St., Marion Ohio.                                  |
| Marshall, Texas, Trades Council                    | 1                | 1                              | J. A. Schnorbus, Marshall, Texas.   |
| Middletown, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council         | 1                | 1                              | R. J. Fitzgerald, 109 S. Franklin St., Middletown, Ohio.                      |
| Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council          | 1                | 1                              | Charles Nickolaus, Room 211, Brisbane Hall, 528 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis. |



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| Moberly, Mo., Central Labor Union.....   | 1                | 1                              | David A. Frampton, L. Box 123, Moberly, Mo.                  |
| Muskogee, Okla., Central Labor Union.....  | 1                | 1                              | Levi Lowder, 1307 Ash St., Muskogee, Okla.                   |
| Nashville, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council.....                                      | 1                | 1                              | James P. Ogetree, 212 8th Ave., N., Nashville, Tenn.         |
| Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council.....   | 1                | 1                              | Henry F. Hilfers, 18 Clinton St., Room 3, Newark, N. J.      |
| New Haven, Conn., Trades Council.....  | 1                | 1                              | Ira M. Ornburn, 215 Meadow St., New Haven, Conn.             |
| New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council Greater New York and vicinity..... | 1                | 1                              | John P. Coughlin, 1499 St. Johns Pl., Brooklyn, N. Y.        |
| Niles, Ohio, Trumbull County Central Labor Union.....                                | 1                | 1                              | E. J. Tinney, 308 Custer Ave., Youngstown, Ohio.             |
| Ottawa, Ontario, Can., Trades and Labor Council.....                                 | 1                | 1                              | Frank J. Plant, Department of Labor, Ottawa, Ontario, Can.   |
| Peekskill, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council.....                                      | 1                | 1                              | Wm. W. McKinnon, 110 W. 40th St., New York City.             |
| Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....   | 1                | 1                              | Joseph Lynam, 117 Louisa St., Peoria, Ill.                   |
| Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union.....  | 1                | 1                              | George T. Simmons, 1548 N. Alden St., West Philadelphia, Pa. |
| Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council.....   | 1                | 1                              | John Weitzel, 932 Wabash Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa.              |
| Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union.....  | 1                | 1                              | Walter N. Meloon, 37 Coffins Court, Portsmouth, N. H.        |
| Portsmouth, Ohio, Central Labor Council.....   | 1                | 1                              | Louis C. Herder, 616 6th St., Portsmouth, Ohio.              |
| Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union.....                                      | 1                | 1                              | Christopher M. Dunn, Room 318 State House, Providence, R. I. |
| Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council.....  | 1                | 1                              | A. P. Bower, 105 N. 6th St., Reading, Pa.                    |
| Richmond, Ind., Central Labor Council.....   | 1                | 1                              | Ernest Gable, 827 S. E St., Richmond, Ind.                   |
| St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council.....  | 1                | 1                              | Maurice Ryan, 404 S. 22d St., St. Joseph, Mo.                |
| St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union.....                                  | 1                | 1                              | James B. Conroy, 3100 Cass Ave., St. Louis, Mo.              |
| San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council.....  | 1                | 1                              | Michael Casey, Labor Temple, San Francisco, Calif.           |
| Sandusky, Ohio, Central Labor Union.....   | 1                | 1                              | Albert W. Wobser, R. F. D., No. 2, Sandusky, Ohio.           |
| Schneectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly.....   | 1                | 1                              | John Hourigan, 330 Veeder Ave., Schneectady, N. Y.           |
| Shawnee, Okla., Trades and Labor Assembly.....                                       | 1                | 1                              | Ed. S. Mahan, 401 N. Park St., Shawnee, Okla.                |
| South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....                                  | 1                | 1                              | Jas. J. McAndrews, 175 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.      |
| Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union.....   | 1                | 1                              | George H. Wrenn, 421 Maple St., Springfield, Mass.           |

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| Springfield, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly   | 1                | 1                              | C. W. Rich, 138 W. High St.   |
| Thorold, Ontario, Can., Trades and Labor Council                                       | 1                | 1                              | John Nicol, King St., Box 520, Thorold, Ontario, Can.                   |
| Tiffin, Ohio, Central Labor Union  | 1                | 1                              | Charles Trimmer, care of T. J. Croxall, 113 W. Perry St., Tiffin, Ohio. |
| Toronto, Ontario, Can., District Labor Council   | 1                | 1                              | W. P. Covert, 247 Brock Ave., Toronto, Ontario, Can.                    |
| Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union   | 1                | 1                              | Henry Miller, 606 5th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.                     |
| Washington, Ind., Central Labor Union  | 1                | 1                              | Chas. Whitcomb, 1502 W. Walnut St., Washington, Ind.                    |
| Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor  | 1                | 1                              | George B. McGovern, 110 Hawthorne Ave., Yonkers, N. Y.                  |
| Youngstown, Ohio, United Labor Congress of Mahoning County                             | 1                | 1                              | Harry Dechend, Box, No. 219, Youngstown, Ohio.                          |
| Zanesville, Ohio, Central Trades and Labor Council                                     | 1                | 1                              | Henry F. W. Stehmeyer, care of Box, No. 125, Zanesville, Ohio.          |
| Baggagemen's Union No. 16834, Petersburg, Va.  | 1                | 1                              | Lee A. Holloway, 215 S. South St., Petersburg, Va.                      |
| Bank Employes' Union No. 17394, Cincinnati, Ohio                                       | 1                | 1                              | William E. Colman, 4636 McNeil Ave., Norwood, Ohio.                     |
| Boilermakers' Helpers' Union No. 17430, Columbia, S. C.                                | 1                | 1                              | Jos. N. Boulware, 1922 Hardin St., Columbia, S. C.                      |
| Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646                            | 1                | 3                              | Herman Defrem, 230 E. 58th St., New York, N. Y.                         |
| Cement Workers' Local No. 15595, Hartshorne, Okla.                                     | 1                | 1                              | Alfred E. Allen, Hartshorne, Okla.                                      |
| Chicago Court Reporters' Federation No. 14171, Chicago, Ill.                           | 1                | 1                              | Grace H. Harte, Suite 501, 21 N. La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.            |
| Cloth Examiners and Shrinkers' Union No. 11680, New York City                          | 1                | 3                              | Joseph F. Mezzacapo, 1123 Broadway, New York City.                      |
| Federal Labor Union No. 16707, New Albany, Ind.  | 1                | 1                              | Chas. Hixon, 45 W. 8th St., New Albany, Ind.                            |
| Federal Labor Union No. 17064, Cordale, Ga.  | 1                | 1                              | Sandy Colmon, 515 8th Ave., Cordale Ga.                                 |
| Film Exchange Employes' Union No. 16169, St. Louis, Mo.                                | 1                | 1                              | John Caporal, 4174 Delmar Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.                         |
| Freight Handlers' Union No. 16220, Richmond, Va.                                       | 1                | 2                              | Robt. E. Burford, 307 W. Baker St., Richmond, Va.                       |
| Freight Handlers and Helpers' Union No. 16324, Charleston, S. C.                       | 1                | 1                              | Harry Bryan, 27 Drake St., Charleston, S. C.                            |
| Freight Handlers' Union No. 16381, Baltimore, Md.                                      | 1                | 1                              | William Carter, 13414 N. Carey St., Baltimore, Md.                      |
| Freight Handlers' (Railroad) and Station Employes' Union No. 16385, Huntington, W. Va. | 1                | 1                              | Clarence McCoy, 905 2d Ave., Huntington, W. Va.                         |
| Freight Handlers' Union No. 16413, St. Louis, Mo.                                      | 1                | 1                              | James Hubbard, 4239 W. Bell Ave., St. Louis, Mo.                        |
| Freight Handlers' Union No. 16439, Jacksonville, Fla.                                  | 1                | 1                              | Chas. L. White, 1433 Davis St., Jacksonville, Fla.                      |

| ORGANIZATIONS.   | No. of Delegates | No. of Votes for Each Delegate | NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.   |
|--|------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Freight Handlers' (Interior) Union No. 16465, New Orleans, La.....                                 | 1                | 1                              | Clarence C. Tunnage, 2831 Magnolia St., New Orleans, La.   |
| Freight Handlers' Union No. 16982, Winston-Salem, N. C.....  | 1                | 1                              | Jordan Rogers, 131 Salem St., Winston Salem, N. C.   |
| Freight Handlers' Local No. 17025, Lynchburg, Va.....  | 1                | 1                              | Peter Stratton, 606 10th St., Lynchburg, Va.   |
| Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes' Union No. 17157, Greenville, S. C.....             | 1                | 1                              | S. P. Davis, 271 Markley St., Greenville, S. C.  |
| Freight Handlers' Union No. 17316, Cincinnati, Ohio.....   | 1                | 1                              | Joseph L. Anderson, 624 Richmond St., Cincinnati, Ohio.  |
| Freight Handlers' Union No. 17413, New Orleans, La.....  | 1                | 1                              | Frank Williams, 119 North Priens, New Orleans, La.   |
| Freight Handlers' Union No. 17451, Alexandria, Va.....   | 1                | 1                              | Robert Butler, 225 N. West St., Alexandria, Va.  |
| Freight Handlers' Union No. 17540, Alexandria, La.....   | 1                | 1                              | Arthur Stewart, 1625 10th St., Alexandria, La.   |
| Freight Handlers' Union No. 17555, Portsmouth, Va.....   | 1                | 1                              | Ambrose Harris, 2931 County St., Portsmouth, Va.   |
| Freight Handlers and Station Employes' Union No. 17600, Waycross, Ga.....                          | 1                | 1                              | Thomas J. Milton, R. F. D., No. 5, Box, No. 68, Waycross, Ga.                                    |
| Horse Nail Makers' Union No. 17490, Buffalo, N. Y.....   | 1                | 1                              | Chandler F. Fizer, 242 Prospect Ave., Buffalo, N. Y.   |
| Library Employes' Union No. 15590, New York City.....  | 1                | 1                              | Marcella Malone, 184 W. 82d St., New York City.  |
| Newspaper Carriers' Protective Union No. 15289, Cincinnati, Ohio.....                              | 1                | 1                              | B. M. Smyth, 896 Lexington Ave. (Avondale), Cincinnati, Ohio.                                    |
| Office Employes' Association No. 12755, Chicago, Ill.....  | 1                | 5                              | Olive Sullivan, 166 W. Washington St., care of Illinois State Federation of Labor, Chicago, Ill. |
| Railroad Coach and Station Cleaners and Porters' Union No. 16626, Cincinnati, Ohio.....            | 1                | 1                              | E. F. Latimore, 1207 W. 7th St., Cincinnati, Ohio.   |
| Railroad Laborers' Union No. 17535, Tampa, Fla.....  | 1                | 1                              | H. Hawkins, 310 N. Willow Ave., Tampa, Fla.  |
| Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872, Chicago, Ill.....                                | 1                | 1                              | Geo. Rincker, General Delivery, Villa Park, Ill.   |
| Slate Workers' Union No. 15159, Granville, N. Y.....   | 1                | 3                              | Owen W. Jones, 31 Potter Ave., Granville, N. Y.  |
| Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.....     | 1                | 1                              | E. C. Scott, 227 S. Pitt St., Alexandria, Va.  |
| Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 13188, San Francisco, Calif..... | 1                | 3                              | Frederick W. Ely, 1907 Leavenworth St., San Francisco, Calif.                                    |
| Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 15002, Cincinnati, Ohio.....     | 1                | 1                              | Karl Wulff, 8 Clinton Court, Covington, Ky.  |

## DELEGATES TO THE FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION

| ORGANIZATIONS.   | No. of Delegates | No. of Votes for each Delegate | NAME AND ADDRESS OF DELEGATES.                                    |
|--|------------------|--------------------------------|---|
| Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union No. 14581, New York, N. Y. | 1                | 1                              | Morris Feinstone, 604 Howard Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.                |
| Watchmen's Union No. 13130, Cincinnati, Ohio.....                  | 1                | 1                              | Wm. Mocerf, 608 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.                     |
| British Trades and Labor Congress.....                             | 2                | 1                              | E. L. Poulton, 34 Gullford St., London, W. C. England.            |
|  |                  | 1                              | H. Smith, Miners' Office, Barnsley, Yorks, England.               |
| Canadian Trades and Labor Congress                                 | 1                | 1                              | Ernest Robinson, Trades Hall, James St., Winnipeg, Manitoba, Can. |
| Mexican Federation of Labor.....                                   | 1                | 1                              | Canute A. Vargas, 207 A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.        |
| Women's International Union Label League.....                      |                  |                                | Anna Fitzgerald, 24 S. Waller Ave., Chicago, Ill.                 |
| National Women's Trade Union League of A.....                      |                  |                                | Mary V. Halas, 64 W. Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.                  |

| Number of Unions. | NAME                            | Number of Delegates. | Number of Votes. |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| 95                | National and International..... | 287                  | 31,283           |
| 5                 | Departments.....                | 5                    | 5                |
| 36                | States.....                     | 30                   | 30               |
| 91                | Central.....                    | 91                   | 91               |
| 39                | Trades and Federal Unions.....  | 39                   | 52               |
| 5                 | Fraternal Organizations.....    | 6                    | 4                |
| 265               |                                 | 458                  | 31,465           |

# List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

| 1909. Samuel Gompers.             |                     | 1911. James Duncan. | 1913. George W. Perkins |        |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|--------|
|                                   |                     | *1915.              | *1917.                  |        |
| To British Trades Union Congress. |                     |                     |                         |        |
| 1895                              | Samuel Gompers.     | 1905                | John A. Moffitt.        | **1915 |
|                                   | P. J. McGuire.      |                     | James Wood.             |        |
| 1896                              | J. W. Sullivan.     | 1906                | Frank K. Foster.        | 1916   |
|                                   | Adolph Strasser.    |                     | James Wilson.           | 1916   |
| 1897                              | Martin Fox.         | 1907                | John T. Dempsey.        | 1917   |
|                                   | Geo. E. McNeill.    |                     | W. E. Klapetzky.        | 1917   |
| 1898                              | James Duncan.       | 1908                | Andrew Furuseuth.       | 1918   |
|                                   | Harry Lloyd.        |                     | James J. Creamer.       | 1918   |
| 1899                              | James O'Connell.    | 1909                | John P. Frey.           | 1919   |
|                                   | Thomas F. Tracy.    |                     | B. A. Larger.           | 1919   |
| 1900                              | J. M. Hunter.       | 1910                | W. B. Wilson.           | 1920   |
|                                   | Sidney J. Keet.     |                     | T. V. O'Connor.         | 1920   |
| 1901                              | Daniel J. Keefe.    |                     | Wm. B. Macfarlane.      | 1921   |
|                                   | Eugene F. O'Rourke. | 1911                | Daniel J. Tobin.        | 1921   |
| 1902                              | Patrick Dolan.      | 1912                | George L. Berry.        | 1922   |
|                                   | Henry Blackmore.    |                     | John H. Walker.         | 1922   |
| 1903                              | Max S. Hayes.       | 1913                | Chas. L. Baine.         | 1923   |
|                                   | Martin Lawlor.      |                     | Louis Kemper.           | 1923   |
| 1904                              | W. D. Ryan.         | *1914               | W. D. Mahon.            | 1917   |
|                                   | D. D. Driscoll.     |                     | Matthew Woll.           | 1917   |

## From British Trades Union Congress.

|      |                     |      |                      |        |
|------|---------------------|------|----------------------|--------|
| 1894 | John Burns.         | 1904 | William Abraham.     | **1914 |
|      | David Holmes.       |      | James Wignall.       |        |
| 1895 | Edward Cowey.       | 1905 | William Mosses.      | 1915   |
|      | James Mawdsley.     |      | David Gilmour.       | 1915   |
| 1896 | Sam Woods.          |      | Allen Gee.           | 1916   |
|      | John Mallinson.     | 1906 | J. N. Bell.          | 1916   |
|      | Edward Harford.     |      | David J. Shackleton. | 1917   |
| 1897 | J. Havelock Wilson. | 1907 | John Hodge.          | 1918   |
|      | William Inskip.     |      | John Wadsworth.      | **1918 |
| 1898 | William Thorne.     | 1908 | H. Skinner.          | 1918   |
|      | James Haslam.       |      | A. H. Gill.          | 1919   |
| 1899 | Alexander Wilkie.   | 1909 | J. R. Clynes.        | 1919   |
|      | John Weir.          |      | W. Brace.            | 1920   |
| 1900 | Pete Curran.        | 1910 | Ben. Turner.         | 1920   |
|      | Frank Chandler.     |      | G. H. Roberts.       | 1921   |
| 1901 | Ben Tillett.        | 1911 | J. Crinion.          | 1921   |
|      | M. Arrandale.       |      | J. A. Seddon.        | 1922   |
| 1902 | E. Edwards.         | 1912 | R. Smillie.          | 1922   |
|      | William Mullin.     |      | I. H. Gwynne.        |        |
| 1903 | James O'Grady.      | 1913 | T. Greenall.         |        |

## To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

|      |                    |      |                    |      |                      |
|------|--------------------|------|--------------------|------|----------------------|
| 1898 | Thomas I. Kidd.    | 1907 | Robert S. Maloney. | 1916 | Harry P. Corcoran.   |
| 1899 | James H. Sullivan. | 1908 | Hugh Frazer.       | 1917 | Emanuel Koveleski.   |
| 1900 | W. D. Mahon.       | 1909 | Jerome Jones.      | 1918 | Stuart H. Hayward.   |
| 1901 | John R. O'Brien.   | 1910 | John J. Manning.   | 1919 | Sam Griggs.          |
| 1902 | D. D. Driscoll.    | 1911 | Wm. J. Tracy.      | 1920 | W. G. Shea.          |
| 1903 | John Coleman.      | 1912 | John T. Smith.     | 1921 | John O'Hara.         |
| 1904 | John H. Richards.  | 1913 | Wm. J. McSorley.   | 1922 | William E. Hulsbeck. |
| 1905 | Frank Feeney.      | 1914 | M. M. Donoghue.    | 1923 | Walter N. Reddick.   |
| 1906 | Thomas A. Rickert. | 1915 | H. J. Conway.      |      |                      |

## From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

|      |                    |      |                   |      |                     |
|------|--------------------|------|-------------------|------|---------------------|
| 1898 | David A. Carey.    | 1907 | W. R. Trotter.    | 1916 | Thomas A. Stevenson |
| 1899 | David A. Carey.    | 1908 | P. M. Draper.     | 1917 | Wm. Lodge.          |
| 1900 | David A. Carey.    | 1909 | F. Bancroft.      | 1918 | Thos. Moore.        |
| 1901 | P. M. Draper.      | 1910 | R. P. Pettipiece. | 1919 | J. M. Walsh.        |
| 1902 | John H. Kennedy.   | 1911 | Wm. Glocking.     | 1920 | J. A. McClellan.    |
| 1903 | James Simpson.     | 1912 | John W. Bruce.    | 1921 | U. M. F. Bush.      |
| 1904 | John A. Flett.     | 1913 | Gus Franqu.       | 1922 | Ernest Robinson.    |
| 1905 | William V. Todd.   | 1914 | R. A. Rigg.       |      |                     |
| 1906 | Samuel L. Landers. | 1915 | Fred Bancroft.    |      |                     |

\*No convention.

\*\*No delegates

\*\*\*Delegates did not attend.

## Conventions of American Federation of Labor

| Year. | City and State.      | Date.           |
|-------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1881  | Pittsburgh, Pa.      | December 15-18. |
| 1882  | Cleveland, Ohio      | November 21-24. |
| 1883  | New York, N. Y.      | August 21-24.   |
| 1884  | Chicago, Ill.        | October 7-10.   |
| 1885  | Washington, D. C.    | December 8-11.  |
| 1886  | Columbus, Ohio       | December 8-12.  |
| 1887  | Baltimore, Md.       | December 13-17. |
| 1888  | St. Louis, Mo.       | December 11-15. |
| 1889  | Boston, Mass.        | December 10-14. |
| 1890  | Detroit, Mich.       | December 8-13.  |
| 1891  | Birmingham, Ala.     | December 14-19. |
| 1892  | Philadelphia, Pa.    | December 12-17. |
| 1893  | Chicago, Ill.        | December 11-19. |
| 1894  | Denver, Colo.        | December 10-18. |
| 1895  | New York, N. Y.      | December 9-17.  |
| 1896  | Cincinnati, Ohio     | December 14-21. |
| 1897  | Nashville, Tenn.     | December 13-21. |
| 1898  | Kansas City, Mo.     | December 12-20. |
| 1899  | Detroit, Mich.       | December 11-20. |
| 1900  | Louisville, Ky.      | December 6-15.  |
| 1901  | Scranton, Pa.        | December 5-14.  |
| 1902  | New Orleans, La.     | November 13-22. |
| 1903  | Boston, Mass.        | November 9-23.  |
| 1904  | San Francisco, Cal.  | November 14-26. |
| 1905  | Pittsburgh, Pa.      | November 13-25. |
| 1906  | Minneapolis, Minn.   | November 12-24. |
| 1907  | Norfolk, Va.         | November 11-23. |
| 1908  | Denver, Colo.        | November 9-21.  |
| 1909  | Toronto, Ont., Can.  | November 8-20.  |
| 1910  | St. Louis, Mo.       | November 14-26. |
| 1911  | Atlanta, Ga.         | November 13-25. |
| 1912  | Rochester, N. Y.     | November 11-23. |
| 1913  | Seattle, Wash.       | November 10-22. |
| 1914  | Philadelphia, Pa.    | November 9-21.  |
| 1915  | San Francisco, Cal.  | November 8-22.  |
| 1916  | Baltimore, Md.       | November 13-25. |
| 1917  | Buffalo, N. Y.       | November 12-24. |
| 1918  | St. Paul, Minn.      | June 10-20.     |
| 1919  | Atlantic City, N. J. | June 9-23.      |
| 1920  | Montreal, Que., Can. | June 7-19.      |
| 1921  | Denver, Colo.        | June 13-25.     |
| 1922  | Cincinnati, Ohio     | June 12-24.     |

# CONSTITUTION

## OF THE

# AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1922-1923

### PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

### CONSTITUTION.

#### ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

#### ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to

aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

#### ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 a. m., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

SEC. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 3. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels; seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Boycotts; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

SEC. 4. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine is necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

SEC. 5. Resolutions of any character or propositions for changes in this Constitution can not be introduced after the second day's session, except by unanimous consent.

SEC. 6. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 7. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 8. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populist, Prohibition, or any other, shall have

no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 9. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

Sec. 10. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

Sec. 11. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

#### ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in, other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions.

Sec. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31 preceding the Annual Convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled, by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body violating this section.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

#### ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of December succeeding the Convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

#### ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the Annual Convention; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary, and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

#### ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY.

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers, and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Secretary at the Annual Convention, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of secretaries and organizers.



Sec. 2. The Secretary shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the Annual Convention may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation and pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$2,000 for current expenses, which money shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 3. The Secretary shall submit to the Auditing Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

Sec. 4. The Secretary shall give a bond of \$2,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation, through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. The Secretary shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations, containing a statement of their membership in good standing, and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

#### ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF TREASURER

SECTION 1. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property, and securities of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary or other officers of the American Federation of Labor. All funds of the American Federation of Labor exceeding fifteen thousand dollars shall be deposited by the Treasurer in bank, or banks, on interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor, and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Treasurer, the President, and Secretary of the Federation. The Treasurer shall collect the interest on all such certificates or other deposit at the expiration of each six months and pay the same over to the Secretary. The Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks, in the name of the American Federation of Labor as Treasurer, all amounts in his possession not on certificates of deposit, and before any money thus deposited can be drawn each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Sec. 2. The Treasurer shall pay, through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others.

Sec. 3. The Treasurer shall submit to the Annual Convention, through the report of the Executive Council, a complete statement

of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books, and papers of the Federation under his control; and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in such sum as the Executive Council may determine. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$500.

#### ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

Sec. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be \$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$8.00 per day when traveling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers, or other persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council, other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

SEC. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

SEC. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National, or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided, that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular Convention of the American Federation of Labor, by a roll-call vote.

#### ARTICLE X.—REVENUE.

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, twenty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout; Local Unions, the majority of whose members are less than eighteen (18) years of age, five cents per member per month; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and state bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly.

SEC. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the Annual Convention unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in section 1. Article X, has been paid in full to August 31 preceding the Convention.

SEC. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when

such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

#### ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES.

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body. National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter, subject to appeal to the next Convention.

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exists. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

SEC. 3. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body or delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, on strike, or take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organizations have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have authority or power to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies indorse and order the placing of an unfair list until the Local Union desiring the same has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central body for investigation, and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement. Violation of this section shall forfeit charter.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an

International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

Sec. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

Sec. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the Local Department.

Sec. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; 100 members or less, 3 delegates; 250 members or less, 4 delegates; 500 members or less, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

#### ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

Sec. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

#### ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS.

SECTION 1. The money of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

Sec. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized

to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

Sec. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute; what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

Sec. 4. No Local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

Sec. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (\$7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

Sec. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

Sec. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

Sec. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

Sec. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits, and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

Sec. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

Sec. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

Sec. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than seventy-five (75) cents per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

Sec. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

Sec. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 or more than \$10.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of 25 cents for reinstatement stamp.

Sec. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

Sec. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union shall disband so long as seven members desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor.

#### ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS.

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation,

by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 2. Seven wage-workers of good character, following any trade or calling, who are favorable to Trade Unions, whose trade or calling is not organized, and are not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trade Union movement, and shall have power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation; provided, the request for a certificate be indorsed by the nearest Local or National Trade Union office also connected with this Federation, but not more than three Federal Labor Unions shall be chartered in any one city. Employers who are working for wages, may, upon regular ballot, be admitted to membership in Federal Labor or Local Unions, directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, subject to the approval of the President of the American Federation of Labor. Such members shall not attend meetings of the unions or have a vote in controlling the affairs of the unions; they must comply with the scale of wages and rules adopted by the union of which they are members. The President of the American Federation of Labor shall have authority to appoint any person who is a member of any affiliated union to audit the accounts of such Federal Labor or Local Trade Unions as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct and report the result thereof to the President of the American Federation of Labor. The books and accounts of each Federal Labor and Local Trade Union shall be at all times open to the inspection of auditors appointed under this section.

Sec. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

Sec. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

Sec. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

Sec. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

#### ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

Sec. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 3. To be entitled to representation in Local Councils, or Railway System Federations of departments, Local Unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments, or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, Department, Local Councils, and Railway System Federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

Sec. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be

made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of December immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council of each department shall consist of not more than seven members, including the executive officer or officers thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

Sec. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

Sec. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the conventions.

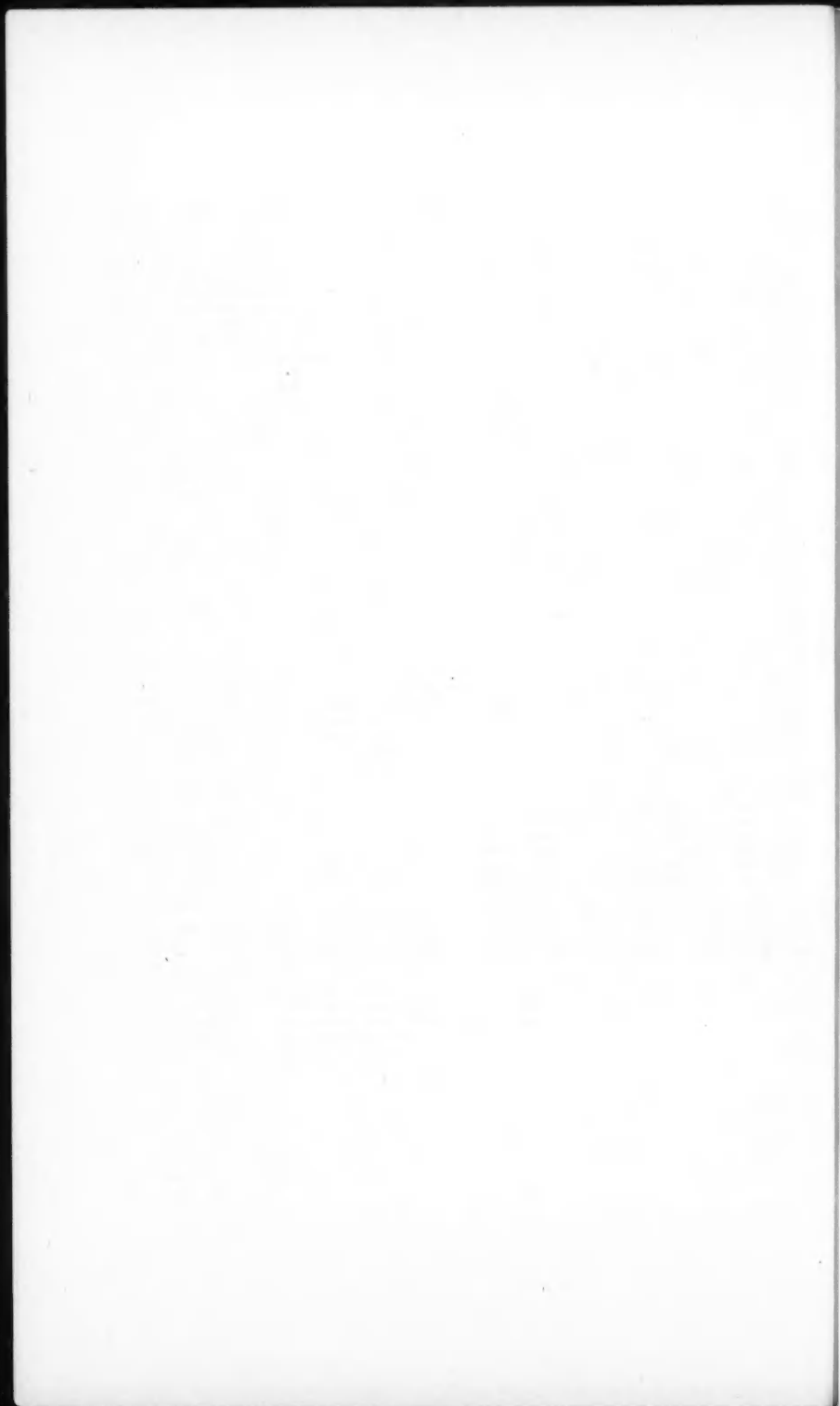
Sec. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

Sec. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

#### ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.



**Forty-Second Annual Convention**  
OF THE  
**American Federation of Labor**  
**1922**

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**REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS**

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**FIRST DAY—Monday Morning Session**

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 12, 1922.

Pursuant to the law, the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 o'clock a. m., by Mr. Adolph Kummer, President Cincinnati Central Labor Council, representing the local convention committee.

**REV. PETER E. DIETZ**

Director, American Academy of  
Christian Democracy

You have come together in this city, trade union representatives from all over the land, to exercise the rights and to share the responsibilities of the great American Union Parliament. You stand ready, in the name of God, to begin. For you and for your constituents I appeal to the God who rules the universe to witness the justice of your cause and the rectitude of your intentions. I appeal to Him to preside in your councils, to supply your defects, to bless all your efforts for the preservation and extension of the liberties and prosperities of the American people.

Great deeds do not come from indecision or inaction. Your purpose is to decide and to act. Power without truth and wisdom, even though supported by majorities leads but to anarchy. God give to you His inspiration, His truth and His guiding power! The freedom to fulfill your human destinies, the liberty to serve mankind cannot be achieved and preserved without vigilance. May God keep you, as you have been, the minute-men of American liberties!

The noblest purposes are wrecked through imprudence; prudent men abide both the time and the circumstance. God grant that more and more there shall rise from your ranks the noblest statesmen of the future! Justice is the foundation of empire, without it no law will stand and no government is secure. This justice we implore at Thy hands, Supreme Judge of the world! Fortitude is the finest test of manhood; to suffer and to wait while the ends of justice are in the balance, to be strong in adversity, this fortitude, oh God do Thou bestow upon Thy servants here assembled that they may go forth once more, bearing aloft the burdens of men, with spirit unbroken! Men have been strong in defeat and weak in victory.

To be temperate, to be magnanimous when victory comes, when you shall wipe away the tears of the fatherless and the widows, when the weak and needy shall be lifted up from their lowliness—the fruits of victory long delayed—unto that day, oh Loving Father, prepare in our hearts the virtue of victory!

We pray Thee, Father, through Christ Our Lord, to stir up in this assembly the spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the spirit of counsel and fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and of godliness, the spirit of the fear of the Lord! Come, Thou Holy Spirit and fill our hearts that we may be created anew to renovate the face of the earth. Give us peace in this Thy day, remove from us the rumors, the tumults, the agonies of civil and industrial strife, and make Thou, O God, secure the borders of the nations.

Go now to your tasks, ye men of labor, with the hope of all these things in your hearts. God and all good men are with you. The blessing of The Almighty, The Father, The Son and The Holy Spirit descend upon you and abide with you forever. Amen.

Chairman Kummer: Mr. President, Officers and Delegates to the Forty-second Annual Convention, Ladies and Gentlemen: In behalf of organized labor of Cincinnati and vicinity I extend to you a hearty and sincere welcome. Organized labor of Cincinnati and vicinity feels honored by your presence. We feel that your presence in your city will be of vital benefit, not only to the toilers of this district, but to all the toilers of this great country of ours.

The local movement of organized men and women is most loyal to the principles laid down by the American Federation of Labor, and also most loyal to this great country of ours. Besides having a good, sound, healthy local movement we have a number of international officers located in our city, men whose names are not only well known throughout this nation, but are known on the other side of the pond. Here are our good friends Frey and Jim Wilson, who are always ready to work with the local labor movement in order to accomplish something good for the toilers. Hubert Marshall is an old war-horse in the labor movement, and so is Jere L. Sullivan, and also, and not least, the officers of the Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers—I have forgotten the rest of the name—and I am frank to admit that years ago, when it was plain "United Brewery Workers," I was a little bit more

chesty about that charter than I am today.

The element that shouts so loud and accomplishes so little, the element that is always ready to throw a stone, the element that would rather tear down than to build up, does not exist to any extent among the organized workers of Cincinnati. The outlook for labor may not be as rosy as we would like to see it. But let us promise here today that we will hold fast to the principles laid down by the American Federation of Labor and send the word to our enemies that we are not ready now and never will be ready to surrender or stop until victory is inscribed upon our banner.

Let us hope and pray that your work, your deliberations while in our city will be crowned with results and be of lasting benefit to mankind. May providence in its wisdom arrange matters so as to allow the American Federation of Labor to accomplish a world of good for the toilers.

Our local organization has provided some entertainment for the convention, and I say with great pride that every nickel expended for entertainment has come out of the pockets of the trade unionists. Not one penny has been received from any other source. We will try to make your stay a pleasant one, so that when you leave you will all want to come back.

**ADDRESS OF HONORABLE  
GEORGE P. CARREL  
Mayor of Cincinnati**

Mr. Chairman, President Gompers, Members of the American Federation of Labor and Guests: Cincinnati welcomes you on this, the occasion of your annual convention, with a smile of anticipation and arms extended, because this is an age conspicuous for results obtained by conference, mediation and concessions. That which in ages of ignorance and inexperience was sought by force and conquest is now reached and held by the spirit of mutual understanding and good will. Realizing this new era, we of Cincinnati are proud that our beloved city is chosen of the place of meeting for this distinguished body of citizens. We understand your arrival is preceded by the avowed hope of reaching agreements and rules of conduct conducive to the best service of the public and the individual welfare of us all alike. I can imagine no more exalted and lofty ambition than that which moves the forces of labor and the capital to co-operate for economic



welfare and for equal opportunity. I know you will do your part.

As to our future, I am most optimistic. I believe in American men and women, no matter what their status. I believe we shall reach a standard of business and social morals in our relationships with each other that cannot help but promote the common good; that standard must be but another expression of the divinely inspired Golden Rule. With that thought in mind, President Gompers, and gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor, I voice for our splendid citizenship a most hearty and cordial welcome to our city.

Cincinnati is one of the foremost of American cities; it is most effective in the care of its people, thereby creating among all the people a spirit of satisfaction which must of necessity result in general happiness and prosperity. During your visit with us we would have you become familiar with our unrivaled topographic attractiveness. I trust that your deliberations at all times will be held under the most pleasant and comfortable conditions. We would have you reach new heights of voicing your final judgment. Cincinnati would have you moved by the feeling that this has been the most satisfactory convention in all your history. We would have the world applaud your conclusions, feeling that substantial steps have been taken by you for the betterment of all the people, not only under the dominion of the Stars and Stripes, but in all other nations as well. May you be divinely and patriotically inspired.

With these few words, President Gompers, and gentlemen of the Federation, permit me again to extend to you the hearty handclasp of welcome and good fellowship. Ladies and gentlemen, the city of Cincinnati is yours!

**ADDRESS OF HONORABLE  
CHARLES HARDING**

**County Commissioner, Hamilton  
County**

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Gompers, Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: I welcome you in behalf of the people of Hamilton County, which I have the honor to represent. I hope your deliberations will be of the most pleasing character, and that your contentions and differences will be ironed out to your satisfaction and in the way that will bring the greatest good to the greatest number. This is an epochal convention; the eyes of the industrial world are undoubtedly centered upon

the city of Cincinnati and your deliberations and actions.

Cincinnati is a conservative city, and I hope this atmosphere will permeate this hall during your deliberations. No class of men, no set of citizens were ever united under more splendid leadership for one common cause than you good men and true in our recent war for the protection of our government. No one class, no one faction, no one organization banded together did more to crush the serpent head of sedition and treason than you good men. Faithfully did you follow your leaders and our government was vindicated by a glorious victory. So I ask, in the spirit of fair-play, in the spirit of the toilers who are looking to you leaders, that you exercise the best judgment for the greatest good of the community, that you give consideration to the spirit of conservatism, that spirit of get-together that has always appealed to the just and fair-minded.

I again wish you godspeed in your deliberations, and extend to you again a hearty welcome of the citizens of Hamilton county. I hope that in your future action you will go about your work with the same degree of decision and fairness that have always actuated you.

**ADDRESS OF HONORABLE  
THOMAS J. DONNELLY**

**Secretary, Ohio State Federation  
of Labor**

Mr. Chairman, President of the American Federation of Labor, Members of the Executive Council, Delegates, Fellow-workers and Friends: It is indeed a privilege this morning and a pleasant duty which devolves upon me as an officer of the Ohio State Federation of Labor to extend to you on behalf of the officers and members of the State Federation a welcome to this Buckeye State. This is a State that was carved from the Northwest Territory, created by an act of Congress through the ordinance of 1787, which provided that within the confines of the Northwest Territory there should never exist slavery and that involuntary servitude should not be permitted except as a punishment for the commission of crime; a State, Mr. President and delegates of this convention, which has in all the wars of the Republic given from its sons the soldiers to preserve liberty; and when the call to arms was made to abolish slavery in this country and preserve this union of States, from Ohio, with a population

of about two million inhabitants, there was marshaled into the Grand Army of the Republic over 300,000 soldiers.

So today in welcoming you in the name of the State Federation of Labor of Ohio, I desire to say that there is marshaled in this State under the banner of the American Federation of Labor 300,000 working men and women who have dedicated their lives to these principles of political and industrial liberty; and we pledge you here upon this occasion that neither by industrial processes, so-called industrial courts, or conspiracy upon the part of certain labor-crushing employers will we permit involuntary servitude or industrial slavery to maintain in this Commonwealth of Ohio.

We welcome you here today to the State of Ohio, a State which has, by a vote of the people, placed in the fundamental law of the State, the constitution, a provision for the initiative and referendum. We welcome you to a State which has placed in its constitution, and followed it by legislative enactment, a compensation law which says to the profit-mongers of the world: "You have no place in handling workmen's compensation, but society, working through the State, shall eliminate profit and liability insurance companies."

We welcome you to a State which we think ranks with the foremost States of America in its legislation providing for compulsory education. We welcome you to a State which has abolished child labor. We welcome you to a State which has passed protective and beneficial legislation for the women toilers, limiting the hours of labor to not more than nine in one day and no more than fifty in one week.

And we have accomplished these things, my friends, through working in an orderly manner as a State branch of the American Federation of Labor. We trust that while this convention is assembled there will be ample opportunities for the delegates to view from a local standpoint the conditions of labor in Ohio, and that you will find in this community an opportunity to observe the effect of our school laws and our child labor laws.

In closing I wish to bid you, each and every one, a constant and repeated welcome to Ohio, and I believe the sentiment expressed in these few lines is much better than anything which might originate with myself. I therefore would say:

That whether you come in the evening  
or you come in the morning,  
Whether you come when you're asked  
or you come without warning,  
That a welcome you'll find here before  
you,  
And the oftener you come the more  
we'll adore you.

Chairman Kummer: This concludes the work of the local committee. I will now hand the gavel to a man who will use it with wisdom and dignity, Mr. Samuel Gompers, the Grand Old Man of the American Federation of Labor.

#### ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT GOMPERS.

Mr. Chairman, President of the Central Labor Council, Mr. Mayor, Mr. Commissioner, Mr. Donnelly, friends and fellow delegates, let me, on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, extend to you a most hearty welcome to this convention hall, and thank you for the welcome you have extended to this convention in your wonderful city and State—not only a welcome, but the expression of your abiding faith in the effort to attain our high goal, noble purpose and the stature of fully developed manhood and womanhood. We thank you most heartily.

In a day like this it is most encouraging to have come from your hearts and minds the expression of hope and the offer of service. The toiling masses of America have few traditions of old, as have the toilers of older countries and older civilizations; but in our own America we have emerged from a condition of servitude to understanding by the great mass of the toilers of America of the sovereignty of the citizenship, of the equality of opportunity which must come to the great toiling masses of America.

We do not becloud our minds, nor do we fool ourselves into any fancied security as to the obstacles which have been and are being thrown across our pathway of progress. On the contrary, we understand the designers and those who carry the designs into effect to weaken the spirit or to crush the hopes of American labor for absolute freedom—we understand them and their purpose just as keenly as they do, and we are just as ready, and perhaps much more so, than are the antagonists of the

rightful cause and course of the American labor movement. We shall go onward and forward free men as ordained by God and by nature, and as declared in that sacred document, the Declaration of Independence, and rooted in the Constitution of the United States. We are men and women created with certain inalienable rights, the right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and we are now more determined than ever that the men of toil shall not be depicted by that wonderful painting, "The Man with the Hoe."

And this American labor movement, organized as it is, believes in these great principles enunciated in that world-famed, historic and sacred document; and we are not in a mood to have those rights and those principles guaranteed to us by our constitution taken from us by any subtle reasoning or assumption of power, no matter whence it emanates.

I shall not attempt to anticipate the legislation, the proceedings of this convention. I may be permitted to say that these will be told in the report of the Executive Council, which will be submitted to this convention, and by the resolutions introduced or adopted by the convention. But I may take cognizance of just one remark made by His Honor, the Mayor, which in my judgment—and I think you will agree with me—is the keynote of that which we have to do today.

The Mayor referred to this gathering as a conference, and if my memory serves me well, he added that conferences are the great distinctive advance which has been made by the human family as against the exercise of force to compel obedience to the will of one. Amen to that and to that declaration. This is a conference or a congress of the chosen representatives of the rank and file of the men and women of toil who are working today in all fields of human industrial activity, and they come here with a mandate and credentials of their constituents to express the views and principles in which they so heartily believe, and the aspirations which they so devoutly aim should be accomplished.

We meet here in annual convention for the purpose of arriving at results which shall represent the composite, average view of the toiling masses of America. In our trades unions, in our other labor organizations, in our city central bodies, our State federations, our national and international trade unions, what we ask of employers is that they sit with us around the table, not in any jug handle movement inaugu-

rated by themselves in which they dominate in fact and in spirit, but to meet in conference with us and there around the table, they as employers and we as workers, the chosen representatives of the workers, to discuss, to ascertain and determine, for some reasonable period at least, an agreement governing the matters which affect both factors of industry, and not forgetting the rights of employers and of business, but having as the most essential consideration the human equation in industry. We want conferences.

Our adversaries term their antagonistic movement the "open-shop," or, cloak it hypocritically, the "American Plan," robbing patriotism of its most glorious name to commit a devilish act. There can be no genuine conference between employers and employees unless the employees stand upon an equal footing of responsibility and power, fearless of the lash of unemployment or discharge because of their consistent attitude toward the people they represent.

For the first time in the world a conference was held a few months ago in the capital city of our nation, called to discuss a limitation of armaments of the nations of the world. Men and women of this convention, let me call your attention to a fact which may have escaped your notice. At our Denver convention the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, in a report our Council submitted, recommended that the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled should call upon the officers of the American government to invite the nations of the world to a conference for the purpose of discussing how far the limitation of armaments could go. And our convention did make that declaration. It was almost a month later when the government of the United States sent its invitations to the nations of the world to attend an international conference in our capital for the limitation of armaments.

There were not very good results accomplished, counted with that which still exists, but a beginning has been made, and the consistent course presented by the American Federation of Labor for peace and the abolition of international war has been sustained, though to a smaller degree than we hoped by that Washington conference. Some battleships are to be destroyed, some other smaller craft, and a ten years' naval holiday is to be observed. I don't know how many of you are fight fans, but I think those of you who have been

at boxing matches know that you have seen just as hard matches among bantams as among heavy weights, and that applies equally to the dreadnaughts as to the little submarine chasers. I think I am doing but scant justice to the claims of organized labor when I say that in every country in the world it has made the greatest contribution toward that purpose.

Your Honor, in a great incident and epoch of our human history one great character said, "They know not what they do." And when you said that Cincinnati from now on is ours, that expression of the great long ago came to my mind. However, I think I may say, from long years of experience and contact with the men and women who make up the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, that your confidence and generosity will not be abused, but, on the contrary, when we leave at the conclusion of our labors, as you have asked us to come back again and come back soon, we will have left no nasty taste in the mouths of the people of this great city.

It is now twenty-six years since we met in convention here, and twenty-six years from now—that will be in 1948 and I am seventy-two now—I hope to be with you. In any event I want you to know that if I am not with you in 1948—well, it won't be my fault.

I feel that there is much to say, even in these preliminary remarks at the opening of our convention, but I also feel that our time is exceedingly precious, and I shall therefore say no more now than to again express the deep feeling of appreciation and gratitude for the welcome given us and the words of hope and encouragement which have fallen from your lips.

I now call to order the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Mahon in the chair.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Cook, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 12, 1922.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-second Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor:

Your Credentials Committee, duly appointed by President Gompers, as provided by Section 4, Article 3, of the

Constitution, herewith submits the following partial report:

We have examined the credentials of 444 delegates, representing 94 International and National Unions, 4 Departments, 27 State Branches, 87 Central Bodies, 39 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and 4 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

Actors and Artists of America, Associated—Harry Mountford, Frank Gillmore, 94 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullaney, 20 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, Peter Beisel, Jacob Goldstone, 248 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—James C. Shanessy, Jacob Fischer, George H. Wahl, C. F. Foley, Roe H. Baker, 452 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Julius Dannenberg, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—James W. Kline, W. G. Powlesland, Chas. N. Glover, M. W. Martin, 367 votes.

Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, Chas. Scott, M. J. McGuire, John Dohney, 417 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—Walter N. Reddick, Felix J. Belair, Anna Neary, 163 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—C. L. Baine, C. E. James, John A. Brennan, Mollie Guinan, Ralph Trainor, 402 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—John Sullivan, Albert J. Kugler, Joseph Oberfell, Joseph J. Hauser, 190 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—William J. Bowen, William Dobson, Peter S. Shaughnessy, Walter V. Price, William J. Skinner, Thomas J. Murphy, 700 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kasten, William Tracy, 41 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, Edward Ryan, M. J. Cunnane, 140 votes.

Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International—Will R. Boyer, 8 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—William F. Quesse, Claude F. Peters, Steve Kelleher, 94 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Martin F. Ryan, Robert M. Ware, J. W. Buckley, Thos. P. Hyland, John Williams, Sam C. Hunt, D. T. Cunningham, 1,717 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—William L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, W. M. Michaels, W. T. Allen, J. H. Weaver, Alex. Kelso, Wm. J. Kelly, P. H. McCarthy, 3,138 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—G. W. Perkins, Samuel Gompers, R. S. Sexton, W. A. Campbell, Henry Abrahams, 320 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Thos. F. Flaherty, William P. Hohmann, Mark B. Greene, Charles W. Redfern, 178 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—E. H. Fitzgerald, A. C. Hay, H. B. Odell, Mabel Emery McNulty, Wade Shurtleff, J. Louis England, Richard P. Dee, 1,378 votes.

Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail—E. E. Baker, H. J. Conway, W. G. Desepte, C. C. Coulter, 167 votes.

Conductors, Order Sleeping Car—J. E. Davis, 26 votes.

Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America—Jacques Veder, 5 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers', Architects' and—C. L. Rosemund, 10 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—James P. Noonan, Frank J. McNulty, Gustave M. Bugniazet, Rose S. Sullivan, Edward Barton, Martin T. Joyce, 1,420 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—Frank Feeney, 38 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Steam and Operating—Arthur M. Huddell, Dave Evans, John Possehl, E. L. Edgerton, Harry L. Saddler, 320 votes.

Engravers' International Union, Metal—Otto A. Laibly, 1 vote.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, 65 votes.

Federal Employes, National Federation of—Luther C. Steward, 250 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, Joseph A. Kirby, 161 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of Stationary—Timothy Henly, C. L. Shamp, J. W. Morton, W. J. Brennan, 250 votes.

Foundry Employes, International Brotherhood of—Leonard Holtschult, Arthur Austin, 40 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, B. A. Langer, F. Doyle, A. Adamski, D. A. Houck, 475 votes.

Garment Workers' Union, International Ladies—Benjamin Schlesinger, Louis Langer, Max Amdur, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg, Louis Pinkofsky, 939 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—John A. Voll, Louis Colin, George W. Most, 97 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—Wm. P. Clarke, Harry H. Cook, John B. O'Brien, 87 votes.

Glass Workers, Window, National—J. M. Siemer, William C. Weil, 50 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—James Duncan, 100 votes.

Hatters of North America, United—Martin Lawlor, Bernhard Hollander, Hugh C. Shalvoy, 115 votes.

Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Domenico D'Alessandro, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, J. B. Etchison, W. W. Cordell, 460 votes.

Horseshoers of United States and Canada, International Union of Journeymen—Hubert S. Marshall, 25 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas S. Farrell, Emanuel Koveleski, John J. McDevitt, 465 votes.

Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, Amalgamated—M. F. Tighe, Ben I. Davis, Wm. E. Brewster, 159 votes.

International Jewelry Workers' Union—Abraham Greenstein, 2 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—Wm. J. Mc-

Sorley, Jos. H. Duty, Charles J. Case, 80 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—George T. Johnson, 65 votes.

Leather Workers, United, International Union, W. E. Bryan, 34 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edw. J. Gainer, Ed. J. Cantwell, Charles D. Duffy, Luther E. Swartz, John T. Mugavin, 325 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Philip Bock, Samuel H. Maitland, 76 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—A. J. Chlopek, 463 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—Wm. H. Johnston, Wm. Schoenberg, C. F. Grow, William Larkin, George W. Marshall, William Hanon, Fred Hewitt, 1,812 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters' Helpers, International Association of—Stephen C. Hogan, 17 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—C. J. Hayes, Dennis Lane, 196 votes.

Metal Workers, International Alliance, Amalgamated—John J. Hynes, Fred Hock, Harry Dorsey, Richard Pattison, 250 votes.

Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of—Chas. H. Moyer, Edward Crough, 46 votes.

Mine Workers of America, United—John L. Lewis, William Green, Philip H. Murray, Frank Farrington, John Moore, Thomas Kennedy, 3,729 votes.

Molders' Union of North America, International—Joseph F. Valentine, John P. Frey, Arthur R. Burns, Dan Regan, 265 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, D. A. Carey, Claude O. Taylor, Edward Canavan, C. A. Weaver, Jos. F. Winkler, 750 votes.

Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America—R. H. Stieckel, Walter J. Yarrow, 61 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—Stephen J. Angleton, John M. Finan, John J. Doyle, Thos. H. Mugavin, Christian M. Madsen, N. F. Smith, 978 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—J. T. Carey, George J. Schneider, M. H. Parker, 83 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—James Wilson, 80 votes.

Pavers, Rammermen, Flag Layers,

Bridge and Stone Curb Setters, International—Edward I. Hannah, 20 votes.

Paving Cutters, Union of the United States of America and Canada—Carl Bergstrom, 24 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—Ed J. McGiveru, John Donlin, Henry Biehl, John Rooney, 246 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coefield, Charles Anderson, William Gunther, James Murphy, 350 votes.

Polishers, Metal, International Union—W. W. Britton, George Leary, H. C. Diehl, 82 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—John T. Wood, Thomas Farrell, Frank H. Hutchins, 92 votes.

Printers and Die Stampers' Union of North America, International Plate—Andrew Fallon, 15 votes.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L. Berry, John F. Geckler, Clyde P. Frater, William C. Pepper, Edward Stier, 370 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, Maurice La Belle, 68 votes.

Quarry Workers' International Union of North America—Fred W. Sutor, 30 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—W. D. Mahon, Wm. Quinlan, Fred Schultz, James Rodgers, A. Conn, 1,000 votes.

Railway Mail Association—Chester M. Harvey, B. E. Thompson, J. P. Cleland, 166 votes.

Roofers', Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition—Peter J. O'Brien, 30 votes.

Seamen's Union of America, International—Andrew Furuseth, Thomas A. Hanson, Peter McKillop, 492 votes.

Signalmen of America, Brotherhood Railroad—D. W. Helt, D. C. Cone, 105 votes.

Stage Employes of America, International Alliance of Theatrical—Charles C. Shay, P. J. Ryan, John Suarez, Thomas Malloy, 195 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—James J. Freel, Charles A. Sumner, 60 votes.

Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, Joseph Blasey, 46 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—W. L. Funder Burk, 20 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Thomas C. Cashen, James B. Conners, W. J. Trost, 88 votes.

Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen—Thos. Sweeney, M. J. Sillinsky, Arthur Keep, 120 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Charles B. Stillman, 70 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tobin, Thos. L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, John McLaughlin, Daniel Rox, Steve C. Sumner, 764 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—E. J. Manion, D. G. Ramsay, H. B. Perham, J. H. Williams, D. C. Smart, 500 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of America, The Commercial—Roscoe H. Johnson, 34 votes.

Textile Workers of America, United—Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, J. E. Garrity, Joseph R. White, 306 votes.

Timber Workers, International Union of—Ray R. Canterbury, 8 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—W. R. Walden, 34 votes.

Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union—Thomas J. Curtis, 30 votes.

Typographical Union, International—John McParland, Frank Morrison, Charles P. Howard, Max S. Hayes, T. W. McCullough, William Young, 689 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—William Kohn, 67 votes.

Metal Trades Department—James O'Connell, 1 vote.

Mining Department—James Lord, 1 vote.

Railroad Employes' Department—B. M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—John J. Manning, 1 vote.

Alabama State Federation of Labor—H. O. Cline, 1 vote.

Arizona State Federation of Labor—Lester B. Doane, 1 vote.

Arkansas State Federation of Labor—G. E. Mikel, 1 vote.

California State Federation of Labor—James E. Hopkins, 1 vote.

Colorado State Federation of Labor—August Koester, 1 vote.

Georgia State Federation of Labor—Jerome Jones, 1 vote.

Illinois State Federation of Labor—John H. Walker, 1 vote.

Indiana State Federation of Labor—T. N. Taylor, 1 vote.

Kansas State Federation of Labor—Alexander Howat, 1 vote.

Kentucky State Federation of Labor—William E. Hulsbeck, 1 vote.

Louisiana State Federation of Labor—Ernest H. Zwally, 1 vote.

Maryland-District of Columbia Federation of Labor—Frank J. Coleman, 1 vote.

Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Thomas H. Gierraughty, 1 vote.

Minnesota State Federation of Labor—Geo. W. Lawson, 1 vote.

Missouri State Federation of Labor—J. L. Fritz, 1 vote.

Montana State Federation of Labor—Stephen Ely, 1 vote.

New Jersey State Federation of Labor—John E. Murphy, 1 vote.

New York State Federation of Labor—James P. Holland, 1 vote.

Ohio State Federation of Labor—James H. Roach, 1 vote.

Oklahoma State Federation of Labor—Edgar Fenton, 1 vote.

Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—Lawrence F. Hart, 1 vote.

Porto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.

Tennessee State Federation of Labor—David Hanly, 1 vote.

Texas State Federation of Labor—Geo. W. Fisher, 1 vote.

West Virginia State Federation of Labor—H. L. Franklin, 1 vote.

Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Henry Ohl, Jr., 1 vote.

Wyoming State Federation of Labor—Harry W. Fox, 1 vote.

Alexandria, La., Central Labor Union—M. E. Steadman, 1 vote.

Ashtabula, Ohio, Central Labor Union—G. W. Troutman, 1 vote.

Astoria, Ore., Central Labor Council—H. M. Lortsen, 1 vote.

Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—James A. Miller, 1 vote.

Atlantic City, N. J., Central Labor Union—Wm. Clendenning, 1 vote.

Bakersfield, Cal., Kern County Labor Council—Josh Clark, 1 vote.

- Balboa, C. Z., Central Labor Union—William C. Hushing, 1 vote.
- Baltimore, Md., Federation of Labor—Edward D. Bieretz, 1 vote.
- Berlin, N. H., Central Labor Union—James A. Legassie, 1 vote.
- Bloomington, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—John B. Lennon, 1 vote.
- Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—William H. Doherty, 1 vote.
- Brownwood, Tex., Central Labor Union—Albert R. Lehman, 1 vote.
- Buffalo, N. Y., Central Labor Council—John B. Kolb, 1 vote.
- Charleston, W. Va., Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union—Frank Snyder, 1 vote.
- Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—John G. Clay, 1 vote.
- Chillicothe, O., Central Labor Union—Henry Oberting, 1 vote.
- Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Union—William Niemeier, 1 vote.
- Cleburne, Tex., Central Labor Council—W. F. Brydon, 1 vote.
- Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor—John G. Owens, 1 vote.
- Clovis, New Mex., Central Labor Union, A. J. McGahey, 1 vote.
- Coffeyville, Kans., Central Labor Union—Paul Robbins, 1 vote.
- Columbus, O., Federation of Labor—John E. Sullivan, 1 vote.
- Colorado Springs, Colo., Federated Trades Council—Roy C. Winans, 1 vote.
- Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—John L. Williams, 1 vote.
- Dallas, Tex., Central Labor Council—R. E. Roberts, 1 vote.
- Danbury, Conn., Central Labor Union—John H. Riley, 1 vote.
- El Dorado, Ark., Central Labor Union—W. C. Franklin, 1 vote.
- Fremont, Nebr., Central Labor Union—William Feinauer, 1 vote.
- Fresno, Calif., Federated Trades and Labor Council—George T. Johnson, 1 vote.
- Glouster, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Robert Marshall, 1 vote.
- Grand Rapids, Mich., Trades and Labor Council—Edward Kosten, 1 vote.
- Hamilton, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council—Stanley Ogg, 1 vote.
- Hammond, Ind., Lake County Central Labor Union—Carl Mullen, 1 vote.
- Hannibal, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly—B. F. Brown, 1 vote.
- Herrin, Ill., Trades Council—J. W. Ford, 1 vote.
- Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union—John P. Bleasius, 1 vote.
- Houston, Texas, Labor and Trades Council—L. M. Andler, 1 vote.
- Hutchinson, Kans., Central Labor Union—Clarence E. Kerns, 1 vote.
- Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council—Madge Utterback, 1 vote.
- Kankakee, Ill., Federation of Labor—Frank Harrison Smith, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—M. J. McSpadden, 1 vote.
- Kansas City, Mo., Central Labor Union—C. B. Nelson, 1 vote.
- Lake Geneva, Wis., Central Labor Union—C. A. Downes, 1 vote.
- Lexington, Ky., Central Labor Union—Caleb Utterback, 1 vote.
- Linton, Ind., Central Labor Union—J. L. Sims, 1 vote.
- Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council—A. W. Muir, 1 vote.
- Louisville, Ky., United Trades and Labor Assembly—Robert J. Kaiser, 1 vote.
- Marion, Ohio, Central Labor Union—James N. Steele, 1 vote.
- Marshall, Tex., Trades Council—J. A. Schnorbus, 1 vote.
- Middletown, Ohio, Trades and Labor Council—R. J. Fitzgerald, 1 vote.
- Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—Charles Nickolaus, 1 vote.
- Moherly, Mo., Central Labor Union—David A. Frampton, 1 vote.
- Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council—Henry F. Hilfers, 1 vote.
- New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council Greater New York and Vicinity—John P. Coughlin, 1 vote.
- Niles, Ohio, Trumbull County Central Labor Union—E. J. Tinney, 1 vote.
- Ottawa, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Assembly—F. J. Plant, 1 vote.
- Peekskill, N. Y., Trades and Labor Council—Wm. W. McKinnon, 1 vote.
- Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Joseph Lynam, 1 vote.
- Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union—George T. Simmons, 1 vote.
- Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Trades Council—John Weitzel, 1 vote.
- Portsmouth, N. H., Central Labor Union—Walter N. Meloon, 1 vote.
- Portsmouth, Ohio, Central Labor Council—Louis C. Herder, 1 vote.



Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.

Richmond, Ind., Central Labor Council—Ernest Gable, 1 vote.

St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council—Maurice Ryan, 1 vote.

St. Louis, Mo., Central Trades and Labor Union—James B. Conroy, 1 vote.

Sandusky, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Albert W. Wobser, 1 vote.

Schenectady, N. Y., Trades Assembly—John Hourigan, 1 vote.

Shawnee, Okla., Trades and Labor Assembly—Ed. S. Mahan, 1 vote.

South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Jas. J. McAndrews, 1 vote.

Springfield, Mass., Central Labor Union—George H. Wrenn, 1 vote.

Springfield, Ohio, Trades and Labor Assembly—C. W. Rich, 1 vote.

Thorold, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—John Nicol, 1 vote.

Tiffin, Ohio, Central Labor Union—Charles Trimmer, 1 vote.

Toronto, Ont., Can., District Labor Council—W. P. Covert, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—Henry Miller, 1 vote.

Yonkers, N. Y., Federation of Labor—George B. McGovern, 1 vote.

Youngstown, Ohio., United Labor Congress of Mahoning County—Harry Dechend, 1 vote.

Bank Employees' Union No. 17394, Cincinnati, Ohio, William E. Colman, 1 vote.

Boilermakers Helpers' Union No. 17430, Columbia, S. C.—Jos. N. Boulware, 1 vote.

Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York City—Herman Defrem, 3 votes.

Cement Workers' Local No. 15595, Hartshorne, Okla.—Alfred E. Allen, 1 vote.

Chicago Court Reporters' Federation No. 14171, Chicago, Ill.—Grace H. Harte, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 16707, New Albany, Ind.—Chas. Hixson, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 17064, Cordele, Ga.—Sandy Colman, 1 vote.

Film Exchange Employees' Union No. 16169, St. Louis, Mo.—John Caporal, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 16220, Richmond, Va.—Robt. E. Burford, 2 votes.

Freight Handlers and Helpers' Union No. 16324, Charleston, S. C.—Harry Bryan, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 16381, Baltimore, Md.—William Carter, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers (Railroad) and Station Employees' Union No. 16385, Huntington, West Va.—Clarence McCoy, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 16413, St. Louis, Mo.—James Hubbard, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 16439, Jacksonville, Fla.—Chas. L. White, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers (Interior) Union No. 16465, New Orleans, La.—Clarence C. Tunnage, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 16982, Winston Salem, N. C.—Jordan Rogers, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17025, Lynchburg, Va.—Peter Stratton, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17316, Cincinnati, Ohio—Joseph L. Anderson, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17413, New Orleans, La.—Frank Williams, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17540, Alexandria, La.—Arthur Stewart, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17451, Alexandria, Va.—Robert Butler, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 17555, Portsmouth, Va.—Ambrose Harris, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 17600, Waycross, Ga.—Thomas J. Milton, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees' Union No. 17157, Greenville, S. C.—S. P. Davis, 1 vote.

Library Employees' Union No. 15590, New York City—Marcella Malone, 1 vote.

Horse Nail Makers' Union No. 17490, Buffalo, N. Y.—Chandler F. Fizer, 1 vote.

Newspaper Carriers' Protective Union No. 15289, Cincinnati, Ohio—B. M. Smyth, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Association No. 12755, Chicago, Ill.—James Flynn, 5 votes.

Railroad Coach and Station Cleaners and Porters' Union No. 16626, Cincinnati, Ohio—E. F. Latimore, 1 vote.

Railroad Laborers' Union No. 17535, Tampa, Fla.—H. Hawkins, 1 vote.

Sign and Bulletin Board Hangers' Union No. 14872, Chicago, Ill.—George Rincker, 1 vote.

Slate Workers' Union No. 15159, Granville, N. Y.—Owen W. Jones, 3 votes.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11773, Washington, D. C.—E. C. Scott, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 13188, San Francisco, Calif.—Frederick W. Ely, 3 votes.

Umbrella Handle and Stick Makers' Union No. 14581, New York City—Morris Feinstone, 1 vote.

Watchmen's Union No. 13130, Cincinnati, Ohio—Wm. Mocerf, 1 vote.

British Trades and Labor Congress—E. L. Poulton, H. Smith, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—Ernest Robinson, 1 vote.

Women's International Union Label League—Anna Fitzgerald.

THOS. F. FLAHERTY, Chairman.  
PETER McKILLIP.  
HARRY H. COOK, Secretary.

Credentials Committee.

Secretary Cook: I move the adoption of the Credentials Committee's report. (Seconded and carried.)

#### APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

Secretary Morrison read the following list of committees:

**Committee on Rules and Order of Business**—John Sullivan, W. G. Powlesland, Thos. J. Curtis, Frank Kasten, E. L. Edgerton, Edw. I. Hannah, E. J. Cantwell, John Williams, P. J. Ryan, Mrs. Daisy A. Houck, Henry Abrahams, William Kohn, J. V. Moreschi, W. R. Walden, Fred W. Suito.

**Committee on Executive Council Report**—James Wilson, George L. Berry, John L. Lewis, T. W. McCullough, Jere L. Sullivan, Wm. P. Clarke, John Coe-field, W. A. Campbell, Wm. J. Bowen, John J. Hynes, Andrew Furuseth, P. J. Morrin, F. Doyle, Jas. C. Shannessy, A. J. Chlopek.

**Committee on Resolutions**—James Duncan, John P. Frey, Geo. W. Perkins, Geo. F. Hedrick, B. A. Larger, John A. Voll, Martin Lawlor, Martin F. Ryan, A. A. Myrup, J. W. Morton, J. A. Franklin, John Moore, Thos. L. Hughes, John McParland, Dave Evans.

**Committee on Laws**—Daniel J. Tobin, Frank Farrington, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Dennis Lane, E. E. Baker, Martin Joyce, A. J. Kugler, W. H. Johnston, A. C. Hays, James P. Holland, James O'Connell, Wm. Quinlan, Wm. Dobson, Benj. Schlessinger, Chas. Anderson.

**Committee on Organization**—Frank Duffy, Sara A. Conboy, Thos. S. Farrell, Chas. H. Moyer, E. J. Manion, John P. Burke, F. J. McNulty, Wm. J. Spencer, W. N. Reddick, J. E. Davis, Harry Greenberg, Daniel W. Helt, Philip Bock, John McLaughlin, Roscoe Johnson.

**Committee on Labels**—John J. Manning, R. S. Sexton, Thomas Sweeney, Max Hayes, Will R. Boyer, Hubert S. Marshall, H. C. Diehl, William J. Kelly, Jacob Goldstone, C. J. Hayes, John F. Geckler, Anna Neary, William Schoenberg, Thomas F. McMahon, Roe H. Baker.

**Committee on Adjustment**—Thos. A. Rickert, Edward Flore, C. L. Shamp, J. B. Etchison, W. E. Bryan, D. A. Carey, J. W. Kline, H. B. Perham, Philip H. Murray, B. M. Jewell, John M. Gillespie, M. P. Tighe, C. E. James, C. C. Shay, Henry Biehl.

**Committee on Local and Federated Bodies**—Jacob Fischer, Jos. Oberfell, Walter V. Price, Timothy Healey, Richard P. Dee, Joseph H. Duty, Chas. G. Duffy, R. M. Ware, C. F. Grow, Ed. Crough, Max Amdur, R. H. Stickel, H. B. O'Dell, Wm. J. Doherty, Clyde P. Frater.

**Committee on Education**—Matthew Woll, Chas. B. Stillman, John Walker, Frank Gillmore, John B. Lennon, Ira M. Ornburn, James Lord, Wm. M. Michaels, J. N. Weber, Harry H. Cook, Louis Colin, Mabel E. McNulty, Wm. Larkin, John Suarez, Chester M. Harvey.

**Committee on State Organizations**—Jos. F. Valentine, John T. Mugavin, S. C. Hogan, Ed. Barton, Carl Bergstrom, Thos. H. Mugavin, Geo. W. Marshall, Philip Edwards, Fred Schutz, Jno. A. Brennan, Geo. W. Lawson, F. J. Coleman, Santiago Iglesias, Claude O. Taylor, B. E. Thompson.

**Committee on Boycotts**—W. D. Mahon, W. W. Britton, W. L. Funder Burk, J. T. Moriarty, Chas. W. Glover, Jas. B. Connors, M. J. McGuire, W. T. Allen, Molly Guinan, J. W. Buckley, Rose S. Sullivan, Leonard Hoetschult, Wade Shurtleff, Geo. H. Wahl, J. M. Siemer.

**Committee on Building Trades**—John Donlin, J. P. Noonan, William J. McSorley, D. D'Alessandro, Frank Feeney,

Arthur M. Huddell, Joseph A. Mullaney, Thomas Redding, John J. Doyle, M. W. Mitchell, Peter J. O'Brien, P. S. Shaughnessy, P. H. McCarthy, John B. O'Brien, Edward Ryan.

**Committee on Shorter Workday**—William Green, George Leary, E. J. McGivern, Charles Summer, E. J. Gainer, Charles P. Hyland, William Hannon, Bernhard Hollander, E. H. Fitzgerald, Charles Scott, M. J. Silinsky, William P. Hohmann, H. J. Conway, Louis Langer, Charles P. Howard.

**Committee on Legislation**—C. L. Baine, Thomas F. Flaherty, James J. Freel, Luther Steward, Thomas C. Cashen, Henry F. Schmal, A. Adamski, Emanuel Koveleski, Jerome Jones, Joseph F. Winkler, William Gunther, Fred W. Baer, John T. Wood, Henry F. Hilfers, J. H. Williams.

**Committee on International Labor Relations**—George W. Perkins, James Duncun, Max Hayes, Martin Lawlor, John P. Frey, James Wilson, Andrew Furuseth, James O'Connell, B. A. Lurger, Daniel J. Tobin, George L. Berry, John H. Walker, C. L. Baine, W. D. Mahon, Matthew Woll, James Lord, W. J. Bowen, J. J. Hynes, Sara Conboy, Timothy Healy, W. J. Spencer.

Assistant Secretary, W. R. Voiles, President Typographical Union No. 3, Cincinnati.

Sergeant-at-Arms, Henry Ott.

Messenger, Joseph Obermeyer.

President Gompers: The names read are those which the president of the American Federation of Labor submits, which he has appointed in compliance with the constitution of the American Federation of Labor. Is there any objection to the confirmation of the appointment of these committees?

Vice-President Duncan moved that the name of the president of the American Federation of Labor be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations. The motion was seconded and carried.

A motion was then adopted to confirm the appointments made by the president.

President Gompers: The Executive Council's report is in printed form. In compliance with the instructions of the convention copies were forwarded to the delegates prior to this convention.

Since we have abandoned the reading of the reports to the convention it has been our custom to have a digest or brief of the most important points read to the delegates. In this instance, the brother who usually performs that function will perform it now, First Vice-President James Duncan, whom I have the honor to present to you.

Vice-President Duncan read a brief digest of the report of the Executive Council.

### SUBJECTS EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

#### Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council

Labor Legislative Conference Committee.  
American Federation of Labor Political Campaign.  
Maintenance of Way Employees—Carpenters.  
Engineers—Electrical Workers.  
Teamsters—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.  
Plumbers—Machinists.  
Machinists—Flint Glass Workers.  
Appointment of Trustees.  
Labor and the Farmer.  
Old-Age Pensions.  
Legislative:  
Labor and Farmers Protected.

#### Referred to Committee on Resolutions

Shall Courts Protect Labor in Preference to Property?  
Class Biased Decisions of our Courts—Judge Anderson's Injunction against United Mine Workers.  
Judge McClintic's Injunction against the Miners.  
American Steel Foundries vs. Tri-City Central Trades Council of Granite City, Illinois.  
Truax vs. Corrigan.  
Constitutional Rights and Liberties Must Be Safeguarded at All Hazards.  
Use of Injunction by Labor a Snare and Delusion.  
Legislative Attacks on Trade Unions—Compulsory Incorporation of Trade Unions.  
Kansas Industrial Law.  
Duell-Miller Bill.  
Colorado Industrial Commission Law.  
President Harding's Proposal to Regulate Trade Unions.  
The Coronada Case.  
Railroads.

Currency, Credits and Banking.  
 Personnel Research Foundation.  
 Stabilizing the Unit of Money.  
 Discarded Ideas Revamped.

**Legislative—**

More Idleness for Judges.  
 Supreme Court Decisions.  
 Compulsory Labor.  
 Proposed Commission on Coal Industry.

Protection for Unlawful Banking.  
 Anti-Trust Act.  
 Anti-Strike Legislation.  
 Railroads.  
 Postal Savings Banks.  
 Anti-Picketing Bill.  
 Fixing Wages by Commission.

**Referred to Committee on Laws**  
 Representation in Central Bodies.

**Referred to Committee on Organizations**

Observance of Contracts and Cessation of Work.

"Open-Shop" Campaign.

**Unemployment—**

Report of Special Committee on Unemployment.

Work of Our Organizers—

Legislative:  
 Unemployment.

**Referred to Committee on Education**

National Child Labor Law Held Unconstitutional.

Investigation of Wage Theories.

Information and Publicity—

American Federationist.

Weekly News Letter.

Legislative Committee's Report.

Speakers' Bureau.

Establishment of Newspapers.

Information and Publicity Service.

History, Encyclopedia, Reference

Book and Index.

American Federationist Index.

Material for Debates.

The Labor Press.

**Education—**

Report of the Committee on Education.

Text Book Investigation.

Summary of Report on Public School

Text Book Investigation.

Declarations on Education.

Commission on Secondary and Collegiate Education.

Report of Bureau of Co-operative Societies.

American Legion.

Motion Pictures—

Censorship Over Motion Pictures, the Stage and the Press.

Labor Day, Labor Sunday and Labor's Memorial Day.

**Legislative—**

Monthly Labor Review.

Child Labor.

Motion Pictures.

Farmers' Co-operative Marketing Law.

**Referred to Committee on State Bodies.**

**Legislative—**

Women in Industry Endangered.

Legislation in the States.

**Referred to Committee on Legislation**

Summary of Legislation Enacted by the Special and Regular Sessions of the Sixty-seventh Congress to May 1, 1922.

Laws Enacted Favorable to Labor.

Hostile Bills Opposed or Defeated.

Coolie Labor for Hawaii.

Sales Tax.

Ship Subsidy.

Legalizing Judicial Kidnaping.

Department of Labor.

Surveillance for Aliens.

Immigration.

Reclamation.

United States Employment Service.

Reclassification.

Navy Yard Employes.

Physical Education.

Making Railroad Travel Safe.

Railroad Unions Endangered.

Incorporation of Porto Rico.

Department of Education.

Maternity and Infancy.

Nolan Minimum Wage Bill.

Overtime for Postal Employes.

Postal Employes' Legislation.

Relief for Panama Canal Employes.

Convict Labor.

Workingmen's Compensation.

Rewarding the Profiteer.

"Making Drowning Easier."

After the Spoils.

Federal Trade Commission.

Federal "Blue Sky" Law.

"Blue Laws" in Washington.

Federal Budget System.

Stop-Watch and Bonus System.

Gateway Amendment.

Sedition.

Extending Retirement Law.

Department of Agriculture.

Aid for Famine Stricken Russia.

Department of Highways.

Department of Health.

Farmer Legislation.

Fixing Coal Prices.

Garnishment Bill.

Rural Letter Carriers Endangered.

Home Ownership.

Meat Packing Monopoly.

"Lobbying."

Conclusion.

**Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations**

International Labor Relations.

Limitation of Armament.

Pan-American Relations.

A. F. of L. Fraternal Delegates to Great Britain.

A. F. of L. Fraternal Delegate to Canada.

President Gompers: While the Executive Council was in session at Washington the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its decision declaring the Federal Child Labor Law unconstitutional. The Executive Council authorized every action to be taken which could be helpful, and in addition set aside, with your permission, the third day of this convention, Wednesday, June 14th, as a day of be specially devoted to consideration of the question of how child labor can be abolished, and

the best method to accomplish that purpose.

The Executive Council authorized the president of the American Federation of Labor to invite a few persons outside of the labor movement to address our convention. I have exercised that authority. There are some persons whom it would have been desirable to have at our convention, but two of them were within a day or two of leaving for Europe, where they had engagements, and others were preparing for engagements. Those who have accepted the invitation are Hon. Robert M. LaFollette, United States Senator from Wisconsin, and Miss Florence Kelley, who has done great work for the abolition of child labor.

At 1 o'clock p. m., the convention was adjourned to reconvene at 10 o'clock a. m., Tuesday, June 13th.

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## REPORT OF A. F. OF L. EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

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CINCINNATI, OHIO, June 12, 1922.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Greeting:*

We have passed through a year of unusual strife and of unusual industrial depression. Our movement has been beset not only by the work of opponents who have been more active and more determined than ever, but it has had to contend with an industrial situation which caused thousands of our members to be idle during a great part of the year. It is with no little satisfaction, in view of these circumstances, that we are able to lay before this convention a report of achievement, a report of solidarity, a report of constructive planning and a report that can only inadequately portray the militant spirit with which our movement has come through the conflicts of the year. The audacity of those who have made it their business to attack in every possible manner the voluntary organizations of the workers has had no parallel in our country. We can not refrain from pointing out the fact that those who have been most aggressive and most without conscience in their attacks on the labor movement have been those who likewise have been most aggressive in their attempts to plunder or subvert the agencies of our government and the democratic institutions of our country.

Labor, as labor, has not been the only sufferer. There has been a general feeling on the part of predatory interests, and it has been explicitly so expressed, that they "are in the saddle" and propose to play to the utmost the role of conqueror. Thus, what our movement has been compelled to meet has been a condition in which predatory powers have sought to break down all resistance in every quarter and to enrich themselves at the expense of the whole people. No experience has testified so eloquently to the fundamental soundness of our organizations and to the manner in which they serve the workers.

We realize fully that we shall be compelled during the coming year to face the same forces that we have faced during the past year, but we shall fight with a greater confidence because of the record that has been made. It should be borne in mind that our movement has had to resist attacks not only from one side, but from both sides—from the extreme reaction and predatory powers on the one hand and from the extreme revolutionary and destructive forces on the other hand. The trade union movement has in reality stood as the great constructive democratic force, typical of America, between the fires of two destructive extremes, each extreme hating the other, sometimes consciously in secret alliance and sometimes unconsciously and in ignorance. In the pages that follow we endeavor to set forth in detail an account of the work of the year, together with some important recommendations for the future.

The E. C. has held six meetings since the adjournment of the Denver convention. In the interim of the meetings we have considered 110 E. C. documents submitted to us by President Gompers, each dealing with subjects of vital importance to our movement.

## SECRETARY MORRISON'S REPORT

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:*

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I have the honor to submit a report to you of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning May 1, 1921, and ending April 30, 1922.

It is with satisfaction I report at the close of the fiscal year a balance on hand of \$198,794.68. Of the total amount on hand, \$175,378.88 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and can be used to pay benefits only in case of a strike or lockout of the members of these local unions.

The balance \$23,415.80 is in the general fund and available for the general expenses of the American Federation of Labor.

The total receipts from all sources, \$583,120.03; the total expenses \$562,588.07; amount of receipts over expenses, \$20,531.96.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending April 30, 1922:

| RECEIPTS   |              |                     |
|--|--------------|---------------------|
| Balance on hand April 30, 1921.....  |              | \$178,262 72        |
| Per capita tax.....  | \$417,171 62 |                     |
| American Federationist.....  | 81,492 26    |                     |
| Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions:                     |              |                     |
| Per capita tax from locals.....  | \$46,815 16  |                     |
| Refund of strike benefits.....   | 161 00       |                     |
|  | 46,976 16    |                     |
| Initiation fees.....   | 9,022 66     |                     |
| Reinstatement fees.....  | 522 25       |                     |
| Interest:  |              |                     |
| Bank deposits.....   | \$4,692 99   |                     |
| U. S. Liberty Bonds.....   | 2,075 00     |                     |
| Canadian Victory Loans.....  | 825 00       |                     |
|  | 7,592 99     |                     |
| Supplies.....  | 8,198 42     |                     |
| Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. of L..... | 5,979 00     |                     |
| Special Assessment, Freight Handlers.....                                  | 2,809 40     |                     |
| Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued.....       | 3,354 37     |                     |
|  | 583,120 03   |                     |
| <b>Total receipts.....</b>   |              | <b>\$761,382 75</b> |
| EXPENSES   |              |                     |
| General.....   | \$458,150 70 |                     |
| American Federationist.....  | 64,792 73    |                     |
| Defense Fund:  |              |                     |
| Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....               | 32,815 24    |                     |
| Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....                    | 4,963 00     |                     |
| Refund of initiation fees.....   | 12 00        |                     |
| Special Assessment, Freight Handlers.....                                  | 1,854 40     |                     |
|  | 562,588 07   |                     |
| <b>Total expenses.....</b>   |              | <b>562,588 07</b>   |
| Balance of funds on hand April 30, 1922.....                               |              | \$198,794 68        |
| RECAPITULATION   |              |                     |
| In General Fund.....   |              | \$23,415 80         |
| In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....              |              | 175,378 88          |
| Balance of funds on hand April 30, 1922.....                               |              | \$198,794 68        |



## EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending April 30, 1922:

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| Rent.....   | \$14,252 50 |
| Refunds of premiums on bonds, overpayments on per capita tax and supplies returned.....   | 50 18       |
| Premiums:   |             |
| Bonds, local unions.....  | 4,963 00    |
| Secretary's bond.....   | 10 00       |
| Treasurer's bond.....   | 125 00      |
| Insurance.....  | 22 32       |
| Expressage, freight and drayage.....  | 839 75      |
| Legislative expenses, including salaries for three legislative committeemen, W. C. Roberts, Edward F. McGrady and Edgar Wallace.....  | 18,820 88   |
| Newspapers, magazines and books.....  | 891 66      |
| Office furniture and fixtures.....  | 73 00       |
| Postage stamps.....   | 6,161 25    |
| Printing Proceedings of the Denver Convention.....  | 4,045 41    |
| Supplies and printing.....  | 31,332 20   |
| Miscellaneous office expenses.....  | 19,337 39   |
| Telegrams.....  | 5,045 31    |
| Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....  | 633 11      |
| Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades and Union Congress and to Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....   | 2,349 48    |
| Denver Convention:  |             |
| Committee and office rooms.....   | 415 00      |
| Messengers, Sergeant-at-Arms and Assistant Secretary and Roll-Call Clerks.....  | 560 00      |
| Printing Roll-Call.....   | 320 00      |
| Printing Daily Proceedings.....   | 3,696 05    |
| Filing, stamping, postage and mailing Daily Proceedings.....  | 289 50      |
| Electrotyping Proceedings, Denver Convention.....   | 1,302 25    |
| Expense and services, A. F. of L. Booth, Denver Convention.....   | 130 00      |
| Printing, developing and supplies.....  | 400 20      |
| Stenographers.....  | 4,455 86    |
| Rental of office furniture.....   | 237 00      |
| Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, reading proof, sending out Daily Proceedings, rent of typewriters and desks, typewriting, photographs, supplies, stationery and hauling..... | 220 56      |
| Auditing and Credential Committee.....  | 768 81      |
| Salary:   |             |
| President.....  | 12,000 00   |
| Secretary.....  | 10,000 00   |
| Treasurer.....  | 500 00      |
| Office employes.....  | 107,759 58  |
| Expenses:   |             |
| Executive Council Meetings.....   | 14,123 18   |
| Committee rooms, baggage, telegrams, typewriter rental, etc., E. C. Meetings.....   | 295 33      |
| Stenographers' expenses attending E. C. Meetings.....   | 1,052 23    |
| President traveling.....  | 3,497 78    |
| Secretary traveling.....  | 920 64      |
| Engrossing resolutions.....   | 300 00      |
| Defense Fund:   |             |
| Strike and lockout benefits.....  | 32,802 00   |
| Refund of overpayment of per capita tax received from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....   | 13 24       |

|  |              |
|--|--------------|
| Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:                                       |              |
| Metal Trades Department.....   | 43 88        |
| Union Label Trades Department.....   | 96 52        |
| Per capita tax, for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada..... | 127 01       |
| Organizer's salaries and expenses.....   | 170,935 47   |
| Legal expenses.....  | 1,188 00     |
| Printing and publishing <i>American Federationist</i> .....                                | 64,792 73    |
| Printing, publishing and editing A. F. of L. Weekly News Letter.....                       | 8,333 85     |
| Initiation fees refunded to Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....                      | 12 00        |
| Pan-American Federation of Labor.....  | 5,000 00     |
| Special assessment, Freight Handlers.....  | 1,854 40     |
| Delegates, guest, committee and officers' badges, Denver Convention.....                   | 588 21       |
| Expenses, Oil Field Workers' Special Convention, Denver, Colo.....                         | 817 25       |
| Expenses of Committee on Publicity.....  | 395 85       |
| Expenses Special Committees and Conferences.....   | 3,391 25     |
| Total.....   | \$562,588 07 |

#### FUND FOR PROMOTING AND ADVANCING COOPERATION

Contributions to the fund for promoting and advancing cooperation upon the plan of the Rochdale Cooperative Society System, in accordance with direction of the Buffalo, 1917, American Federation of Labor Convention, showed receipts from April 1, 1918, to and including April 30, 1922, \$4,223.58, and expenses from February 6, 1919, to April 30, 1922, \$2,092.95, leaving a balance on hand April 30, 1922, amounting to \$2,130.63.

#### RECAPITULATION

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Total of donations, April 1, 1918, to April 30, 1922..... | \$4,223 58 |
| Total expenses, February 6, 1919, to April 30, 1922.....  | 2,092 95   |
| Balance on hand April 30, 1922.....                       | \$2,130 63 |

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to April 30, 1920, has been printed and copy mailed to each contributor. Copies may be had upon application to Headquarters. Additional report will be compiled when this fund is closed.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS TO LEATHER WORKERS.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued an appeal for contributions to assist the United Leather Workers' International Union to meet the cost of appeal in an injunction case to the highest courts.

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Total of donations, February 26, 1921, to April 30, 1922.....                                 | \$3,375 43 |
| Total forwarded to Leather Workers, less two unpaid checks of \$5 each made good to bank..... | 3,375 43   |

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid was printed and copies mailed to each contributor.

#### FUND FOR THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR PUBLICITY BUREAU

Contributions to the American Federation of Labor Publicity Bureau as authorized by the Executive Council upon the recommendation of the conference of National and International trade union representatives in Washington, D. C., February 23-24, 1921, showed receipts from May 9, 1921, to and including April 30, 1922, \$5,532.34, and expenses from July 22, 1921, to and including April 30, 1922, \$5,532.34, the account being squared on April 30, 1922.

**DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS**

On April 30, 1922, we had 666 local trade and federal labor unions, with an average membership for the fiscal year of 31,258, and a defense fund of \$175,378.88, to protect the members of the 666 local trade and federal labor unions in case of strike or lockout. While the average membership for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1922, was 31,258, we have received per capita tax on 33,445 members for April, the last month of the fiscal year.

There are only 25 unions of the 112 national and international unions that have a membership exceeding the 33,445 members contained in the local trade and federal labor unions directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

The Federation has 2,224 general and district organizers, as well as 27 paid organizers and the officers of 905 city central bodies that are ready at all times to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

On April 30, 1921, we had 941 local unions. On the same date this year we had 666—a loss of 275 locals. There was received a total per capita tax from the local unions during the year of \$46,815.16; initiation fees, \$9,022.66, and reinstatement fees, \$522.25.

**DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS**

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit, and the amount received by each organization during the fiscal year ending April 30, 1922:

RECEIPTS

|  |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for Defense Fund..... | \$46,815 16        |
| Returned Strike Benefits.....  | 161 00             |
| <b>Total.....</b>  | <b>\$46,976 16</b> |

EXPENSES

| Union and Location.  | Average<br>Membership. | Weeks. | Amount.            |
|--|------------------------|--------|--------------------|
| Federal Labor Union, No. 15107, Streator, Ill.....   | 59                     | 18     | \$7,539 00         |
| Federal Labor Union, No. 14914, Wilkes Barre, Pa.....  | 122                    | 8      | 6,853 00           |
| Bed Spring Makers, No. 17058, New York, N. Y.....  | 104                    | 9      | 6,587 00           |
| United Felt, Straw, Panama and Velvet Hat Trimmers and Operators, No. 15850, Newark, N. J.....   | 52                     | 6      | 2,184 00           |
| Federal Labor Union, No. 17317, Streator, Ill.....   | 57                     | 5      | 1,995 00           |
| Railroad Shop Helpers, No. 17300, Fitzgerald, Ga.....  | 13                     | 20     | 1,932 00           |
| Wire Drawers, No. 12493, Wilkes Barre, Pa.....   | 29                     | 8      | 1,624 00           |
| Tobacco Workers, No. 10422, Denver, Colo.....  | 50                     | 3      | 1,064 00           |
| Nail Makers, No. 14199, St. John, N. B., Can.....  | 64                     | 2      | 896 00             |
| Gas Workers, No. 15164, Salt Lake City, Utah.....  | 31                     | 3      | 658 00             |
| Slate Workers, No. 16905, Pen Argyl, Pa.....   | 26                     | 3      | 546 00             |
| United Felt, Straw, Panama and Velvet Hat Trimmers and Operators, No. 14569, New York, N. Y..... | 7                      | 9      | 462 00             |
| Counters, Timekeepers and Clerks, No. 15699, Philadelphia, Pa.....                               | 16                     | 2      | 224 00             |
| Federal Labor Union, No. 16928, Poplar Bluff, Mo.....  | 10                     | 2      | 140 00             |
| Cooks and Waiters, No. 14139, Key West, Fla.....   | 7                      | 2      | 98 00              |
| <b>Total strike benefits.....</b>  |                        |        | <b>\$32,802 00</b> |
| <b>Refund of overpayment of per capita tax in Defense Fund.....</b>                              |                        |        | <b>13 24</b>       |
| <b>Total expenses.....</b>   |                        |        | <b>\$32,815 24</b> |

RECAPITULATION

|  |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, April 30, 1921....         | \$161,217 96        |
| Receipts for twelve months ending April 30, 1922.....  | 46,976 16           |
| <b>Total.....</b>  | <b>\$208,194 12</b> |
| <b>Paid out of Defense Fund.....</b>   | <b>32,815 24</b>    |
| <b>Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, April 30, 1922.....</b> | <b>\$175,378 88</b> |

## ORGANIZING EXPENSES

The following list of organizers, who were engaged in various States under salaries from the American Federation of Labor, shows that there has been expended from the general fund for organizing work during the past twelve months \$170,935.47. Of this amount \$1,097.03 was paid to district or volunteer organizers, in sums ranging from \$10 to \$100 for organizing central bodies and local trade and federal labor unions, and adjusting strikes and grievances of local unions affiliated directly or indirectly with the American Federation of Labor.

| NAME                        | STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE   | Amount Received |
|-----------------------------|--|-----------------|
| 1. *Hugh Frayne.....        | New York, California, Colorado, Washington, D. C. and Pennsylvania.....  | \$11,289.50     |
| 2. **John Fitzpatrick.....  | Illinois.....  | 8,258.17        |
| 3. E. T. Flood.....         | Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio and Kentucky.....  | 6,763.21        |
| 4. P. J. Smith.....         | Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Iowa, Colorado, Nebraska, Minnesota, Washington, D. C., Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Delaware, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Wisconsin..... | 6,694.07        |
| 5. Wm. Collins.....         | New York, Washington, D. C., West Virginia, Minnesota, North Dakota, Ohio and Pennsylvania.....  | 6,492.53        |
| 6. C. P. Taylor.....        | California.....  | 5,758.52        |
| 7. C. O. Young.....         | Washington, Oregon, Idaho and California.....  | 5,655.25        |
| 8. C. N. Idar.....          | Texas, Mexico, Oklahoma, Missouri and Kansas.....  | 5,617.69        |
| 9. E. L. Adams.....         | Washington, D. C., South Carolina, New York, Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Minnesota, Wisconsin and North Carolina.....   | 5,602.05        |
| 10. J. B. Dale.....         | California.....  | 5,469.06        |
| 11. C. B. Stillman.....     | Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Kansas, Colorado, Iowa, Wisconsin, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Washington, D. C., Indiana, and Ohio.....                                | 5,408.14        |
| 12. T. J. Conboy.....       | Indiana, Kentucky, Minnesota, Illinois and Missouri.....   | 5,211.90        |
| 13. P. F. Duffy.....        | New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.....   | 5,209.94        |
| 14. A. Bastien.....         | Canada.....  | 5,188.95        |
| 15. H. Strefler.....        | New York, Missouri, Texas, Kansas, Pennsylvania and Ohio.....  | 5,119.92        |
| 16. J. A. Flett.....        | Canada and New York.....   | 5,112.39        |
| 17. A. Neary.....           | Canada, New York, Maryland, Washington, D. C., New Jersey, Missouri, Illinois, Kansas, Colorado, Ohio, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Massachusetts.....                | 5,070.21        |
| 18. J. E. Roach.....        | New York, Washington, D. C., Ohio, Colorado, Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine and Missouri.....   | 5,030.66        |
| 19. H. L. Eichelberger..... | Maryland, Pennsylvania, Washington, D. C., North Carolina and Delaware.....  | 4,783.50        |
| 20. T. H. Flynn.....        | Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and West Virginia.....  | 4,581.62        |
| 21. F. H. McCarthy.....     | Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut and Maine.....  | 4,341.67        |
| 22. H. F. Hilfers.....      | New Jersey and New York.....   | 3,895.54        |
| 23. S. Iglesias.....        | Porto Rico and Washington, D. C.....   | 3,895.50        |
| 24. A. Farnilo.....         | Canada.....  | 3,551.10        |
| 25. J. M. Richie.....       | Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware.....   | 3,533.17        |
| 26. C. J. Jennings.....     | New Jersey and New York.....   | 3,301.08        |
| 27. W. Shurtleff.....       | Washington, D. C., Maryland, Ohio, Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Florida.....  | 3,267.60        |
| 28. J. H. Doyle.....        | California.....  | 3,214.52        |
| 29. A. Marks.....           | New York, New Jersey and Connecticut.....  | 2,670.65        |
| 30. J. L. Sims.....         | Indiana, Missouri and Kentucky.....  | 2,552.72        |
| 31. Cal. Wyatt.....         | Pennsylvania, New York and Ohio.....   | 2,530.07        |
| 32. Wm. Varley.....         | Canada.....  | 2,440.18        |
| 33. J. W. Worthey.....      | Washington, D. C., and North Carolina.....   | 2,143.98        |

| NAME                      | STATES WHEREIN WORK WAS DONE                                | Amount Received     |
|---------------------------|---|---------------------|
| 34. J. Brown.....         | North Carolina and Virginia.....                            | 2,008.93            |
| 35. M. Scott.....         | New York and New Jersey.....                                | 1,843.14            |
| 36. L. B. Doane.....      | Arizona and California.....                                 | 1,711.25            |
| 37. R. R. Canterbury..... | Washington and Oregon.....                                  | 1,252.10            |
| 38. J. E. Roach, Jr.....  | New York.....   | 1,205.50            |
| 39. J. C. Stambaugh.....  | Pennsylvania.....   | 1,200.00            |
| 40. J. Jones.....         | North Carolina, Georgia and South Carolina.....             | 531.48              |
| 41. J. R. Newcomb.....    | Virginia, North Carolina and Washington, D. C.....          | 250.88              |
| 42. S. Cupinski.....      | Illinois and Missouri.....                                  | 180.00              |
|                           | Paid to district organizers in amounts less than \$100..... | 1,097.03            |
|                           | <b>Total.....</b>   | <b>\$170,935.47</b> |

\*Includes \$5,313.60 paid for rent of office and office expenses, salary of stenographer, interpreter, and other organizers.

\*\*Includes \$5,658.17 paid for one-half rent of office, salary stenographers, telegrams, stationery and office supplies.

**CHARTERS REVOKED, SUSPENDED, SURRENDERED DISBANDED, JOINED INTERNATIONAL UNIONS AND RESTORED**

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 21; suspended, 80; merged, 1.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 56; suspended, 128; joined national and international organizations, 84; reinstated, 14; merged, 2.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 27; suspended, 74; reinstated, 3; joined national and international unions, 4.

**BOND STATEMENT 1902 TO 1922, INCLUSIVE**

The following statement shows the amounts received for premiums and the amounts paid to the Surety Company for bonds of affiliated organizations:

| Year.        | Receipts. | Expenses. | Year.             | Receipts.          | Expenses.          |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1902-3.....  | \$529 00  | \$309 60  | 1913-14.....      | \$3,221 75         | \$1,898 55         |
| 1903-4.....  | 398 75    | 402 60    | 1914-15.....      | 5,190 74           | 5,052 66           |
| 1904-5.....  | 406 75    | 285 65    | 1915-16.....      | 5,092 79           | 4,428 19           |
| 1905-6.....  | 736 35    | 591 16    | 1916-17.....      | 5,906 61           | 4,970 68           |
| 1906-7.....  | 1,128 79  | 817 76    | 1917-18.....      | 3,544 91           | 3,055 26           |
| 1907-8.....  | 1,261 51  | 1,021 96  | 1918-19.....      | 9,626 78           | 8,067 33           |
| 1908-9.....  | 1,692 35  | 1,226 03  | 1919-20.....      | 13,285 93          | 11,121 06          |
| 1909-10..... | 2,874 75  | 2,392 75  | 1920-21.....      | 9,490 68           | 7,816 14           |
| 1910-11..... | 2,988 55  | 1,448 38  | 1921-22.....      | 5,979 90           | 4,963 00           |
| 1911-12..... | 2,710 07  | 2,089 15  |                   |                    |                    |
| 1912-13..... | 3,225 55  | 3,863 18  | <b>Total.....</b> | <b>\$79,292 51</b> | <b>\$65,821 09</b> |

**RECAPITULATION**

|   |                    |
|---|--------------------|
| Total receipts from 1902 to April 30, 1922..... | \$79,292 51        |
| Total expenses from 1902 to April 30, 1922..... | 65,821 09          |
| <b>Excess from 1902 to April 30, 1922.....</b>  | <b>\$13,471 42</b> |

**VOTING STRENGTH OF FEDERATION, 1897 TO 1922, INCLUSIVE**

| Year.     | No. Votes. | Year.     | No. Votes. |
|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|
| 1897..... | 2,747      | 1910..... | 16,737     |
| 1898..... | 2,881      | 1911..... | 18,693     |
| 1899..... | 3,632      | 1912..... | 18,499     |
| 1900..... | 5,737      | 1913..... | 20,976     |
| 1901..... | 8,240      | 1914..... | 21,185     |
| 1902..... | 10,705     | 1915..... | 20,433     |
| 1903..... | 15,238     | 1916..... | 21,906     |
| 1904..... | 17,363     | 1917..... | 24,973     |
| 1905..... | 16,338     | 1918..... | 28,375     |
| 1906..... | 15,621     | 1919..... | 33,850     |
| 1907..... | 16,425     | 1920..... | 41,307     |
| 1908..... | 16,892     | 1921..... | 40,410     |
| 1909..... | 15,880     | 1922..... | 33,336     |

## UNION LABELS

There are now 51 labels and 10 cards issued by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

## ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS.

|                                |                            |                          |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| American Federation of Labor.  | Garment Workers, United.   | Papermakers.             |
| Bakers and Confectioners.      | Garment Workers, Ladies.   | Photo-Engravers.         |
| Bill Posters and Billers.      | Glove Workers.             | Piano and Organ Workers. |
| Boilermakers.                  | Hatters.                   | Plate Printers.          |
| Blacksmiths.                   | Horseshoers.               | Powder Workers.          |
| Bookbinders.                   | Iron and Steel Workers.    | Pressmen, Printing.      |
| Boot and Shoe Workers.         | Jewelry Workers.           | Print Cutters.           |
| Brewery Workmen.               | Lathers.                   | Sawsmiths.               |
| Brickmakers.                   | Laundry Workers.           | Slate Workers.           |
| Broommakers.                   | Leather Workers.           | Stove Mounters.          |
| Carpenters and Joiners         | Lithographers.             | Tailors.                 |
| Brotherhood.                   | Machine Printers and Color | Textile Workers.         |
| Carvers, Wood.                 | Mixers.                    | Timber Workers.          |
| Cigarmakers.                   | Machinists.                | Tobacco Workers.         |
| Coopers.                       | Marble Workers.            | Typographical.           |
| Draftsmen Unions, Technica     | Metal Polishers.           | Upholsterers.            |
| Engineers, Architects and, In- | Metal Workers, Sheet.      | Weavers, Wire.           |
| ternational Federation of.     | Molders.                   |                          |
| Electrical Workers.            | Painters.                  |                          |

## ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS.

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

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor label: Badge and Lodge Paraphernalia Makers, Coffee, Spice, and Baking Powder Workers; Nail (Horseshoe) Workers; Neckwear Cutters and Makers; Suspender Makers; Garter, Arm Band and Hose Supporter Makers.

## TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

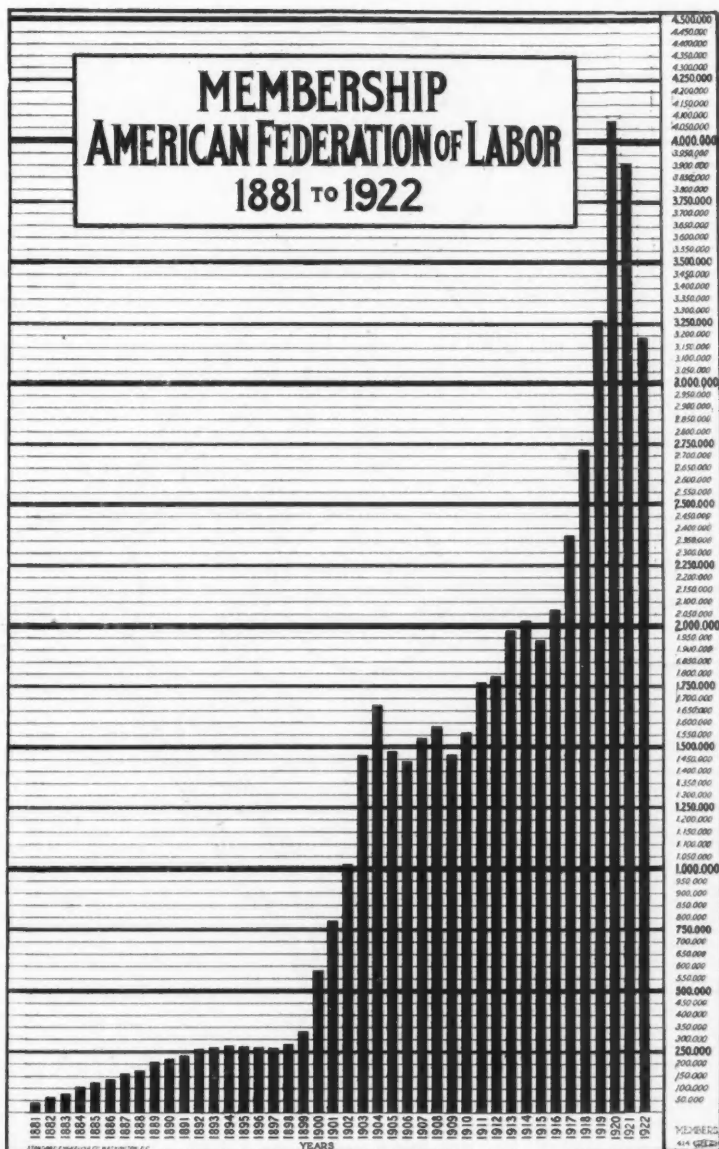
The average paid-up and reported membership for the year is 3,195,635. National and international organizations are required to pay only the per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership, and therefore the membership reported does not include all the members involved in strikes or lockouts or those who were unemployed during the fiscal year, for whom tax was not received.

The following is the average membership reported or paid upon for the past twenty-six years:

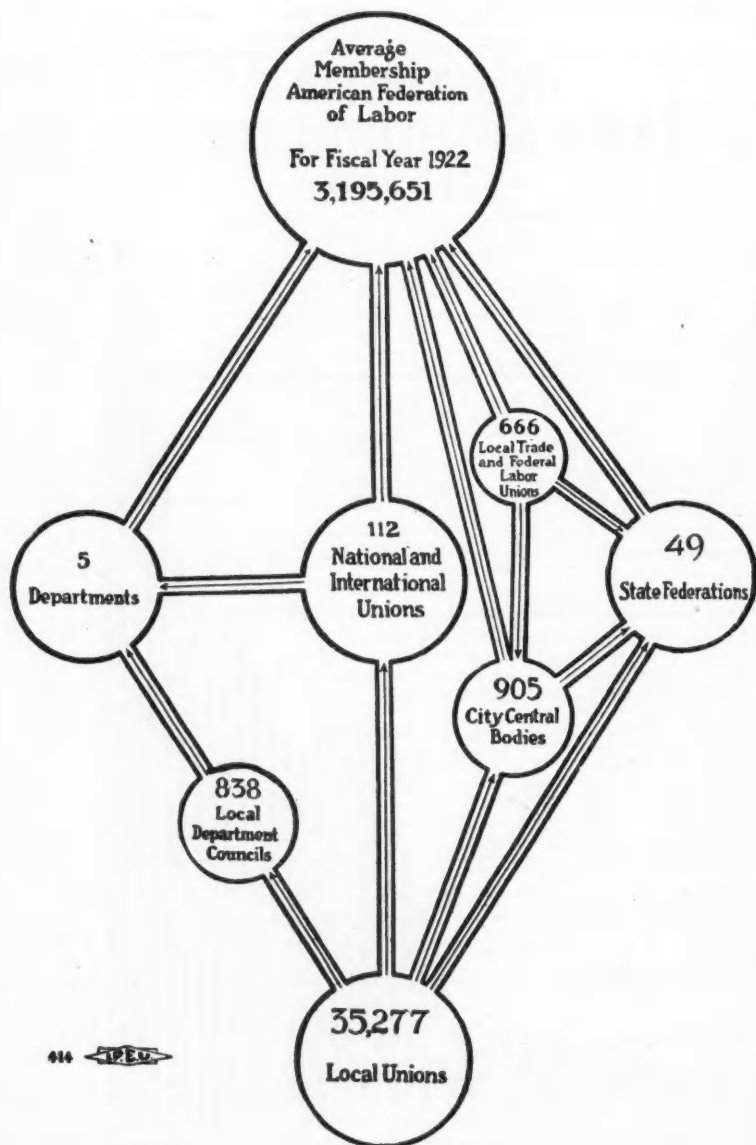
| Year.     | Membership. | Year.     | Membership. | Year.     | Membership. | Year.     | Membership. |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| 1897..... | 264,825     | 1904..... | 1,676,200   | 1910..... | 1,562,112   | 1916..... | 2,072,702   |
| 1898..... | 278,016     | 1905..... | 1,494,300   | 1911..... | 1,761,835   | 1917..... | 2,371,434   |
| 1899..... | 349,422     | 1906..... | 1,454,200   | 1912..... | 1,770,145   | 1918..... | 2,726,478   |
| 1900..... | 548,321     | 1907..... | 1,538,970   | 1913..... | 1,996,004   | 1919..... | 3,260,068   |
| 1901..... | 787,537     | 1908..... | 1,586,885   | 1914..... | 2,020,671   | 1920..... | 4,078,740   |
| 1902..... | 1,024,399   | 1909..... | 1,482,872   | 1915..... | 1,946,347   | 1921..... | 3,906,528   |
| 1903..... | 1,465,800   |           |             |           |             | 1922..... | 3,195,635   |

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881, up to and including 1922—forty-two years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized, commencing with the local unions of the international organizations as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement. Local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 35,277 local unions in the 112 national and international unions and 666 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, with a paid-up and reported average membership of 31,258 for the fiscal year ending April 30, 1922.

# MEMBERSHIP AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR 1881 TO 1922



7-12-22  
A. F. L.





VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1914 up to and including 1922. This table is based upon the average membership reported or paid upon to the American Federation of Labor:

| ORGANIZATIONS.   | 1914. | 1915. | 1916. | 1917. | 1918. | 1919. | 1920. | 1921. | 1922. |
|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Actors, Associated, & Artists of A.                              | 110   | 87    | 90    | 47    | 30    | 30    | 69    | 118   | 94    |
| Asbestos Workers' Intl. Assoc. of Heat and Frost Insulators..... | 10    | 10    | 10    | 10    | 16    | 18    | 22    | 26    | 20    |
| Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs. I. U. of A.....                     | 167   | 158   | 175   | 189   | 204   | 210   | 275   | 280   | 248   |
| Barbers' International Union, Jour.....                          | 343   | 341   | 359   | 398   | 384   | 359   | 442   | 470   | 452   |
| Bill Posters.....  | 14    | 14    | 15    | 15    | 16    | 16    | 16    | 16    | 16    |
| Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.....                           | 96    | 85    | 97    | 120   | 183   | 283   | 483   | 500   | 367   |
| Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.....                          | 167   | 173   | 182   | 312   | 555   | 849   | 1030  | 845   | 417   |
| Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....                                | 381   | 356   | 390   | 396   | 358   | 368   | 467   | 410   | 402   |
| Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of.....                           | 94    | 85    | 93    | 114   | 145   | 164   | 207   | 247   | 163   |
| Brewery Workmen, International Union.....                        | 520   | 520   | 496   | 450   | 450   | 400   | 341   | 273   | 190   |
| Brick and Clay Workers, etc.....                                 | 32    | 29    | 32    | 28    | 25    | 27    | 52    | 54    | 41    |
| Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers I. U. A.....                    | 102   | 100   | 100   | 700   | 700   | 700   | 700   | 700   | 700   |
| Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs., Intl. Assoc.....                     | 7     | 7     | 8     | 7     | 160   | 170   | 242   | 199   | 140   |
| Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.....                         | 2     | 2     | 2     | 2     | 2     | 10    | 14    | 12    | 8     |
| Brushmakers' International Union.....                            | 2     | 2     | 2     | 2     | 2     | 11    | 11    | 11    | 11    |
| Building Service Employees' Intl. Union.....                     | 2128  | 1956  | 1977  | 2317  | 2673  | 3079  | 3315  | 3521  | 3138  |
| Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.....                      | 35    | 38    | 40    | 42    | 42    | 42    | 42    | 42    | 42    |
| Carriage and Wagon Workers.....                                  | 287   | 293   | 308   | 390   | 534   | 1004  | 1821  | 2000  | 1717  |
| Carmen of A., Bro. Railway.....                                  | 11    | 10    | 11    | 12    | 12    | 10    | 12    | 12    | 11    |
| Carvers' Union, International Wood.....                          | 73    | 16    | g     | g     | g     | g     | g     | g     | g     |
| Cement Workers.....  | 400   | 394   | 377   | 416   | 395   | 363   | 388   | 342   | 320   |
| Cigarmakers' International Union.....                            | 50    | 50    | 51    | 68    | 172   | 714   | 1860  | 1696  | 1378  |
| Clerks, Bro. of Railway.....                                     | 15    | 20    | 27    | 4     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     |
| Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail.....                       | 150   | 150   | 150   | 150   | 150   | 150   | 208   | 212   | 167   |
| Clerks, National Post-office.....                                | 28    | 32    | 42    | 4     | 4     | 4     | 4     | 4     | 4     |
| Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, United.....                            | 36    | 30    | 63    | 88    | m     | m     | m     | m     | m     |
| Compressed Air & Foundation Workers.....                         | 10    | 12    | 14    | 10    | n     | n     | n     | n     | n     |
| Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....                           | 45    | 39    | 36    | 39    | 40    | 40    | 43    | 44    | 28    |
| Coopers' International Union.....                                | 3     | 3     | 2     | 2     | 2     | 2     | 2     | 3     | 3     |
| Cutting Die & Cuttermakers, Intl Union.....                      | 3     | 3     | 3     | 4     | 4     | 5     | 6     | 6     | 5     |
| Draftsmen's Union, Intl.....                                     | 308   | 362   | 362   | 415   | 544   | 1312  | 1392  | 1420  | 1420  |
| Electrical Workers, International Bro.....                       | 27    | 27    | 28    | 29    | 29    | 30    | 31    | 38    | 38    |
| Elevator Constructors.....                                       | 203   | 210   | 210   | 220   | 230   | 250   | 320   | 320   | 320   |
| Engineers, B'n. Ass. of U. S. & C., Nat. Mar.....                | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 79    | 128   | 170   | 211   | 190   |
| Engineers, Intl. Union of Steam.....                             | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate.....                           | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 1     | 2     | 4     | 3     |
| Engravers Intl. Union, Metal.....                                | 47    | 48    | 51    | 51    | 51    | 50    | 59    | 65    | 65    |
| Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.....                      | 11    | 11    | 11    | 11    | 11    | 11    | 11    | 11    | 11    |
| Express Messengers of A., Bro. of Railway.....                   | ..... | ..... | ..... | 81    | 109   | 204   | 385   | 330   | 250   |
| Federal Employees, National Fed. of.....                         | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 23    | 154   | 221   | 180   | 161   |
| Fire Fighters, International Assn. of.....                       | 160   | 160   | 170   | 170   | 171   | 205   | 296   | 350   | 250   |
| Firemen, Intl. Bro. of Stationary.....                           | 29    | 160   | 170   | 170   | 171   | 205   | 296   | 350   | 250   |
| Freight Handlers, Bro. of Railroad.....                          | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Fruit & Vegetable Workers of N. A., Intl. Union of.....          | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 19    |
| Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of.....                            | 6     | 6     | 8     | 13    | 33    | 54    | 91    | 52    | 40    |
| Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.....                      | 8     | 37    | 57    | 81    | 100   | 108   | 121   | 45    | 47    |
| Garment Workers of America, United.....                          | 607   | 422   | 430   | 449   | 459   | 460   | 459   | 472   | 475   |
| Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.....                    | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 97    |
| Glass Workers' International Assoc., Amal.....                   | 12    | 11    | h     | h     | h     | h     | h     | h     | h     |
| Glass Workers, American Flint.....                               | 99    | 94    | 94    | 98    | 99    | 95    | 99    | 97    | 87    |
| Glove Workers, National Window.....                              | 11    | 10    | 10    | 8     | 7     | 50    | 48    | 50    | 50    |
| Grinders & Finishers, Pocket Knife Blade.....                    | 3     | 3     | 2     | 2     | 7     | 7     | 7     | 7     | 7     |
| Granite Cutters' Intl. Assoc. of A., The.....                    | 135   | 135   | 131   | 125   | 119   | 107   | 105   | 105   | 100   |
| Hatters of North America, United.....                            | 85    | 85    | 85    | 85    | 91    | 100   | 105   | 115   | 115   |
| Hodcarriers and Common Laborers.....                             | 256   | 319   | 324   | 324   | 367   | 400   | 420   | 460   | 460   |
| Horseshoers of United States and Canada.....                     | 57    | 57    | 58    | 54    | 54    | 54    | 54    | 54    | 25    |
| Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.....                         | 590   | 606   | 590   | 646   | 652   | 608   | 604   | 572   | 465   |
| Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Assoc.....                    | 64    | 65    | 67    | 110   | 161   | 197   | 315   | 254   | 159   |
| Jewelry Workers' International.....                              | 11    | 11    | 53    | 43    | 48    | 51    | 81    | s     | s     |
| Lace Operatives, Amal.....                                       | 12    | 12    | 11    | 12    | 12    | 9     | q     | q     | q     |
| Ladies' Garment Workers, International.....                      | 699   | 653   | 851   | 823   | 895   | 905   | 1054  | 941   | 939   |
| Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. & Metal.....                       | 55    | 60    | 60    | 60    | 60    | 60    | 59    | 80    | 80    |
| Laundry Workers, International Union.....                        | 28    | 41    | 43    | 46    | 55    | 60    | 67    | 70    | 65    |
| Leather Workers on Horse Goods.....                              | 18    | 18    | 18    | k     | k     | k     | k     | k     | k     |
| Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United.....                        | ..... | ..... | ..... | 32    | 41    | 67    | 117   | 80    | 34    |
| Letter Carriers, National Assoc. of.....                         | ..... | ..... | ..... | 25    | 305   | 307   | 325   | 325   | 325   |
| Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural.....                         | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | 3     | 16    | 10    |
| Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Assoc.....                          | 28    | 35    | 42    | 46    | 49    | 56    | 61    | 72    | 76    |
| Lithographic Pressfeeders.....                                   | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     |
| Longshoremen's Association, Intl.....                            | 250   | 250   | 250   | 255   | 260   | 313   | 740   | 641   | 463   |
| Machinists, International Association of.....                    | 754   | 719   | 1009  | 1125  | 1436  | 2546  | 3308  | 2736  | 1809  |

## VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

| ORGANIZATIONS.                                    | 1914. | 1915. | 1916. | 1917. | 1918. | 1919. | 1920. | 1921. | 1922. |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Maintenance of Way Employes, I. B. of.....        | 65    | 81    | 89    | 97    | 56    | 542   | g     | g     | g     |
| Marble, etc., International Assco. of.....        | 41    | 16    | 6     | 10    | 10    | 12    | 12    | 12    | 17    |
| Masters, Mates and Pilots.....                    | 62    | 61    | 73    | 96    | 291   | 663   | 653   | 439   | 196   |
| Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....             | 178   | 178   | 175   | 176   | 183   | 202   | 218   | 242   | 250   |
| Metal Workers' Intl. Alliance, Amal. Sheet        | 3345  | 3116  | 3180  | 3520  | 4134  | 3938  | 3936  | 4257  | 3729  |
| Mine Workers of America, United.....              | 369   | 167   | 161   | 179   | 167   | 178   | 211   | 162   | 46    |
| Molders' Union of North America, Intl.....        | 500   | 500   | 500   | 500   | 500   | 516   | 573   | 585   | 265   |
| Musicians, American Federation of                 | 600   | 600   | 600   | 604   | 650   | 654   | 700   | 746   | 750   |
| Oil Field, etc., Workers.....                     |       |       |       |       |       | 45    | 209   | 248   | 61    |
| Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....          | 744   | 753   | 782   | 852   | 845   | 827   | 1031  | 1133  | 978   |
| Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....           | 44    | 45    | 52    | 64    | 60    | 57    | 74    | 107   | 83    |
| Patrolmen, Brotherhood of Railroad.....           |       |       |       |       |       |       | 26    | 16    | 9     |
| Patternmakers' League of N. A.....                | 67    | 65    | 65    | 70    | 88    | 90    | 90    | 90    | 80    |
| Pavers & Rammersmen, Intl. Union of.....          | 16    | 16    | 15    | 15    | 17    | 18    | 19    | 20    | 20    |
| Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.....     | 35    | 35    | 33    | 32    | 32    | 26    | 26    | 24    | 24    |
| Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A., Intl.....        | 10    | 10    | 10    | 15    | 2.0   | 20    | 32    | 27    | 9     |
| Plasterers' Intl. Assco. of U. S. & C., Oper..... | 180   | 183   | 184   | 190   | 190   | 190   | 194   | 239   | 246   |
| Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....                  | 297   | 320   | 320   | 320   | 320   | 320   | 320   | 319   | 350   |
| Polishers, Intl. Union Metal.....                 | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 100   | 82    |
| Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of           |       |       |       | 81    | 101   | 145   | 162   | 170   | 178   |
| Potters, National Bro. of Operative.....          | 77    | 78    | 77    | 76    | 78    | 74    | 80    | 91    | 92    |
| Powder and High Explosive Workers.....            | 2     | 2     | 3     | 3     | 4     | 5     | 3     | 2     | 2     |
| Printing Pressmen, International.....             | 193   | 227   | 290   | 330   | 340   | 340   | 350   | 370   | 370   |
| Printers' Union of N. S. & C. Plate.....          | 13    | 13    | 12    | 13    | 12    | 13    | 14    | 15    | 15    |
| Printers and Color Mixers, Machine.....           | 5     | 5     | 5     | 5     | 5     | 5     | 5     | 5     | 5     |
| Print Cutters' Assco. of A., Natl.....            | 4     | 4     | 4     | 4     | 4     | 4     | 4     | 4     | 3     |
| Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.....          | 35    | 43    | 44    | 65    | 80    | 84    | 95    | 113   | 68    |
| Quarry Workers, International.....                | 40    | 36    | 35    | 35    | 31    | 30    | 30    | 30    | 30    |
| Railway Employes' Amal. Assco., S. & E.....       | 545   | 589   | 646   | 737   | 786   | 897   | 987   | 1000  | 1000  |
| Railway Mail Association.....                     |       |       |       |       | 94    | 134   | 144   | 150   | 166   |
| Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn.            |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
| United Slate, Tile and Composition.....           | 12    | 12    | 12    | 12    | 12    | 10    | 18    | 28    | 30    |
| Sawsmiths' National Union.....                    | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     |
| Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....              | 160   | 160   | 217   | 322   | 371   | 427   | 659   | 1033  | 492   |
| Signalmen, Bro. R. R.....                         | 7     | 8     | 9     | 8     | 9     | 62    | 123   | 113   | 105   |
| Slate and Tile Roofers.....                       | 6     | 6     | 6     | 6     | 6     | 6     | r     | r     | r     |
| Slate Workers.....                                | 3     |       | ††    | ††    | ††    | ††    | ††    | ††    | ††    |
| Spinnners' Intl. Union.....                       | 22    | 22    | 22    | 22    | 22    | 22    | r     | r     | r     |
| Stage Employes, Intl. Alliance Theatrical.....    | 150   | 180   | 181   | 186   | 186   | 185   | 196   | 194   | 195   |
| Steam Shovel and Dredge Men.....                  |       | 27    | 20    | 29    | 37    | d     | d     | d     | d     |
| Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.....        | 45    | 49    | 49    | 52    | 53    | 54    | 59    | 61    | 60    |
| Stonecutters' Association, Journeyman.....        | 60    | 44    | 43    | 41    | 42    | 39    | 40    | 44    | 46    |
| Stove Mounters' International Union.....          | 11    | 11    | 12    | 17    | 19    | 19    | 19    | 20    | 20    |
| Switchmen's Union of North America.....           | 98    | 90    | 93    | 102   | 107   | 118   | 140   | 101   | 88    |
| Tailors' Union of America, Journeyman.....        | 120   | 120   | 120   | 120   | 120   | 120   | 120   | 120   | 120   |
| Teachers, Am. Fed. of.....                        |       |       | 27    | 21    | 10    | 28    | 93    | 93    | 70    |
| Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....   | 511   | 516   | 590   | 703   | 729   | 756   | 1108  | 1057  | 764   |
| Telegraphers, Commercial.....                     | 10    | 10    | 10    | 10    | 10    | 20    | 22    | 32    | 34    |
| Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....              | 250   | 250   | 250   | 272   | 377   | 446   | 487   | 500   | 500   |
| Textile Workers of America, United.....           | 180   | 189   | 255   | 371   | 459   | 558   | 1049  | 829   | 300   |
| Tile Layers and Helpers, Intl. Union.....         | 30    | 30    | 28    | 28    | 25    | d     | d     | d     | d     |
| Timber Workers, Intl. Union of.....               |       |       |       | 2     | 23    | 32    | 101   | 58    | 8     |
| Tip Printers.....                                 | †     | †     | 3     | 3     | 3     | p     | p     | p     | p     |
| Tobacco Workers' Intl. Union of America.....      | 37    | 39    | 34    | 32    | 33    | 42    | 152   | 123   | 34    |
| Transformers' Assco. of Amer., Steel Plate.....   | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     |
| Travelers' Goods & Leather Novelty Intl.....      | 9     | 9     | 10    | k     | k     | k     | k     | k     | k     |
| Tunnel & Subway Constructors, I. U.....           | 17    | 15    | 27    | 34    | 24    | 20    | 30    | 36    | 30    |
| Typographical Union, International.....           | 594   | 591   | 607   | 616   | 633   | 647   | 705   | 748   | 689   |
| Upholsters, International Union of.....           | 35    | 35    | 39    | 40    | 48    | 55    | 56    | 60    | 67    |
| Weavers, Elastic Goring.....                      | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     | 1     |
| Weavers, Shingle.....                             | 25    | 7     | 4     | 5     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     | 0     |
| Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....           | 3     | 3     | 3     | 3     | 3     | 3     | 4     | 4     | 4     |
| Centrals.....                                     | 647   | 673   | 717   | 762   | 781   | 816   | 926   | 973   | 905   |
| State Branches.....                               | 43    | 44    | 45    | 45    | 45    | 46    | 46    | 49    | 49    |
| Directly affiliated local unions.....             | 570   | 489   | 705   | 1016  | 1076  | 1091  | 1498  | 1027  | 747   |
| Total vote of Unions.....                         | 21185 | 20433 | 21906 | 24973 | 28375 | 33849 | 41307 | 40410 | 33396 |

† Suspended for non-payment of per capita tax. †† Disbanded. ‡ Not recognized. § Merged with Painter's and Plasterers. ¶ Merged with Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers. ¶ Bro. of Railway Postal Clerks and National Federation of Post Office Clerks, merged. ¶ Suspended for failure to comply with decision of Baltimore Convention. ¶ Leather Workers on Horse Goods and Travelers' Goods merged with Leather Novelty Workers. ¶ Suspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. ¶ Suspended for failure to comply with decision of convention. ¶ Merged with Hod-carriers. ¶ Merged with Timber Workers. ¶ Merged with Bookbinders. ¶ Suspended for failure to comply with decision of the Atlantic City Convention. ¶ Merged with Composition Roofers, etc. ¶ Suspended for failure to comply with decision of the Montreal Convention.

## BENEFITS PAID TO MEMBERS BY AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS DURING THE PAST YEAR

| ORGANIZATIONS.                     | Death benefits. | Death benefits, members' wives. | Sick benefits. | Traveling benefits. | Tool insurance. | Unemployed benefits. |
|------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| A. F. of L. Locals.....            | \$3,359 75      | \$370 00                        | \$5,707 30     | \$2,130 78          | \$88 10         | \$9,436 76           |
| Bakery and Confectionery Workers   | 10,950 00       | 3,200 00                        | 114,487 18     |                     |                 |                      |
| Boot and Shoe Workers Union        | 19,350 00       |                                 | 178,597 54     |                     |                 |                      |
| Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers | 209,710 95      |                                 | 435,295 00     |                     |                 |                      |
| Carmen, Railway                    | 178,750 00      |                                 |                |                     |                 |                      |
| Carpenters                         | 490,819 94      | 62,342 00                       |                |                     |                 |                      |
| Carvers                            | 3,000 00        |                                 |                |                     | 378 25          |                      |
| Cigarmakers                        | 238,269 74      |                                 | 203,882 64     | 21,618 80           |                 | 30,826 10            |
| Clerks, Post Office                |                 |                                 | 10,000 00      |                     |                 |                      |
| Conductors, Sleeping Car           | 26,000 00       |                                 |                |                     |                 |                      |
| Coopers                            | 5,250 00        |                                 |                |                     |                 |                      |
| Diamond Workers                    | 2,000 00        | 50 00                           | 3,561 00       |                     |                 | 19,032 25            |
| Engravers, Steel and Copper Plate  |                 |                                 |                | 212 00              |                 |                      |
| Foundry Employees                  | 600 00          |                                 | 7,000 00       |                     |                 |                      |
| Fur Workers                        | 1,200 00        |                                 |                |                     |                 |                      |
| Glass Bottle Blowers               | 37,500 00       |                                 |                |                     |                 |                      |
| Hotel and Restaurant Employees     | 34,226 80       |                                 | 60,975 36      |                     |                 |                      |
| Laundry Workers                    | 3,400 00        |                                 |                |                     |                 |                      |
| Letter Carriers                    | 119,793 79      |                                 | 103,548 21     |                     |                 |                      |
| Meatcutters                        | 28,000 00       |                                 |                |                     |                 |                      |
| Molders                            | 71,091 00       |                                 | 249,758 60a    |                     |                 | 446,385 00           |
| Patternmakers                      | 11,875 00       |                                 | 7,376 78       |                     | 1,615 40        | 75,000 00            |
| Polishers, Metal                   | 10,300 00       |                                 |                |                     |                 | 16,509 00            |
| Print Cutters                      | 1,200 00        |                                 |                | 750 00              |                 |                      |
| Printers and Color Mixers          | 1,800 00        |                                 |                | 6,000 00            |                 |                      |
| Printing Pressmen                  | 60,600 00       |                                 |                |                     |                 |                      |
| Quarry Workers                     | 2,075 00        |                                 |                |                     |                 | b                    |
| Roofers, Slate and Tile            | 6,250 00        |                                 |                |                     |                 |                      |
| Seamen                             | 90,000 00       |                                 |                |                     | d               |                      |
| Stereotypers and Electrotypers     | 5,600 00        |                                 |                |                     |                 |                      |
| Stove Mounters                     | 900 00          |                                 |                |                     |                 | 8,100 00             |
| Tailors                            | 9,603 60        |                                 | 18,308 50      |                     |                 |                      |
| Telegraphers, Railroad             | 138,500 00      |                                 |                |                     |                 |                      |
| Tobacco Workers                    | 1,200 00        |                                 | 6,000 00       |                     |                 |                      |
| Typographical                      | 322,248 69      |                                 |                |                     |                 | e                    |
| Weavers, American Wire             | 300 00          |                                 | 550 00         |                     |                 |                      |
| Total                              | \$2,145,724 26  | \$65,962 00                     | \$1,305,048 11 | \$30,711 58         | \$2,081 75      | \$605,389 11         |

a. Disability, \$13,650; b. Old-age exemption card benefits, \$850; c. Hospital supplies and funeral expenses; d. Shipwreck benefits, \$40,000; e. Old-age pensions, \$669,976; and maintaining Union Printer's Home, \$191,887.97; f. Eleven months; g. Relief or pension; h. paid by locals; i. disability, \$5,200.

Many of the local unions provide death, sick and out-of-work benefits for their members in addition to the benefits paid by the international unions. The amounts above reported as having been expended by the international unions on account of various benefits in the past year are, in the majority of cases, those paid directly by the internationals, and therefore the totals represent but a small proportion of the aggregate sum paid by trade unions in the way of benefits.

**CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR NATIONAL NON-PARTISAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE FUND**

An appeal was issued April 4, 1922, by the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L. for contributions to assist in carrying out the instructions of the A. F. of L. convention, to defeat candidates for office hostile to the trade union movement, and elect candidates who may be relied upon to support measures favorable to Labor. The amount received in response to the appeal to carry on the 1922 Congressional Campaign from April 12, 1922, to and including April 30, 1922, was:

|  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| Total donations, April 12 to April 30, 1922..... | \$2,838 00        |
| Balance on hand, April 30, 1922.....             | <u>\$2,838 00</u> |

An itemized report of this fund will be printed and mailed to each contributor after the campaign has been completed.

**CHARTERS ISSUED**

During the twelve months ending April 30, 1922, there have been issued 105 charters to International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions. Of this number, two were granted to the following internationals:

International Union of Fruit and Vegetable Workers of North America.  
International Metal Engravers' Union.  
Thirty-two Central Bodies, as follows:

|                          |                       |                 |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Alabama:                 | Illinois (continued): | Oregon:         |
| Brookside.               | Pittsburg.            | Corvallis.      |
| Oakman.                  | Savanna.              |                 |
|                          | Sesser.               | Pennsylvania:   |
| Arkansas:                | Indiana:              | Kiski Valley.   |
| ElDorado.                | Clinton.              | New Bethlehem.  |
| California:              | La Porte.             |                 |
| Bay Dist., Santa Monica. | Iowa:                 | Texas:          |
|                          | Centerville.          | Greenville.     |
| Florida:                 |                       | Mexia.          |
| Lake Worth.              | Kentucky:             | Wolfe City.     |
|                          | Middlesboro.          | West Virginia:  |
| Idaho:                   |                       | Lumberport.     |
| Lewiston.                | New Jersey:           | Montgomery.     |
|                          | Plainfield.           |                 |
| Illinois:                | Oklahoma:             | Wyoming:        |
| Benton.                  | Duncan.               | Fremont County. |
| Coulterville.            | Heavener.             | Green River.    |
| Hurst.                   | Lawton.               |                 |
| Kincaid.                 |                       |                 |
| Litchfield.              |                       |                 |

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year:

|                           |            |
|---------------------------|------------|
|                           | 1921-1922  |
| Internationals.....       | 2          |
| Central Bodies.....       | 32         |
| Local Trade Unions.....   | 48         |
| Federal Labor Unions..... | 23         |
| Total.....                | <u>105</u> |

**IN CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, I desire to express to the delegates present my sincere appreciation of the faithful, earnest and successful efforts put forth by the national and international organizations, state and central bodies and the organizers of the American Federation of Labor to organize the unorganized workers and the substantial assistance and encouragement received from the officers of the national and international unions, state and city bodies and from my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted.

*Frank Morrison*  
Secretary, American Federation of Labor

## TREASURER TOBIN'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

FELLOW UNIONISTS: I herewith submit report upon the funds of the American Federation of Labor for the twelve months from April 30, 1921, to April 30, 1922. The financial statement is as follows:

| INCOME.   | EXPENSES.    |
|---|--------------|
| Received of Secretary Morrison:                       |              |
| 1921.   |              |
| May 31.....   | \$57,705 16  |
| June 30.....  | 45,397 85    |
| July 31.....  | 49,711 75    |
| August 31.....  | 47,012 28    |
| September 30.....                                     | 41,703 23    |
| October 31.....                                       | 42,250 08    |
| November 30.....                                      | 43,150 58    |
| December 31.....                                      | 44,118 75    |
| 1922.   |              |
| January 31.....                                       | 53,190 78    |
| February 28.....                                      | 32,343 27    |
| March 31.....   | 48,993 26    |
| April 30.....   | 77,543 04    |
| Total income for year.....                            | \$583,120 03 |
| Balance in hands of Treasurer,<br>April 30, 1921..... | 176,262 72   |
| Total funds.....                                      | \$759,382 75 |
| Warrants paid:  |              |
| 1921.   |              |
| May 31.....   | \$57,562 83  |
| June 30.....  | 61,211 43    |
| July 31.....  | 49,681 55    |
| August 31.....  | 49,089 97    |
| September 30.....                                     | 44,515 46    |
| October 31.....                                       | 40,110 10    |
| November 30.....                                      | 39,277 43    |
| December 31.....                                      | 39,819 38    |
| 1922.   |              |
| January 31.....                                       | 50,423 40    |
| February 28.....                                      | 29,576 42    |
| March 31.....   | 43,934 15    |
| April 30.....   | 57,385 95    |
| Total expenses for year.....                          | \$562,588 07 |

### RECAPITULATION

|   |              |
|---|--------------|
| Total funds (balance and income).....             | \$759,382 75 |
| Total expenses.....                               | 562,588 07   |
| April 30, 1922—Balance in hands of Treasurer..... | \$196,794 68 |
| April 30, 1922—Balance in hands of Secretary..... | 2,000 00     |
| Total balance on hand, April 30, 1922.....        | \$198,794 68 |

#### Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:

|   |             |
|---|-------------|
| Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., interest bearing certificates..... | \$80,000 00 |
| Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check.....        | 51,794 68   |
| Liberty Bonds.....  | 50,000 00   |
| Canadian Victory Bonds.....   | 15,000 00   |

Treasurer's balance April 30, 1922..... \$196,794 68

Deposits guaranteed by bond.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL J. TOBIN,

Treasurer, American Federation of Labor.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND., May 1, 1922.

## REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending April 30, 1922:

| RECEIPTS   |                    |
|--|--------------------|
| Balance on hand April 30, 1921.....  | \$3,142 45         |
| Receipts from rents, May 1, 1921, to April 30, 1922.....   | 27,552 50          |
| Receipts from waste paper.....   | 103 47             |
| Receipts from interest of funds on deposit.....  | 61 27              |
| Total.....   | <b>\$30,859 69</b> |
| EXPENSES   |                    |
| <i>Maintenance:</i>  |                    |
| Pay-roll (building employes).....  | \$15,303 15        |
| Fuel (coal).....   | 2,424 20           |
| Taxes.....   | 2,007 84           |
| Electricity.....   | 1,671 09           |
| Supplies.....  | 789 59             |
| Plastering and painting.....   | 720 75             |
| Upkeep and repairs.....  | 574 82             |
| Ice.....   | 419 00             |
| Repairs to roof and Pent House.....  | 304 83             |
| Elevators upkeep and repairs.....  | 220 17             |
| Water rent.....  | 211 15             |
| Hauling ashes and trash.....   | 145 00             |
| Insurance (liability).....   | 86 75              |
| Total Maintenance.....   | \$24,878 74        |
| Cost paid under mandate of the Court of Appeals in the case of Brumbaugh vs. Trustees, A. F. of L. Building..... | 105 90             |
| Safe deposit box.....  | 2 50               |
| Total expenses.....  | <b>\$24,986 74</b> |
| RECAPITULATION   |                    |
| Receipts.....  | \$30,859 69        |
| Total expenses.....  | 24,986 74          |
| Balance on hand April 30, 1922.....  | <b>\$5,872 95</b>  |
| <i>Moneys deposited and invested as follows:</i>   |                    |
| Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C.....   | \$872 95           |
| United States Treasury Certificates.....   | 5,000 00           |
| Balance on hand April 30, 1922.....  | <b>\$5,872 95</b>  |

On April 11, 1916, Dr. and Mrs. Brumbaugh started a suit to enjoin trustees of the A. F. of L. building from maintaining a wall on about 100 square feet of ground which they claimed under adverse possession. Case was heard December, 1919, and the court decided that Brumbaugh's did not have adverse possession and dismissed bill with costs. The plaintiffs then took an appeal and court held that Brumbaugh's had adverse possession but refused to grant an order to remove wall, holding that Brumbaugh's should receive compensatory damages. The case for compensatory damages will probably be reached next October. Our attorney advised that compensatory damages should not exceed \$800. When trustees purchased lot, it was surveyed and bond secured, which guaranteed title to property. Adverse possession was claimed because about 100 square feet of the lot had been used by plaintiffs as a footpath to alley.

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the E. C. and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interests of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
FRANK MORRISON,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,

Trustees, A. F. of L. Building

### NATIONAL CHILD LABOR LAW HELD UNCONSTITUTIONAL

As far back as 1881, in the first constitution adopted by the American Federation of Labor, the American labor movement declared: "We are in favor of the passage of laws in the several states forbidding the employment of children under the age of 14 in any capacity, under penalty of imprisonment."

Then the A. F. of L. believed, as now, that of the many injustices and wrongs growing out of our modern industrial system, none is so grievous or so inexcusable as that of the employment of young and innocent children who are forced to toil for the sustenance of life when they should be in the schoolroom, the playground or the home, developing their physical, mental and moral well-being.

In those earlier days the effort made to take the children out of the factories and place them into the school rooms was looked upon as an undue interference with "individual" right. It was then believed that little children were the sole property of fathers and mothers and that their little bodies might be freely sold in our industrial life for financial gain.

Humane considerations finally prevailed, and a number of states enacted laws preventing the employment of child labor and requiring children of tender years to attend schools. Unfortunately, however, the same consideration was not given to the life and well-being of little children in some of our states. To remedy this evil, federal legislation was proposed and enacted prohibiting the transportation of goods from one state to another when such articles or commodities of trade were manufactured or produced by child labor. On September 1, 1916, the first federal child labor law was enacted. No sooner did it become a law than deliberate attacks were made upon it. First, the attempt was made in the United States congress to postpone its enforcement for one year after the conclusion of the war, while an injunction was also sought in the federal courts before Judge James E. Boyd, of the western district of North Carolina, to restrain the enforcement of the law on the ground that it was an interference with state rights. Ultimately, this case reached the supreme court of the United States. On June 3, 1918, the United States supreme court, by one of its famous five to four decisions, declared this legislative effort to stop the national commercializing of child life an unconstitutional interference with state rights.

In the meantime national interest was centered upon the artificial coloring of butter and oleomargarine. In order to discourage, if not to prohibit, the transportation of oleomargarine from one state to another, congress used the taxing powers of the federal government and enacted a law requiring the manufacturers of oleomargarine to pay 10 cents a pound tax for the use of coloring matter in oleomargarine.

The phosphorous match industry was likewise destroyed, and it was deliberately intended that it should be destroyed by a prohibitive tax.

Legislation of this character having been held to be constitutional, it was believed that the same principle might be invoked to discourage the employment of child labor and thus prevent the commercializing of the little bodies of children in interstate commerce. Accordingly, congress enacted another child labor law (approved February 29, 1919), which placed a tax of 10 per cent on the net incomes of establishments employing children under 14 years of age, or those between 14 and 16 years of age, for more than eight hours in any one day or more than six days in any one week.

This humane law was attacked and again Judge Boyd, of the western district of North Carolina, restrained its enforcement. The United States supreme court rendered a decision May 16, 1922, declaring the law unconstitutional in that it attempted to do by indirection that which the United States supreme court held in the first case could not be done directly, viz., interfere with state rights. The supreme court also indulged in a learned discussion as to when a tax is an excise tax and when a tax is not an excise tax and finally concluded by holding that in this particular case congress had not levied an excise tax but a regulative and prohibitive tax and that, therefore, congress acted outside of its constitutional authority as a legislative body.

After analyzing the principal features of the law and its operation, Chief Justice Taft, who announced the decision in behalf of the supreme court, said: "In the light of these features of the act, a court must be blind not to see that the so-called tax is imposed to stop the employment of children within the age limits prescribed," and then,

as if to temper the harshness of its rulings, it added that the court must perform its duty "even though it requires us to refuse to give effect to legislation designed to promote the highest good."

Perhaps one of the remarkable features connected with this decision of the United States supreme court is the fact that the first child labor law decision was by the bare majority of one—a five to four decision, while this later decision had only one dissenting opinion, that of Justice Clark. It would, therefore, seem that the supreme court of today is by far more legalistic and less humane in its attitude and temperament than was the supreme court of 1918.

By this decision of the supreme court we find our nation and its people once more confronted with a legal bewilderment wherein animal life and inanimate objects receive greater consideration than the life and welfare of children. According to prior decisions, congress may prevent the shipment of lottery tickets, phosphorous matches, baled hay and other things from one state to another. It may tax bank notes out of existence and use its legislative authority to protect trees and cattle. But by this decision, it must keep its hands off when the health and life and well-being of the nation's children are concerned.

We protest most emphatically against such unjust and inhumane decisions. We realize that our protest, in so far, as the supreme court is concerned, will fall on deaf ears. However, we address our protest to congress and urge that it immediately approve and endorse a constitutional amendment to undo the harm the supreme court has done to the youth of our land. We also urge that renewed energy be displayed in the several states for the enactment of effective child labor laws and we recommend that a nationwide appeal be immediately directed to every man and woman throughout our land who has a heart and soul and conscience, to promote the welfare of the nation's children and to unite in the purpose of conserving child life and to protect it against selfish greed and brutal avarice.

#### INVESTIGATION OF WAGE THEORIES

The Executive Council last year called attention to the increasing importance assigned to the cost of living theory of wages and proposed that an inquiry be made into wage determination in order to develop a comprehensive, well-considered theory capable of real service in the practical problems of determining wages. The proposal was approved by the Denver convention, and the E. C. authorized President Gompers to appoint a committee to carry out the instructions.

The committee appointed was as follows: James Duncan, Chairman; M. F. Ryan, William Green, A. J. Berres, John P. Frey, Samuel Gompers, ex-officio; Matthew Woll, Executive Secretary.

Because of financial obstacles it has not been possible to call a meeting of the committee. Instead, the E. C. deemed it most advisable and expedient that the executive secretary, designated for several committees, should be directed to assume charge of the necessary research and that when all the necessary and essential data had been secured that the committee be called into session to consider the facts ascertained and information obtained and report such conclusions and recommendations to the E. C.

The investigation has been inaugurated by the executive secretary selected but because of the extensiveness of the problem involved, the complexity of its character and lack of funds, not sufficient progress had been made to warrant calling the committee into session.

The E. C. is, therefore, restricted in the submission of its report on this subject to the work of the executive secretary and the difficulties encountered.

One of the first and important things to be done was to ascertain what wage theories are in use in industries today and how wages are actually determined. This was a research job, involving no decision on issues or principles but only the assembling of facts.

From the outset, the study has been hampered by lack of funds. In order to assemble the facts of wage theory and determination, it was necessary to have competent agents to visit offices of national labor organizations and secure the necessary data. Work of this nature requires statistical and economic training.

As an alternative plan to initiating a survey financed by the Federation letters



were sent to a number of university professors of economics, who give courses in labor problems, proposing a cooperative plan under which their students would go to the offices of national and international labor unions and procure for the Federation the desired information.

Of course, this method of securing information is not ideal but it was the only way open. However, aside from any results from this cooperative relationship in this study, the relationship established will help in educating public opinion to grasp the implications of the labor problem. Reports from this source will not be available until the close of the collegiate year and even with the best possible results the field will be only partly covered as it has not been possible to make cooperative relations with universities in all places in which union headquarters are located.

The importance of the inquiry parallels the significance of wages. Wages in terms of life symbolize progress from a status of servitude to free labor that has rights and accompanying responsibilities. Wages in the material world represent power to command opportunities and material benefits. The development of a theory that will properly interpret wages and at the same time perform a functional service in the determination of specific wage rates and methods is a task of very considerable dimensions. It is obvious wage earners ought to have an agreement upon this important issue and it is equally obvious that formulation of any proposal must be based upon most careful study and consideration.

Economic theory of classical economists was largely speculation. More modern thinkers have been turning from the mythical economic man to industrial conditions and men who work for wages. Even very casual consideration of wage theories set forth by economists and by those actively engaged in industry indicates the inadequacy of proposals thus far made. From the period of classical economy down to the present day, wages have generally been interpreted as a phase of the value problem. Theories have been worked out on the basis of labor pain, iron law of wages, labor costs, marginal utility, supply and demand, subsistence wages, costs of living wage, saving wage, productivity, service, etc. These theories dealt with static cross sections of the wage problem. No one attempted to take into effect all factors concerned in the determination of wage rates or methods of wage determination.

The important step to be taken is to make wage theory explain industrial facts and to find a theoretical explanation that parallels the processes of wage determination and indicates methods to enable workers to increase productivity with equitable distribution of returns from production. Wage theory properly related to methods and bases of wage determination should take into consideration incentives for creative work as well as indicate equitable wages for specific industries.

The investigation thus far made confirms the point of view that the consequences of careless application of inadequate theory have attended popular usage of "cost of living basis" for wage fixation. Following the rapid expansion and inflation of war finances, came big increases in prices. When wages were exchanged for those articles of living which must be replaced constantly, the wage earner felt keenly the inadequacy of his pre-war wages as measured against inflated prices. He naturally expressed the maladjustment between his wage rates and the inflation expressed in high prices, by asserting that the costs of living—or depreciation of purchasing power of wages—necessitated wage adjustments. This condition of affairs indicates that a wage based solely upon costs of living or subsistence or a saving wage, bears no direct relation to production or service rendered. However, a wage based upon productivity or service must accept as an initial standard a wage based upon human needs and aspirations—a minimum determined upon human requirements without reference to the other considerations that enter into a wage which compensates for productivity or service. In every industry and gainful occupation a wage based upon human needs and aspirations should be regarded as a business liability. Productivity, service rendered, specialized training, and trade skill, the nature of the work, special irksomeness, unusual hazards and physical strain and every other factor entering the value of the product or service, should form the basis for wage increments.

A very considerable degree of fluctuation in prices is due to the factors that control the business cycle. When research has indicated ways to stabilize industry by decreasing the area within which financial fluctuation influences wages, wages will be less sub-

ject to fluctuations. However, industrial factors which affect prices would still operate. This is one of the points of overlapping of wages and the unemployment problem. Cost of living indices only serve to indicate the minimum of human requirements and are the measuring stick for real wages and not the basis for determining wage rates. The problem of determining rates remains after indices have been considered.

The problem involved is concerned with theory and practical methods. Fundamental for this study is availability of production and cost and expenditure records so that both management and workers shall have an opportunity to know what is accomplished in the establishment in which they are producing. Records are the sources of industrial facts. A study of records will disclose changes needed for more effective results. Present appalling ignorance of industrial facts due to insufficient or inadequate records makes this wage study increasingly difficult and expensive.

The task involved requires much research and study. When facts shall have been made available then it will be possible to consider whether results are justified from the standpoint of individual and collective equity and social welfare. The responsibility for our ignorance of the basic facts of industry rests upon government agencies as well as upon management in private industries, but primarily upon the latter.

Every business involves financial, commercial and industrial policies. While the worker may not be so directly concerned with the commercial and financial aspects of business these affect him vitally nevertheless. The workers are greatly concerned with industrial policies of business—that is control of process, machinery, nature of product. Over-capitalization, under and poor equipment, inefficient management, failure to reflect economic changes in business accounts, failure to write off adequate depreciation, failure to charge losses, wastes and gains to the proper accounts—all have a direct bearing upon wages. It is not sufficient that the wage earner should have individual records of his production and production costs but the employees of the company or the industry must have access to accountancy data that give a comprehensive understanding of production, distribution and consumption. This information should be available for those who are concerned with industrial problems. Since the information is for statistical use, the uniformity of accountancy methods within the industry is indispensable. This principle of uniformity is also a cornerstone to industrial organization that is essential to order in each trade or industry. The information is prerequisite to a rational basis of distribution of proceeds of industry.

The problem of wage determination in prison industries which arises under the recent New York law, providing for wage payments upon any basis approved by the superintendent, was brought to the attention of the American Federation of Labor and the cooperation of the A. F. of L. is deemed essential in finding an equitable basis for determining the wage paid to prisoners. It is hoped that in the attempt to solve this question by experimentation and careful and continued observation invaluable information may be obtained which will prove helpful in reaching practical and intelligent conclusions on the subject of wage determination.

We have only attempted to indicate the nature and scope of the problem. We have not made even a statement of the problem, for that can be done only after thorough investigation. This study involves consideration of whether the wage problem is a scientific one or one which science can aid in solving, whether a wage formula can be educed, or whether basic determining laws can be found. We submit that provision ought to be made for carrying forward the study of wage theory which is of such fundamental importance to the whole labor movement as well as to the establishment of a more equitable industrial order, and to this end that the E. C. through the President, be authorized to continue the investigation through such means as the council may approve and to release from time to time such findings as may be determined.

#### OBSERVANCE OF CONTRACT AND CESSATION OF WORK

During the year the workers in a number of important industries have been compelled to resort to a cessation of work because of the tactics of organized employers. In every case that has come to our attention, however, it has been clear that there would have been no suspension of work had the employers been willing to meet with the workers in conference for the purpose of negotiating an agreement covering wages, hours and working conditions.

Among those who have been compelled to withdraw their service from industry because of the conduct of employers have been the miners, printers, granite workers, garment workers, butcher workmen and textile workers.

The most important among the industrial conflicts of the year has been that of the miners. The miners are on strike as this report is written. In their case and in every other case which has come to our notice during the year there has been an unusual solidarity among the workers, a buoyant and determined spirit of resistance to predatory conduct on the part of employers and there has been a realization of the crucial nature of the struggle at this time. It is generally realized that the great hope of employers has been not merely to prevent advancement on the part of the workers but to take from them and destroy the gains of years past. There has been on the part of employers a not-easily-understandable blindness which has led them to excesses in their program of reaction.

We record with much pride in our movement and with great satisfaction that the lines of Labor have held fast and that the determination of employers to destroy the progress of years has met with practically no result. It has, on the contrary, solidified and unified the Labor movement both in spirit and in fact.

We feel it of some public importance to report that in an unusual number of instances during the year, great organizations of employers have willfully and deliberately repudiated their contracts and broken their pledges to the workers. Whether this is an indication of a growing immorality in the business of the world we are unable to say but we believe it nevertheless to be a fact of profound social importance and worthy of deep study. If the agreements of great organizations of employers are not to be regarded as pledges it will mean that we have come upon a new development which will have to be taken into account in future relations with employers.

As instances of breach of contract on the part of employers we cite the following cases:

The organized mine owners repudiated their agreement with the United Mine Workers of America compelling the mine workers to cease work. This agreement provided that prior to its expiration representatives of mine workers and mine owners should meet in conference for the purpose of negotiating a new agreement. The mine owners flatly refused to enter into such a conference thus making a new agreement impossible. For the most part the attitude of the mine owners was one of simple disregard for the pledge which they had made. Such excuses as were offered were entirely without value. Their transparency was so obvious that the mine owners soon ceased making excuses.

Packing house employers likewise were guilty of violation of agreements made with the workers and it was these violations that led to the necessity for a cessation of work in the packing industry.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers were compelled to resort to cessation of work for a like reason. Employers refused to abide by the terms of the contract which they had signed.

The contest going on in the printing industry among employers and the printing trades unions, involves a contemptuous disregard and flagrant violation of an agreement by employers and their associations which they had previously urged upon the printing trades for acceptance. This agreement provided for the observance of the eight-hour day and half-holiday—four-hour day on Saturday to become effective May 1, 1921.

From the time this national agreement was approved to May 1, 1921, every intervening agreement entered into between local employers and local printing trades unions was made with a full knowledge and understanding of the national agreement that on May 1, 1921, the forty-four-hour week would be observed as the law of the printing industry. By this procedure, all those employers who were not directly associated with the employers' organizations who had entered into this national agreement, indirectly became bound to its terms, conditions and requirements.

Regardless of this national agreement, supplemented by these direct and implied local agreements, when May 1, 1921, arrived, the printing trades' employers disregarded and deliberately violated their agreements and the printing trades unions were forced either to strike to compel their employers to observe these contracts or else humilatingly submit to the dishonorable and contract-breaking dictum of their employers.

This contest in the printing trades has been on ever since May 1, 1921, and despite adverse trade conditions and the highly concentrated attack that is being made, the printing trades' unions have been making steady progress. With a revival of business in the industry, we feel assured of complete success in this struggle for the observance of agreements and the forty-four-hour week.

Quite apart from the struggle to enforce the forty-four-hour week, the International Photo-Engravers' Union became involved in a national lockout on January 3, 1922, in an attempt on the part of employers in that craft to increase the working week of the photo-engravers from forty-four to forty-eight hours and in addition, to reduce the wages of all its members at least \$5 a week.

The photo-engravers were locked out throughout the country on January 3 but after having been out for a period ranging from one and a half weeks to two weeks, the employers resumed restoration of wages and the forty-four-hour week.

Employers in the granite cutting industry are among those who have followed most arbitrary and autocratic policies during the year. The greater portion of the membership of the Granite Cutters' International Association of America is either locked out or on strike because of the refusal of the employers in that industry to meet with representatives of the workers for the negotiation of a new trade agreement. The old agreement expired on April 1, 1922, but a portion of the membership in California has been locked out since early in May, 1921.

In the textile industry the conduct of employers was particularly at fault and indicated an unusual greed. The workers in that industry previously had accepted a wage reduction of 22 per cent and it was because the employers sought to enforce an additional reduction of 20 per cent that the workers ceased work as the only means of resistance. As in every case the workers in the textile industry have stood their ground and while the suspension of work still exists the ranks of the strikers are unbroken and the determination to resist injustice is as great as it was at the outset.

We have recorded here only those violations of agreements by employers which are of national importance. There have been many other employers who have violated local agreements.

We feel that we should point out the vital necessity for scrupulous observance of all contracts and agreements on the part of employers as well as the workers. Labor has been ever most scrupulous in this regard and has urged always the necessity for keeping inviolate every pledge. There have been but few instances where organizations of the workers have repudiated their agreements. There have been many most serious cases where employers have been guilty of such repudiation. This is particularly true in regard to employers during the year just closed. Labor can not afford, however, to tarnish even in the slightest degree its record of integrity and honor. Labor standards must be the highest. They must be unassailable, always. Moreover, if agreements are not kept, agreements must soon lose their value. The pledge of Labor has been highly regarded because the pledges of Labor have been made to be kept. There must be no deviation from this honorable policy and where there is deviation, and therefore dishonor, the movement must find effective methods for expression of its disapprobation.

We know of no similar period of time in which there have been so many wanton violations of contract on the part of great organizations of employers. We submit that it is a vital essential that there be a return of good faith in industry, a return to standards of morality which will restore the pledges of men to their true and proper meaning. If it is impossible to have faith in pledges given, then the entire industrial structure will be undermined and those who are engaged in productive labor will find themselves confronted with a problem more serious than any which has arisen since the development of modern industry.

### SHALL COURTS PROTECT LABOR IN PREFERENCE TO PROPERTY?

One of the greatest influences of government arrayed against the hopes and aspirations of Labor for a better day and a brighter life is that exercised by our courts through the so-called "equity" power. Originally designed to do equity where the common and statute laws failed to provide a full measure of justice, this chancery power of our courts has developed to an extent wherein all legislative enactments are subordinated

to the prejudices and philosophic conceptions of our judges and our government of law is fast giving away to a government of judicial discretion.

No greater danger confronts the liberties and freedom of the people of our time. Our courts have gradually and constantly usurped the functions of regulating industrial relations generally and of the associated activities of the wage earners in particular. Even legislative enactments intended to limit and curtail this ever growing power of our courts have been swept away by the courts in holding that such exercise of legislative authority is unconstitutional.

For the time being men of capital, of influence, of wealth, may rejoice in the ready willingness of our courts to protect and promote the selfish and material interests of employers when in conflict with the personal rights and humane interests of the wage earners. In so doing, however, little thought or no consideration is given the grave problem that is appearing upon our economic and social horizon which manifests itself in the great distrust of our courts that is being aroused and the growing spirit of resentment that is being engendered by this class attitude of our judges.

The past year is marked particularly with an increasing hostility of the judiciary toward the effort of wage earners to prevent deterioration of their standards of life and labor to protect and to retain their rights and sovereignty as American free men.

Today practically every normal activity of the organized wage earners is subject to judicial restraint though legislatures' and an enlightened public judgment have recognized such conduct and activities on the part of the wage earners and of trade unions legal and justifiable. Thus, we have found our courts declaring unlawful strikes called to enforce payment of dues or of fines or to require the observance of union discipline. Likewise, courts have declared it illegal for workers to strike to prevent the introduction of non-union workers even where the announced intent and purpose have been to destroy the union. It has also been held unlawful to strike in opposition to the signing of individual contracts of employment even though these agreements were directly intended to disorganize the trade union workers.

In the great industrial struggle of the past year, as in former years, employers have found our courts ever ready and willing to throw the forces of the state on the side of capital and against that of Labor. Courts have ever been ready and anxious to enlarge their equity jurisdiction, conceiving every relation of mankind as embodying a material and property element and thereby disregarding the human element and personal rights involved in all these relations of man. Courts, in the exercise of their equity powers, have been guided, not by law or justice, but by personal whims and prejudices and by political theories and conceptions with which they have not been authorized to deal and which are functions that can only be exercised, within constitutional limitations, by our national government and the legislatures of our several states.

The dangers to which organized labor has constantly directed public attention were clearly foreseen by our earlier great statesmen and especially by Thomas Jefferson who, in the early period of our government, expressed the frank opinion and conviction "that the germ of dissolution of our federal government is in the judiciary, an irresponsible body working like gravity, by day and by night, gaining a little today and gaining a little tomorrow, and advancing its noiseless step like a thief over the field of jurisprudence until all shall be usurped." How much stronger would be the utterance of condemnation of our courts were Thomas Jefferson to live in our day and in our time and to note the fulfillment of the dire prediction made in the early period of our great republic.

Having been permitted to proceed without hindrance or check, our courts have become so bold that they hesitate no longer in declaring openly that the judiciary of our land represents, not the people but a class interest, or, as expressed by Judge Van Sicklen of the supreme court of (Brooklyn), New York, when in issuing an injunction against organized labor he said: "The courts must stand at all times as the representatives of capital, of captains of industry."

Having appealed to our legislatures for relief against this ever onward encroachment upon the rights and liberties of our people and having experienced the attitude of mind of our courts that they will brook no interference by our several state legislatures in their ill-founded efforts to protect and promote property and property rights as against personal rights and human considerations, we recommend that an appeal be made to that higher court of public judgment and that the public conscience be aroused to the

great and grave menace which confronts the perpetuity of the constitutional rights and liberties of all our people and as originally conceived by the founders of our republic.

### CLASS BIASED DECISIONS OF OUR COURTS

It is impossible, in a report of this kind, to record all the decisions and decrees which the courts have rendered against the wage earners and the trade unions during the past year. Of necessity only those decisions of the greatest importance and those affecting most the fundamental principles of liberty, of right and of justice can be noted at this time.

#### *Judge Anderson's Injunction Against the United Mine Workers*

One of the most flagrant abuses of equity power was that manifested in the past year by Judge A. B. Anderson in issuing an injunction against the United Mine Workers of America at the request and behest of the mine owners of West Virginia.

In the case of the Borderland Coal Co. et al., vs. The United Mine Workers, the mine owners of West Virginia not only sought to prevent the unionizing of the mines in West Virginia but they attempted to secure a blanket injunction covering sixty-two other mine operators of non-union mines in the Williamson District, W. Va., who had not applied in their own behalf for a like injunction. In this particular case the mine owners of West Virginia not only sought to have Judge Anderson prevent a trespass upon their mining properties or to prevent violation of individuals contracts of employments with non-union miners but the effort was made to annul the collective agreement between the United Mine Workers of America and the operators in the central competitive field and to have the United Mine Workers dissolved or enjoined from functioning on the ground that this trade union is a seditious and otherwise unlawful organization.

While Judge Anderson declined to hold the United Mine Workers a seditious organization, he nevertheless declared it unlawful for the United Mine Workers to organize the mine workers of West Virginia. He attempted also to enjoin the continuance of the agreement then existing between the United Mine Workers and the mine owners of the central competitive field.

Because a small portion of West Virginia and a small section of the southwestern part of the country had not been organized, Judge Anderson held that an attempt to unionize the West Virginia mines was in effect an effort to monopolize the coal industry and that, therefore, the purpose of the United Mine Workers was an illegal one and that all efforts to that end must be enjoined. This he attempted to do by an injunction. To all intents and purposes this judicial decree was of equal, if not greater, force than a legislative declaration that it is unlawful to organize all wage earners of a certain trade or industry into a trade union and that employers must at all times be assured a non-union market of workmen even though our national congress has declared that labor organizations are lawful institutions and that the wage earners of America may organize without such limitations and restraints as Judge Anderson attempted to impose upon the workers by his personal dictum in this case.

Not satisfied with having restrained the United Mine Workers of America, its officers, agents, representatives and members from making lawful union arguments and lawful union speeches to the pool of non-union workers, and not content with trying to prevent them from using lawful persuasion to induce non-union miners to join the unions by openly severing their relations of employment to join the union, not in violation of but in exact and legal accordance with their contracts of employment, Judge Anderson also enjoined the enforcement of the performance of then existing contracts between the operators of union mines and the United Mine Workers in the central competitive field with respect to what is called the "check-off" system. Thus he (Judge Anderson) attempted to do indirectly that which he dared not do directly, that is, to dissolve the United Mine Workers as a seditious and unlawful organization. It matters little whether Judge Anderson declared the United Mine Workers of America an unlawful organization if the same end would be accomplished equally well by declaring all of its activities and functions as being unlawful.

This tragic over-reaching of judicial power inflamed the passions of men every-

where throughout the country. Confronted with the possibility of a complete stoppage of mining throughout the land and under circumstances that threatened to impress the entire public mind with the despotic and tyrannical development of the exercise of equity powers by our courts, the appeal of the United Mine Workers of America to the United States court of appeals received immediate attention and action and Judge Anderson's injunction was suspended.

The appellate court of the United States, in its decision, confirmed the dangers which organized labor has constantly directed to public attention and which have been permitted to grow without check or hindrance. That court declared that Judge Anderson had gone too far and thereby confirmed the charge that an injudicious and prejudicial temperament governs our courts today in the issuance of injunctions in industrial disputes.

Speaking particularly of the contracts then existing between the operators of union mines and the United Mine Workers in the central competitive field and the check-off system declared unlawful by Judge Anderson, the appellate court said:

So far as the contracts themselves and this record disclose, the check-off is the voluntary assignment of the employe of so much of his wages as may be necessary to meet his union dues and his direction to his employer to pay the amount to the treasurer of his union. In that aspect the contract provision is legal; and quite evidently there are many lawful purposes for which dues may be used. If in truth the bargaining with respect to the contract was not free, if either the employe or the employer put the other under duress, the injured party might have cause to seek cancellation. (But if he had nothing to urge in the way of duress except "economic necessity," he might not succeed.) If in bargaining one of the parties was not free by reason of the greatly preponderant power of the other the legislatures of these central states and the congress might consider whether public interest required or justified the limitation of the otherwise existent freedom of contract by abolishing the check-off as a subject-matter of contract, in similitude to the legislative abolition of truck stores, dangerous appliances, unsanitary working places, exhausting hours, etc., as permissible subject-matters of contract. But appellee is not a party to the contract, is not the attorney of either contracting party, and is not the agency to establish the public welfare.

If nothing else should prevent appellee's being given that part of the decree now under consideration, the lack of injury to appellee by the existence of the check-off contracts would suffice. The injury to appellee's property rights in interstate commerce, of which appellee was apprehensive, was that it would be coerced into paying the high costs of production prevalent in the central competitive field and thus be unable to meet, or at least to meet so profitably the existent competition in interstate commerce. As long as appellee is assured, as it now is, that it will have full protection in operating its closed non-union mine and in marketing its coal in interstate commerce without interference, appellee should rather pray that all the elements causing high cost of production in the central competitive field should be maintained.

But appellee insists that it is entitled to have the performance of the existent check-off contracts enjoined, because the check-off is the "heart" of the United Mine Workers' organization. Appellee is confusing a series of remote causations with the proximate cause of the injury. The only property that was injured was appellee's freedom in operating its mine and in putting its coal onto cars in West Virginia to be shipped in interstate commerce. The proximate cause of the injury was the described interferences in the Williamson District with appellee's aforesaid right to freedom. Without direct and immediate interfering acts, the desires and intents of the conspirators in the central competitive field would have been innocuous. In the series of causations the check-off provision was undoubtedly one of the elements. Manifestly unless money was collected, the union's executive officers could not send it into West Virginia to aid or promote the interfering acts. But in the same contracts that contain the check-off feature were provisions for the payment of wages and

the recognition of the miners as human beings with the physical capacity to labor. On a parity with appellee's contention respecting the check-off element, all the other elements in the series of causation leading up to the proximate cause should also be enjoined. Money could not be sent into West Virginia by the executive officers, unless it was collected from the miner's wages; nor unless the miners earned wages; nor unless the miners were human beings having the capacity to labor.

From the record as it now stands we are convinced that the District Court committed substantial errors in exercising its judicial discretion in the following particulars: (1) In not confining the grant of relief to appellee; (2) in not limiting the prohibition of the unionization or attempted unionization of appellee's mine to the threatened direct and immediate interfering acts shown by the bill and affidavits; (3) in not limiting the prohibition of the sending of money into West Virginia to the use thereof in aiding or promoting the interfering acts; and (4) in enjoining the performance of the existent check-off contracts in the central competitive field.

This is but one of many instances of the injudicious discretion our courts are permitted to exercise through the injunction writ in industrial disputes. The record is replete with class-biased errors committed by our judges in the interests of employers and against the rights and freedom of the wage earners. That in this instance the appellate court reversed Judge Anderson in some of the most drastic provisions of his decree is not a vindication of the injunction process or assurance that the rights and freedom of the wage earners are protected. To the contrary, this decision is but accumulative evidence of the growing arrogance and a greater and more flagrant usurpation of authority by the judiciary of our land.

#### *Judge McClintic's Injunction Against the Miners*

In the state of West Virginia, there were some 90,000 men engaged in the coal industry. Until the recent national suspension 50,000 of those men were working under trade agreements between the operators and the United Mine Workers' Union; but in the southeastern section of that state about 40,000 miners were situated in isolated communities and held in leash by a system of peonage and bondage which finds its equal only in that condition of affairs which prevailed among the colored race before the emancipation proclamation.

In Mingo county, which is one of the counties affected by this condition nearly a year and a half ago the miners joined the United Mine Workers' Union. The next day 168 mines were closed down and the workers locked out because they refused to work unless their right to remain union men was fully recognized.

Since that time many outrages have been committed in the homes and upon the persons of the people in that section of the country and nothing was left undone by the operators and their hirelings to brow-beat and dishearten the miners and to force them into a humiliating submission.

As is common in many mining communities the homes of the locked-out miners were either owned or controlled by the operators and stores were likewise owned or controlled by them. Unable to break the ranks of the miners in any other way, the miners were refused credit at these stores and eviction proceedings were resorted to in the most inhumane fashion. The miners and their families were thrown out into the streets without food or shelter.

To prevent undue misery, suffering, sickness and starvation and to furnish shelter to the miners and their families the United Mine Workers proceeded to lease several acres of ground and to erect tents as well as to provide food and clothing and other essentials of life. Again frustrated in their attempt to discourage the locked-out miners the operators applied to and received from the courts an injunction requiring the miners not to maintain but to destroy the tent colonies; prohibiting the transmission by the officers of the miners' union funds with which food and clothing might be bought. In other words, the officers of the miners' union were to join with the operators in the process of starving the miners and the miners' families into submission.



The company selected for this purpose was the Borderland Coal Corporation and Judge R. McClintic of the district court of the United States for the southern district of West Virginia was the one picked out to issue the injunction. This application for an injunction was filed about the same time that injunctions were asked for from Judge Anderson in Indianapolis. Judge Anderson's injunction was vicious to the extreme. However, when it was pointed out to Judge Anderson that his order forbidding the sending of funds to the starving miners of West Virginia could not and would not be complied with, he, Judge Anderson, declined the operators' request to deny the miners food and shelter essential to life. Judge McClintic, however, was not even moved by this consideration. In the injunction he issued against the United Mine Workers, he restrained "all the members, agents and representatives of the United Mine Workers' organization, be, and they are hereby, enjoined and restrained from and after the period of thirty days from further maintaining the tent colonies in Mingo county or in the vicinity of the mines of the plaintiffs, and they, the said last named defendants, are hereby enjoined and restrained from further furnishing to the inhabitants of said tent colonies or to those who may hereafter inhabit the same, any sum or sums of money, orders for money, merchandise, or orders for merchandise, or any other thing of value so as to make possible the continuance of said tent colonies in said Williamson-Thacker coal field in the vicinity of the mines of the plaintiffs, the court finding that the presence of such tent colonies in the vicinity of said mines is a continuing source of menace, threats, intimidation and danger to the persons of the plaintiff's employes and to the plaintiffs' properties and business in interstate trade and commerce."

In other words, Judge McClintic ruled that it was unlawful to furnish shelter to workers and their families who were without homes; that it was illegal to provide food to the children and women of the locked-out miners, as well as to the miners; that it was unlawful for the locked-out miners and their families to live in any of the houses or tents that might be furnished to them and that these miners could not even legally spend such money, or anything of value, as might be given to them or be earned by them because to permit these miners to live in the vicinity of plaintiffs' mines was a continuing source of menace, threats, intimidation and danger to the Borderland's mines, property and commerce.

It is almost inconceivable that any court, however hostile it might be toward the workers, would go to such lengths as might cause the illness, starvation and death of children and women in order that business companies might become the absolute masters of those engaged by them as well as those outside of their employ.

The United Mine Workers immediately prepared an appeal to the higher courts; and evidently because of fear that the enforcement of the inhumane provisions of this injunction might inflame public sentiment against the injunction process, the circuit court of appeals, fourth district, Richmond, Va., on April 17, 1922, suspended these vicious restraints and continued all other provisions of the injunction issued by Judge McClintic.

While hearings have been had on the appeal that the complete injunction be permanently set aside, and while it is possible that the more inhumane provisions of Judge McClintic's injunction will be permanently set aside, this injunction of Judge McClintic's presents conclusive evidence that the injunction as used in industrial disputes is devoid of all sense of fairness and decency and that our courts of equity can be turned conveniently into instruments of the greatest iniquity whenever it will best serve the interests of soulless corporations and a mad desire for wealth.

#### *American Steel Foundries vs. Tri-City Central Trades Council of Granite City, Ill.*

This case was first argued in January, 1919. It was re-argued October 15, 1920, again re-argued October 4 and 5, 1921, and finally decided on December 5, 1921, by the United States supreme court. This was an injunction proceeding instituted by the American Steel Foundries, a New Jersey corporation, against the Tri-City Central Trades Council and the individual and collective members thereof to enjoin them from carrying on what was alleged to have been a conspiracy to prevent the American Steel Foundries Company from obtaining and retaining skilled workers to operate its plants at Granite City.

The Tri-City Trades Council admitted the use of peaceful persuasion but denied threats of injury or commission of violence. However, a very broad restraining order followed by a like final decree which prevented the use of persuasion and that of picketing at or near the premises of the company or on the streets leading to the premises of the company. An appeal was taken from this order to the United States circuit court of appeals. This appellate court struck out the word "persuasion" wherever it occurred and inserted therein the words "in a threatening manner." Thus the wording was changed but the substance remained.

The United States supreme court reviewed the evidence and the decree at length. The first proposition of law decided by the United States supreme court was that section 20, the labor provisions of the Clayton act, which was passed when the case was pending in the court of appeals, controlled the disposition of this case, even though the acts had heretofore taken place. By this method of reasoning the United States supreme court created for itself the opportunity of passing judgment upon this section of the Clayton act, treating it as in force, notwithstanding the Duplex decision and as declaratory of what had been the past practice always.

The supreme court, in reviewing this section of the Clayton law, held that the object of the congress in enacting this section was to reconcile the rights of the employer in his business and in the access of his employes to his place of business and egress therefrom, with the right of employes, either present, or recent or expectant employes to use peaceful and lawful means to induce present or prospective employes to join their trade union. The supreme court held, however, that in effect, section 20 of the Clayton law, did not apply and therefore did not constitute a legal defense, if, in the attempts at persuasion or the inducing of employes to join the trade unions, methods were adopted which, however lawful they might be in their announced purposes, might inevitably lead to intimidation. By judicial declaration the supreme court amended section 20 of the Clayton act by making the motive as well as possible consequences a part of this section of the law.

Thus by judicial construction the heart was taken out of section 20 and the effectiveness of this provision of the law was totally destroyed.

While the United States supreme court held that all workers have the right to free passage through the streets consistent with the rights of others, nevertheless, three or four groups of workers made up from some four to twelve men in a group, each union interested having several representatives within that group, might lead to assaults and violence. The court considered it was idle to talk of peaceful communication under such conditions and, therefore, held such picketing was unlawful.

The supreme court of the United States expressed the belief that it was its recognized duty to have every regard for the congressional intention manifested by the enactment of the Clayton law, and to the principles of existing laws. It believed, however, and so ruled that each case must turn upon its own merits and circumstances. In this case the United States supreme court said that the strikers and their sympathizers should be limited to one representative for each point of egress and ingress in the plant or place of business; that all others be enjoined from congregating at the plant or in the neighborhood; that the appeals of these single representatives should not be abusive or threatening; that they should not approach individuals together but singly and that they should not obstruct an unwilling listener by importunate following or talking. While this was not laid down as a set rule, but only as one which should apply to this case, the court did rule, however, that this was a question for the judgment of the chancellor who heard the witnesses, familiarized himself with the place and observed the tendencies to disturbance and conflict, and that, "the purpose should be to prevent the inevitable intimidation of the presence of groups of pickets, but to allow missionaries."

In reaching this decision, the supreme court either demonstrated its misconception of industrial disputes or knowingly closed its eyes to the dangers surrounding union men who would peacefully solicit the membership and support of non-union workers. While every protection is afforded to the employer and safety is made the predominating element for the ingress and egress of non-union workmen and while the right of persuasion is hesitatingly admitted, no protection or safety is afforded to the union workmen or sympathizers who would dare singly to approach groups of non-union workers for the purpose of communicating with them. In other words, every con-

ceivable protection is given the non-union workers but no protection whatever is accorded the union worker in the exercise of his rights against the assaults of the employers' hirelings and violent methods of promoting discord. To protect the union workmen as well was the real intent of congress, yet by subtle interpretation the supreme court of the United States has twisted a legislative enactment intended for the protection of Labor to one of direct injury to Labor.

In this case the supreme court declined to follow the case of the Iron Molders' Union vs. The Allis Chalmers Company, and refused to accept the modification made by the court below. In this Allis Chalmers case the injunction issued by Judge Sanborn was so sweeping in its terms and violative of the constitutional rights and guarantees of citizens that when the subject was directed to Theodore Roosevelt who was then President of the United States, he denounced it as a judicial interference with the inalienable rights of Labor and as a partisan inclination toward the rights of employers. Chief Justice Taft who was then a member of the cabinet agreed with the President that the injunction was of too sweeping a nature and at the suggestion of Mr. Taft, the distinguished lawyer Frederick A. Judson, of St. Louis, now deceased, who was a classmate of Mr. Taft at Yale and by Mr. Taft made his alternate on the War Labor Board, was retained as counsel who argued the case for the Molders. As a result, this injunction was modified so as to permit peaceful picketing, the courts saying: "The right to persuade new men to quit or decline employment is of little worth unless the strikers may ascertain who are the men that their late employer has persuaded or is attempting to persuade, to accept employment." and that "provisions of persuasion and picketing, as such, should not be included in the decree." Evidently, what Mr. Taft believed right and just as a member of the President's Cabinet, he now finds improper as Chief Justice of the United States supreme court.

Two points of great importance stand out in this decision of the United States supreme court; one is the full recognition that under certain circumstances the effect of the labor sections of the Clayton act in conjunction with existing principles of law is not to be entirely remitted to the actions of the immediate employes and the immediate employer but that other members of a union acting with them ought to be accorded like rights. This may be regarded to some degree a modification of the law as laid down in the Duplex Printing Company case decided over a year ago, though it must be admitted that in this confusion of legal decision the lower courts will accept that point of view which best serves their purpose.

The other important position taken by the United States supreme court is that it is entirely proper for a court in equity to supervise the details of picketing. In effect, this decision gives regulative authority over our industrial relations and thus through the injunctive process, the protection of our courts has been extended in a manner never contemplated by our constitution, based upon a philosophy that is so ill-founded that it can not in the long run commend itself to the judgment of mankind. Then, too, this decision illustrates with what ease our judiciary may alter legislative pronouncements intended to safeguard the rights of labor into instruments of oppression and depression.

Mr. Justice Brandies concurred in the substance of the opinion and in the judgment of the court. Justice Clarke dissented.

#### *Truax vs. Corrigan*

This case was argued April, 1920, re-argued in October, 1921, and decided December 19, 1921, by the United States supreme court, the decision being announced by Mr. Chief Justice Taft who had given the decision in the preceding Granite City case. This case is notable for the differences of opinion arising between the members of the supreme court and to some degree because of the realignment illustrated by tendencies in other cases of the justices.

In this case Corrigan and others are members of the Waiters' Union and of the District Trades Assembly at Bisbee, Ariz. A dispute arose as to the terms of employment between the Waiters' Union and William Truax. Because of alleged conduct on the part of the waiters in picketing, carrying banners announcing "Truax is unfair to labor" and the circulating of hand bills, Truax sought the aid of the court through the injunc-

tion process. In defense, the union relied upon the state statute which limited the use of injunctions in disputes between employers and workers and prohibited the issuance of injunctions in their appeal to the public to cease patronizing a party to an industrial dispute. This law was modeled after the labor sections of the Clayton act.

The state supreme court upheld the constitutionality of this law. Truax then appealed to the supreme court of the United States claiming that this law was in conflict with the fourteenth amendment of the United States constitution in that it deprived him of property without due process of law and that it denied to him the full protection of the "equality" provision of this constitutional amendment.

The supreme court, by a vote of six to three, sustained the viewpoint of Truax. Speaking through Chief Justice Taft, it held that Truax had a property right in the patronage of the public and that an intentional injury thereto by the trade union was unlawful; that an attempt by the state legislature to interfere with this property right was to deprive employers of property without due process of law and that to classify labor as a distinctive group to be favored by the state for protection in its rights was a violation of the "equality" provisions of the fourteenth amendment.

This decision is remarkable in that it denies to the several state legislatures the right to define property and property rights. By this decision the power to define property or property rights has been placed within the keeping of the judiciary, and the voice of the people in determining through their legislative representatives where property rights and personal rights begin has been silenced completely.

It is hardly conceivable that the American people, so well experienced and trained in a legislative form of government should permit themselves long to be ruled by such judicial bias and usurpation of power.

In reaching the conclusion that the Arizona state law was unconstitutional in that it violated the "equality" section of the fourteenth amendment, the majority of the judges of the supreme court were compelled to draw an unjustified and strained distinction between employes on strike and all other workers. The supreme court evaded questioning the validity of the Clayton act itself but rested its decision upon the construction placed upon the Arizona statute by the supreme court of Arizona, evidently giving to it a meaning as if it were written in wholly different language from the Clayton act. It is difficult to conceive how the Clayton act can well pass the judgment of the United States supreme court in this case unless so interpreted by the supreme court as to render the whole act subversive of the purpose for which the law was enacted.

Mr. Justice Whitney filed a dissenting opinion in which Mr. Justice Clark especially concurred and in which they held that the use of the process of injunction in the case under consideration is essentially a measure of police regulation which the state had a direct discretionary right to modify or relinquish. They were unable to find that the "due process of law" clause of the fourteenth amendment of the constitution was in any degree affected. They likewise believed that the Arizona state law would not deprive Truax of "equal" protection of the law but that this law merely limited or restrained the injunction in industrial disputes.

Two important points are involved in this decision. First, it regards business as property and which may not be infringed upon even by statutory law without a violation of the due process provision of the constitution. This decision confirms the point of view that good will is property.

The legal fiction called "destroying business" whenever the workers seek to divert public patronage from one employer, deemed to be unfair, to one considered fair to Labor, arises out of confusing physical property with the intangible something called "good will." Good will emanates from individuals not concerned in the particular business in consideration. It has a direct bearing upon business but is not business. Employers are not guaranteed the right to be protected against all hazards. Workmen can no more be charged with destroying business than can competitors who build up their business at the expense of others engaged in the same line. This new philosophic doctrine, if carried to its extreme, will spell disaster to our entire competitive system of industry.

The other point is that the power of the legislature to classify Labor as a proper subject for legislative action is denied for all practical purposes. Practically all legislation is group legislation or classified legislation. Specific laws deal with groups which are clearly differentiated from others and which possess common characteristics. Labor has always

been accepted as a proper subject for legislative classification and legislative action. Upon that theory employer's liability laws have been sustained. On that theory the Clayton law was enacted. On that theory all factory legislation has been predicated. Under that theory, labor and the farmers have been exempted from the many state anti-monopoly laws. The supreme court of the United States now holds this is all wrong and rules that all state legislation to be constitutional must affect all alike and not a group similarly situated.

### USE OF INJUNCTION BY LABOR A SNARE AND DELUSION

Because of the ever-increasing use of the injunction process by employers engaged in contest with the organized wage earners, and by reason of the great stress our equity courts have laid upon the observance of contracts and the non-interference of contracts by those not directly concerned with industrial relations, it is not surprising that efforts should have been made by some of our trade unions to use the injunction process against employers with whom they have been in conflict.

Three cases of this kind developed during the past year and the experience has clearly demonstrated that the judicial system, founded upon the unrestricted power exercised by our judges in their chancery division can never be made fairly and equitably to adjust industrial disputes. Even were this possible such a procedure would not justify the usurped legislative functions exercised by our equity courts through the injunction process.

One of the cases instituted in New York City has aroused much interest and discussion. It has been heralded as proof of the alleged falsity of the charges of the workers that our equity courts are open only to employers. In this instance the employers had entered into an agreement with an international union. Before the expiration of the agreement the employers concerned entered into a separate agreement among themselves to violate the agreement they had entered into with this trade union. The union sought an injunction to prevent the employers from continuing the violation of their agreement with the union. The court directed that the employers cease this conspiracy and revoke the resolutions which they had adopted which was the act by which the contract with the union had been broken.

An appeal has been taken by the employers in this case. The decision of the lower court is now before the higher courts for judicial review and decision. We await with further interest the decision of the higher courts and would not be surprised if the higher court may decide that inasmuch as the cause of the complaint having been removed that the judicial settlement of the issues involved are merely argumentative and that the court is not concerned with the settlement of moot questions. Should this surmise come true there will be then much room for doubt even as to the validity of the injunction in this particular instance.

Another case arose in Minneapolis, Minn., where a local union secured a temporary injunction preventing local employers from carrying out an understanding among themselves to violate the agreement they had entered into with this local union. In this case the employers were bound to an agreement with the union running until December 31, 1922. The only question subject to change was that of wages. A method of arbitrating this question was provided. Instead of proceeding in accordance with the agreement the employers locked out the members of this union and violated the agreement. The local union secured a temporary injunction but upon hearing to make the temporary injunction permanent, it was denied on the ground that the agreement between the local union and their employers lacked "mutuality."

This case was identical to the one to which reference was first made as having been instituted by a union in New York City. In both cases the employers conspired to violate and did violate their agreement with the union. In the New York case the court maintained the validity of the agreement; in the Minneapolis case the court found it convenient to avoid compelling the employers to live up to their contract. Instead, the court permitted the employers to continue to violate their agreement merely by finding fault that the agreement was unenforceable because of a minor section in the agreement which had never been questioned before either by the employers or by the local union and had been part of the agreement for many years.

The third case which developed during the year was that of an organization in Chicago appealing for an injunction to restrain third parties from interfering with a contractual relationship between employers and local unions. In this case the local union complained that a self-constituted organization of employers and bankers had arrogated to themselves the task of compelling workmen to accept conditions of employment regardless of their own determination and inclination; that they had conspired with others to interfere with trade and banking facilities of such employers as would not observe the dictum of this self-constituted organization of employers and bankers. The complaint was also made that this combination purposed the destruction of this particular organization.

This combination of employers and bankers entered the plea that the local union did not come into court with clean hands. While the court found that the plea of this combination of employers and bankers was a plea of "confession and avoidance," and while they did transgress on the rights of this particular organization and its members, it declined to give any relief to this organization but immediately proceeded to find that the members of this union guilty of violating law in that they were driving other men from work by various acts of violence, and that therefore they were not entitled to relief through the equity courts.

In this case the effort made by a local trade union to use the equity courts to enjoin the admitted wrong-doing of this combination of employers and bankers not only failed but the court availed itself of the jurisdiction given to it to prosecute this particular trade union and its members and find them guilty in general terms of criminal acts contrary to all constitutional methods and in violation of every constitutional safeguard to prevent individual citizens from being unjustly charged and convicted of crime. This procedure is one that violates every principle of law and justice and can not be too strongly condemned.

These decisions clearly indicate that the use of the injunction process by trade unions does not present to the workers a fair, just, equitable or constitutional method of protecting and safeguarding their rights. Indeed, two of these decisions demonstrate that an appeal by trade unions to the equity courts may be turned conveniently into an instrument against the rights of the workers.

It is thus apparent that while equity courts may be open to labor unions, yet the procedure followed, our equity judges once having been given jurisdiction, leaves room for no doubt that the injunction process is a system of judge-made law which violates every constitutional safeguard to life and liberty.

#### **CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES MUST BE SAFEGUARDED AT ALL HAZARDS**

Considered from every point of view, and in the light of a varied and most extensive experience, the injunction process as used by the courts of our land in industrial disputes, is not an instrument of equity, but a weapon of oppression. Through its unwarranted uses and flagrant abuses the courts of equity have become the courts of the rich, the protectors of property and of property rights, and have disregarded the human aspirations and personal rights of the workers. By this system of personal government, statutory enactments by our legislators have been swept aside and judge-made law has taken their places.

Practically all the decisions of our courts in industrial disputes arising out of the issuance of injunctions are founded upon the legal point of view that the labor power of a human being is property, and that as such it can be bought and sold, contracted for and treated as an ordinary commodity. This conception is philosophically and economically unsound and is unwarranted in law. It is of modern origin in its application to industrial disputes, not having been seriously contended for until the adoption of the thirteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States with which it is in direct opposition.

This legal conception of labor power, taken in connection with anti-combination and anti-conspiracy doctrines, is the cornerstone upon which the equity power of our courts in industrial affairs is founded and which threaten the complete destruction of the ideals of American liberty and American freedom.

Prior to the adoption of the thirteenth amendment, it was not necessary to divide

the labor power of a human being from the person in whom it is inherent. Absolute ownership of a person necessarily carried with it absolute ownership of the labor power. Contracts to labor enforceable by imprisonment under the master and servant laws, operated in the same way. The person was bought or raised as a slave, he was contracted for if not a slave; in either case he was a labor power that was desired and obtained.

After the adoption of the thirteenth amendment the employer found it desirable to find some way of maintaining his grip on the labor power, and so through anti-conspiracy laws, and anti-combination laws and the misuse of the equity power of our courts, the employer did, through the advice of attorneys and prompted by the speculative theory of pseudo-political economists, set about to treat labor power as property, separate and distinct from the person, notwithstanding the fact that the labor power of a human being is the most personal of all things, and so absolutely inherent in the person that it grows with his growth, diminishes in sickness and with age, and passes away at death.

As a matter of fact, in cases dealing with disputes between business men and organizations of labor, the courts clearly establish the fact that in similar cases there is one rule for workers and another rule for employers. A case in point is that involving boycott by a Citizens' Alliance at St. Paul, Minn., of the firm of Delaney Brothers, plumbers, because Delaney Brothers refused to put in their window an "open shop" card. Delaney Brothers applied for an injunction to protect them from the boycott instituted by the Citizens' Alliance, which included practically all of the business men, manufacturers and bankers' associations of St. Paul. The court refused to protect Delaney Brothers from the boycott and thus sustained the right of business organizations to use the boycott. In refusing to grant the injunction, the court said in part:

If an act be lawful—one that the party has a legal right to do—the fact that he may be actuated by an improper motive does not render it unlawful. . . . It was lawful for any one of the defendants to sever business relations with the plaintiffs, therefore, it was lawful for two or more of them.

Continuing, the court quoted the following decision of Judge Cooley:

It is a part of every man's civil rights that he be left at liberty to refuse business relations with any person whomsoever, whether the refusal rests upon reason, or is the result of whim, caprice, prejudice, or malice, with his reasons, neither the public nor third persons have any concern.

In the Pennsylvania case of *Cote vs. Murphy* the employers' right to boycott again was upheld. From the decision in that case the following is taken:

A combination of employers preventing dealers in the supply used by such employers from selling to an employer who was not a member of their combination and who had consented to the demand of employes, by informing such dealer that no member of the combination would buy from them if they sold to such employer, is not illegal or unlawful, nor does it amount to coercion.

There are many other court decisions of this kind, but those quoted are sufficient to establish the point that there is a clear bias in favor of property.

Under the decision of the United States supreme court in the case of *Truax vs. Corrigan* it is doubtful if Labor may secure proper legislative redress against the abuses of the equity powers in the form of legislation expressed in the labor sections of the Clayton law. In this instance the United States supreme court has held this form of remedial legislation unconstitutional. In the *Tri-City Central Trades Council* case the supreme court has practically taken the life blood out of section 20 of the Clayton law. Regardless of whatever legislation has been secured to protect the workers, when in contest with employers, against the unwarranted and unconstitutional infringement of their rights and liberties by our equity courts and through the process of injunction, all such legislative checks have been swept aside or perverted by judicial interpretation and construction.

Organized labor, it would seem, is thus forced to the only alternative of resisting

this judicial encroachment upon the constitutional rights and freedom of America's workers by the course outlined at a number of previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor and most impressively comprehended in the declaration of the Atlantic City, 1919 convention which declared:

This usurpation of power by our courts to subordinate the legislative and executive departments to their will and compel the activities of a free people to their whims and dictates is paralleled and equaled only by the further usurpation of authority by our courts to legislate and punish people in direct defiance of constitutional safeguards to personal liberty and freedom of action. By the issuance of injunctive decrees by our courts, by the restraint they place upon the normal and rightful activities of a free people, by the punishing of free men in the exercise of their constitutional rights without opportunity to a trial by jury, by the removal of safeguards thrown around the individual against extreme and excessive punishments and the denial of an opportunity or executive clemency, our courts have vested themselves with a power greater than any despot ever heretofore possessed.

The fate of the sovereignty of American people again hangs in the balance. It is inconceivable that such an autocratic, despotic and tyrannical power can long remain in a democracy. One or the other must ultimately give way, and your committee believes that this convention should declare that, as wage earners, citizens of a free and democratic republic, we shall stand firmly and conscientiously on our rights as free men and treat all injunctive decrees that invade our personal liberties as unwarranted in fact, unjustified in law and illegal as being in violation of our constitutional safeguards, and accept whatever consequences may follow.

Your committee further recommends that immediate steps be taken by the Executive Council and by all state organizations for the early enactment of adequate laws to deny the further usurpation of these unwarranted powers by our courts, and that congress be petitioned to impeach all judges from office who may hereafter exercise governmental functions and authority not expressly delegated to them. It is the viewpoint of your committee that the widest possible publicity should be given this subject and that the public mind and conscience should be fully aroused to the dangers confronting the liberties of our people to the end that the judicial autocracy and despotism which have been slowly developing in our midst will come to an early and definite end.

The course outlined above seems to offer the only possibility of relief from the unconstitutional use of the writ of injunction. Any other course not only offers no relief but involves either a tacit recognition of the right of courts to issue such injunctions or a long and formidable struggle through the courts while the workers everywhere continue to suffer from the penalties and judgments arbitrarily inflicted by an arrogant judiciary in the exercise of the powers which have been usurped and for which there is no constitutional or lawful justification.

It is also urged that a special effort be made to get into the public mind the clear conception of the fact that the power of Labor is inherent in the individual, that it can not be separated from him and that it can not be treated either in legislative or in judicial decisions as property without treating the individual as property. With this thoroughly understood, we shall be in a position to compel our courts to maintain the validity of those principles necessary to preserve American freedom and equal opportunity, or else to secure judges who will serve human needs and aspirations and who will not be slaves to precedents.

In addition, every organization should immediately advise the officers of the A. F. of L. of each and every complaint filed against the trade unions in our equity courts and any attempt made to secure an injunction against the lawful activities of trade unions, first, to enable the officers of the A. F. of L. to extend such advice and helpful suggestions as may present themselves, and secondly, to enable the A. F. of L. to compile the injunctions that have been issued against Labor and thus present forcibly to the public mind the constantly growing and ever increasing encroachment of our equity courts upon the



rights of Labor and the trespass upon the constitutional safeguards of the liberties of all our people.

Then, too, it is becoming more apparent each day that anti-conspiracy and anti-combination laws dealing with industrial relations do not operate as a deterrent to monopoly. Rather, that these ancient doctrines aid in the formation of monopolistic enterprises and monopolistic control of capital and serve only the purpose of preventing the workers from organizing efficiently and from functioning in such a manner as will enable the workers to exercise an effectual voice and vote in determining their terms and conditions of employment and in securing their full share in the rewards of industrial activities. Efforts should be made, therefore, to modify or annul these ancient doctrines so as to safeguard to the workers, not alone their individual, but their collective or group rights and liberties as well and more nearly establish a system of law that will accord to all an equal opportunity in the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness.

### LEGISLATIVE ATTACKS ON TRADE UNIONS

The attempt made to stifle the growth of trade unions, to weaken their membership and to exhaust and dissipate their financial resources has not been confined to whatever social, industrial and financial influences could be directed against them. In addition, to the attacks made upon the trade unions by the courts, attacks have been made likewise in several of our state legislatures by the enactment of laws intended to destroy the trade union movement for all practical purposes and to leave it merely as a form of organization without substance or force. This attack has expressed itself in several forms of proposed as well as enacted legislation.

The labor movement is obliged to be continually alert in opposition to encroachment upon its rights and freedom, because those who would build a legislative machine for the control of organizations of labor are so numerous and appear through so many channels.

High sanction was given to all the proponents of restrictive legislation by the Attorney General of the United States in an address to the "American Bar Association" at its 1921 convention. Undoubtedly he expressed the viewpoint of the administration. Upon that occasion Attorney General Daugherty said:

It is an undisputed fact that the public have a right to know what the quarrel is about in every actual or threatened strike or lockout and similar controversies.

He said further that "there should be some definite agencies in government" for finding these facts and for making an "impartial finding," and went on to conclude that "compulsory jurisdiction over these two factors to compel them to submit to an inquiry of this sort is not only desirable but just."

Entirely in harmony with this suggestion by the Attorney General, a bill was introduced in the senate by the then Senator Kenyon. This bill provided for the creation of a government board having powers to "decide" questions involving relations between workers and employers in mining industries. From these and from many other sources indications have come of the desire and the determination to secure the enactment, both in state legislatures and in the national congress, of laws creating government boards and commissions for the restriction of the exercise of the normal and natural rights of the workers. Some of the principal efforts in this direction are here discussed.

#### *Compulsory Incorporation of Trade Unions*

One of the methods of legislative attack has been the attempt made to require the compulsory incorporation of trade unions and to make them responsible in damages as corporate bodies to all intents and purposes by permitting them to be sued as though they were incorporated entities.

A careful analysis of these proposals indicates that they are but another snare advanced for Labor's despoilment. intended to limit and restrict the rightful and justified activities of trade unions by involving them in extensive and expensive litigation so as to prevent them from accumulating the necessary funds to present an effective resistance whenever attacked.

Under these proposals it is intended to make the injury to an employer and the ability to pay indemnities for such injury the test of legality of trade unions and of the workers' right of collective bargaining. To compel trade unions to incorporate is to compel the workers who desire to form a trade union to become members of a corporation. If they decline to do so, they are then prohibited from voluntarily associating themselves for their mutual advancement and for lofty purposes. To say that a labor union can not be formed unless it is incorporated is equivalent to saying that the worker daring to become a member of a labor union has to become a member of a corporation or cease to be a union worker. By such a governmental requirement the workers would be prevented from pursuing a lawful purpose and denied the right to assemble for their mutual protection and advancement.

The proposal for compulsory incorporation is advanced not in the interests of the workers or of the public but is intended to limit the functions of trade unions, to check and curtail their growing power and influence and to regulate them not in the interests of the wage earners but in behalf of employing interests. All such proposals must receive our united opposition.

The proposal to hold trade unions responsible as though they were incorporated bodies is subject to the same criticism. Under this proposal it is intended to accomplish indirectly that which is intended directly by compulsory incorporation laws. All such proposals are equally bad and should be opposed wherever and whenever advanced.

In these attempts to weaken and destroy the trade union movement, we find a close parallel in the confiscation by the crown of England of the funds of the guilds when the government stepped in and robbed the workers of the funds they had accumulated to serve them in times of illness, or under the depressing circumstances of death, or for the burial of the wife, the husband or the children.

The workers are not unmindful of the Taff-Vale decision of the House of Lords, the highest judicial tribunal of Great Britain, which despite the acts of 1871 and 1875 which legalized trade unions and strikes in Great Britain, made the trade unions corporate bodies to all intents and purposes and subjected the whole of their funds, their death benefits, unemployment benefits, sick benefits and all to legal liabilities. Neither are the workers unmindful of the decision which followed the Taff-Vale decision which attempted to establish the principle that when a trade union seeks to compel an employer to deal fairly with his workmen and with trade unions and to that end urge others not to deal with such an employer, that the unions will be held liable in damages for any loss that the employer might suffer. This would have meant practically that even where no violation or intimidation was involved and where trade unions limited themselves to means strictly peaceful, yet where employers were inconvenienced or injured by a strike, they might obtain indemnities for such restrictions.

To remedy the wrongs which followed the Taff-Vale decision, the British Parliament enacted the Trades Dispute Act in 1906, which denied further application of the conspiracy and anti-monopoly doctrines to trade unions and trades disputes and declared that any act done in pursuance of an agreement or combination by two or more persons, if done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, shall not be actionable unless the act if done without any such agreement or combination would be actionable.

The wrongs inflicted upon the workers and the trade-unions by the Taff-Vale decision is precisely what is intended by those who would require trade unions to incorporate or to hold them responsible in damages as though they were incorporated bodies.

All legislation of this character is unjustified and should not be permitted to gain a foothold in our land.

#### *Kansas Industrial Law*

Regardless of the fact that the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations has proven an utter failure, agitation for the enactment of similar laws in other states has not entirely abated. During the past year proposals of a similar character were introduced into several state legislatures.

No greater legal fraud has ever been perpetrated on the American people than this attempt to regulate industries and industrial relations by law. The Kansas law has failed completely in compelling men to work when they have willed otherwise. The Kansas

law has failed to prevent men from striking when occasion demanded that workers resort to this final means of protest. The Kansas law has failed likewise in compelling employers to observe decisions of the industrial court. As a matter of fact, this legislation has made for greater misunderstanding and friction than ever prevailed heretofore in Kansas.

No opportunity has been permitted to pass that the A. F. of L. has not voiced the protest of Labor against this iniquitous and unconstitutional form of legislation. Every effort has been exerted to bring its failings and its un-American provisions and requirements to the attention of the public in general and the workers in particular.

Dissatisfaction is manifested against this law not alone by the workers but by large numbers of employers as well who, while sympathetic with the purpose of this law when applied to Labor, now realize fully that it infringes as well upon the rights of the employers and can be made to regulate industry and affect management of industry quite as badly as it has been used to attempt to regulate the functions and aspirations of organized labor. Indeed, it is becoming recognized quite generally that laws such as this are so intimately connected with the whole structure of modern industry as to entail consequences by far more dangerous to the rights and liberties of our people and far more disastrous to public interests than are the alleged evils the proponents seek to correct.

During this year the United Mine Workers of America caused legal proceedings to be instituted for the purpose of testing the constitutionality of this law. Governor Allen and the industrial court commissioners instead of meeting squarely the issues raised have attempted to evade this test by attacking the jurisdiction of the court.

Upon the hearing on the motion to dismiss the action instituted by the United Mine Workers, the industrial court commissioners gave scant attention to the jurisdictional question raised, but proceeded in an attempt to justify the Kansas industrial court act under the "police power" of the state and under the plea that to prevent strikes was in the furtherance of the "public welfare."

During this argument Judge Pollock asked the Kansas attorney-general whether or not, in his opinion the law-making body of Kansas could, within its power, enact a statute making it a criminal offense for a workman to cease work with or without a time contract. In reply the attorney-general was compelled to admit that any workman could leave his employment any time he saw fit and that the state could not prosecute him therefor, but he added that two or more could not legally agree to quit, or in other words, strike, and especially so if they had time contracts.

Thereupon the court said:

Men have the right to quit work when they please and the state is without power to inquire into their reason for doing so.

The court having thus indicated its opinion as to the unconstitutionality of the industrial court law, nevertheless it took under consideration the motion having been made questioning its jurisdiction and held that the proceedings of the United Mine Workers had been instituted prematurely and that it could not render a decision upon the constitutionality of the law until such time that the industrial court might undertake to render or might attempt to enforce any of its decisions under the industrial court law.

While the court expressed this judgment upon the motion to dismiss this particular proceeding, it nevertheless allowed an extension of time for further hearings upon this question of jurisdiction. In addition, the court stated that if the industrial court would make a wage scale, and arrest one of the miners for non-compliance therewith, that the court would then be empowered to render a decision upon the constitutionality of the law itself.

Thus Judge Pollock as well as the United Mine Workers have not only presented Governor Allen and the Kansas Industrial Court with a fair opportunity for them to justify the enactment of this law before the courts, but a direct challenge has been presented to them to come into court and demonstrate the constitutionality of the law under which they would make mere puppets of workmen.

Indeed, we find Governor Allen and his nation-wide heralded industrial court law confronted with a state wide strike of the miners who have challenged Governor Allen and the industrial court to come into court by attempting to interfere with the existing strike. Instead of so doing, Governor Allen and the industrial court have declined to inter-

ferre with this strike or to meet fairly and squarely the issues raised in the court. By these evasive and delusive tactics they have publicly acknowledged the impotency of this compulsory service law.

It is clearly apparent that Governor Allen and his industrial court dare not meet the issue squarely in the courts and that they are but waiting for the development of a situation in which the element of time contracts may be relied on as a defense to bolster up an unworkable, unconstitutional and indefensible piece of legislation.

We shall await with further interest the final decision of Judge Pollock as well as watch with special concern the future attitude and actions of Governor Allen and his industrial court, believing in the mean time that the taxpayers of Kansas may find it advisable, desirable and expedient to prevent the further spending of the people's money for the upkeep of an industrial court, which Judge Pollock indicated in his opinion is unconstitutional, and which Governor Allen and the industrial court commissioners by their refusal to enforce this law admit is impracticable.

In addition to this particular judicial and possible future legal tests of the constitutionality of this law, the wage earners as well as the people generally throughout Kansas have been aroused against this iniquitous form of legislation more than ever and a state-wide movement has been inaugurated by the organized wage earners of Kansas for the early repeal of this law.

Perhaps the only purpose this law has served has been to demonstrate again that men value freedom and liberty and that men can not be made to give service long under any form of compulsion. Self-respecting men will do right when equal rights and opportunities are accorded to them.

#### *Duell-Miller Bill*

The proposal for a law similar to the Kansas industrial law was introduced in the New York state legislature during its last session. This proposal followed in purpose and intent the Kansas law though it differed in form and in some particulars was even more mischievous and vicious than the Kansas industrial law.

The significant feature of this proposal was that all industrial disputes which went beyond the control of the state industrial commissioner and became "a public consequence" should be adjusted by the state supreme court. For this purpose it was proposed that the court might, upon application, enjoin strikes and lockouts and by the action of one of the parties to an industrial dispute, it might fix wages, hours and working conditions and in a special industrial relations term called by the governor it might supervise, direct and control the operation of all businesses, corporations, labor unions or other agencies representing either employers or employees. This proposal undertook also to regulate the procedure that trade unions would be required to follow in reaching decisions affecting their industrial relations.

The entire labor movement of New York state was aroused as never before against this most vicious proposal, and the largest protest meeting ever held in the annals of organized labor within that state was held in opposition to the enactment into law of this proposal. Before a joint session of the committee on labor of the senate and assembly President Gompers and Vice-President Woll voiced the opposition of American labor against this proposal and every influence was set into motion to defeat this proposed obnoxious legislation. As a result, the Duell-Miller bill received no further consideration and died with the adjournment of the New York state legislature.

#### *Colorado Industrial Commission Law*

The Colorado industrial commission law was enacted in 1915 and went into effect July 15 of that year. In a little over six years Denver has experienced a continuous succession of strikes. Over 90 per cent of the members of organized labor throughout the state is opposed to this law. It, too, has proven a failure. The convention of the A. F. of L. ever since 1915 has expressed itself in opposition to its unwarranted and unconstitutional provisions.

The fact that the law itself was ineffective prompted the employing interests of that state further to amend this law. In 1921 it was amended to give the industrial commission jurisdiction to investigate, hear and determine controversies in all indus-

tries and to use whatever time was necessary in the commission's discretion to render a finding or award. In addition, there was enacted a mandatory injunction law by which the industrial commission could invoke the injunction process and thus compel employers and employes to hold all industrial conditions in *status quo* pending the hearing and findings which the industrial commission might give whenever it felt so inclined.

With these additional powers the industrial commission immediately sought to suppress and depress the organized protest, hopes and aspirations of the wage earners of Colorado. Two cases came before the commission during the past year which demonstrated not only the impracticability but the gross partiality shown in the enforcement of this law.

In October, 1921, when nation-wide notice was given by the employers in the packing house industry that they intended to reduce the wages of the workers in that industry, a referendum vote was taken by the members of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen on the question of accepting or resisting the proposed wage reduction, the result of which demonstrated that the workmen almost unanimously were against acceptance of the reduction. On December 1, 1921, the reduction was put into effect. In Denver, as well as in other cities, the employes of the five big packing houses resisted the wage reduction by giving up their employment.

The industrial commission, by reason of the amended act of 1921, went into Judge Morrey's court and obtained a mandatory injunction against the district president McCreash, all the officers and twenty-one members of local union 641 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, enjoining them from longer continuing this strike and demanding that the strike be called off and that the conditions restored as they existed before December 1.

This injunction named the employers as well as the employes. The employers failed to restore the wages as they existed prior to December 1. On December 10 a citation was issued against President McCreash and others directing them to appear to answer why they should not be held for contempt of court. This citation also contained the names of employers. The employers, however, were not required to come into court nor were they ever molested. District President McCreash, with all the officers and a number of the members (thirty-three in all) were found guilty of contempt of court and were sentenced to jail from one to sixty days for violating the injunction. Nothing was done with the employers but the workers were compelled to serve their terms in jail.

The plea was made on behalf of the workers that the industrial laws in question were unconstitutional. While the court ruled that the law was unconstitutional by including all industries, it nevertheless permitted the iniquitous mandatory injunction law to stand.

The second case developed about the 1st of December when the employers in the photo-engraving industry of Denver gave notice to the local photo-engravers' union that on January 1, 1922, the wages of its members would be reduced approximately 15 per cent. The local photo-engravers, in keeping with the requirement of law, filed a notice with the industrial commission as a protest against the reduction. The employers, however, did not comply with the law and merely notified the commission of the proposed reduction.

The commission did not at once assume jurisdiction in the photo-engravers' case. The latter part of December the employers posted notices in the shops of the reduction stating that the same would go into effect on January 1. The commission then gave notice to employers and employes not to change working conditions until it had first held a hearing and rendered an award. January 10 was set as the date for the hearing. The employers ignored the commission, changed the working conditions and reduced the wages on January 1. Following this action in a newspaper interview the commission gave out the statement that it would immediately start court proceedings against the employers for ignoring the commission by reducing wages before an award was rendered. However, nothing was done.

The local employers paid no attention whatever to the law and reduced the wages. The local photo-engravers refused to work longer. They left their employment on January 10, after they had become convinced that the industrial commission would not compel the employers to observe the law. When the hearing was had on January

10, the local photo-engravers' union appeared in court but their employers remained away. In spite of all that had occurred, the industrial commission rendered an award that the employers were justified in reducing wages. It was clearly evident that the commission did not dare humiliate the employers by sending them to jail. No, it preferred to humiliate itself.

In the case of the photo-engravers, the action of the employing photo-engravers in ignoring the law was justified by the industrial commission. The representatives of the packing house employes were charged with the same offense and were sent to jail. It is thus evident that this is but another form of class-biased instruments of law that can be made to serve the financial interests of employers and deprive the workers of their constitutional rights.

This form of legislation is not only unfair and unconstitutional but has become equally as obnoxious and dangerous as the Kansas law. Under it the industrial commission may prolong its investigation and hearings indefinitely in cases where the workers are involved and it may render an immediate award where employers defy its powers or where the interests of employers are concerned. In addition, it gives legislative approval to the mandatory injunction process and through this grant of extended equity jurisdiction enables the courts of Colorado to regulate industrial relations and through contempt proceedings throw aside all the safeguards with which the individual citizen is surrounded when charged with wrong-doing by the state and wherein the state has become the prosecutor.

Such legislation can find its equal only in the inquisitorial bodies of the dark ages when justice was measured by the position and influence of those coming before the courts and when men were slaves and serfs and not free men. Surely, the patience of man is being sorely tried. In the interest of freedom and equality of opportunity and for the purpose of perpetuating the principles of democracy, this convention should express itself in no uncertain terms against these unconstitutional and unwarranted tendencies to establish an economic and industrial autocracy in our land.

#### *President Harding's Proposal To Regulate Trade Unions*

While all attempts made to enact similar legislation to that of the Kansas industrial law in several states were successfully defeated, a new source of danger has developed in this direction through reference to this subject by President Harding in his message to congress on December 6 of last year in which he said:

Just as it is not desirable that a corporation shall be allowed to impose undue exactions upon the public, so it is not desirable that a labor organization shall be permitted to exact unfair terms of employment or subject the public to actual distresses in order to enforce its terms.

There are two distinct implications involved in this statement. It implies that the employers acting in their corporate capacity are successfully restrained by law from imposing undue exactions upon the public and that they are not permitted to exact unfair terms of employment or to impose actual distresses on the public in order to enforce their terms. The other implication is that labor organizations do exact unfair terms of employment and do subject the public to actual distresses in order to enforce their terms.

One could hardly conceive a statement of the President more at variance with the real facts as they exist in our industrial life. Unquestionably, it is this erroneous conception of actualities in our industrial life which lead the President to express the following conclusions in the same report to congress:

In an industrial society such as ours the strike the lockout and the boycott are as much out of place and as disastrous in their results as is war or armed revolution in the domain of politics.

Having advised congress that the strike and lockout and the boycott are as much out of place in our industrial society as armed revolution in the domain of politics he recommended that:

In the case of the corporation which enjoys the privilege of limited liability of stockholders particularly when engaged in the public service, it is

recognized that the outside public has a large concern which must be protected; and so we provide regulations restrictions and in some cases detailed supervision. Likewise in the case of labor organizations we might well apply similar and equally well-defined principles of regulation and supervision in order to conserve the public's interests as affected by their operations.

It is difficult to understand what form of regulation the President had in mind in submitting this recommendation. It would seem that he did not contemplate mediation or voluntary arbitration. It is hardly conceivable that he should confuse voluntary organizations of workers, organized not for profit, with corporate enterprises organized for profit and to measure both forms of organizations with the same yard stick.

It is almost inconceivable that the President should attempt to urge that human life should be regulated by the same rules and laws that regulate material things. If the concept of Labor and capital implied relations now as in times of old we should now as then find children of 4 and 6 years of age going into mines and working underground for twelve fourteen and sixteen hours a day. If the old concept of Labor and of capital were still in vogue, we should still find women working in coal mines giving birth to children the parentage of which they knew little. It is as absurd as well as it is inhumane that Labor and capital should be regulated by the same rules and be measured by the same yardstick.

Evidently what the President contemplated was a system of industrial laws similar to those which prevail in Kansas and which would place the workers again in a condition of "status" and deny them the right to freedom of contract. It is hardly believed possible that the President implied that the present administration intends to further a policy which will deny America's workers the right to cease working collectively and to determine for themselves the conditions under which they will give service. Yet the language used leaves little room for a different conclusion.

When the people of the world have passed through the indescribable tortures and sacrifices of the greatest war humanity has ever experienced in order that reality might be given to the hopes and aspirations of the people and that autocracy and despotism might be ended for all time to come, it is astounding that principles should be promulgated having for their purpose the economic enslavement of the workers through a denial of equal rights, nullifying and destroying the effectiveness of the thirteenth amendment of the United States constitution which was enacted to abolish involuntary servitude and slavery for all time to come.

Strikes and lockouts may cause slight inconveniences for the time being. Invariably they have marked a condition of progress in the lives of our people and in the improved conditions of employment among the wage earners of our land. Surely, if it was not in the interests of the public to continue longer the slavery of the black man it cannot be in the interest of public to deprive the wage earners of the rights guaranteed to them under the United States constitution; to bring the white man into a condition of involuntary servitude can not be in the public interest; to reduce the worker to a condition of "status" does not conform to constitutional conception of "freedom of contract."

In this confused state of mind and disorder, surely, it can not be in the interest of democratic principles to appeal to public favor and commendation by advocating an autocracy of employers of Labor made secure by depriving the workers of their democratic rights. Rather, indeed, organized labor must hold fast to the more humane, democratic, and rightful principles enunciated by that great statesman and liberator, Abraham Lincoln, when as President of the United States he declared:

I am glad that a system of Labor prevails under which laborers can strike when they want to where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances and are not tied down to work whether you pay them for it or not. I like a system which lets a man "quit" when he wants to and I wish it might prevail everywhere. I want a man to have a chance to better his condition that is the true system I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer.

### THE CORONADO CASE

The Coronado case against the United Mine Workers of America has a legal history of nearly nine years standing. This case has been before the supreme court of the United States for some time. It involves the question of holding national and international trade unions liable for alleged misconduct of individuals not directed by the national or international unions and without approval of methods used and without knowledge of the misconduct of which complaint is made. Involved in this case is the question whether national and international trade unions shall be liable as if they were incorporated bodies.

There is also involved the very important question of whether an employer or group of employers, entering into agreements with national and international unions, is doing so in violation of the law.

This question, therefore, goes to the very root of trade union organization and the fundamental principles upon which collective trade union agreements are founded. As indicated in our report of last year, an adverse decision in this case by the United States supreme court will not only place in jeopardy the recognized and established rights of the wage earners to trade union organization and to collective bargaining but will also open the way for further and destructive litigation against the United Mine Workers and other national and international unions.

This case is still in the hands of the United States supreme court. It is to be sincerely hoped that when its decision shall have been formulated and announced that the wage earners of America may not be confronted with a like situation that confronted the people of America when the United States supreme court handed down the Dred-Scott decision.

### RAILROADS

When the Esch-Cummins law was under consideration, Labor opposed this legislation with all the power at its command. At the time of the enactment of this bill into law it was believed that this legislation to regulate the operation of the railroads and to fix the wages and conditions of employment of Labor by a governmental institution would prove unsatisfactory, if not disastrous. Despite all predictions to the contrary, this law has proven a failure and has been the cause of more unrest, disturbance and dissatisfaction than have ever been experienced by either railroad workers or the users of our transportation system.

This fact is recognized alike by the railroad owners, managers and security holders who constantly find cause for complaint. Of course, the grievances of the railroads are centered solely on the effort to maintain high transportation charges, to reduce the wages of the railroad workers and to use our railroad system as a means of exploitation for dividends and profits. Thus we find the railroads constantly clamoring for further and further reductions in wages of the railroad employes in order to place, as is alleged, the railroads on a sound financial basis and to permit the lowering of transportation rates. In that manner the center of attack is made on Labor and the whole failure of our transportation system is sought to be shifted on to the shoulders of the wage earners.

Consequently, the railroad workers have been compelled to fight not only against the further lowering of their inadequate wages, but they also have been compelled to use every effort and ingenuity at their command to maintain their effective trade union organizations.

Under these circumstances, the railroad workers have been required to study every phase of the railroad problems and the astounding fact has been disclosed that our transportation system is not in the control of men who are interested in the operation of the railroads for service to the public but that it is dominated and controlled by a small group of bankers and industrial interests who are interested solely in dividends and profits. It has been revealed that the control of the supply companies which furnish the railroads with the necessary equipment and do the "outside" labor work at excessive costs and profits are the same interests that own and control the railroads themselves.

It has been demonstrated that members of the board of directors of New York banks controlled 270 directorships of ninety-three class one railroads; that the boards of



the principal railroad systems do not often number more than fifteen directors; that on an average forty-five members on the boards of the principal railroad systems are directors of New York banks and that among these is included the United States Steel Corporation, one of the most powerful forces in the railroad and mining industry. Practically twenty-five Wall Street men control 103 railroad directorships and through this concentrated power, bear a great influence upon practically every large industry throughout the country.

In summing up the situation last October before the Railroad Labor Board, the railroad unions presented the following significant statement:

1. That the control of the transportation system of the country, including nearly every important system today centers in New York city and that the main lines of policy for the industry are determined on a national basis by a comparatively small group of New York banks.

2. That this group of New York banks is closely knit together into a single unit through a maze of interlocking directorates and that leadership in this combine has been maintained through credit control by the House of Morgan.

3. That this control extends not only to the various railroad systems but also to the chief industries of the country which furnish the railroads with fuel, material for maintenance of way and equipment, new equipment and other supplies.

4. That certain members of this financial group are primarily railway directors and that they constitute what might be termed the railway department or committee of this unified financial combination.

5. That Thomas DeWitt Cuyler and W. W. Atterbury (of the Pennsylvania Railroad, handmaiden of the United States Steel) who are at present leading the attack upon the organized employes of the road, both before the country and the Railroad Labor Board, are members of this railway committee of the combine.

6. That the spread of control of this New York railway department extends to every section of the country, thereby accounting for the fact that the present policies are being followed on a national basis.

Under the Esch Cummins act the railroads were guaranteed for a certain period by the government five and one-half per cent (5½%) to six per cent (6%) on a capitalization to be fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Under this act the Interstate Commerce Commission has endeavored to determine the capitalization but by the same act, the method of determining the capitalization was so outlined as to require it to secure its conclusions from the book accounts rather than from the actual values of the properties engaged in the service. Under this method of estimating the capitalization of the railroads and the fixing of their rates, high costs need not disturb the railroads because they are insured their financial return no matter what the cost may be.

Under this arrangement the railroads have impressed the country with the belief that the only method of reducing railroad rates is by reducing the wage cost. The railroads, however, have used this cost-plus basis arrangement not only to depress the wages of labor but also to swell their dividends and profits through "outside" and equipment concerns which are practically dominated by them.

The railroad organizations have constantly indicated that these contracts for outside repairs and equipments were excessive in nature and that this practice was being indulged in to keep up the cost of operation and to enlarge the profits and dividends of those who control and dominate the railroads. It remained, however, for the Interstate Commerce Commission to look into these charges and to find that in the case of the Pennsylvania Railroad that upon the resumption of corporate control and operation by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company this company awarded to the Baldwin Locomotive Works a contract for the repair of 200 locomotives while maintaining shops of its own for such work and that the cost to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company was over \$3,000,000 in excess of the cost at which the same work might have been done in its own shops. It also found that there was work paid for twice in some instances, which

the company could have done in its own shops within a reasonable time, by an appropriate coordination of effort and with reasonable exertion. The Interstate Commerce Commission also found that in the case of the New York Central Railroad Company under contracts negotiated in the early months and in the summer of 1920, certain locomotive construction companies, 195 locomotives of the New York Central Railroad Company were sent to "contract" shops for classified repairs and that the cost to the New York Central Railroad Company was in the neighborhood of \$3,000,000, in excess of the cost of similar work in its own shops. The Interstate Commerce Commission likewise found that the New York Central Railroad Company could have repaired at least a greater number of locomotives in its own shops within the time in which the contract work was done.

These findings of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Railroad Labor Board give added validity and present demonstrative evidence to the statement made by the railroad unions that approximately \$2,000,000,000 a year is wasted by methods of this kind, by improper financing and a useless duplication of effort. These decisions, as well as the cost-plus principle itself give added value to the conviction that it is not wages that should be reduced but that these methods of exploitation, permissible and encouraged under the Esch-Cummins law, should be wiped out.

At the time of the preparation of this report in the case of the Indiana Harbor Belt Railroad Company and the Burnham Car Repair Company, the Railroad Labor Board, in decision, ruled that any railroad "farming out" its shop and maintenance work for the alleged purpose of removing its employes from the operation and application of the transportation act or the jurisdiction of the Railroad Labor Board, is in direct violation of the provisions of this act, although official contracts involved in such transactions are at the same time held legal by the Railroad Labor Board. It is said this decision will serve as an "example" to be followed in thirty-six other similar cases involving seventeen railroads now on the docket for decision.

Immediately upon the announcement of this decision the surmise was made in railroad circles that the Railroad Labor Board will again find itself restrained in the enforcement of its decisions by an injunction and if this prediction becomes a reality and if the case of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company is a fair criterion of the attitude of our courts upon the powers of the Railroad Labor Board, this ruling of the Railroad Labor Board will prove as impotent as its former decision against the railroads. Indeed, it would seem that the only legal decisions that the Railroad Labor Board is permitted to make are such as affect the railroad workers adversely and as benefit the railroad magnates alone, directly or indirectly.

A review of the decisions of the Railroad Labor Board for the past year confirms the conviction expressed a year ago that its operation shows nothing of a constructive statesmanship and that its decisions are not in the direction of justice, uniformity and economy. However we may characterize the decisions, the important fact emphasized is that the decisions of the Railroad Labor Board have given satisfaction neither to the workers nor to management and have tended toward a more general demoralization of the morale of the mechanical forces upon whom the successful operation of the railroads depend. Indeed, it is inconceivable that there could be designed a court or tribunal which would bring to all concerned that same degree of satisfaction that arises out of collective agreements, mutually entered into. The Esch-Cummins law, through the Railroad Labor Board, has practically destroyed the conception of voluntary agreements between employers and workers and the subject of compensation for services rendered has become a constant source of litigation and irritation.

How to meet this vicious circle of control and how to establish the principles of democracy in the labor relationship on our transportation systems is the direct problem of the railroad workers. Indirectly the solution of this problem affects every other group of workers. The mine workers are now engaged in a death struggle against this same powerful combine and the weapon used by those workers is the economic power with which they are endowed, their freedom to cease mining coal and thereby to compel these financial interests to deal fairly with them. Under the Esch Cummins law it is intended to deny the railroad workers this natural and economic power with which nature has endowed them and by arbitrary legislation to enslave them to the properties of the

railroads as effectively as were the workers enslaved to the land under the old feudal system.

It is of immediate importance that the rights of the railroad workers to cease work, whenever the pressure becomes too great and whenever they deem themselves justified in so, doing must be fully protected. It is well enough to urge the need of continued transportation facilities in the interests of the general public but it can not be in the interest of the general public to continue further and further the enslavement of free workers under the devious methods employed by the railroads, to earn dividends and profits for a few at the sacrifice of the very existence of the railroad workers.

Under the directions of the Denver convention, the E. C. has been helpful in every way within its power to the Railway Employes Department of the A. F. of L. conforming to the Denver convention instruction and in cooperation with the department.

As evidence of the appreciation of the Railway Employes Department, we quote from a letter from President Jewell under date of February 24, the following:

. . . They direct me to advise that the department sincerely appreciates the support and cooperation which they have received from the A. F. of L. and its officers during the past year in connection with controversies which have affected the organizations representing railroad employes.

We invite the committee to whom this subject-matter shall be referred to read the correspondence between President Jewell and President Gompers upon this subject.

Arrangements have also been proposed by the E. C. to create a railroad labor policy board constituted of three representatives of the A. F. of L. selected from members of the E. C. and three representatives of railroad service employes whenever representation is desired by these organizations on this railroad labor policies board. By that method and procedure the workers directly and indirectly concerned in the railroad problems and transportation system of our land will be enabled at all times to act in concert, speedily and effectively, whenever and however occasion may demand, whether it be through the exercise of furthering helpful legislation or in supporting the economic power of the workers directly concerned.

### INFORMATION AND PUBLICITY

Following the Denver convention, and in pursuance to the action there taken, the Executive Council directed the President and Secretary to organize an information and publicity service. The President and Secretary accordingly established the American Federation of Labor Information and Publicity Service.

It was the intention that there should be developed under this head the publicity work of the A. F. of L., a constantly growing volume of research work, and that in general it should be an information gathering and information disseminating agency of the labor movement. It should be borne in mind that in addition to the Information and Publicity Service thus established, there are a number of other agencies within the headquarters of the A. F. of L. engaged in similar efforts, and it seems proper that there be set forth here a concise summary of all these efforts.

#### *American Federationist*

The *American Federationist*, the official organ of the A. F. of L., is published monthly under the editorship of the President of the A. F. of L. It serves as a medium for conveying to organized labor and to the public the official expressions of the labor movement.

There has been a rapidly growing tendency on the part of daily newspapers and periodical publications to quote from the pages of the *American Federationist* and to comment editorially upon its articles and editorials. While it would be difficult, if not impossible, to check accurately the amount of newspaper quotation and comment of this character, it has, beyond doubt, within the course of a year run into hundreds of columns. The editorial value of this constantly growing tendency toward general use of the *American Federationist* for republication purposes, is an asset to the labor movement beyond estimate.

It has been the good fortune of the *American Federationist* within the past year

to be able to present to its readers a considerable number of contributions of great worth. Shortly after the 1921 convention, the services of the Hon. John M. Baer, former member of congress and famous cartoonist, were engaged for the *American Federationist*. Mr. Baer's cartoons are among the most forceful in the country and would be considered an asset by publications of the first rank. They have materially added to the attractiveness and value of our official magazine. Through the Information and Publicity Service these cartoons have been furnished each month to the labor press and they have been widely used, especially by the official journals of the various national and international unions, thus adding value to a large number of labor publications.

#### *Weekly News Letter*

The *Weekly News Letter* is one of the established branches of the A. F. of L. educational work and has continued as formerly, with the exception of a change in title authorized by the E. C. It now is known as the A. F. of L. *Weekly News Service*. This, as is generally known, is a service of labor news gathered primarily for the labor press. In this manner a printed sheet the size of a newspaper page is furnished to the labor press each week, going in addition to a considerable number of publications and to a large number of individuals interested for one reason or another in the labor movement and its welfare.

#### *Legislative Committee's Report*

There has been a standing practice of publishing each month in the *American Federationist* the report of the A. F. of L. Legislative Committee. During the year there was inaugurated an extension of this work. The monthly report of the Legislative Committee is now furnished to the labor press, to all of the colleges in the United States and to a number of other institutions and to persons.

#### *Speakers' Bureau*

It has not been possible to organize a systematic effort in this direction. This has been solely because sufficient financial support was not available. The necessity for a well-organized speakers' bureau is of course apparent and no argument in that direction is necessary. It was not possible during the past year, however, to do more in the way of furnishing speakers. It is to be hoped that the coming year may offer a possibility of establishing a speakers' bureau, in order that there may be a consistent effort in the furnishing of speakers in response to a demand that is constantly growing. There are many platforms open to labor, but the advantages thus offered can not be utilized until there is a regularly established agency for the conducting of that work at A. F. of L. headquarters.

#### *Establishment of Newspapers*

Resolutions 39 and 67, calling for the consideration by the E. C. of the question of acquiring or establishing a chain of daily newspapers, have been given serious consideration during the year. It has been impossible during the time that has passed to take definite steps toward carrying out the provisions of the resolutions. The matter was left to the judgment of the E. C. and we are now prepared to report a plan of action which we believe will be practical and which in our judgment should be put into operation.

We have considered the question at length and in conference with those who have knowledge and experience in relation to newspaper publication. We are of the opinion that a daily newspaper or a chain of daily newspapers for the labor movement must come as the result of evolutionary growth and that it is not a venture upon which to embark at this time.

The argument against hasty entry into the field of daily newspaper publication is purely one of utility, expediency and business judgment. We believe it will not be necessary to present any lengthy argument to justify this point of view. We merely say that we are of the opinion first of all, that the financial undertaking involved in the conduct of a chain of daily newspapers at this time would be much greater than our

movement is prepared to meet, and furthermore we are of the opinion that expansion of the work of our Information and Publicity Service will result in a constantly improving standard of accuracy in daily newspapers even though not owned or controlled by Labor.

We have given consideration not only to the field of daily newspaper publication but to the field of weekly newspaper publication and to the field of publicity in general. It is our conclusion that while it is impossible to enter at this time upon the publication of a daily newspaper it may be entirely feasible within the coming year to begin the publication of a weekly newspaper to serve as a great spokesman and champion for our cause. We are impressed with the value of a properly conducted weekly publication believing that it would serve as a constant source of inspiration to our membership in addition to being a constant source of information.

More and more the question of making available accurate information about important events in the world of industry becomes one of first importance. Most of the established channels for the dissemination of news are either in the service of those opposed to the labor movement or they display a degree of unintelligence in connection with industrial affairs that is deeply disappointing and that makes for unenlightened information likely to reach unintelligent and unfounded conclusions.

We recommend that the convention authorize the E. C. to make such arrangement as it may find practical for the publication of a weekly newspaper at such time as its success will be reasonably assured.

#### *Information and Publicity Service*

Through this new agency the A. F. of L. has conducted during the past year a considerable work of disseminating information in relation to the labor movement. For many years prior to the establishment of this service a need was felt for some agency which would be at all times in readiness to respond to requests for information and which would at all times serve as a channel through which information and news concerning the labor movement might be available to the public through the daily press, through periodical publications and through direct contact with individuals seeking information. The effort made in this direction has been, we feel, amply justified and it demonstrates not merely the need which existed for the establishment of this service, but makes clear the pressing need for its extension.

By authority of the convention there had been gathered a fund of approximately \$5,000 by voluntary contribution, for the purpose of financing the work. This was made necessary because no other finances were available. If this work is to be a success and if it is to be possible to continue it on a sound, stable basis that will not fluctuate from year to year, or perhaps from month to month, some other method of financing must be devised. It has been possible during the year, with the available finances, to develop the work to a degree but falling far short of what could be otherwise accomplished. It has been necessary to practice the utmost economy, even in the ordinary routine work of information dissemination.

Only a trifling amount of research work has been possible and when it is considered that the great volume of the most valuable kind of information and news material must be based upon painstaking research work, the necessity for that work becomes apparent. Vast resources are continuously at the command of the enemies of labor for use in the dissemination of the propaganda of untruth. It will never be possible, and it will never be desirable, to match the efforts of our enemies in a financial way. We must, however, at the earliest moment make possible a thoroughly effective and adequate presentation of Labor's story.

More and more as time passes and as the world of industry becomes more complicated the work of properly gathering facts becomes more difficult and requires more painstaking effort. Superficial work can only be harmful. Statements presented to the public by labor must be impossible of successful contradiction and all compilations and research results must be able to withstand the most painstaking scrutiny. While that is popularly and properly known as propaganda is passing more and more into disrepute and is more and more resorted to only by those who have greedy and illegitimate ends to serve, there is a growing field and a growing need for legitimate, honorable publicity work. We are convinced that every effort ought to be made to enlarge upon the excel-

lent beginning that has been made by the A. F. of L. in this direction and that it should be made possible to feed and re-enforce this publicity work with proper and adequate research efforts.

We earnestly urge that the convention take such action as will make it possible to place the A. F. of L. Information and Publicity Service on a stable, permanent basis.

#### *History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book and Index*

The value of the American Federation of Labor History, Encyclopedia, Reference Book and Index as an educator has been demonstrated daily. The copy of the proceedings for the last three years to be added to the work has been prepared and is ready for the printer. It was thought best, however that as the convention was so soon to be held that the printing be withheld and the action of the Cincinnati convention be added thereto. This would be printed as an appendix to the original book.

#### *American Federationist Index*

The analytical index of the American Federationist which is now in the course of preparation will be a reference book of the history of the achievements of the labor movement insofar as they have been recorded in the official magazine. It is designed to be a guide to what Labor has thought, written and accomplished in its practical everyday work of improving the conditions of the working people.

#### *Material for Debates*

During the past year a number of requests for material to be used in debates in colleges, universities, high schools and the various social organizations increased at an amazing rate. Great care has been exercised in filling them. No letters for literature have been left unanswered nor has anything been left undone to give the fullest information on all questions asked. This part of the work of the American Federation of Labor has proved of great value not only to the trade union movement, but to people in all walks of life generally and has contributed to a better understanding of the fundamental principles and the general purposes of our movement. Among the subjects used most in debates are compulsory arbitration, Kansas Court of Industrial Relations, immigration, union and non-union shops, collective bargaining, unemployment insurance and should trade unions incorporate.

Each applicant for data on the various subjects is requested to inform the officials of the American Federation of Labor as to the result of the debates. It is surprising the number reported to have resulted in favor of Labor's attitude upon these subjects. A great majority of the letters from students express a high regard for the trade union movement and commend the A. F. of L. for the great results it has accomplished in bettering the standards and conditions of the wage earners. Upon request much material also has been supplied to many libraries.

#### *The Labor Press*

The labor papers are sentinels on guard throughout the country for the cause of mankind. They are extremely valuable advocates and defenders of the cause of the wage earners. Their struggle for existence is frequently a difficult one. The labor movement owes to the labor papers a great debt of gratitude for giving voice to Labor's cause when often other avenues of publicity are closed. Every possible support should be given to the bona fide labor press in order that it may be strengthened for still greater work that lies ahead.

### EDUCATION

Reference to the proceedings of the Montreal and Denver conventions will show that a Special Committee on Education was made "the permanent committee" to deal with the subject of education. The committee consists of: Matthew Woll, C. L. Baine, John P. Frey, Charles B. Stillman, George W. Perkins. In the discharge of its duties

during the year, the committee has given faithful service, as will be evidenced by the report which we submit herewith, with our approval and the recommendation that the special committee be continued:

### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

The Committee on Education makes the following report of the year's work:

Two specific mandates were given the Committee on Education, an investigation of the "essential studies and text books now used in the public schools" particularly with relation to civics, economics and history, together with efforts to establish standards in teaching and text book writing; and the compilation of the declarations of the American Federation of Labor on education.

#### *Investigation of Text Books*

The investigation of text books, the initiation of which was reported to the Denver convention, has been completed and will soon be available for distribution.

For this report and the record, we give here the following:

#### *Summary of Report on Public School Text Book Investigation*

The purpose of the investigation is to determine (1) what agencies and influences are at work attempting to shape the attitude of public school teaching toward fundamental public questions; (2) the nature of the subjects dealing with the broader interests of organized labor, and the extent to which they are being taught; (3) the curricula and text books in use in the teaching of these subjects and the policy of important text-book publishers; (4) conclusions and recommendations.

1. There are numerous agencies attempting to influence public school education. These may be classified into three main groups: (a) Professional associations and official or semi-official agencies directly and regularly concerned with education; (b) philanthropic foundations and societies of long standing founded with educational objects but representing various points of view of those not actively engaged in education; (c) organizations not primarily interested in education but attempting to influence the public schools from their special points of view. The activities of some of these agencies are salutary and result in strengthening and improving the educational system of the country. Such agencies are found largely in groups "a" and "b." Other agencies are neutral in their effect.

2. The subjects in the teaching of which organized labor is primarily interested are civics, economics, history, and industrial history. American history has long been universally taught, though the treatment of it has been changing from a narrow political form to a broader social form in which labor is much more concerned. The other subjects mentioned have recently been introduced into the curricula of the public schools, and the extent of their use is rapidly enlarging. So also is the scope of treatment. A statistical survey of the present status of these subjects is included in the report.

3. The investigation does not attempt to criticize the text books in use in these subjects, from a narrow point of view which would draw a sharp line between those which are approved and those disapproved. Rather, after examination of the best representative texts, it sets up standards of evaluation covering the main points of interest, and grades each text in reference to these standards. Not so much attention is paid to the opinions which a book expresses as to the subjects covered, the adequacy of the treatment, etc. In the case of books giving a one-sided or illiberal treatment of any important subject, mention is made of the fact. But such cases are few. Most of the books given a low grade suffer not from prejudice, but rather from lack of sufficient background and adequate information. Approximately half of the texts in history and civics utterly ignore the labor movement and the subjects of particular interest to labor. However, it is more desirable that the pupil should be given an opportu-

nity to inform himself and to reason about an important matter than that he should be instructed with a hard-and-fast set of precepts, no matter what bias they have. From this point of view, we find only a few really harmful texts and on the other hand, only a few really adequate ones. Publishers are being encouraged and should be further encouraged, to enlarge the scope of treatment in these subjects, and school authorities should be encouraged to use the most adequate texts.

4. The more important recommendations resulting from the investigation follow:

With regard to organizations influencing the public schools, the various bodies of the labor movement should be alert to oppose any effort to limit the independence or dignity of the teaching profession, or to introduce illiberal tendencies into public education. On the other hand, they should encourage and assist the organization of teachers themselves as the best means of raising educational standards. A self-respecting, adequately paid and well informed teaching staff is the best guarantee of an educational system adequate to democracy.

Every effort should be put forth to encourage the extension of adequate teaching of civics, industrial history, etc. At the same time measures should be taken to encourage publication and adoption of adequate texts. New text books should be evaluated as published, in accordance with the system here developed, and the results of the evaluation made known by labor bodies to publishers, educational authorities, and teachers.

The real importance of these findings consists not only in the evidence of inadequate and biased treatment of social studies, but in the implication to teachers and historians who want practical help in doing their work. It is much more important to know what ought to be done and to prevent future mistakes than it is simply to criticize past achievements.

#### *Declarations on Education*

The second task assigned to the committee has also been completed and the official declarations of the A. F. of L. on educational matters are now readily available for use in convenient pamphlet form. The pamphlet shows the steady progress in the Federation's position, always keeping abreast with sound conclusions and changes indicated by experience and study.

The official declarations of the A. F. of L. upon the subject of education have been codified under thirty-two sub-heads for convenient reference. Each will be found arranged in logical sequence, and also chronologically as far as possible, so that not only can Labor's present position on educational matters be readily found, but also the development of that position. A table of references to the *American Federationist* is included in an appendix.

Conventions of the A. F. of L. have urged all state and local central bodies to establish permanent committees on education. The members of such committees, and in fact all who are actively interested in adding "to the effectiveness of Labor's contribution to educational progress," will find this booklet of real assistance. To educators, and public spirited citizens outside the labor movement, we believe this compilation will prove instructive and helpful.

#### *Commission on Secondary and Collegiate Education*

An invitation was received by the A. F. of L. to send a representative to the session of the Commission of Collegiate Schools of Business on correlation of secondary and collegiate education. Upon recommendation of the Committee on Education, the Executive Council through President Gompers selected Mr. Charles B. Stillman, of the American Federation of Teachers to attend the conference. The sessions disclosed that the commission was thoroughly stirred by such revelations as the fact that of the first 150 freshmen registered in the School of Commerce and Administration of the University of Chicago in the fall of 1920, 32 per cent had taken no ancient history, 56.66 per cent



no mediaeval history, 59.33 per cent no modern history, 24 per cent no United States history, 86 per cent no English history, 92 per cent no industrial history, 39.33 per cent no civics, 72.66 per cent no economics and 98 per cent no sociology. The freshmen on the average had taken only two and one-half years of work in the whole field of social study, and this chiefly history. And what history? About one-quarter had taken no United States history, and another quarter only one-half year. As much work had been done in ancient history as in the history of their own country. As preparation for functioning in our industrial society, only one-twelfth had taken any industrial history. Six-tenths offered one-half year's work in civics, one quarter a half year's work in economics, and one-fiftieth a half year of sociology. Similar investigations in the other divisions of the same university showed that the above data were typical of the institution. And in view of the wide geographical distribution of the student body of the University of Chicago, it seems fair to assume that the alarming condition shown applies to our country as a whole.

The full significance of this situation can better be appreciated when it is remembered that even the pitiful two and one-half years, on the average, of alleged social studies are mainly offered in the upper years of high school, and are therefore available only to the small proportion of our prospective citizens who complete their high school course. The commission was concerned not nearly so much with the handicap that condition placed on their work in the universities, as with the realization that our elementary and secondary schools are so lamentably failing to give to the great bulk of our prospective citizens, whom the colleges would never touch, preparation for social living.

The spirit and objectives of the commission are well shown in its declaration that "the organization of social studies in the public schools should be in terms of the purpose of introducing those studies. Their purpose is that of giving our youth an awareness of what it means to live together in organized society, an appreciation of how we do live together, and an understanding of the conditions precedent to living together well, to the end that our youth may develop those ideals, abilities and tendencies to act which are essential to effective participation in our society. The range of this statement is very broad. For example: the contribution of knowledge and physical environment to our social living are quite as worthy of attention as are the principles of economics or government."

Education ought to enable wage earners to get a proper perspective of their relation to society and of mutual obligations. Industry and industrial relations have social implications. The wider the information and education of industrial workers, the better equipped they will be to form sound judgments on industrial problems. Discipline in hard thinking and scientific training are a protection against sophistry. Education is a means to better workmanship and better citizenship, as well as to higher manhood. It will tend in freeing the wills of men from the domination of material things and will disclose the ways by which creative intelligence can make material wealth serve the spirit.

During the past year the Workers' Education Bureau has urged a cooperative relationship with the Committee on Education of the A. F. of L. for the purpose of promoting the education and educational facilities of the adult workers.

A temporary arrangement was entered pending further conferences to determine if the Workers' Education Bureau can be so re-organized as to warrant the A. F. of L. giving this organization the support and cooperation of the Committee on Education. As at present constituted this organization can not merit the full support of the A. F. of L. It is, therefore, recommended that in the event the present efforts to overcome existing obstacles fail that the Committee on Education under the direction of the E. C. and the President of the A. F. of L., undertake to promote this work under such other arrangements as will serve best the purpose of promoting the education and educational facilities of the adult workers.

Fraternally submitted,

MATTHEW WOLL, *Chairman.*  
C. L. BAINE.  
JOHN P. FREY.  
CHARLES B. STILLMAN.  
GEORGE W. PERKINS.

*Committee.*

### PERSONNEL RESEARCH FOUNDATION

The Personnel Research Foundation, of which the American Federation of Labor is a part, is now upon a permanent working basis. Its membership totals twenty-five research organizations of national repute classified on a basis of contributions as follows: Voting members, 10; cooperating members, 14; sustaining members, 1.

The officers are: Chairman, Robert M. Yerkes, National Research Council; Vice-Chairman Samuel Gompers, A. F. of L.; Secretary, Alfred D. Flinn, Engineering Foundation; Treasurer, Robert W. Bruere, Bureau of Industrial Research; Director, Leonard Outhwaite, Columbia University

Executive Committee: Robert M. Yerkes, Alfred D. Flinn, W. V. Birmingham, Emma P. Hirth, Frank Morrison.

The purposes of the Personnel Research Foundation are:

1. To learn in a general way what organizations are studying one or more problems relating to personnel in the industries, and the scope of their endeavors.
2. To determine whether these endeavors can be harmonized, duplication minimized, neglected phases of the problems considered, and advanced work undertaken.
3. To create a clearing-house for dependable, unprejudiced information about personnel in industry.
4. To formulate a comprehensive general plan into which all useful efforts may be fitted and in accordance with which future work may be directed.
5. To plan for the inauguration and support of coordinated studies in the several fields of industrial employment, by scientific methods, under unprejudiced direction, for the benefit of all concerned.
6. To devise ways and means of supporting the project.

At the annual meeting in November, 1921, research proposed or under way was reported upon the following subjects:

Job analyses of managers; interest analyses, will-temperament traits and vocational aptitudes; selection, training, and supervision of salesmen; prediction of success for comptometer operators; causes of leaving; organization of work in the bituminous mines with special reference to personnel problems; occupational description of faculty position in a large university; methods of organizing personnel work for a university; women in trade unions in Philadelphia; methods of industrial training; women in chemistry; studies in hygiene and safety in a variety of industries.

This Foundation effected arrangements for the publication of an official journal, the Journal of Personnel Research, the first number of which was issued for April, 1922. Complete editorial control is in the hands of the Personnel Research Foundation. The A. F. of L. is represented on the board of editors by Matthew Woll.

We believe it is fitting and expedient for the A. F. of L. to continue such active participation in this work so as to insure most helpful progress in developing information on the problems of human relations in industry. We feel confident that the future work of this movement will be extremely helpful in aiding in the solving of the many complex problems that our ever growing and varying industrial life constantly presents.

#### A. F. OF L. BUREAU OF COOPERATIVE SOCIETIES

We submit herewith report of the bureau and again recommend the continuance of this work as a permanent committee under the direction of the E. C.

##### *Report of Bureau of Cooperative Societies*

Your committee held four regular meetings during the last year. At the first meeting the chairman and secretary were authorized to take whatever steps were necessary to protect and promote the interests of the bona fide cooperative movement between meetings of the committee.

During the year Elizabeth Christman, secretary-treasurer of the Glove Workers' International Union, was added to the committee by President Gompers.

We have been mainly concerned with keeping before the membership of the trade union movement the proven methods by which cooperative enterprises have been made successful in our own and older European countries, and while being careful not to commit the A. F. of L. in such a way as to involve it in legal controversy, we have warned the membership regarding organizations that were masquerading under the name of cooperative organizations which in reality were not cooperative institutions in principle and from the circumstances surrounding their operation your committee were satisfied they could not vouch for the honesty of the men conducting them.

We have been helpful in this respect to the extent of saving the membership of the labor movement of our country of thousands, if not millions, of dollars which not only would have been lost to them but which would have also resulted in creating feeling that would have operated against the bona fide cooperative movement.

During the year splendid endorsements have been given to us or reiterated by practically all of the religious organizations of the country.

As a result of the depression in industry and the deflation of the prices of commodities handled by the cooperative societies in our own and every other country, the material success of cooperative institutions has not been such as to encourage their rapid extension or development during the past year. Nearly all cooperative societies have shown a loss on their books for that period. But, when we realize the reduction in the price of the commodities that they handled and which they had in stock and which in many instances amounted to as much as 25 per cent and that this unavoidable reduction in the value of all of these commodities which they had on hand or which had been contracted for shows as a money loss in their records which had to be made up in saving on the regular business done, we find that in reality there has been no loss so far as the operation of the cooperative societies are concerned although it appears so on their books. This kind of loss has, in our judgment, been greater in private concerns than it was in the cooperative institutions. The fact that so many of our people were idle or were only working partial time has resulted in their being more concerned about the price they were paying for the necessities of life and that fact has operated to stimulate interest in the cooperative movement.

Not only has attention been directed to the retail or distributive phase of the cooperative movement but a marked interest has been aroused as to the influence which the cooperative movement might have with reference to standardizing industry and providing a continuity of employment. The action of big financial concerns in deflating the prices of the farmers crops (their wages) and withholding finances from industry so that by means of the starvation process, wages might be reduced in other industries has also made for an interest in productive and banking cooperative activities as well.

The activity of your committee in sending out literature explaining the fundamentals upon which Rochdale cooperation is based, pointing out the success of cooperative banks in ours and other countries, as well as what the introduction of workers cooperation might mean in industry—employment itself—and at the same time making clear that in order to get the greatest success possible out of cooperative production and banking, consumers' or distributive cooperation should first be mastered, and established, has contributed toward a greater activity along cooperative lines in our country on a basis of more practical methods than ever before.

We believe we may safely say that there never has been in the United States such a widespread interest or so clear an understanding of the movement as it will affect the workers beneficially, as there is at the present time.

We further feel that the A. F. of L. and its Bureau on Cooperative Societies of the A. F. of L. which have been indefatigable in giving advice and sending out literature and correspondence furnishing information and advice and being helpful in every way in this work of furthering real cooperative effort has contributed in very considerable degree to the establishment of better understanding and constructive interest in the cooperative movement and the starting and development of the many additional cooperative enterprises which will result in unlimited benefits to the working people of our country.

Practically all of the literature on true cooperation sent out by your committee

has been done without cost to the A. F. of L. No charge has been made to the Federation for postage, stationery, expenses or lost time of your committee. The secretary has performed all the duties involved in the transaction of his office without compensation.

Of the entire expense of the committee for the past fiscal year only \$4.33 was charged to and came out of the funds of the A. F. of L. The committee took advantage of the opportunity to call meetings of the committee when the members thereof were at some given time and place on other official business. The chairman and secretary of the bureau, the standing sub-committee, held practically all of their meetings in Chicago and at a time when neither was put to extra expense.

Your committee deemed it advisable and necessary to call attention to the productive phase of cooperation. The A. F. of L. by resolutions is committed to the policy of first mastering distributive cooperation and under the Rochdale plan. Your committee, while not opposed to productive cooperation, is of the opinion that productive cooperation, can not succeed without being carried forward along well-defined principles and encompassed with safeguards that will avoid the pitfalls that have resulted in about 90 per cent, more or less, failure in productive cooperation in our country. Your committee feels that we should confine our efforts to distributive cooperation until it is thoroughly mastered. However, if efforts in productive cooperation are made it should be undertaken only under conditions that will make an at best difficult task, reasonably successful.

One of the safeguards that may be depended upon to accomplish this end is and has been in vogue in the German cooperative movement for years. We find that when productive cooperation was first started in Germany and conducted along lines similar to those here and in other places, the effort resulted in one failure after another, in all of which scandal was more or less pronounced. The cooperators of the country then formed what is known as the German National Cooperative Society, with headquarters at Hamburg. This society is not engaged in either distributive or productive cooperation. It is a sort of a clearing house for the cooperative societies of Germany. It in a sense occupied the same position that the A. F. of L. does to its affiliated organizations.

The national association foresaw many of the things under the old regime which led to failure and scandal, among which was the fact that in any locally established society factions quickly developed superintendents and foremen held their jobs at the will of majority factions. To overcome this the German National Cooperative Society provided that superintendents and foremen should be elected by the Board of Directors of the national association after a genuine civil service examination. This immediately had the effect of putting the productive cooperative societies on the high road to success. A local cooperative society had no authority and could not discharge a superintendent or foreman. The superintendent or foreman who was fair to the society as well as to the workers was sure of his position regardless of factions. Majority factions could not discharge either. If a complaint was made the National Board of Directors caused an impartial investigation to be made and its action with reference to superintendent or foremen was predicated upon this impartial report. Your committee is firmly of the opinion that some such proviso as this should be adopted in our country, and we are moreover of the opinion that productive cooperation will not be entirely satisfactory until this is done.

We have a report of a productive cooperative concern in Germany, employing 600 people, with an up-to-date building, which from a sanitary standpoint compares favorably with the best factories in our country. Every member of this cooperative concern has to be a member of the union of his trade. The union as such, however, had no voice in the management of the cooperative factory. They work the regular union hours, under union conditions, and receive the regular union scale of wages, and make far better wages than the highest prices paid in non-union factories. In this particular factory they not only pay the union scale but in all instances more. Each member has one week's vacation each year with full pay. Every person in this factory is a member of the cooperative society as well as a member of the union. This is one of the most prosperous and best factories in the particular line of work, that can be found in all of that country.

If a plan similar to the foregoing is adopted it should be inaugurated by and under the control of the actual cooperatives, subject to the restriction specified in the foregoing

paragraph. We hold the A. F. of L. Bureau of Cooperative Societies could function as such. We, however, hold that if the A. F. of L. is in favor of such a departure and the establishment of such a movement, a national congress of the representatives of cooperative societies should be called by the President of the A. F. of L., and this congress then should adopt the plan or laws that are to govern, subject to advice and helpfulness of the Bureau of Cooperative Societies and the officials of the A. F. of L.

The bona fide cooperative movement, such as the Rochdale system constitutes in our judgment one of the safety valves for the protection of advancing civilization. The cooperative movement can and will if put into proper force, prevent profiteering and the mulcting of the great mass of the consumers in the necessities of life. It will protect fair wages against profiteering. The unnatural and unholy desire of the get-rich-quick and money mad profiteers, if allowed to run to natural conclusions, will some day lead to an explosion. The cooperative movement is one of the things that can prevent such a catastrophe.

The cooperative movement in no wise interferes with the existing order of society economically, commercially, or financially. Neither does it destroy individual activity, hope and ambition, and it is well worth the thoughtful help of all true Americans who believe in the destiny of our country and its attainment by and through the natural activities of individuals, singly or collectively and without the meddling influences of the state. We are sure that all true friends of Labor and humanity will welcome the support of so powerful an influence for good and the day when it will function as it should in the laudable effort to save the mass of producers and consumers from the money-mad profiteers.

|          |                                 |
|----------|---------------------------------|
| (Signed) | G. W. PERKINS, <i>Chairman.</i> |
| "        | J. H. WALKER, <i>Secretary.</i> |
| "        | JOHN J. MANNING.                |
| "        | ARTHUR HOLDER.                  |
| "        | W. D. MAHONE.                   |
| "        | ELIZABETH CHRISTMAN.            |

### "OPEN SHOP" CAMPAIGN

During the year the efforts of employers to disrupt the trade union movement by means of a campaign for the so-called "open shop" have continued with great vigor but with little result. The instinctive resistance of the workers to the deception offered by employers has been sufficient to prevent any noteworthy progress in the establishment of the so-called "open shop" in any of its forms.

One of the variations of the non-union shop idea fostered by employers is the so-called "American plan." There is nothing American about this plan since it contains none of the elements of true democracy but contains all of the elements of autocracy. This has been obvious to the workers everywhere and they have generally declined to be deceived.

We are unable to say that the danger of the anti-union shop movement has passed because that danger will persist as long as there are employers who are short-sighted enough not to see the tremendous advantages to be derived from the establishment of better relations with organized workers. We are able to say, however, and we say with much pride and satisfaction, that the labor movement has held its lines everywhere, and this despite most unfavorable conditions caused by the widespread industrial depression.

It would have been an achievement under any circumstances to have resisted the tremendous campaign of employers to establish what they are pleased to call the "open shop." It is an immeasurably greater achievement and an immeasurably higher testimonial to the intelligence and solidarity of the workers to say that they have so successfully resisted during a period of unexampled unemployment and suffering.

There is scarcely a trade in which there has not been conducted an organized campaign for the establishment of the so-called "open shop." Not only employers but big business and high finance throughout the country have contributed financially to this campaign and an enormous fund has been used in propaganda work. Indeed, it is an undisputed fact that to a large extent the campaign was the result of the work of profes-

sional propagandists who make it their business to sell their services to the highest bidder without regard to the character of the work to be done. They are exactly comparable to that with which European labor for decades has had to contend, the despicable *agents provocateurs*.

Chambers of Commerce throughout the country, with certain notable exceptions, have lent themselves to this disruptive propaganda. The United States Chamber of Commerce, which seeks to be the guiding spirit of all local chambers of commerce, has supported the movement although we are informed there is much sentiment within the United States Chamber of Commerce to the effect that a grave error has been committed and that the organization should not have given its sanction to the campaign. However, having committed itself, it apparently feels under the necessity of making as brave a showing as possible in the direction of consistency. The organization is about to begin the construction of a three-million dollar headquarters building in the city of Washington and has announced its purpose of constructing this building on the "open shop" basis. The experiment to be tried in the capital of the nation on so pretentious a scale will undoubtedly be watched with great interest by workers and employers alike.

There is but one answer to the entire campaign of employers for the disruption and destruction of the labor movement and that is continued organization, eternal vigilance and the highest degree of solidarity. There is no complicated device by which the campaign of employers may be met; the answer is simplicity itself. It is merely that the workers must organize and must stay organized. They must use every effort to gain an intelligent understanding of all industrial problems and they must bring to their organized efforts the highest quality of industrial statesmanship.

The struggle is one between organization and disorganization. Nothing else is involved and organization is the complete answer. There can be no "open shop" where the workers are 100 per cent organized.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

The Committee on Unemployment authorized by the Denver convention was appointed after the President's Conference on Unemployment was called to deal with the practical problem.

The committee appointed with the approval of the Executive Council consisted of the following:

C. L. Baime. J. A. Franklin. Thomas F. McMahon. John Donlin. Matthew Woll. President Gompers, as a member ex-officio, acted as its chairman, and Vice-President Matthew Woll as its executive secretary. The work of the committee was carried on almost exclusively by correspondence. Whenever personal attention and contact were required such duties were performed by the chairman or executive secretary or both. The work of the committee was constantly under the observation and direction of the E. C.

The report of the committee is as follows:

#### *Report of the Special Committee on Unemployment*

The period of depression attending post-war readjustment developed more slowly in the United States than in Europe, but nowhere were its consequences of such gigantic proportions. As the world creditor country we found it impossible to maintain sales to debtor countries and hence had to suspend partially or close down many great industries. Great disparities in exchange rates augmented difficulties. By the summer of 1921 we were faced with an unemployment problem of unprecedented proportions. The real dimensions of the problem we had no agencies for ascertaining. It is not a gratifying commentary upon the efficiency of our national government that there are not adequate agencies to supply the essential facts of industrial conditions. Without facts industrial policies can be based only on guess and indefinite information. Ill-advised "economy" of congress had so crippled the U. S. Employment Service that it was unable to function. Instead of having available continuous information on unemployment so that the problem could be known by industries or localities it was necessary to create emergency agencies and machinery so as to get information upon which to base remedial plans. Even despite that discreditable condition which emphasized the fact that the

United States is the only important industrial country which has not maintained effective unemployment agencies, congress has yet taken no step to remedy that for which it alone is responsible.

As a nation we were slow in perceiving the unemployment problem because the workers had had the wisdom to accumulate savings during the period of industrial expansion. Their thrift was manifest in liberty bonds, savings deposits, home purchases and ownership of other valuables. These possessions constituted the financial resources on which the unemployed maintained themselves. Their thrift helped them to tide over the period of industrial depression for which industry was responsible.

When it was evident that a critical problem was developing because of unemployment there were a number of efforts made to determine the dimensions of the problem. The need for immediate assistance to workers without employment devolved at once on the trade union organizations in the various industries. A number of the labor unions provided unemployment benefits and tried to help fellow craftsmen to find employment. Although the A. F. of L. has neither the facts nor the facilities to make a nation-wide survey on unemployment, it attempted to get data that would indicate the proportions of the problem. A questionnaire was sent to a number of industrial centers from which returns could be received quickly.

The U. S. Department of Labor from the survey it made estimated the number of unemployed at 5,000,000.

The first move for finding a way to deal with the problem nationally came from Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce. Acting upon the suggestion of Mr. Hoover, President Harding called a national conference on unemployment. An official request that the A. F. of L. submit names of persons to represent labor in this conference, brought before the E. C. for decision the matter of participation. The E. C. voted in favor of appointing representatives and President Gompers submitted about thirty names. The following labor representatives were invited by President Harding to become members of the Presidential Conference on Unemployment:

Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor; Matthew Woll, President, International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America; John L. Lewis, President, United Mine Workers of America; W. S. Carter, President, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen; John Donlin, President, Building Trades Department, A. F. of L.; Milton F. Tighe, President, Iron, Steel and Tin Workers; T. V. O'Connor, Commissioner of the U. S. Shipping Board; Sara A. Conboy, Secretary-Treasurer, United Textile Workers of America; Elizabeth Christman, Secretary-Treasurer, International Glove Workers' Union of America.

The members of the conference were representative of the various elements concerned in industry. Many members of the employing group were extremely reactionary. Since the conference was a deliberative and not a legislative body, only unanimous reports were considered and all decisions were the result of unanimous agreement. In this way the controversial issues and special propaganda were not permitted to enter into the recommendations of the conference. The conference deliberations were greatly facilitated under the plan which supplied each committee with a corps of experts and made available for the committee work all of the expert information that could be obtained on the various phases of the problems submitted to the different committees. During the general sessions reports on the following subjects were unanimously adopted by the conference: statistics, reclamations, business cycles, public works and emergency measures in shipping, permanent measures in shipping, construction, agriculture, transportation.

Reports on the following subjects were received but not acted upon by the conference: mining, railroads, permanent measures for manufacturers, taxation, tariff.

The conference adopted recommendations for an emergency program to be carried out by states and municipalities. This part of the work was placed under the direction of Col. Arthur Woods and is yet in operation. This emergency bureau has no power except that which it can develop through resourceful leadership and suggestion.

The conference declared that manufacturers can contribute to relieve the unemployment situation by:

- a. Part-time work, through reduced time or rotation of jobs.
- b. As far as possible, manufacturing for stock.
- c. Taking advantage of the present opportunity to do as much plant construction, repairs, and cleaning up as is possible, with the consequent transfer of many employes to other than their regular work.
- d. Reduction of the number of hours of labor per day.
- e. The reduction of the work week to a lower number of days during the present period of industrial depression.
- f. That employes and employers cooperate in putting these recommendations into effect.

A large number of employers have already, in whole or in part, inaugurated the recommendations herein set forth, and for this they are to be commended, and it is earnestly urged upon those employers who have not done so to put same into use, wherever practicable, at the earliest possible opportunity.

g. Specific methods for solution of our economic problems will be effective only in so far as they are applied in a spirit of patriotic patience on the part of all our people.

During the period of drastic economic readjustment, through which we are now passing, the continued efforts of anyone to profit beyond the requirements of safe business practice or economic consistency should be condemned. One of the important obstacles to a resumption of normal business activity will be removed as prices reach replacement values in terms of efficient producing and distributing cost plus reasonable profit.

We, therefore, strongly urge all manufacturers and wholesalers who may not yet have adopted this policy to do so, but it is essential to the success of these measures when put into effect that retail prices shall promptly and fairly reflect the price adjustment of the producer, manufacturer, and the wholesaler.

When these principles have been recognized and the recommendations complied with, we are confident that the public will increase their purchases, thereby increasing the operations of the mills, factories, and transportation companies, and consequently reducing the number of unemployed.

In all its procedure the conference was guided by the fact that it was not authorized to attempt an overturn of existing theory and practice but was expected to meet the problem as far as possible through existing agencies. There were four achievements:

1. The conference established the idea that the fundamental cause of unemployment is waste in industry which becomes cumulative and periodically produces an industrial depression. Unemployment is not the result of chance but has been a constant accompaniment of industry in normal proportions. Abnormal unemployment has this time called attention to the cause of normal unemployment. The causes are essentially the same.

2. The responsibility for dealing with the unemployment problem was removed from the controversial field and placed squarely on industry because it can be solved only by management's employment of the involuntary idle.

3. A method of temporary relief was provided by an executive agency directed to get practical results in the present emergency through action by the states and municipalities. A definite program for the guidance of this executive agency was adopted by the conference.

4. Permanent solution of the unemployment problem was not to be expected of the first sessions of the conference, but a foundation was laid for eventual steps toward this end. Constructive programs are possible when it is recognized that accurate information is the basis for intelligent action. The conference went as far as it could go under its restricted authority to insure collection of the required information and to insure its utilization to obtain constructive measures.

It made provision for a continuing committee on which the executive secretary



of the A. F. of L. committee serves, and he also serves on a special committee to investigate the business cycle.

The National Bureau of Economic Research has taken charge of the task of making a report on unemployment and the business cycle. The tentative outline for that report includes:

1. Diagnosis of underemployment.
  - What the present statistics of employment show.
  - Underemployment.
  - The reliability of present pay roll data as an index of unemployment.
  - Effect of unemployment on workers.
2. Relation of unemployment to business cycles.
  - Business cycles.
  - Social costs of cyclical unemployment.
3. Proposed palliatives and preventives of cyclical unemployment.
  - Various kinds of remedies proposed.
  - Long range planning of public works.
  - Long range planning of construction work and maintenance in public utilities.
  - Long range planning of construction work in other industries.
  - Methods of stabilizing production.
  - Financial methods for controlling business cycles.
  - Employment offices.
  - Use of statistical indices of business conditions.
  - Methods of collecting statistics of employment.
  - Out of work benefits paid by trade unions.
  - Unemployment insurance, loaning facilities and other plans.

This report in addition to making available a wealth of practical information and expert opinion, will furnish the committee on business cycle with facts that must be considered in framing a program for the mitigation of cyclical unemployment. The report of the bureau is to be completed by August 20.

Final judgment of the work of the conference can not be made, of course, until it goes out of existence. It can be reconvened at any time to deal either with temporary or permanent relief of unemployment, and it may be reconvened when the time comes to concentrate its authority and influence for the purpose of giving to its recommendations permanent form and substance. This fact of its permanence might also be regarded as a practical achievement of the first sessions of the conference.

The background helped to focus public attention upon the problem and undoubtedly averted the full development of the situation through planning to keep the wheels of industry moving and to provide work for the unemployed. Undoubtedly, the most important principle for which the unemployment conference declared is that unemployment is preventable and industry is responsible for developing a preventive program.

The records of the A. F. of L. show that labor has repeatedly called attention to the burdens of unemployment and has sought measures of relief for and prevention of various types of unemployment. Labor alone, is unable to deal with such problems because the major responsibility rests upon industries and upon the centers of financial control. The period of industrial depression through which we are passing comes as the aftermath of a world war which brought world-wide industrial and commercial dislocations and readjustments and disclosed with revealing vividness how necessary it is that men and women whose livelihood depends upon opportunity to earn wages should not be the victims of avoidable stoppages in business and production.

Stabilized employment must wait the finding of controls to eliminate business crises "boom" expansions and depressions. In our industrial development there have been cycles of prosperity, expansions and contractions. From the labor point of view unemployment is an important human problem; from the business point of view it is waste, hence unnecessarily adds to production costs. During the past year the first important constructive effort in the world was made to disclose the nature of industrial waste and hence to indicate preventive measures. It was made by the committee on

the elimination of waste in industry appointed by Herbert Hoover then president of the Federated American Engineering Societies.

This study was an assay directed by a committee of fifteen distinguished engineers. Industrial waste was conceived as caused by failure to use time and energy of living men as well as failure to utilize properly materials and productive equipment resulting from the time and energy expended by past generations. The facts developed in the report ought to serve as a foundation for industrial progress. Since they are impartially set forth they equally are serviceable to all groups concerned in industry. According to the findings of this committee responsibility for industrial waste responds more than 50 per cent upon management and less than 25 per cent on labor. However, the important feature is not to allocate responsibility but to disclose the preventive measures. By eliminating waste production proceeds more economically and more regularly for the cumulation of the costs of waste undoubtedly have a bearing upon the business cycle and periods of business depression. Eliminating avoidable waste will do much to regularize industry and hence to stabilize employment. The findings of the committee in cyclical unemployment will supplement the data available through the waste report. This information will indicate the preventive policies for dealing with the two recurring types of unemployment—seasonal and cyclical unemployment. The latter has been an unvarying accompaniment of business depression which has followed periods of expansion. The casual forces are to be sought in rigorous study of past experience.

Unemployment due to seasonal factors can be minimized by deliberate planning to adjust seasonal work with related projects and continuous work in such a way as to afford full time employment for as many as possible.

We believe that the economic problem of stabilizing employment must be worked out in the various industries by the groups associated together in production, each in organized capacity. Industrial order is impossible without organization. Wage earners through their trade unions are prepared to do their part in this undertaking. Stabilization of employment will be in part the outgrowth of efforts to improve the methods and policies of production and development of a spirit of cooperation for service in production. To accomplish this end the active cooperation of the group of producing workers is necessary.

We can not hope to eliminate unemployment in the immediate future. It is necessary then that Labor reaffirm its remedial program and put renewed energy into the effort to secure each separate measure of the program.

1. An initial objective in that program is a federal employment service, competently organized and adequately financed. Such an agency is necessary to bring job and workman together and to supply employment necessary for intelligent planning by management and Labor. The United States is practically the only important industrial country that has not established such an extensive and efficient business and humanitarian service. The employment service developed during the war emergency ought to have been intelligently reorganized instead of being scrapped by a short-sighted congress. We should seek at once proper legislation and adequate appropriation for such a service.

2. We recognize that the only way to eliminate unemployment is to start the wheels of industry, and to provide employment for workers. The most desirable result is to provide employment for each person at his preferred trade or calling. This means to keep in motion the wheels of industry.

Every industry must support its workers. If a given industry fails to support its workers, the industrial problem can not be solved by trying to find some other occupations for these workers. Public works can not help the unemployed in the needle trades, or the cigar trade or the printing shops. But each industry must care for its own workers including the reserve force it requires. This problem can be solved by those directly concerned. To this end there should be organized in each craft or calling a national conference board of an equal number of employers' representatives and representatives of international trade unions, assisted by such expert advice and counsel as the Department of Labor and the Department of Commerce may be able to give to these boards.

Anyone who gives more than casual study to the determining factors in production, finds that the service motive is allowed a very restricted influence entirely out of

proportion to its nature. Although things should be produced for use, the needs of society have not a final determining voice in deciding output, as disinterested consideration of the question of output would indicate that the needs of society ought to be made the basis for guiding production. Change in controlling policies can not be effected by law. It will be the result of developing intelligence and by the force of public opinion together with demonstrations of its practicability.

3. An indirect way to stimulate industry in periods of depression is to provide for the expansion of public works and public highways, with the development of such cycles. We recognize that public works and such productive public investments are not primarily expedients to relieve unemployment but should be an integral part of a definite national program for conservation and development. However, execution of parts of such a program can very properly and with economic advantages parallel periods of economic depression. Extension of credit to investment projects of such a character will be based upon absolutely sound security.

The chief fields for the new extension of public credit for public purposes are:

1. *Reclamation*.—Development and extension of the reclamation of arid, swamp, and overflow lands.

2. *Waterpower development*.—Development of such part of the undeveloped water power in this country as would find an immediate market. This development to include the powers at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee and others in the Appalachians, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific Coast Ranges. We recommend careful consideration of the plan for the super-power for the region between Boston and Washington developed by W. S. Murray and others.

3. *Inland waterways (canals, rivers, harbors)*.—Development of the Mississippi River and its tributaries for domestic supply, navigation, irrigation, waterpower. Development of inland and coast-wise canal systems along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, thus affording cheap transportation of bulky freight and giving protected passage to our coast-wise shipping. Further development of rivers and harbors of this country in accordance with the foregoing and with the report of the Chief of Engineers.

4. *Public highways (roads)*.—The principle of the public roads bill enacted by congress several years ago, and now re-enacted by the recent congress appropriating \$75,000,000 and calling for a like expenditure by the states is sound.

5. *Forestry*.—Development in the national forests of roads, trails telephone lines, fire towers, and other permanent equipment for preventing and putting out devastating forest fires in accord with the principles laid down by the U. S. Forestry Service. There are more than 150,000,000 acres of national forests.

Reclamation of more than 80,000,000 acres of man-made desert, once rich forested land. Forest devastation is adding to this desert yearly some 3,000,000 acres—an area as large as the state of Connecticut.

6. *Housing*.—The A. F. of L. went on record in 1919 as demanding the use of the credit of the federal government for housing purposes. This can be done through a federal home loan bank similar to the federal farm loan bank.

7. *Railroads*.—In providing for the payment of sums due to railroads by the federal government a condition should be attached that would make such funds immediately available in greater part only for labor and material for maintenance of way and structures and for the maintenance of equipment and that the maintenance of equipment be performed in the shops of the railroads to their capacity thus insuring the constructive expenditure of the money so appropriated.

Fraternally submitted,  
 SAMUEL GOMPERS, *Chairman*.  
 C. L. BAINE,  
 J. A. FRANKLIN,  
 THOMAS F. McMAHON,  
 JOHN DONLIN,  
 MATTHEW WOLL, *Executive Secretary*,  
*Committee*.

It is therefore recommended that the foregoing report be endorsed and that to this end the following summarized procedure be approved:

1. That the President of the A. F. of L. arrange for the continuous study

of the unemployment problem either through a committee or a designated agency or executive secretary.

2. That this official agency make continuously available to trade unions information that concerns regularization of industry and that relations be established so far as practical with studies and efforts to develop such information.

3. That the labor movement make special effort to secure the enactment of legislation providing for an adequate federal employment service and for the extension of public credit for the purposes above enumerated.

#### LABOR LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

The introduction of so many bills in congress inimical to the interests of Labor and the people made it imperative that the legislative agents located in Washington should decide upon uniformity of action. The legislative agents representing the national and international unions, central bodies and local unions, were unaware of many things that were going on in congress. Some of these incidents were of great moment and did not always come to the knowledge of those most vitally interested. At the same time those who knew of such incidents assumed that those most directly interested also had the same information.

So many things occur in congress that it is impossible for any one man or dozen men to keep in touch with everything. Then it was found that when a committee was holding a hearing some legislative agent, because there was no communication of any kind between the various representatives, would be compelled to give his testimony alone without the moral influence of the presence of the other legislative agents. There was also complaint by the members of congress that their time was taken up by legislative agents who all brought to their attention the same issue.

President Gompers, therefore, on May 26, 1921, sent a letter to all of the labor legislative representatives in Washington requesting them to meet on May 28 in the Executive Council Chamber of the American Federation of Labor Building, for the purpose of exchanging opinions and advising as to the best method to bring about uniform action. This meeting was held and an organization formed, to be known as the Legislative Conference Committee of the Trade Union Legislative Representatives located in Washington. The following officers were elected: Chairman, Samuel Gompers, President of the A. F. of L.; Vice-Chairman, James J. Forrester, legislative representative of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; Secretary, W. C. Roberts, legislative representative of the A. F. of L.

Regular conferences have been held each month and a number of special meetings have been called when serious legislative situations arose. The conference committee has been an invaluable aid in defeating hostile legislation. Because of the unanimity of purpose governing the representatives it has also been successful in advancing meritorious legislation.

There are a number of labor legislative representatives in Washington continually during sessions of congress. Then again from time to time, national and international unions send their representatives to Washington for the purpose of watching legislation in the interest of their respective organizations. These all automatically become members of the Labor Legislative Conference Committee. The officers of the departments of the A. F. of L. are also members.

Whenever any matter of importance is discovered or comes to the attention of a legislative representative, not a member of the organization affected, the secretary is immediately informed of the fact. The latter then communicates with the legislative representative interested and gives him the desired information. In this manner it has been possible to check many schemes that have been planned to secure passage of legislation inimical to Labor and the people. And it also has been most effective in furthering legislation benefiting Labor and the people.

### THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

The deplorable economic conditions which the people of our country have suffered in the past two years and from which they are still suffering have awakened them to the necessity of removing from power those responsible for such conditions. This has been most effectually and emphatically shown by the activities of the 40,000 local unions in preparing for the primaries and elections that will take place this year.

Many communications have been received by the officers of the A. F. of L. in which emphatic complaints are made because of conditions arising from the failure of congress to enact legislation for the relief of the people from the conditions resulting from the aftermath of war. Millions of idle men have been earnestly and persistently seeking employment. Their appeals are unheeded; the destitution caused by unemployment is not relieved. Congress is unresponsive. Pre-election promises seem to be forgotten.

Conforming to the directions of the Denver convention and desirous of speedily arousing the men of Labor to the urgent need for action at the polls, the President of the A. F. of L. with our approval from month to month sent to national and international unions, state federations and city central bodies, building trade councils and the labor press, a summary of the report of the legislative committee so that these officials might keep fully in touch with congressional activities. With the inauguration of sending these monthly reports, the following letter was issued:

HEADQUARTERS, A. F. OF L.,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 29, 1921.

*To All Organized Labor:*

The persistency with which the opponents of Labor and the people are insisting upon reactionary legislation by congress and by state legislatures demands that all state and city central bodies and local unions should make every effort to protect the interests of the wage earners. Wherever labor organizations have established legislative committees they have been generally successful in either preventing hostile legislation against the wage earners or keeping it down to a minimum. It is therefore necessary that every organization should be awake to the dangers that will come to the wage workers if they neglect to select willing and effective members on their legislative committees.

The Denver convention of the A. F. of L. laid great stress on this feature of the activities of the American labor movement. It was decided that the A. F. of L. should keep all local legislative committees informed of what is being done by congress on legislative matters. It also was to be made a central clearing house for all information pertaining to labor legislation either in congress or the state legislatures.

In the A. F. of L. headquarters we are keeping accurate record of the members of both houses of congress. Records of every member of a local legislative body should be kept by the respective legislative committees. During political campaigns the legislative committees of each organization may automatically become non-partisan political campaign committees. They will make public at the proper time the labor records of all legislators who have been false to the people as well as of those who have been true to the people.

Permit me most strongly to impress upon all the necessity of closely watching all proposed legislation in order that the rights and interests of Labor and all the people will be rigidly safeguarded.

Enclosed you will find a brief summary of the report of the Legislative Committee of the A. F. of L. on legislation pending or which it is proposed to introduce in congress. Please read, note and file this report for future reference and action.

With best wishes and assuring you of my desire to be helpful in any way within my power, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President, A. F. of L.

An extensive campaign was also conducted through the publicity service of the A. F. of L.

On March 8, 1922, the A. F. of L. Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee issued the following:

HEADQUARTERS, A. F. OF L.,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 8, 1922.

*To All State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies:*

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS: The time is here when the thousands of non-partisan political campaign committees appointed by unions affiliated to the A. F. of L. should become more active than ever before. The reactionary members of congress and of the state legislatures, aided and abetted by the unfair employers of our country, have taken the reins in their hands and are riding rough shod over the hopes and aspirations of Labor and the people. They have shown no mercy, and by their actions declare they will show no mercy, to those who seek to better their economic condition through the normal activities of the trade union movement. Members of legislatures in various states have presented bills that would, if enacted, take America back to the sixteenth century.

While the unfair organizations of employers are demanding of congress repressive legislation against Labor they are at the same time demanding that no employers shall make agreements with employes. The un-American campaign of the profiteering interests to establish autocracy in industry has failed in its purpose and they are now endeavoring to obtain the same wished-for results through congress and the state legislatures. Although the constitution of the United States forbids compulsory labor except for crime, here and there bills have been presented in congress and various legislatures having for their purpose the compelling of wage earners to work against their will.

Economy is the watchword of most new administrations. It is useless as a watchword when ignored in practice, or when the practice results in removing the burdens from the rich and predatory and placing them on the shoulders of the wage earners. We are in the midst of an amazing kind of muddling with tax and tariff questions where little regard is had for the interests of the great masses of our people. Not a genuine constructive measure has been enacted by congress since March 4, 1919. Every means used to secure legislation that will aid in relieving unemployment has been met with rebuff.

The present deplorable condition of our country, artificially made, and in which Labor and the farmers have been deflated until it hurts, has been ignored by congress. Only appeals for subsidies for shipowners, railroads and other interests find listeners. To all legislation in the interest of the people congress is deaf. In a circular sent to all organized labor December 1, 1921, the President of the A. F. of L. said:

"In the A. F. of L. headquarters we are keeping accurate record of the members of both houses of congress. Records of every member of a local legislative body should be kept by the respective legislative committees. During political campaigns the legislative committees of each organization may automatically become non-partisan political campaign committees. They will make public at the proper time the labor records of all legislators who have been false to the people as well as of those who have been true to the people."

The coming political campaign demands the utmost vigor from every state federation, city central body and all local unions in the United States in order that success may be assured.

The E. C. of the A. F. of L. at its meeting held February 21, 1922, directed that a vigorous campaign in the interest of Labor and the people generally shall be planned and conducted. Members of unions, their friends and sympathizers, are urged to go to the polls primary day and vote only for those candidates for the senate and the house, the state legislatures or any other public office who have shown a fairness to Labor and the people in order to defeat those who openly or covertly aim to throttle the normal activities of the toilers.

Wherever necessary Labor should place candidates in the field. This should be done where the candidates on both dominant party tickets are unfriendly to our cause. The records of the members of congress will be furnished to the non-partisan political campaign committees and all interested friends for the purpose of obtaining as great publicity as possible.

To be effective in the primaries we suggest that meetings be called as soon as possible by all non-partisan political campaign committees in the United States at which plans should be made and measures taken for a most intensive campaign of education of not only members of trade unions but of the great masses of the people.

Where non-partisan political campaign committees have not remained in existence since the last election it is urgently requested that they be immediately selected and begin active preparations for the primaries.

Every state federation of labor, every city central body should create non-partisan political campaign committees. Every local union should appoint committees to cooperate with the state and central bodies.

Mass meetings should be held. The real conditions facing the workers in industry and agriculture should be clearly set forth in order that those who have been misinformed and misled by the publicity agents of the reactionaries will know how to vote.

**Agitate! Agitate! Agitate!**

The campaign should not be among the organized workers alone but should be extended so that the truth will be known to all just minded citizens of our beloved country.

Since the armistice the most flagrant and malignant denunciation of the hopes and aspirations of the masses of our people has been made.

The present campaign in the primaries and in the fall elections offers opportunities which may not come again in a decade to redress wrongs and attain justice. It is, therefore, important and necessary that not a moment should be lost in launching a most active campaign that will bring about the election of men and women who will restore to our people the rights taken from them since fighting ceased in the great war. Therefore, all are urged to be up and doing.

Please report fully and frequently to the American Federation of Labor Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

Fraternally yours,  
 SAML GOMPERS,  
 FRANK MORRISON,  
 JAS. O'CONNELL,  
*Executive Committee.*

In the meantime many communications pertaining to the non-partisan campaign were received and answered. Others were sent to officers of organizations requesting and giving information as to the necessity for making an intensive effort to arouse the wage earners and the people to existing conditions and the need for action. Much correspondence was had with the farmers' organizations, looking to an amalgamation of efforts to defeat enemies and elect friends of the people. This bore fruit in a number of states where labor and the farmers have united on a non-partisan political basis.

In order to carry on an aggressive campaign and one that would bring success to our cause requests were sent to all labor organizations for contributions necessary to carry on the work of the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS, A. F. OF L.,  
 WASHINGTON, D. C., April 4, 1922.

*To All Organized Labor—Greetings:*

The American Federation of Labor National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, in accordance with instructions of the A. F. of L. convention has begun the work of the 1922 congressional campaign.

Confronted with a particularly hostile group of senators and representatives in the national congress, it is vital to the protection of Labor's interests and welfare that a vigorous campaign be conducted to place in the national congress men who without regard to party affiliation will serve the dictates of justice and not the autocratic domination of the exploiting interests.

If the work of Labor's campaign is delayed it will be impossible to achieve any notable degree of success. Primary campaigns are under way in many places. It is necessary to participate actively in the primary campaigns, inasmuch as it is Labor's declared purpose to nominate candidates where candidates brought forward by the party organizations are unfit. Labor must not allow itself to be left in a position where it has no choice because of the unfitness of two or more candidates placed in the field by selfish or corrupt interests.

Immediate activity is imperative.

Finances are needed to carry on an aggressive campaign. There are essentials that require expenditures of money. With Labor these expenditures are moderate. But however moderate they may be, they are necessary and without them the campaign will be limited in its effectiveness.

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor authorized and directed the undersigned to issue this appeal for voluntary contributions to the campaign fund.

We must not remain idle in the face of the onslaught of reactionary and hostile powers. There has not been a single piece of constructive legislation enacted by the present congress. On the contrary, Labor has been confronted with a series of vicious legislative attacks, some of them entitled to rank with the worst legislative proposals of decades. It is impossible to describe here the vicious bills against the interests of Labor and the people which were defeated in congress through the practical and persistent activity of the American Federation of Labor.

The situation calls for the most united and determined action on the part of all Labor. The campaign must be one of unity, energy and great determination. Those who have been unfaithful must be retired to private life. Every effort must be made to elect those who will serve the humane cause of Labor, right and justice, and who will be fit representatives of American ideals and liberty. We must support not those who pretend to fitness, but those of whose fitness there is proof in achievement. Our support must be aggressive, extending to every portion of our country.

Funds are immediately necessary. We are entering not merely a campaign; we are entering a campaign of paramount importance. Every man must do his duty. Labor will not stand idle while America is sold to the greediest bidder.

Make your contribution now. Small contributions will help, but contributions to the common cause ought to be as generous as possible. This is a call to all Labor organizations and to all individual members and it is a call for immediate action.

Make all checks payable to Frank Morrison, Secretary, American Federation of Labor, who will receipt for the same and at the conclusion of the campaign a financial report of the contributions and expenditures will be published and sent to each contributor.

By authority and direction of Executive Council of American Federation of Labor.

SAML GOMPERS,  
FRANK MORRISON,  
JAS. O'CONNELL,  
*Executive Committee,*

*National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee.*



In order to bring about greater cooperation of the wage earners, the Executive Committee of the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee directed that another circular be sent. The following was addressed to all national and international unions, city and state central bodies and 40,000 local and federal labor unions.

HEADQUARTERS, A. F. OF L.,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 4, 1922.

*To All Organized Labor:*

GREETINGS: The reactionary elements in the legislative bodies of our country, both federal and state, endanger American standards and threaten to graft laws on our people that will interfere with their evolutionary progress toward a higher and a better life. No thought is given to the needs of the people. No constructive legislation that will remove the artificially made business depression has been seriously considered by the reactionaries who control legislation. No thought is given to the millions of unemployed. In fact, every effort has been and is being made to lull the people into a feeling of false security in order to permit the privileged few to conceive and enact legislation of benefit only to themselves.

There has been no time in the history of our country when the predatory interests have so unblushingly sought legislation for their especial benefits. It is most imperative that all union men and all local unions in the United States should take to themselves the duty of protesting against such a reactionary course.

The American Federation of Labor, realizing that there is an urgent necessity for united and intensive action, adopted a plan providing that every local union throughout the country should appoint a permanent legislative committee to further beneficial legislation and oppose legislation inimical to the rights and interests of labor.

If your local union has not a legislative committee, you are, therefore, most earnestly urged that one be immediately selected and that this office be advised of compliance with this request, together with the names and addresses of your permanent legislative committee.

The A. F. of L. keeps a record of the votes of every United States senator and member of the house of representatives on matters of interest to Labor and the people. There will be an election in November for senators in some 34 states and an election for members of the house of representatives in every congressional district in the United States. It is the desire of the A. F. of L. that your legislative committees should send here for the records of congressmen in your respective districts through the central bodies or direct.

I would also urge that your legislative committee keep in touch with the A. F. of L. so that your committee may be supplied with all information desired to carry out the legislative policy of the non-partisan political program, local, state and national.

Through the formation of these permanent legislative committees by the various local unions it will be possible to keep all members continually informed of the work of Congress. The state federations can keep these committees informed of all matters pertaining to state legislation.

In outlining this plan of organization of the organized forces of Labor, the Denver, 1921, convention unanimously declared:

"Through this plan means will be provided for the essential organization on which the success of the non-partisan political campaign must rest, and through such systematization and co-ordination of effort the endeavors of organized labor to exercise properly its power at the ballot box may be made more effective."

Permit me to impress upon all local unions the deep significance of the action of the A. F. of L. as its intent is to unite in a solid phalanx the organizations and the rank and file of the trade union movement and its sympathizers.

It is my desire and hope that these committees will not hesitate to write me for any information that will be helpful in carrying out the policies enunciated by the A. F. of L. in bringing the greatest possible success to the

cause so dear to the hearts of the men in the organized labor movement of our country.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation and assistance and asking you to let me hear from you at your early convenience and as frequently as possible, I am,

Fraternally yours,

SAML GOMPERS,  
President, American Federation of Labor.

The responses from this circular were so general and the interest so intense that it can be stated that Labor will be more active than ever, not only in the primaries but also in the elections. It is in the primaries that initial effective work can be done. The confident belief is expressed by those who have written of conditions in the various localities that satisfactory results will be accomplished.

The workers have never been more united to translate into action the discontent with existing political and economic conditions. There is now no independent political labor movement in the field to interfere with or minimize the efforts of our people to gain victories. Organizations that have heretofore stood for partisan politics have discovered the futility of such a course and are heartily supporting the non-partisan political policy of the A. F. of L. This is most gratifying. It demonstrates that the repeated declarations of the A. F. of L. against partisan politics, gained from forty-one years of experience, are for the best interests of Labor and the people. It is the only policy through which success can be gained.

Labor in Illinois is united on a non-partisan basis. The workers in Indiana have a state-wide organization and many local organizations that will demonstrate their value in the November elections. In Kansas the organizations have centered their efforts upon electing members of the state legislature who will vote for a repeal of the court of industrial relations act. In Minnesota, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas and Iowa most effective non-partisan campaign organizations have been formed. In some of these states labor and the farmers have joined together to elect friends and defeat foes of the people.

Although the primaries in a great many of the states will not be held until after the adjournment of this convention, it is definitely known that there never has been in an off year such intense interest in political campaigns.

In Pennsylvania it is a struggle for liberty. It is a struggle to maintain rights guaranteed by the constitution of the United States. In no other state except West Virginia have the authorities exercised more assumed power to prohibit free speech, free press and free assembly. The tentacles of the monstrous steel trust, united with anti-union coal operators and other great interests antagonistic to the wage earners have strangled liberty in both states for many years. Another blow aimed at the interests that have preyed upon Pennsylvania for so many years is the candidacy for governor of a man who is the representative of the farmers and who is most earnestly supported by Labor of that state.

In all communications sent from headquarters to local non-partisan political campaign committees, Labor is urged to spread broadcast the following principles:

No freedom loving citizen should vote for any candidate who will not pledge himself to oppose any form of compulsory labor law.

No justice loving citizen should vote for a candidate for any office who will not pledge himself to oppose injunctions and contempt proceedings as a substitute for trial by jury.

The Executive Council desires to express its satisfaction over the wonderful enthusiasm exhibited by the state bodies, the city central bodies and the local unions. Not only the wage earners but the great mass of our citizenship are crying aloud for relief.

Congress has failed to meet the responsibility placed upon it by a great war. It has proved its inefficiency in a great crisis. It has proved that only those who are well-to-

do or control great interests can induce congress to listen. Those who favor subsidies for railroads and ship owners; those who believe in paying back to the profiteers in food the fines assessed against them; those who believe in relieving the business of the well-to-do from taxation by substituting the sales tax, and those who believe in compulsory labor find ready listeners to their demands for legislation.

When a sufficient number of members of the senate banded together in an effort to obtain at least some relief for the farmers the privileged few immediately began to denounce them. Nothing can be expected from the present congress except legislation giving fortunes to those who already possess them and adding to the burdens of the people by higher and higher taxation.

These facts are slowly penetrating the minds of the people. They are beginning to realize that the change they thought they wanted and for which they voted has been an injury instead of a benefit. Therefore, it is expected that many changes will be made in the personnel of the senate and the house. And unless there is a change in such personnel the people can prepare themselves for still greater and greater suffering and injustice.

### INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

International labor relations during the year have continued with but little change from conditions reported by us to our last convention. Our affiliation with the Pan-American Federation of Labor has continued and our interest in the work of that organization has been most active and, we hope, effective.

In so far as our relations with the European labor movements are concerned these have continued to be of the most friendly nature and have continued to demonstrate the essential solidarity of labor internationally.

We have been unable, however, to bring about affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions, because the governing body of the International Federation of Trade Unions has not yet found its way to making that affiliation possible. Correspondence has continued and is continuing with the view to affiliation and we earnestly hope that it may be possible to bring about affiliation and active participation in the affairs of the International Federation of Trade Unions during the coming year.

Three main points of contention have been uppermost in the discussion with the International Federation of Trade Unions and in our most recent communication, dated February 25, 1922, we inquired whether the officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions could not find some way of removing the objections and making possible our early affiliation. The objections which have continued to stand in the way of affiliation are as declared by the Montreal and Denver conventions, as follows:

First. That the new constitution completely abrogated the principle of complete autonomy for each national trade union federation.

Second. That through the issuance of appeals and proclamations, the executive body of the international federation had committed the federation to a revolutionary principle to which the American Federation of Labor is and always had been uncompromisingly opposed and to which no labor movement guided by democratic ideals could give approval.

Third. That a system of dues had been adopted which would place upon the American Federation of Labor a heavy and unbearable expense.

In order to make clear the effort which the Executive Council has made to secure removal of these difficulties, the following extract from the council's letter of February 25, 1922, to the International Federation of Trade Unions, is quoted:

The American Federation of Labor did not set up these objections as reasons for permanently remaining outside of the International Federation of Trade Unions. It set them up as points of difference which it was hoped might be removed in order that affiliation might become possible.

It must be stated unequivocally that up to this time there has been no genuine effort on the part of the International Federation of Trade Unions or of its officers to remove these obstacles and no earnest endeavor to compose them. On the contrary, we are now informed, in your letter of January 5,

1922, that the bureau has now fully endorsed the communications previously sent the undersigned.

Furthermore, while abstaining absolutely from a course that might have been calculated to remove the differences, the officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions have made the situation still more difficult by directly challenging the autonomy of the American Federation of Labor and ignoring its position, responsibility and authority. This it has done by means of communicating directly with our affiliated bodies instead of communicating with the American Federation of Labor, a practice unheard of in international labor relations. The thought of the International Federation of Trade Unions in communicating directly with affiliated organizations of the American Federation of labor and not with the American Federation of Labor direct, was, we are convinced, for the purpose of creating a propaganda among our affiliated organizations for the purpose of endeavoring to force the American Federation of Labor to change its policy to suit the purposes of officials in Amsterdam. That this has failed is due solely to the unanimity of opinion in the ranks of American organized labor.

However, the American Federation of Labor is willing to overlook this breach of good conduct. The sole purpose in calling attention to it here is to bring out the characteristics of the International Federation of Trade Unions under its present official direction, which is certainly not helpful in overcoming existing difficulties.

In the matter of the three points of objection originally raised and again set forth in this letter, something remains to be said.

As to the first point, that of the abrogation of national autonomy, is it possible that there may be some correction of this evil? Is there a method of safeguarding national autonomy within the International Federation of Trade Unions? We are not unmindful of the fact that your previous communications have been uncompromising in support of the principle and the practice as they have obtained since the organization of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam. Nevertheless, we are hopeful that you may find some way of overcoming the objection. Indeed, we feel that it is entirely possible, if the desire of the International Federation for American affiliation is sincere. We are under the necessity of repeating that the American Federation of Labor can not agree to any abandonment of complete autonomy and that it can not place itself in a position where it will be in danger of being committed to policies and principles to which it is opposed. We shall be more than glad to learn of some manner of composing this difference.

In relation to the second point, that concerning the issuance of proclamations and appeals committing the International Federation and, therefore its affiliated organizations to principles not in accord with those agreed upon, we have yet to learn if it is intended to abandon this practice in Amsterdam.

There is no insuperable obstacle raised in point No. 2. It rests with the officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions whether that point is to continue to be a barrier. Its removal is simple and the American Federation of Labor is entirely willing to believe whatever declaration on the subject may be made by the responsible officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

As to point No. 3, that relating to dues, the American Federation of Labor still is of the opinion that the burden imposed upon us is too great. It is earnestly desired that some effort be made to remedy this situation in the direction of materially modifying the proposed dues in accordance with our suggestion. There appears to have been no real effort made in Amsterdam to deal with this question and it is proposed that serious consideration be given thereto. Surely the object of the International Federation of Trade Unions can not be to weaken the domestic efforts of the various national centers by placing an excessive strain upon the finances of the national centers.

Then, too, there must be some understanding as to the money standard which shall determine and govern the payment of dues as to whether it shall

be the English pound, the American dollar, the German mark, or the French franc, so that there will be no undue proportion of taxation between the organizations on account of the varying exchange value of currency used.

While our great interest is for an international movement and to bring about the greatest degree of cooperation and solidarity in that movement, yet no one can fail to understand that our first and dominating duty is to our fellow workers and our movement in America.

We have had no reply from Amsterdam in response to this most recent communication, although it had been our earnest hope that a reply might be received and that the reply might be of such character that it would make it possible to report to the convention a more immediate prospect for affiliation.

We recommend that efforts be continued in the direction of an early affiliation.

### LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT

To the Denver convention we recommended the following:

That this convention calls upon the government of the United States to take the initiative or to cooperate with any other nation or nations for the purpose of a general agreement for disarmament both of the army and the naval affairs of the world and that it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to call upon the workers and the people to aid in every way within their power and to translate into action the sentiments recommended.

By unanimous vote the convention endorsed that recommendation. Not more than three weeks after the adjournment of the 1921 convention it was announced that the President of the United States had approached Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan with inquiries as to whether it would be agreeable to them to participate in a conference on limitation of armaments and Pacific and far east problems. Formal invitations to such a conference were issued on August 11, 1921, and the conference called to convene on the anniversary of Armistice Day, November 11, 1921, met the following day, November 12.

Labor's participation in the effort to insure the success of that conference was two-fold. In accordance with the action of the Denver convention it was "the duty of the E. C. to call upon the workers and the people to aid in every way within their power to have translated into action the sentiments recommended." At its meeting August 11, 1921, the E. C. instructed the President of the American Federation of Labor to take such action as would best serve to carry out the convention instructions.

The A. F. of L. participated in an official capacity in the work of the International Conference on the Limitation of Armament. President Gompers and President Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America, were appointed by President Harding as members of the official advisory commission of the American delegation, in the work of which they participated actively in important capacities.

In addition to this, the A. F. of L. made every possible effort to rally the sentiment of the American people in support of the work of the International Conference. Pursuant to the instructions of the E. C., President Gompers took the initiative in organizing Armistice Day demonstrations throughout the country under the leadership of Labor. More than 200 such demonstrations were held. These demonstrations were representative of the entire citizenship, and constituted a powerful force for the success of the conference.

In addition to this President Gompers called together about 200 representative men and women from all walks of life, in a meeting held in Washington, October 18-19, 1921. At that conference there was organized "The General Committee for the Limitation of Armament," which conducted an active campaign for the success of the International Conference and for the ratification of the treaties negotiated in that conference. A pamphlet entitled "Disarmament," containing the entire record of the efforts of the A. F. of L. in behalf of international peace and disarmament, was prepared under instructions of the E. C. and was given wide circulation.

The President of the A. F. of L. called upon President Harding on July 18, immediately following the issuance of the official call for the conference, presenting to President Harding the question of the wisdom and advisability of appointing a representative of Labor as a member of the official American delegation to the international conference. By letter and by cablegram the labor movements of the other participating nations were advised of that action and were earnestly urged to present similar requests to their own governments.

American Labor was not represented on the official American delegation, but it was represented, as has been stated, on the official advisory commission, although, it is regrettable to report, no other labor movement was given representation of any character on any of the visiting national delegations or advisory commissions.

It is not necessary here to enter into further detail in regard to the efforts of Labor during the international conference, inasmuch as elaborate reports have been published in the *American Federationist* and inasmuch as any additional detail which may be desired by anyone is available at the headquarters of the A. F. of L. Neither is it necessary to describe the treaties which were negotiated in the international conference, because they are a matter of public record and have long been before the people of our country as subjects of general discussion. We desire only to record here satisfaction with the work achieved by the International Conference on Limitation of Armament and to express the pride which we feel in the fact that the United States was the initiator of the movement in bringing as much relief as possible to the peoples of the world through practical and immediate reductions in the armaments of the world. It would be idle, of course, to say that the international conference was a complete success and it would be equally idle to expect every such single effort to be a complete success. We feel that the effort did in a most remarkable manner justify our declaration, our efforts and our expectations. We can not yield to the hope, however, that the danger of international disputes has passed because of the work of the Washington conference. On the contrary, we are strongly of the conviction that if it is permitted to stand by itself the work of the Washington conference will be but a slight contribution toward the stabilization of international relations.

Following the conclusion of the International Conference on the Limitation of Armament, an invitation was issued by the Allied Supreme Council to an international conference to be held at Genoa and to be called an economic conference. It was clear that the work of the Washington conference was not, of itself, sufficient to insure lasting international peace; particularly it contributed little, if anything, of immediate value to the economic restoration of the world.

Interested primarily in the economic welfare of civilization, your officers publicly expressed the conviction that there should be held, at a suitable time, an international economic conference for the purpose of doing whatever might be found possible to revive the economic life of the world. Speaking in the name of Labor a statement was issued by the President of the A. F. of L. expressing the belief that the Genoa conference could not succeed in bringing about economic revival and further stating that an international economic conference, to be successful, should be summoned by the United States to be held in the United States under an agenda prepared by the United States.

### CURRENCY, CREDITS AND BANKING

Several resolutions having to do with money, credits and banking were considered at the convention held in Denver, Colo., a year ago. By action upon resolutions 131 and 135, the Executive Council was directed to investigate the subject of the use of savings and funds of the workers collected by banks and insurance companies, methods and use of credits and of the practicability of stabilizing the purchasing power of the monetary unit. All of these investigations were urged upon the assumption that the workers' savings were being used by the banking institutions to favor the interests of employers, especially when engaged in conflict with the organized wage earners and to crush and destroy trade unions and impoverish the workers as well as the farmers.

Inquiring into the question of the extent to which bankers may dominate industrial enterprises and commercial activities, it is found that the banking system in the

United States as everywhere else, can be said to dominate industry and commerce in the sense that industrialists and merchants frequently need the capital which is loaned by the banks. Practically every product is sold on credit from thirty to ninety days and in some cases six months. Necessarily almost every concern at sometime or other is required to establish credit facilities or be at least able to discount bills receivable. Because of these business requirements a bank may make or break a business concern by the granting or refusing of credit in time of stress or during dull seasons, or off-seasons, for seasonable goods and by refusing to discount commercial papers.

It is urged, however, that because banking is very largely competitive, their interests divergent and, at times conflicting, and because it is difficult to assume precisely similar ideas on the part of each competitor, it is difficult, if not inconceivable, to describe exactly the form of domination the bankers might wield over industries and commerce.

Despite the claims of divergencies and conflicts of interest and the difficulty of adopting precisely similar ideas among bankers because of the spirit of competition, bankers are in a position, nevertheless, to exert, and they do exert, much influence over the business policies of concerns which require large amounts of capital and which are not financially strong. This is especially true of investment banks. Commercial banks can not so readily interest themselves about the operating policies of concerns to which they make small loans until they get into financial difficulty.

There is, however, the existence of unfair practices where bankers are on boards of industrial enterprises and where captains of industry are on boards of banks in that a position of preference with respect to banking opportunities is accorded such concerns. The development of interlocking directorates likewise tends to, and does, induce an artificial control as well as provides preferential positions for the interested groups and thereby enlarges the scope of their influence and control. Thus it was made evident in a hearing before the Railway Labor Board that the railroads are controlled by a group of twelve New York banks, trust companies and insurance companies, dominated by J. P. Morgan & Company; that the J. P. Morgan Company control at least fifteen financial institutions; that J. P. Morgan and allied financial interests control at least twenty-four coal mining companies and coal railroads. Practically twenty-five men are the instrument of this and an even wider control. This same group of twelve financial institutions at the same time has interlocking directors with at least twenty of the leading railroad equipment companies.

It is evident, therefore, that banks do have a powerful direct and indirect influence and control over the industrial and commercial activities of our people. It is equally evident that an effort should be made to secure a complete divorcement between related financial and industrial and commercial enterprises. We are not prepared at this time to submit a definite program because of the complexity of the problem involved, but we do urge that the E. C. be authorized to give this subject further consideration and attention and to take such action as may be helpful in having this financial stranglehold removed from the throat of our industrial and commercial life.

Particular emphasis was laid upon our investigation of the control and influence of banks over the industrial relations policies that might be enforced upon employers in their dealings with wage earners. Bankers, generally speaking, have been opposed to the trade union movement. Unquestionably, too, the hostile attitude of manufacturers' associations, merchants' organizations and trade associations, has largely influenced the policies of banks in their dealings with firms that express a sympathetic and encouraging attitude toward trade unions.

Our investigation has disclosed the fact that in a number of cities banking institutions have used their banking facilities to compel employers to assume an attitude toward trade unions which would weaken, if not destroy the organizations of the wage earners. In some instances this control over banking facilities has been used to enforce a reduction of wages; in other cases to further the so-called "open shop" or "American plan" idea, while in other cases both these repressive objectives were the ends sought.

However, the initiative and source of influence over the use of deposits and funds in banks and the use of banking facilities in fighting organized labor do not always rest with the banks. Indeed, the banks are as much subject to the influence of manufacturers, merchants and trade associations as the individual merchant and manufacturer are subject to the bank's influence and control.

Our investigation has demonstrated that in a number of cities, Chambers of Commerce, Manufacturers' Associations, so-called Citizens' Committees and other varying forms of associations dominated by business men, have exercised their collective influence and association with banking institutions to compel employers, who desired to deal fairly with the trade unions, to alter their course and to assume a hostile attitude toward the organizations of the wage earners. Thus, employers have been threatened not alone with curtailment of trade facilities but obstacles have been placed in their way in securing proper credit with which to purchase the necessary raw material. Likewise, threats have been made to call in loans or to deny further loans or to "freeze" credits unless industrial relations policies and employment conditions prescribed by these associations of manufacturers or merchants are complied with.

Example upon example might be cited to bear out the finding that banking facilities are being used to destroy the trade union movement and to impoverish the workers through the savings deposited by the workers into our banking institutions.

How to meet this situation is a difficult, though not hopeless, task. It has been suggested that to prevent this unjust and unwarranted discrimination of banking and credit facilities, the government should undertake to establish competing government banks throughout the large industrial cities and farming communities and thus bring into play in our banking system a factor that will destroy this menacing control over monies and credits by a comparatively few, and transform the use of money and credit to serve the needs of all the people instead of proving merely an instrument of exploitation and repression. It has been urged likewise that our postal savings bank system be made more liberal, that the amount of its deposits be enlarged and that the rate of interest be increased.

While our investigation has not proceeded sufficiently far either to approve or disapprove the encouragement of government banks to compete with private banking institutions or whether adequate laws might be proposed to prevent a continuance of the dangerous practices to which attention has been directed, we do recommend that the facilities of the postal savings bank be enlarged and that the rate of interest be increased as well as the amount of permissible deposits be enlarged. Upon the other question, further time for investigation is urged and with authority granted to the E. C. to take whatever action may be deemed best upon completion of this investigation.

Another proposal urged is that of encouraging trade unions to engage in banking institutions. It would seem that trade unions with a large accumulation of funds might profitably invest these funds in their own banks and attract to themselves the savings deposits of their members and of their sympathizers and friends in general. However, not many trade unions would seem to be organized so as to permit them to enter into the banking business. Where the accumulation of funds is subject to constant withdrawals and use in defense of strikes or lockouts, and for the payment of other benefits, it is difficult to conceive how a trade union might strengthen itself by converting its funds into the working capital of a bank. Then, too, if trade unions are to venture into the banking business, the urgency for the incorporation of trade unions may become more pronounced and make the bringing of a suit against them and the seizure or impounding of their funds more easy of accomplishment.

Trade unions could as easily enter into the banking business as they could undertake to operate a factory, a printing office, or any other business enterprise. But where they so enter the business world they abandon the primary purpose of the trade union; and if such business ventures do succeed, those who participate in their control and share in their gains are shareholders and in the final analysis, the benefits derived will be in the form of stock dividends. This is especially true of the banking business as wage earners could not be expected to receive greater interests for deposits or to borrow money on better terms than they might secure at other banks. The management of a union bank would be held to as strict accountability as any other banking institution, and the membership would not consent to the acceptance of undue assumption of risks or imprudent venturing of union funds. Under these circumstances, it is difficult to note how this proposal could alter the attitude of the present banking institutions. There are several banks instituted or encouraged by trade unions. Doubtless the experience that may be had by these institutions will indicate the advisability and desirability of encouraging trade unions to enter this field of business venture. While we believe trade union banks



are possible, we believe that such ventures should be considered with caution and be approached with extreme care.

In connection with this, attention is directed to the action of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor, at which time cooperative banks and credit unions were approved and the form of legislation enacted on this subject by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts recommended for adoption in every state legislature.

While the subject of control of banking facilities by bankers and manufacturers and commercial groups to destroy the effectiveness of trade unions and to suppress the workers is one involved in many complex difficulties and impossible of regulation by law, we are not without a strong weapon of defense or retaliation. Those familiar with banking urge that successful banking depends upon the ability to secure and maintain deposits five times equal to the capital invested. This would indicate that the life and success of a banking institution depend upon a minority fraction of deposits placed with such institutions. Since the manufacturing and commercial associations have been using their organized strength to influence banking policies by reason of their use of banking institutions, the trade union movement is equally justified to use the organized power of trade unions to so influence the savings of its members and friends and of trade unions deposited with any banking institution hostile to the workers' interests in the same manner as do the manufacturers and merchants. If the boycott method may be freely used by employers against the borrowers at banks through a denial of banking facilities, the boycott may also be used by Labor against the bankers who encourage or who submit to this sort of dictation. Since the banking facilities have come to be used as a weapon for industrial mastery by employers, the savings and deposits of the wage earners in banks must be so controlled by the workers so as to protect fully the wage earners interest in this contest, for the firm establishment and full maintenance of their rights in industry and commerce.

The wide scope and effectiveness of this recommendation is fully understood but the choice is not of our making. Every international and local trade union is urged therefore to direct the attention of the A. F. of L. to any instance or to any banking institution that uses or is influenced to use its banking facilities to oppose, weaken or destroy the trade union movement or to interpose its power and influence into industrial relations affairs so that the E. C. may investigate each complaint and if no adjustment is reached, then to publish the facts ascertained in its investigation and to call upon all trade unions, wage earners, their friends and sympathizers to place their deposits with banking institutions that will not venture into trades disputes and that will serve all the people in an impartial and just manner. It is particularly recommended that because of the vast consequences involved in this proposal that the power and authority involved shall be exercised solely by the A. F. of L. and its E. C. and by no other division or branch of the American labor movement.

### STABILIZING THE UNIT OF MONEY

The Executive Council has also caused an inquiry to be made into the practicability of stabilizing the purchasing power of the monetary unit and has given consideration to the plans furthered by Professor Fisher, of Yale University, Professor Sprague, of Harvard, and Professor Cassel, of Sweden. Unquestionably the whole question of inflation and deflation and their avoidance is becoming of increasing importance throughout the world. Every group in our political, social, industrial and commercial organism is affected by the expansion and contraction of our currencies and credits. The lessening of cyclical variations in business activity is but another approach to the solution only from a different point of view. The problem however is not domestic but world wide. It is of the highest importance that the monetary systems of all countries that play an important part in international trade shall have a common standard of value and that that standard be of a stabilized purchasing monetary unit in order that international trade may be encouraged and exchange rates may be made stable.

Whether the problem is one of stabilizing the purchasing power and value of the dollar or of stabilizing the price of commodities, it is one of such proportions that consideration should be given it by the United States government through congress. Every influence and interest in our national life should rise above selfishness to a spirit of

promoting the future welfare of all and to that end should cooperate with the national government in finding a proper solution to this most urgent need of our time—a more stable medium or method of exchange. It is recommended that this course be approved.

### AGRICULTURAL CONFERENCE

On January 23, there was convened in Washington by the Secretary of Agriculture, acting for the President, a national conference on agricultural problems. Labor was represented in this conference by one delegate, the President of the American Federation of Labor. In this conference, called to deal with most vital issues, there was but one representative to speak for all the workers and but a small minority to speak for all the actual farmers of the country.

Control of the conference was in the hands of a group of railroad representatives trust magnates, financiers and anti-labor employers. This dominating group immediately made clear its purpose to put the conference on record in favor of wage reductions. Throughout the entire conference the railroad representatives and their friends fought to secure adoption of declarations in condemnation of railroad workers, asserting that only reductions in railroad wages could produce reductions in freight rates. The conference was in the hands of profiteers and exploiters from the start to the finish.

The purpose served by the labor representative was to write continually into the record protests against the assertions made by the representatives of railroads and big business and to use the conference as a platform from which to address the public in opposition to the interests that controlled the conference. Constructive effort was impossible and no constructive result was achieved. A detailed report of the work of the labor representative in the Agricultural Conference was published in the *American Federationist* for March, 1922.

### REPORT ON LABOR LEGISLATION

*Summary of Legislation Enacted by the Special and Regular Sessions of the Sixty-seventh Congress up to May 1, 1922*

#### *Laws Enacted Favorable to Labor*

1. Limiting immigration until June 30, 1922, to 3 per cent of the number of foreign born of any nationality in the United States according to the census of 1910. (Public No. 5.)
2. Extending the expiration of the 3 per cent immigration law to June 30, 1924.
3. Increasing the number of years to five instead of one that foreigners must live in Canada, Cuba or Mexico before entering the United States.
4. Penalizing steamship companies that bring more than the quota of any nationality provided in the immigration law.
5. Appropriating \$5,000,000 for purchase of seed grain and of feed for farmers in crop failure areas of United States. (Public No. 177.)
6. For relief of distressed and starving people of Russia. (Public No. 117.)
7. Authorizing association of producers of agricultural products. (Public No. 146.)
8. Appropriating \$75,000,000 for construction of rural post roads. (Public No. 87.)
9. Public protection of maternity and infancy. (Public No. 97.)
10. Establishing veterans' bureau in Treasury Department. (Public No. 47.)
11. Increasing force and salaries of Patent Office employes, etc. (Public No. 147.)
12. Authorizing extension of time for payment of construction charges on reclamation projects, etc. (Public No. 185.)
13. Amending act for retirement of employes in classified civil service. (Public No. 142.)
14. Bringing all persons in classified civil service under retirement act. (Public No. 182.)
15. Providing that watertenders, oilers and firemen shall work eight hours instead of twelve whether in port or at sea.
16. Appropriation of \$225,000 for U. S. Employment Service of Department of Labor.

17. Appropriation for Women's Bureau of Department of Labor increased from \$75,000 to \$100,000.

*Hostile Bills Opposed or Defeated*

1. Legalizing judicial kidnapping.
2. Coolie bill providing for the admission of 50,000 Chinese into Hawaii.
3. \*Prohibiting picketing in labor disputes in the District of Columbia.
4. Amendment to section 10 of the Clayton Act to permit officials of railroads to have an official interest in companies furnishing supplies to the railroads.
5. Providing fine and punishment for interference with interstate commerce.
6. Making cessation of work in the coal industry unlawful conspiracies.
7. Providing for a "labor board" in the coal industry similar to the railroad labor board.
8. Providing that in case of an "emergency" the president shall be empowered to take over the coal mines.
9. Scheme to discontinue publication of the monthly labor review.
10. Authorizing reduction in wages instead of suspension without pay of rural letter carriers for purposes of discipline.
11. Measures providing for the sales tax which several members of the senate and house are determined shall be established.
12. Loading the soldiers' bonus bill with the sales tax for the purpose of defeating that measure.
13. Subsidy bill which proposes to sell government merchant ships to private persons for a mere bagatelle and which also provides for a merchant marine naval reserve service to be used to break strikes and the repeal of the seamen's act permitting seamen to leave a vessel in safe harbor.
14. Bills ostensibly to punish sedition but in reality so insidiously worded that they would make industrial disputes subject to their provisions.
15. Bill providing a penalty of \$10,000 fine or imprisonment not exceeding ten years or both for any official of a trade union to advise any person employed in production or operation of any mines or agency of interstate commerce to quit such employment.
16. \*Attempts to strike out from the army and navy appropriations bills the clause prohibiting bonus or stop watch system.
17. \*Prohibiting the use of money appropriated for the Department of Justice to prosecute organizations of farmers or Labor for alleged violations of the anti-trust act.
18. \*Limiting the number of life boats, floats, rafts and life preservers on vessels to 25 per cent, thus leaving 75 per cent of the passengers and crew aboard a boat without means of safety during times of wrecks.

*More Idleness For Judges*

Representative Walsh, of Massachusetts, who, although young in years as congressmen go, has gained unenviable fame as one of the most reactionary members of the house, introduced H. R. 9103 providing for twenty-one additional district judges of the United States. The bill slipped through the house and was passed by the senate after a most scathing arraignment of federal district courts by Senator Norris. He declared that all federal courts except the Supreme Court should be abolished; that they simply duplicate the work of the state courts. He called attention to the scandal created by the "midnight judges bill," one hundred and twenty years ago, and flayed the federal courts, declaring that they are for the rich man or the corporation, as they help to tire out the poor complainant in a case.

Senator Norris pointed out that judges are picked men whether of the state or federal bench, and that sometimes they were picked by politicians and often mistakes have been made. He said he was not willing to admit nor did he believe that the federal district judges are any better class of men than are the general trial judges of the state. He added:

About the only difference is that in most parts of the country the federal judges work less and receive more pay.

\*Defeated.

Senator Norris then pointed out that there was a duplication of court procedure, a double set of judicial machinery in every community—two judges, two courthouses, a duplicate set of administrative officials, including marshals, sheriffs, clerks, and bailiffs, all doing the same kind of work and the taxpayers footing the bill. He continued.

It did not make so much difference years ago until great corporations began to be formed, until business began to be transacted on a large scale of combination, when litigation became important, involving more money. Then the fault in the system began to appear. To my mind, it is a serious problem and one which congress should consider.

Senator Norris said he wished he could "cause the American people to think about it, to work it over in their minds and in their hearts and to realize that we have a judicial system that costs too much. Justice is too expensive, so expensive in fact that the poor man can not afford to buy it."

He quoted a statement made by Mr. Henry S. Pritchard, President of the Carnegie Foundation in which he said that "the very existence of free government depends upon making the machinery of justice so effective that the citizens of a democracy shall believe in its impartiality and fairness."

In that statement, President Pritchard also said:

There never was a time when it was more important to provide machinery that shall be adequate to accomplish in fact that justice at which the law aims and for whose attainment amongst men it was established. It is not enough for the law to intend justice. It must be so administered that for the great body of citizens justice is actually attained. Be the law never so good in theory, uncertain or dilatory administration, through the present cumbersome or defective machinery, goes far to defeat its aims. The widespread suspicion, that our law fails to secure justice has only too much basis in fact. If this suspicion is allowed to grow unchecked, it will end by poisoning the faith of the people in their own government and in law itself, the very bulwark of justice. If those who officially represent the law do not bend their energies and give their best thought to make the administration of justice fair, prompt, and accessible to the humblest citizen, to what group in the body politic may we turn with any hope that this matter will be dealt with wisely and justly?

During his arguments against the bill, Senator Norris quoted Mr. Taft, ex-President of the United States, a federal judge for many years, and now justice of the United States Supreme Court as follows:

Of all the questions that are before the American people I regret not one has more importance than the improvement of the administration of justice. We must make it so that the poor man will have as nearly as possible an equal opportunity in litigating as the rich man, and under present conditions, ashamed as we may be of it, this is not a fact.

Senator Norris also quoted Chief Justice Olsom of the Chicago Municipal Courts who said in 1915:

When litigation is too costly, the result for many persons is a denial of justice. Such denial or partial denial of justice engenders social and commercial friction. The sense of helplessness thus caused incites citizens to take the law into their own hands. It causes crimes of violence. It saps patriotism and destroys civic pride. It arouses jealousy and breeds contempt for law and government.

In an address delivered in Chicago, Mr. Lyman Abbott declared:

If ever a time shall come when in this city only the rich man can enjoy law as a doubtful luxury, when the poor who need it most can not have it, when only a golden key will unlock the door to the court room, the seeds of

revolution will be sown, the firebrand of revolution will be lighted and put into the hands of men, and they will almost be justified in the revolution which will follow.

One provision of the bill provides that all the senior circuit judges shall come to Washington once a year and confer with the chief justice of the United States on the judicial situation reviewing it, talking about it and agreeing on a plan for the next year. This is a most dangerous proposal. Of this clause, Senator Norris said:

When these judges come to Washington at the expense of the taxpayers, what will they do? They will meet with the chief justice. They will be dined every evening somewhere. They will be run to death with social activities. They will be killed with social favoritisms before they get down to business. That is especially true in respect to the genial chief justice we have, who dines out somewhere every night. I would like to pause right here to say, Mr. President, that I do not believe there is any man who can stick his legs under the tables of the idle rich every night and be fit the next day to sit in judgment upon those who toil. Honest though he may be, he can not get away from the atmosphere that will surround him, and ninety-nine times out of one hundred, it will affect him and get him in the end. . . . I do not believe there can be any doubt but what in the practical workings the annual pilgrimages these judges will make to Washington will have an unfavorable effect upon them and upon the common idea of the common folks as to the courts.

To the laymen the bringing of all the senior circuit judges to Washington to be dined and, if possible, wined by the lobbyists of the big interests is most dangerous. It will permit those who believe in judge-made laws to sow the seed that will bring about a unanimity of decisions against labor and the people. However, the bill passed congress and was sent to the president.

#### *Coolie Labor For Hawaii*

It was generally believed that the question of admitting Chinese coolies to the United States or its territories had been settled for all time. It was believed that no American would urge congress to pass a measure that would break down the Chinese exclusion law. But this was before the people of the mainland had heard of the sugar planters of Hawaii and their tactics. For several years, however, a secretly organized agitation had been carried on to permit the admission of Chinese to the United States and it reached a climax when its advocates began to work openly. The first public move was made May 14, 1921, when the vice-president laid before the senate a concurrent resolution adopted by the Hawaiian legislature asking permission to import coolie labor into Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations. It was claimed that there was a shortage of labor. On June 20 the delegate from the territory of Hawaii introduced H. J. Resolution 158, which provided for the admission to the territory of Hawaii of 50,000 of "such aliens otherwise inadmissible" as may be necessary to meet the "emergency existing in the shortage of agricultural labor." The committee on immigration of the house on July 7 after hearing the protests of labor refused to approve of the resolution.

Notwithstanding this action, later the same day the Hawaiian delegate presented House Joint Resolution 171. The chairman of the immigration committee, Representative Johnson, of Washington, sent out a call for a meeting which approved the bill. The new bill went further than the old as it would admit Chinese coolies to work at any occupation. Chairman Johnson, however, did not report the bill, as President Gompers had learned of the action and asked him for a conference.

President Gompers in the conference with Chairman Johnson charged that if the bill became a law it would be a crime not only against Labor but against the American people, and insisted that it be recommitted to the committee and hearings held. He questioned the manner of its introduction and approval by the committee and denounced the evident intention of those handling the bill to jam it through the house and then the senate. While Chairman Johnson still has the bill in his pocket the committee

in executive session secured a promise that he would not present it without the committee having another opportunity to vote upon it.

A conference was held in New York early last year to consider the sugar situation. The question of the admission of Chinese coolies into Hawaii was referred to and the representatives of the sugar interests in that territory urged the mainland sugar interests not to oppose it. They give this advice:

Don't interfere with the enactment of a law permitting Chinese coolies to come into Hawaii. It is the entering wedge; if we get them, you will have no trouble to get them in the United States.

There is no doubt about this statement, as representatives of the sugar interests of the United States told of the incident to the committee on immigration of the house. Representative John I. Nolan, of California, made a strenuous fight against the bill. Members of the emergency labor commission in discussing the desires of the Hawaiian sugar planters stated that they only wanted the Chinese coolies five years, when they would be deported; or, if they became wise to American ways too soon they could be deported at any time.

Representative Raker, a member of the house immigration committee made a brilliant fight against the bill. He declared that "slavery has been eliminated in every country on earth except in the interior of Africa. It will be a sad day when we return to contract peonage or slave labor."

Representative Cable, also a member of the committee, presented evidence that not only would the Thirteenth Amendment to the constitution of the United States be violated, but that every law pertaining to the exclusion of Chinese coolies and the literacy test in the immigration law would be repealed if the bill became a law.

President Gompers in concluding his statement before the committee, said:

I call your attention to the fact that it is not wise to take the heart and spirit out of America's workers. It is not wise to lead them into a position of fear, anguish and anger where no loyal support comes, because no voluntary loyal support comes to a government that uses oppression and suppression.

After President Gompers' statement had been made to the committee a majority of the members admitted that so far as the house was concerned the bill was dead. But the emergency labor committee returned to Hawaii and began a new agitation. It created an agency to obtain petitions signed by the citizens of Hawaii urging congress to pass the coolie bill. President Gompers kept in close touch with the representatives of Labor and others in Hawaii and through them received information of the trickery and manipulation used to obtain signatures to the petition. More than fifty affidavits were sent to President Gompers which will be used when the petition is presented to the senate committee on immigration. The sugar planters have given up hope of getting it through the house immigration committee and therefore are depending on the senate committee on immigration. Telegrams and letters from the representatives of the American Legion were used to gain converts for the coolie bill, but these were repudiated by the chief executors.

Every citizen of Hawaii who could be induced to do so sent a telegram or letter to either a member of congress or resident of the United States to urge the passage of the bill. Senator Harry S. New, of Indiana, and Representative Julius Kahn, of California, were among the recipients of these letters. In his reply to Mr. John Effinger, Senator New stated that he favored the bill, and added:

My sole regret is that I am not able to do more for it.

Much of the opposition which defeated Senator New in the recent primaries was based on his support of the coolie bill.

Representative Kahn was also outspoken "in favor of amending the law to admit Chinese laborers into Hawaii to meet the present needs." In proof of this he stated in his letter that he had already spoken to some members of the house on the matter. Representative Kahn comes from a state that fought for many years to exclude the Chinese.

If coolies are admitted to Hawaii it will not be long before they will be freely entering San Francisco. While the agitation was in progress the National Board of Farm Organizations held a meeting in St. Louis and adopted the following:

We favor the support of stringent immigration laws in order to maintain American standards of citizenship, and especially do we oppose the admission of oriental labor.

The desire of the sugar planters for Chinese coolies was because the Japanese working for them had demanded a sufficient wage upon which they could live. They had been receiving 77 cents a day and quit work rather than to continue at that rate. This was in January, 1920. After the laborers had called off their strike the sugar planters raised the wages to \$1 a day. In November last the sugar planters reduced the wages of men from \$30 to \$26 a month and the women from \$22.50 to \$19.50. The Filipino Labor Union made an unavailing protest. The so-called emergency labor commission has not given up hope of securing favorable action by congress. Its members are still actively engaged in buttonholing senators and representatives. It is believed that the fear of going before their constituents in the coming elections has interfered with any member of congress bringing the bill up again. It may therefore go over until the regular session in December.

#### *Sales Tax*

The campaign to relieve the well-to-do from excess profit taxes and sur-taxes and business of corporation taxes and to make up the loss through the sales tax is well on its way. Excess profit taxes were repealed and the surtaxes reduced from 65 per cent to 50 per cent. Senator Smoot in the senate and Representative Longworth in the house are the leaders trying to bring about this legislation. Senator Smoot publicly declared last November:

While the manufacturers or sales tax is not embodied in the revenue laws of our country at this session of congress, it will be in the very near future, just as sure as God lives.

The argument used to impress members of congress that they should vote for the sales tax, no matter how objectionable it would be to the mass of the people, is the following:

If you tax the people so they don't know it they can not object; but if they know they are paying a tax they will object.

The scheme as outlined to representatives of the American Federation of Labor is to first adopt a manufacturers tax of 3 per cent. The taxes on the well-to-do are to be gradually repealed and the sales tax extended until it becomes a tax on every sale, in other words, an overturn sales tax.

A man with a million dollars net income under the present surtax rate of 50 per cent would pay \$500,000 income tax. When the sales tax is loaded on the people he will not have to pay \$500,000 but will simply pay a certain per cent on what he spends, less his exemptions. If he expended \$250,000 a year to live and the sales tax was 3 per cent he would pay \$7,500. Thus by grace of congress he would be able to save \$492,500 that he has to pay now as income tax and \$250,000 more, making \$742,500 that he would have left to put in the bank, speculate with or to do anything else he desired. The wage worker who earns \$2,000 a year, if married, pays no income tax, but would pay the sales tax on every article he would buy. As it would be necessary for him to spend the entire \$2,000 to support himself and dependents he would be compelled to pay \$60 taxes. He would have nothing left to put in the bank. The greater the net income the more desirable the sales tax would be. The most persistent advocates of the sales tax are individuals and those who represent great business and financial interests who have to pay large income taxes. The true inwardness of the agitation for the sales tax can best be explained by the statement made by one of Washington's largest department store owners, who said publicly:

I am not only in favor of the sales tax plan for raising funds for the soldiers' bonus, but would like to see it adopted as a permanent plan for raising government revenues to replace the present taxation system.

Nothing can be plainer to prove the charges that the whole campaign for the sales tax is to relieve business and the well-to-do from taxation. The Executive Council has urged that the following declaration of the Denver Convention on taxation be followed by congress:

The A. F. of L. declares against the imposition of a retail or general sales tax or turnover tax or any other tax on consumption and opposes the repeal of the excess profit tax and demands that the highest rate of taxation levied during the war upon incomes and excess profits be retained until the full money cost of the war has been paid; and further demands that the government promptly levy a rapidly progressive tax upon large estates and a moderate tax upon the value of land and other natural resources speculatively held in order that the national debt may be promptly retired.

Much has been said about the sales tax being absorbed before it reaches the consumer. This claim is most effectually disproved in the brief presented to the Canadian government by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Representatives of the association on February 23, 1922, appeared before Canadian officials and submitted a program to repeal all taxes on business and extend the sales tax to make up the losses that would result. One clause in the brief submitted by the representatives of the association is as follows:

That as the sales tax is a tax payable by the purchaser, manufacturers and wholesalers should not be held liable for any taxes which they can not collect owing to the purchaser being insolvent or refusing to pay.

Not many years ago there was a phrase used that accomplished its purpose, but in the years that have passed since the people have realized its untruth, and that is, that "the foreigner pays the tariff tax." This is on a parity with the claim that the "vendor pays the sales tax."

#### *Ship Subsidy*

It has been the general opinion that the idea of a ship subsidy would never again be broached in congress. But this belief was based on the contention that there never would be such a congress as is now in session. Furthermore never before have the same tactics been applied.

Thirteen years ago when the last effort was made to foist such a scheme upon the country a great majority of the newspapers were opposed to it. Those who favor a ship subsidy now have seen to it that no such condition shall interfere with the present bill. Therefore, they had the head of the biggest advertising agency in the United States placed at the head of the shipping board. Through this advertising agency the chairman of the shipping board has free entry into every newspaper of the country.

It has proved a most remarkable combination and the ship subsidy bill is now for sale to the people of the United States. Its glories are set forth in most brilliant language. Mr. A. D. Lasker, chairman of the shipping board, who was selected to make the sale, is conducting a widespread campaign to secure the legislation.

No sooner had the bill (S. 3217) been introduced into congress on February 23, than the seamen discovered the menace to them in its provisions. It would repeal that section of the seaman's act, which guaranteed the right of seaman to leave ship in safe harbor. It also provides for a merchant marine naval reserve, which the seamen denounced as a proposed strike-breaking agency. As a bait for the seamen to become members of this merchant marine naval reserve they are to be given a retainer of a month's wages. So many protests about these two clauses were made that Chairman Lasker promised to eliminate them. He contended, however, that if this were done the seamen should support the bill. This, however, they refused to do.

Two conferences were held between representatives of the A. F. of L. and Chairman Lasker during which the latter submitted the same plan to secure the cooperation of labor in support of the bill.

Chairman Lasker also used another argument to secure the support of Labor.



This was that as soon as the ship subsidy bill should have been passed, thousands of men now idle in the ship yard would be given employment. At the same time, he said that the ships owned by the shipping board were "junk" and ought to be sunk in the sea.

There are a number of other dangerous provisions in the bill which affect every taxpayer in the United States. It is proposed to sell to private shipowners ships that cost from \$200 to \$250 a ton to build for anything that can be obtained. These vessels may be sold for \$20 a ton or less. The purchasers can then borrow from the shipping board two-thirds of the purchase prices and sufficient to motorize them at 2 per cent interest, all to be payable within fifteen years. During this period the purchasers can operate the vessels. They will depreciate as much as 75 per cent. At the end of fifteen years purchasers can tie them up at some dock and say to the shipping board: "You can keep them for what we owe you."

The E. C. desires to call attention of the convention to the proceedings of the 1899 convention of the A. F. of L., which by a practically unanimous vote condemned ship subsidies. Only one vote was cast in favor of the ship subsidy. This result came after a most persistent agitation by a lobby well-conditioned with arguments and funds which were used in an endeavor to secure the approval of the measure.

#### *Legalizing Judicial Kidnapping*

Those people who must depend for their knowledge on the newspapers do not realize the rabid reactionary spirit that has completely controlled certain members of congress. As the country grows older it should progress, not go backward. But there are members of the United States senate who do not believe this, and one of them is Senator Nelson, of Minnesota. In April, 1921, he introduced Senate Bill 657, which in effect would legalize judicial kidnapping. No hearings were held upon it by the judiciary committee and some of the members knew nothing about the bill until after it had been surreptitiously slipped through the senate on June 6, 1921. In fact no one knew it had passed the senate until it had been reported to the house, and then it was found that it was a very dangerous measure.

The intention of the bill is to give any judge in any federal district the right to issue a warrant for the arrest of an indicted person who may live in a far distant state, arrest and transport him to the place of indictment for trial, without giving a hearing on the question of probable cause before being removed from the district of his domicile. Not only a preliminary examination would be prohibited but, also the right and opportunity to secure bail and counsel to present the matter to the court. It has been rumored that the purpose of the bill is to make it possible to drag the miners to Indianapolis to appear before Judge Anderson to answer certain indictments. If any attempts were made to arrest the miners under the present law they would have the right of a hearing in the state where they live and undoubtedly could not be taken to Indianapolis.

President Gompers after considering the dangers of the bill wrote a letter to Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty protesting in vigorous language against its passage. President Gompers also held a conference with the attorney general in which he pointed out the un-American provisions outlined above. He also sent circular letters to the national and international unions, city and state central bodies urging them to protest. Representatives of the A. F. of L. interviewed members of the judiciary committee which had the bill under consideration. The bill was referred to a sub-committee which was not friendly to its passage. This sub-committee requested an opinion from the attorney general as to the constitutionality of the bill. He never publicly answered this question. However, so far as the judiciary committee of the house is concerned, there is no reason to believe that the bill will be approved.

#### *Department of Labor*

A conspiracy to scrap the Department of Labor in progress for a year is still working to bring about that result. Most insidious propaganda has been given periodically to the newspapers, although the committee on the reorganization of the governmental departments has never taken any action. The committee is composed of three members from the senate and three from the house. The president imported Mr. Walter Brown, of Toledo, Ohio, to be chairman. The only meeting of the committee was held

April 6, 1922. President Gompers held a conference with Mr. Brown and pointed out to him the injury that would be done to the people if the Department of Labor were amalgamated with any other department or weakened in any way. The plan as far as can be learned is as follows: To create a so-called department of public welfare, with three major divisions—education, public health and labor. The object is to surpress as far as possible any activities of the government in the interest of Labor.

Mr. Brown has not confined himself to abolishing the department of labor, but has reached into the department of Agriculture and taken away some of its most important functions. This has aroused the farmers of the country. After the plan had been completed Mr. Brown turned it over to the President for his approval. In the meantime members of the joint committee on reorganization of the governmental departments declare they know nothing about the contents of the proposal. Every few days, however, it has been announced, apparently officially, that a bill would soon be introduced into congress containing in its provisions the ideas of Mr. Brown. As he was appointed chairman by direction of the President, undoubtedly the latter has directed the charges to be made in the government departments and therefore, will urge their passage by congress.

The first evidence of a conspiracy was in a circular sent out in 1918 from New England to employers of the country calling on them to support only those candidates for congress who would pledge themselves to vote for the repeal of the act creating the department of labor. In the 1920 campaign the same request was made to all unfair employers and sympathizers.

The work of weakening the department of labor began in the Sixty-sixth Congress when adequate appropriations to permit its functioning effectively were refused. Appropriations were denied for certain bureaus of the department against which unfair employers were especially bitter. The United States employment service, which was particularly objectionable, was practically destroyed. The bureau of labor statistics and the conciliation divisions were unable to properly function because of a lack of money. The objection to the bureau of labor statistics was that it has conducted investigations into the high cost of living that have interferred with profiteering interests.

Most vigorous protests have been made to members of congress and individuals have been urged to oppose the bill when it appears for consideration. At least three members of the joint committee have signified their intention to vote against the recommendations of Mr. Brown. It is a most serious situation and the convention should take such action as will awaken the wage earners and farmers of the country to the injury contemplated in the proposed legislation.

#### *Monthly Labor Review*

The sundry civil appropriations' bill passed by the Sixty-sixth congress contained a provision to abolish all printing of publications issued by the various departments of the government after December 1, unless especially ordered continued by congress. This meant the discontinuance of the *Monthly Labor Review* published by the department of labor. Representative John I. Nolan, of California, immediately introduced a bill providing for the printing of that most necessary publication. Many conferences were held with members of the printing committee, both of the house and the senate, and while no action was taken by congress the printing committee is still permitting the publication of the *Monthly Labor Review* in its original state. While members of the printing committee appear to be friendly to the continued publication of the *Monthly Labor Review*, there is an undercurrent that is evidently trying to bring about its abolishment. On January 4, 1922, Mr. Johnson of Washington, introduced House Bill 9726 which proposed to limit the size and number of copies of any publication of any department of the government and provides for strict censorship of anything printed in them.

Labor and the farmers both entered vigorous protests and nothing as yet has been done with the bill. However, if it should become a law the joint committee on printing would wield a censorship over all department publications that would destroy their usefulness. Every effort is being made to defeat the conspiracy which has for its purpose the discontinuance of all important governmental publications or their reduction to forty-eight pages with the contents controlled by the joint printing committee.

*Surveillance For Aliens*

Under guise of a naturalization bill Representative Johnson, of Washington, has introduced a measure (H. R. 10860) that is most dangerous. It provides for the registration of aliens upon landing in this country and until they become citizens of the United States they will be under strict surveillance in their homes, in their employment and as to their political and social activities. Before its introduction the newspapers of the country pointed out the value of the proposed legislation. It was purported to be for the purpose of creating a "new federal bureau of recreation to make better and happier all of the workers of the country and to absorb more quickly into American life the immigrants from other countries coming to our shores for sanctuary."

Every immigrant must register each year wherever he is. Advocates of the bill defend this provision by saying that the requirement is not in order to "spy upon him, but in order to be sure of his safety and in order to educate him." Public school officials are to supervise the aliens and the said supervisors must see that their behavior has been proper in every way. Throughout the bill can be found constant threats of imprisonment, cancellation of naturalization papers and deportation if immigrants do not walk the straight line marked out by the supervisors. Any alien who has become a citizen can have his citizenship taken away and be deported. In times of industrial disputes, therefore, foreign born workers would face imprisonment and cancellation of naturalization papers and deportation. This is not overdrawn. Only a few weeks ago a judge in Pittsburgh refused to naturalize a number of miners because they were on strike. Strong denunciation of this bill is recommended.

*Women in Industry Endangered*

During the past year agitation has been in progress to have congress adopt a resolution providing for an amendment to the constitution of the United States alleged to be in the interest of women. It provides:

No political, civil, or legal disabilities or inequalities on account of sex or on account of marriage unless applying equally to both sexes shall exist within the United States or any territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof.

The constitutional amendment was being urged by the national woman's party. President Gompers protested against the amendment, as it would have had the effect of repealing all the protective laws for women in industry. He held several conferences with representatives of the national woman's party, who stated that they were willing to accept any amendment that would protect women in industry. But this was found to be impossible, as a constitutional amendment can not contain reservations. The opposition became so great that the sponsors for the amendment found that they could not secure its passage in congress, so they set out to have laws enacted in the various states embodying the alleged "equal rights" contained in the proposed amendment.

The first defeat met by the sponsors of the blanket amendment was in Virginia. President Gompers telegraphed a protest to the committee of the legislature which had the "equal rights bill," under consideration and the committee refused to give it their endorsement. The bill was presented in the following states: Kentucky, South Carolina, Maryland, Mississippi, Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Jersey.

Representatives of all state, city central bodies and local unions should carefully study such legislation as its passage would be of the greatest injury to wage earning women. Minimum wage laws would be repealed, laws limiting the hours of work for women would be repealed. Many other laws having for their purpose the protection of women in industry would be repealed. While those urging the enactment of the equal rights law may not be aware of the fact they are aiding unfair employers.

*Labor and Farmers Protected*

Through the good work done by Representative John I. Nolan, of California, a scheme of the reactionaries in the house to appropriate money for the Department of Justice to prosecute (or rather persecute) Labor and the farmers under the "anti-

trust' act was defeated. For the first time in many years the committee on this appropriation had reported the measure to the house without the clause exempting Labor and the farmers from prosecution.

Representative Johnson, of Kentucky, submitted an amendment to overcome this intentional oversight. It was a substitute to an amendment made by Representative Denison, of Illinois, which prohibited any of the money being used to secure injunctions against Labor. Representative Johnson's substitute was adopted, but when a vote was taken to make it a part of the amendment it was defeated by a *vive voce* vote. Representatives Johnson and Nolan used every effort to have the substitute adopted, but it failed by a vote of 68 ayes and 175 nays. Representative Mondell had led the fight for the committee, charging that it would be a reflection upon the Department of Justice to adopt the substitute or amendment. By some parliamentary jugglery the latter had not even been voted on. This aroused Representative Nolan, who declared:

Long before I came to congress, and that was some nine years ago, there was carried in the appropriation bill appropriating money for the Department of Justice an exemption prohibiting the use of the funds of the Department of Justice from prosecuting labor organizations and farm organizations under the provisions of the anti-trust law. In 1914, the sixty-third congress passed the Clayton act, amending the Sherman anti-trust law. The appropriations committee of the house at that time did not see fit to wipe out that proviso, and it has been carried in every appropriation bill from that day to this. And it has not been considered a reflection upon preceding attorney generals of the Department of Justice. And I take issue with the statement of the gentleman from Wyoming that it must be so considered, by the widest stretch of the imagination, to be a reflection upon the present attorney general or the administration of the Department of Justice.

Let us see what the facts are. Some two years ago the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Fess) succeeded in committee in having this provision stricken out. I succeeded in getting a roll call in the House proper, and by an overwhelming vote the House defeated the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Fess) and reinstated the very provision that was offered by the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Johnson) today. Now, if it is true that after the passage of the Clayton act we continued it, why could we not continue it now after the passage of the Capper-Volstead bill? What assurance have we that the farmer is any more secure under the Capper-Volstead act than the laborer was under the Clayton act?

This scathing rebuke by Representative Nolan had its effect. On April 10 Representative Johnson reintroduced his substitute prohibiting the use of any part of the money appropriated for the prosecution of Labor and the farmers and it was adopted by a vote of 102 yeas to 56 nays. An effort was made to make a record vote but this failed.

#### *Relief For Panama Canal Zone Employees*

While looking over government departments to determine where further reductions in wages could be made the secretary of the navy found the Canal Zone. He sent a commission to Panama to make an investigation of conditions, which recommended that conditions granted to employees because of the sacrifices they had to make in going there to work should be taken away from them. These included house rent, light, heat and transportation to and from work. The Secretary of the Navy approved of the report. He also ordered that, thereafter, all dealings should be through "committees or representatives composed of employees whether representatives of labor organizations or not." It was ordered that it would not be necessary to pay the union rates in force in the United States but those actually paid for similar services whether it be union or non-union rates. All agreements limiting the use of alien laborers were abrogated, and their wider use recommended with the modification that aliens could not work in the responsible positions.

Members of congress who are well informed of conditions in the Canal Zone severely criticized the secretary of the navy. Representative Cooper, of Ohio, immediately pre-

pared a bill which was introduced and referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce. This bill provides for restoring to the employes of the Canal Zone all the conditions taken away from them.

Chairman Winslow of the committee refused repeatedly to hold hearings. Finally through the intervention of Representative Cooper, Chairman Winslow agreed to hold a meeting of a small number of members of the committee before whom Mr. W. C. Hushings, representing the Canal Zone employes, could appear alone, and tell the reasons why the bill should pass. The latter refused to go into such a star chamber session.

Legislative representatives of the A. F. of L. immediately began work among the members of the committee and through their influence Chairman Winslow agreed to hold an open meeting. The same influence is being used against this bill as against all others in the interest of Labor and the people. Somebody passes the word along and immediately obstacles are raised that often are insurmountable. When the hearings were held on H. R. 10646 representatives of the American Legion and a number of representatives of congress appeared in its favor.

#### *Immigration*

The immigration law (the 3 per cent immigration law), will expire June 30, 1922. The house passed a bill extending the expiration until June 30, 1923. As the next session of congress will adjourn sine die March 4, 1923, and in the interim nothing much will be done except to pass appropriation bills, the A. F. of L. objected to the bill as passed by the house. President Gompers sent a letter to the members of the immigration committee of the senate in which he urged that immigration should be either absolutely restricted to only blood relatives of foreign born citizens in this country, the 3 per cent law made permanent until conditions called for a change, or, if this were not possible, to extend the expiration of the law until June 30, 1924. The senate followed the last suggestion and amended the house bill making the law expire June 30, 1924. It also adopted two very important amendments. One of these penalized steamship companies in the sum of \$200 for each passenger brought over the quota. The other increased the one year period which foreigners must live in Canada, Cuba and Mexico before entering the United States to five years. These amendments were urged by the A. F. of L. Reports have been received from the southwest that Mexicans by the carload are passing through New Mexico for the east. These Mexicans come direct from old Mexico and they are being used in railroad work. The Secretary of Labor has been informed of these facts.

#### *Compulsory Labor*

Just before he retired from the senate Senator Kenyon astonished his friends among the wage earners by the introduction of a bill (S. 3147), providing for the establishment of a board in the coal mining industry "to adjust disputes and stabilize conditions of production." The provisions of the act are similar to the labor clauses in the transportation act, which created the railroad labor board that has proved so inimical to the interests of the railroad employes. It also guarantees the right to women to work in coal mines, a practice which was abolished in England in 1837. President Bert M. Jewell, of the railroad department of the A. F. of L., in a letter to President Gompers said:

As to the proposed Kenyon bill we are absolutely opposed to it and all other legislation of its kind which smacks of compulsory arbitration and involuntary servitude. As you well know we were opposed to the Transportation Act of 1920, and after working under it almost two years we are still just as strongly opposed to it. Many of the possibilities of this act pointed out by us in our memorial to congress early in 1920 have become actualities. Railroad labor has obeyed and lived up to the decisions of the United States Railroad Labor Board, while a number of important railroads have been defying the board and are getting away with it. When the brotherhoods threatened to strike all the force and power of the government was put in motion ready to smash them if they carried out their threat to strike, yet these railroads are and have been striking while the administration closes its eyes.

While nothing so far has been done with the bill, there is no telling what will be the program after the November elections.

*Child Labor*

No action was taken by congress on the child labor question. Representative Mason before his death introduced a bill providing that employers should pay \$2 per day each for every person under 16 years of age employed in any mine or quarry. The same penalty would apply also to any mill, cannery, factory or manufacturing establishment where children under 14 years of age are employed. Representative Rogers submitted a joint resolution providing an amendment to the constitution giving congress the power to regulate the employment of women and children under 21 years of age.

Nothing was done with either bill. It appears impossible to secure legislation in congress to protect the children of our country. However, efforts to that end by the legislative representatives of the A. F. of L. have been unceasing. An excise tax placed on the products of child labor transported in interstate commerce is still being collected notwithstanding it was declared unconstitutional by Judge Boyd, of Greensboro, N. C. An opinion had not been handed down up to May 1, 1922. This is the same judge who declared unconstitutional the law prohibiting the transportation of the products of child labor in interstate commerce.

*Convict Labor*

Representative John I. Nolan, of California, introduced H. R. 10241 providing that all goods, wares and merchandise manufactured, produced or mined by prison labor, transported into any state or territory of the United States shall be subject to the operation and effect of the laws of such state or territory to the same extent as though produced or mined in such state or territory. A number of hearings were held by the committee on labor, of which Representative Nolan is chairman. President Gompers and Secretary John Manning, of the Union Label Trades Department of the A. F. of L. appeared before the committee and urged the passage of the bill, but suggested amendments to strengthen its provisions.

By direction of the Denver Convention circular letters were sent to all state federations of labor urging that still greater efforts be made to bring about a universal application of the state use system. This includes the paying to convicts of the prevailing wages in the vicinity, with reasonable reduction for board and keep to prisoners employed in producing commodities coming in competition with the products of free labor. Greater activity against the convict contract labor system was urged.

*Workingmen's Compensation*

H. R. 10334 introduced by Representative Fitzgerald, of Ohio, provides for compensation for persons injured in industry in the District of Columbia. It is similar to the Ohio workingmen's compensation act and has been supported vigorously by the representatives of the A. F. of L. The bill has been reported to the house and is now on the calendar.

Representative Underhill, of Massachusetts, who has appointed himself guardian of the interests of unfair employers, has introduced a workingmen's compensation bill that will protect the insurance companies. He failed to have it approved by the committee of the District of Columbia, as it was accepted as a fact that the Underhill bill was simply introduced for the purpose of defeating the Fitzgerald bill.

*Proposed Commission on Coal Industry*

When, late in March, it became evident that the operators of the coal mines in the unionized districts would repudiate their contract with the miners and the government, which ostensibly bound them to meet prior to expiration of the contract term, Representative Oscar Bland, of Indiana, introduced a bill in the house to establish a commission, to inquire into the methods of production and distribution of coal and into the causes of the evident dislocation in that industry.

Hearings on the bill before the committee on Labor of the house developed into an inquiry into the causes of the then impending strike. President Lewis, legislative Representative John Moore, James Lord, President Mining Department of the A. F. of L.; representatives of the A. F. of L., and of district organizations of the United

Mine Workers testified before the committee as did many representatives of the mine owners.

The miners witnesses clearly established the fact that the so-called "strike," in fact a "lock-out," was the immediate result of the breach of faith on the part of the mine owners when they repudiated the contract that had been underwritten by their duly accredited representatives.

It developed from the evidence of the mine owners that they had deliberately assumed their position with the hope and intent that the wages of the union miners might be reduced to the low level of the non-union miners; also, to weaken and, if possible, to destroy the splendid organization built up by the miners and the sane method of reaching working agreements through collective bargaining between miners and operators representing enough tonnage to make a basic wage and standard of conditions that could be accepted by all.

Mr. Ogle, an Indiana operator refused point blank to give the production cost at his mines. Mr. J. D. A. Morrow, vice-president of the National Coal Association, reported sales prices, f. o. b. mines, which proved that coal that sold in 1913 at \$1.18, in 1921 commanded \$3.04. The above were averages computed by the operators from information from all parts of the country. They indicate an appreciation in the selling price of coal of over 180 per cent. In the same period wages of miners were raised only 88 per cent according to government figures.

The fact developed that the union miners are 100 per cent solid in their resistance to the attempted encroachment of the operators, and that upward of 75,000 non-union miners have joined them in their struggle for right and justice.

#### *Rewarding the Profiteer*

During the war if any one had proposed to remit the fine imposed on profiteers in food stuffs it would have created an uproar. However, Senator Elkins, of West Virginia (a state often referred to as being in a foreign country), evidently believes that the people have not only forgotten but forgiven the profiteers. Therefore, he introduced a bill in the house (S. 3193) providing for the refunding of all fines levied during and since the war on every person, partnership, association and corporation convicted of violation of the food control act, otherwise the Lever Act. The money for the purpose is to be taken from the treasury of the United States. A most remarkable feature of this bill is the fact that it did not create a ripple in congress and even the newspapers did not see anything astonishing in its provisions.

#### *"Making Drowning Easier"*

H. R. 6754, introduced by Representative Scott, of Michigan, passed the house but met with opposition in the senate. The bill seeks to amend sections 2, 13 and 14 of the Seamen's act. It provides that the life-saving equipment on vessels during the summer months shall be reduced 25 per cent and that the number of able seamen provided for by the Seamen's act should be reduced from 65 per cent to 50 per cent. The bill also provides for twelve-hour watches for firemen, water tenders and oilers.

Representative John I. Nolan, of California, made a fight on these provisions and succeeded in amending the bill so that employes in these occupations should work only eight hours, but they failed to prevent a reduction in the number of able seamen employed.

The reduction in the life-saving equipment and the provision that it is not necessary that able seamen be employed in manning the life boats and life rafts gave the bill the title of "Drowning Made Easy." The original bill provided that there should be a sufficient number of boats and rafts on each vessel to save only 25 per cent instead of 50 per cent of the passengers in case of fire or shipwreck. The seamen in entering objection to this feature of the bill declared that the shipowners now have the legal right to drown 50 per cent of the persons they carry but want the legal right to drown 75 per cent. This argument compelled the house to reject the proposed reduction to 25 per cent, and retain the 50 per cent law.

### *Reclamation*

The A. F. of L. as well as many associations and thousands of individuals have been urging congress during the past year to pass reclamation legislation of a general character. Companion bills have been presented in the house by Representative Smith, of Idaho, and in the senate by Senator McNary providing for a comprehensive system of nation-wide reclamation for swamp and cut-over lands. The A. F. of L. has been urging reclamation of a general character for years with a view to providing homes and furnishing employment to many thousands of the unemployed in times of business depression.

Representatives of the A. F. of L. appeared before the committees of the house and senate and urged reclamation legislation more far-reaching than is provided for in the Smith-McNary bill. The passage of the Smith-McNary bill, however, would be a big step toward relief of unemployment. When it is understood that the work necessary for the extensive reclamation of lands would employ many workers and that finally the land would be cultivated, villages, towns and cities would appear almost in a night. It will be seen that this legislation would be of incalculable benefit to the entire country.

### *Unemployment*

Instead of considering measures of a constructive nature that would relieve the acute unemployment evil, congress engaged in a wordy wrangle on how to "reduce expenses by limiting employment." The bureau of the budget has also given its aid to increasing the number of those out of work. Every branch, division and department of the government received orders to lay off as many employes as possible. When President Harding called his unemployment conference, he stated in his address at the opening session that the government would not do anything for the unemployed.

This declaration unfortunately proved true. The conference was drifted away from any attempt to rely upon the government to relieve the situation and the responsibility was passed to the city, state and county governments. The whole intention was to prevent any demands being made upon congress to pass legislation that would aid in bettering business conditions.

Representative John I. Nolan, of California, introduced a bill in line with the recommendations of the A. F. of L. It provides that in periods of industrial activity government appropriations shall be made for public works to be used in times of industrial depression. The A. F. of L. has repeatedly declared that municipal, state and federal governments should be prepared to begin great public works as soon as unemployment becomes acute. Representative Nolan's bill was intended to carry out the contention of President Gompers that unemployment is not an incurable evil. But being a bill of a constructive nature, it met the same fate as others intended to be helpful to our people.

### *After the Spoils*

The "bureau of efficiency," which has not yet proved its own efficiency, will be given control of the efficiency ratings for the classified service if the bill introduced by Senator New, of Indiana, becomes a law. It is proposed that the bureau shall, subject to the approval of the President, establish a system of ratings based upon records kept in each department and independent establishments of the government in any part of the United States. Government employes are to be subject to the closest surveillance. They are to be checked up on their daily work and if they do not reach a certain rating they can be discharged. This undoubtedly will require rules similar to the stop watch and bonus system, which it has been sought on numerous occasions to foist on the employes of the navy yards and arsenals. It will be another civil service affair, thus compelling employes not only to obey rules and regulations for the classified service but they must be ready to meet all charges of the "bureau of efficiency" as to their competency. Of course, it is not for the purpose of maintaining a competent force of employes. It is to make it easier for the spoils system to work.

### *Supreme Court Decisions*

The "five to four" habit of the United States Supreme Court in making decisions has aroused the people of our country and undoubtedly has had the effect of lessening



their respect for the highest judicial tribunal in our republic. Demands are repeatedly made for better practitioners of the people.

Representative McSwain introduced H. R. 9755, which does not go far enough. It provides that no state law can be held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States unless at least seven members concur in the opinion. The A. F. of L. has contended that the Supreme Court has no legal power vested in it and no right to decide unconstitutional any law passed by congress nor any law passed by any state within the United States which is not in itself in contravention of a republican form of government.

#### *Federal Trade Commission*

The first attempt to destroy the Federal Trade Commission was made in the passage by congress of H. R. 6320, known as the meat packing bill. The Federal Trade Commission had been attacked many times by the meat packers because of its activities in endeavoring to find the truth about the meat packing monopoly. Therefore the bill as passed eliminated the Federal Trade Commission from investigating any acts of the meat packers in violation of law. This brought forth many scathing criticisms by members of congress. Representative Schall, in denouncing what he called a conspiracy against the Federal Trade Commission, in the house on August 9, said:

This is the first act of a long and ill-conceived tragedy. Next will come the clause in the futures trading bill which will attempt to take from the Federal Trade Commission their jurisdiction over the grain trade. Then the clause in the misbranding bill taking their power away over misbranding, and the clause in the coal bill taking away their power over the coal operators. Then any other criminal industrial combinations who feel they need protection from exposure of the truth will bring forth a measure purporting to control and regulate them, while in reality they are trying to avoid a just and well-merited punishment as criminals under the law of the land.

#### *United States Employment Service*

Many obstacles have been met in order to secure sufficient appropriations for the proper functioning of the United States employment service. After the most active efforts of the legislative representatives of the A. F. of L. an amendment was made in the senate to the deficiency appropriation bill in December which provided for \$100,000 for the service. When the bill went to conference the house conferees declared the amendment would have to be stricken out or they would permit the bill to die. Labor insisted that the senate stand by its amendment. Senator Curtis, however, informed the director general of the employment service that the deficiency bill would have to be passed by December 15 and that it would be impossible to amend it before. He contended that as the deficiency bill contained a large appropriation for hospitals for veterans, if a filibuster for the appropriation for the employment service were started, it would endanger the entire appropriation bill. The director general, therefore, withdrew his request for a larger appropriation on the promise that an effort would be made to have the \$100,000 appropriated early in January.

When H. R. 9458, providing for the relief of the starving people of Russia, was under consideration Senator Ashurst offered a rider appropriating \$100,000 for the employment service. This was approved by the senate. When the bill reached the joint conference committee the \$100,000 was stricken out and later on the senate concurred in the action. Persistent efforts were continued and when the appropriation bill for the Department of Labor was passed March 17, 1922, it contained a provision for \$225,000 for the employment service.

#### *Protection For Unlawful Banking*

Alarmed by the attacks on the Federal Reserve System and banking institutions generally their defenders in the house have introduced two bills to punish those who criticize banking institutions. They are known as H. R. 11217 and H. R. 296. The latter was introduced by Representative Gensman, of Oklahoma, a lawyer, and was his first effort at legislation. Progressive members of the house are fighting the bills,

which, if they become laws, would prohibit free speech and free press. The recent denunciations of the increases in the salaries paid by the federal reserve bank of New York would be a misdemeanor and any member of congress who advocated a measure for the protection of the people from illegal banking acts could be fined \$5,000, imprisoned for five years or both. The bills are in line with many others that are simply to protect the privileged few from criticism of their acts.

The E. C. believes that all such legislation should be most vigorously opposed.

#### *Anti-Trust Act*

S. 3385, by Senator Edge, provides for the regulation of trades associations. It is to weaken the provisions of the "anti-trust" act but carefully prohibits any of the benefits being gained by Labor by exempting labor organizations. It is a bill that will not be acted upon until December or later. Senator Edge introduced the same day S. J. Res. 188 to appoint a committee to investigate existing conditions of industry and commerce in the United States for the purpose of recommending to congress such legislation if any as may be deemed best, to revive industry and to define the rights and limitations of cooperative organizations as distinguished from illicit combinations in restraint of trade.

It is presumed that those back of the bill who are continually threatened by the anti-trust act desire a twilight zone in which they will feel safe in any combination they may enter into for the purpose of fixing prices in order to make larger profits. The hearings will be used as propaganda to educate the public into the belief that the profiteers in our country are much abused by the stringency of the "anti-trust" law. Labor believes that the anti-trust law should be repealed, as it is used almost entirely in the prosecution of trade unions which it was said when the law was enacted, would not be subject to its provisions. Strenuous objections should be raised if any attempt is made to still further amend the "anti-trust" act to the detriment of Labor and the farmers.

#### *Federal "Blue Sky" Law*

H. R. 7215, by Representative Denison, of Illinois, provides for the regulation of the sale or disposition of securities through the United States mails or other agencies of interstate commerce. The intention is to punish those guilty of selling fraudulent stocks, bonds or securities, and to prevent the use of the mails to solicit subscriptions or to advertise them in any state, territory or possession of the United States where the law make it unlawful to sell or offer for sale such securities.

According to Representative Denison the bill is being opposed by the investment bankers of the country who, he says, "are willing apparently for the people to continue to be robbed and defrauded of their savings rather than for they themselves to be inconvenienced in any manner in the conduct of their business." The bill is in line with the declaration on the subject made by the Denver Convention of the A. F. of L.

#### *"Blue Laws" in Washington*

"Blue law" bills were presented in November, 1921, and March, 1922, having for their purpose a closing of all places of amusement and business in the District of Columbia between midnight Saturday night and 8 a. m. Monday morning. S. 2524 was introduced by Senator Ball, of Delaware, and H. R. 9753, by Representative Fitzgerald, of Ohio. Those behind the bills intended to use them if enacted into law as model bills to be presented in all the state legislatures. No hearings were held on either bill and it is believed that they will be permitted to die in committee.

#### *Federal Budget System*

S. 1084, the bill introduced by Senator McCormick, providing for a bureau of budget became a law. As suggested in the report to the Denver convention the bureau has developed into a bureau of efficiency. Thousands of employes have been discharged, wages reduced and the employes of the government kept in a continual state of demoralization. The arbitrary actions of the director of the budget and the assumption of power

that he was never intended to wield has resulted in a revulsion of feeling in congress. And it is freely stated that if anyone would introduce an amendment to the law weakening the powers of the director or even going so far as to repeal the entire law it would find a sufficient number of friends to insure its passage.

#### *Reclassification*

H. R. 8928, providing for the reclassification of titles, duties, and compensation of federal employes, which measure was endorsed by the Montreal convention in 1920, and the Denver convention in 1921, passed the House of Representatives December 15, 1921, by a vote of 244 to 65. Under date of February 3, 1922, favorably reported to the senate with amendments by the Senate Committee on Civil Service. It has been placed upon the official legislative program by the majority leaders of the senate and house and it is confidently expected that the measure will be enacted into law during the life of the present session.

#### *Stop Watch and Bonus System*

For many years the army and navy appropriation bills have contained a clause prohibiting the bonus and stop watch system. Every time the annual appropriation bills are before congress some member of the house or senate will move to strike out that clause. However the motions have always been defeated through the activity of friends of Labor in the house.

#### *Motion Pictures*

Resolution 142, introduced by Senator Myers, provides for an investigation into the political activities of the motion picture industry. Someone had told Senator Myers that the motion picture interests has decided to let the people of the country know of the activities of certain members of congress. However, there are a sufficient number of members of the judiciary committee who are opposed to its provisions and the bill has not been acted on.

#### *Navy Yard Employes*

Without a moment's warning, without even a hint that such action was contemplated, 18,000 employes of the navy yards of the country were laid off indefinitely. While the order read "furloughed," those who marched out of the navy yards knew that it was their last day. They also knew that their benefits under the retirement act had been taken away and that they were to become a part of the flotsam and jetsam of the unemployed. Representative Fairfield introduced a bill providing that all discharged employes of the government over 50 years of age who had worked fifteen years would be given a retirement certificate. When they reached the age of 60, no matter whether they had been working for the government or not, they would be placed on the retirement roll.

#### *Gateway Amendment*

Two bills (H. J. Resolution 12, introduced by Representative Griffin, and Resolution 29, introduced by Representative Siegel), were introduced in the Sixty-seventh congress providing for an amendment to the constitution of the United States which would make it easier to amend that document. No consideration was given the bills.

#### *Anti-Strike Legislation*

Senator Poindexter, whose hobby has been the passage of laws prohibiting the normal activities of Labor, introduced two bills (S. 16 and S. 23) in the sixty-seventh congress. S. 16 is the same as the bill passed by a trick in the sixty-sixth congress and then killed by a motion to reconsider by Senator LaFollette. S. 23 purports to provide for the protection of "property, processes and agencies of the government from anarchy and bolshevism." The law, if enacted, would undoubtedly be declared unconstitutional because of the invasion of states rights, as there is nothing in the bill which does not come within the police powers of the states. The bill provides that any person who advocates the changing of political, industrial, social or economic conditions or "for any other purpose," shall be guilty of a felony and fined \$50,000, sent to prison for forty

years, or both, if incident thereto property should be destroyed or human life sacrificed. No hearings have been held on the bills.

Those who have kept posted on the strikes in West Virginia and in Pennsylvania and other states know that private detective agencies furnish gunmen who stir up trouble, even riots, in order to break a strike. Under such circumstances wage earners who have ceased work as a protest against unbearable conditions could be sent to jail for forty years, fined \$50,000 or both.

#### *Sedition*

Four bills introduced in congress have for their ostensible purpose the protection of the United States from overthrow. The real motive, however, hidden in all of the provisions of the bills is the punishment of wage earners who cease work in protest against unjust treatment by unfair employers.

Representative Graham, of Pennsylvania, who introduced a sedition bill in the house during the sixty-sixth congress which was killed by the house rules committee, reintroduced his bill in the sixty-seventh congress. The other bills were presented by Senators King, Pomerene and Sterling. Members of congress are well aware that the whole intent of the bills is to prevent the normal activities of labor and that the protection of the government of the United States is only a subterfuge. Therefore, the bills have not had any serious consideration.

#### *Extending Retirement Law*

Companion bills were introduced in the senate and house to protect employes of the government who may be discharged after becoming 50 years of age and having served fifteen years or more in the classified civil service. When let out such persons are to be given a certificate which will entitle them upon reaching the retirement age to an annuity as provided in the retirement act. This annuity is paid whether the discharged employe is working for the government or for a private employer.

#### *Railroads*

Bills introduced in congress having for their purpose the penalizing of railroad officials by fine or imprisonment do not get very far along the legislative road. H. R. 8958, introduced by Mr. Cawthor, of New York, prohibits the giving of railroad repair work or contracts for new equipment by any manager or purchasing agent who has stocks, shares or any other such interest in any firm or corporation to which the contract is let, except that it be the lowest bidder after fair competitive bidding.

H. R. 10798, by Representative Beck, of Wisconsin, provides that it shall be unlawful for any railroad having facilities for construction, repairing or rebuilding of equipment or doing maintenance work of any kind to award contracts to outsiders without first obtaining the consent of the Interstate Commerce Commission. In discussing his bill Representative Beck said :

The railroads are robbing the people of this country of hundreds of millions of dollars in excessive rates to pay huge profits made by private contractors in doing repair work and construction work for the railroad companies. These profits amount to over \$300,000,000 a year on locomotives alone and what they amount to on other classes of work, no doubt runs into other hundreds of millions.

The object of the bill is to prevent officials of the railroads from letting contracts to corporations in which they are directly interested at prices much higher than the work can be done in the railroad shops.

#### *Department of Agriculture*

Resolution 104 adopted by the Denver convention directed the E. C. to use its utmost endeavors to defeat any measure before congress that had for its purpose the weakening or the destroying of the various bureaus of the department of agriculture or the department itself. Until the committee on reorganization of the governmental

departments makes its report it will not be known how far the administration intends to go in its desire to weaken the Department of Agriculture.

There are many rumors however, based more or less on facts. These point out that the Interior Department is to get control of the bureau of forestry and the resources of Alaska. The Bureau of Markets is to be given to the Department of Commerce. Legislative representatives of the A. F. of L. have interviewed many members of congress and it is believed that any attempt to destroy the usefulness of the Department of Agriculture will be defeated.

#### *Physical Education*

H. R. 22, providing for the promotion of physical education through the cooperation by the government with the states, met with very little consideration by the committee on education of the house. The object of the bill is commendable, and with some amendments would make a most desirable law.

#### *Making Railroad Travel Safe*

H. R. 10030, by Representative Bland, of Indiana, to promote the safety of employes and travelers by compelling railroads engaged in interstate commerce to provide for the inspection of bridges and tracks, is being held up in the house committee on interstate and foreign commerce. Chairman Winslow of that committee has been appealed to time and again to give a hearing on the bill. The legislative representatives of the transportation brotherhoods are very much exercised over their failure to secure a hearing. The bill provides for the appointment of inspectors who will compel the repairing of bridges and tracks. As legislation for the safety of mine workers was only secured after some great disaster, it is believed that the same sacrifice will be necessary to secure adequate protection for railroad employes and passengers.

#### *Aid For Famine Stricken Russia*

When a bill appropriating \$20,000,000 to purchase corn and seed grain for the relief of the people of Russia was before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, President Compers urged its passage. He said that the people of Russia were suffering from a most acute famine and that congress should come to their aid. The bill was passed.

#### *Railroad Unions Endangered*

Representative Madden, of Chicago, introduced a bill in January to amend the labor clauses of the Transportation Act. It provides that representatives of all the adjustment boards shall be not limited to employes or organizations of employes representing a majority of the representative crafts either as the result of an agreement entered into or as the result of any rule or regulation of the Railroad Labor Board. It is a most pernicious bill. Because of many protests no action has been taken upon it.

#### *Incorporation of Porto Rico*

Several bills were introduced in congress to define the status of Porto Rico owing to a decision of the Supreme Court that it is not an incorporated territory. Therefore the constitution of the United States is not applicable in many respects to American citizens in that island. Representative John I. Nolan, of California, introduced H. R. 9934, "to make Porto Rico an incorporated territory of the United States." The bill would also give the internal revenues and customs duties collected in the island for the purpose of education, sanitation and permanent public works. The A. F. of L. has approved the bill and is urging its passage.

#### *Postal Savings Banks*

S. 2033, by Senator Sheppard, is to increase the utility of the postal savings bank by encouraging savings among the people and to secure the largest returns consistent with adequate security. It provides that the deposits shall be invested in bonds of the United States bought on the open market at the lowest possible obtainable price and

that no other investment of the funds shall be made. The balance of the funds with the exception of a working reserve shall be loaned at the highest obtainable rate of interest in the following manner: Preference shall be given to small loans over large loans; to short-time loans over long-time loans; loans adequately secured by readily marketable collateral over loans on real estate or other less readily marketable security.

The board, which would be composed of all members of the President's cabinet, shall fix the rate of interest to be charged on loans, the profit and security of the depositors being the basis of whatever decision is made. Evidence was submitted to the committee on banking and currency of the house that if this bill became a law the government could pay 4 per cent instead of 2 per cent on deposits.

#### *Department of Highways*

A bill to create a national department of highways and a national highway commission was presented in the house by Representative Raker. The proposed functions of the commission are to construct and maintain a system of connecting interstate motor truck highways that shall have the strength and capacity adapted for motor trucks engaged in heavy transportation. Nothing was done.

#### *Department of Health*

S. 526, by Senator Owen, provides for the establishment of a department of health. By its provisions the public health service, the bureau of chemistry, the bureau of vital statistics and the bureau of the census would be transferred to the proposed department which is to cooperate with the departments of health of the various states upon invitation of their chief executives or other proper authorities.

#### *Farmers' Cooperative Marketing Law*

The farmers' cooperative marketing law authorizing the farmers to form associations for collective marketing with immunity from prosecution under the Sherman Anti-Trust law has been passed. This bill was supported by the A. F. of L.

#### *Anti-Picketing Bill*

H. R. 227 prohibited picketing in the District of Columbia. It prohibited free speech and free assemblage. Picketing in a labor dispute would be punishable by a fine of \$5,000 or imprisonment not exceeding two years. Representatives of the A. F. of L. appeared before the committee setting forth the opposition of Labor to such un-American legislation. The arguments presented by the representatives of the A. F. of L. convinced the committee of the viciousness of the measure and they defeated it by a vote of 11 to 1, the latter being cast by its author.

#### *Department of Education*

No progress has been made in the creation of a Department of Education. The obstacle is the determination to sink the functions of such a necessary department into a division of the proposed department of alleged welfare. Notwithstanding this representatives of the A. F. of L. have held repeated conferences with all organizations that are advocating the creation of a department of education, and also with members of congress who are sympathetic, urging them to support the passage of the Towner-Sterling bill which provides for the creation of a department of education.

#### *Farmer Legislation*

Many bills in the interest of the farmers have been introduced in congress and the representatives of the A. F. of L. have used every effort to have them passed. The interests of Labor and the farmers are so intertwined that when one suffers from bad legislation the other also is affected. It was this knowledge that prompted the representatives of the A. F. of L. to carefully scan every piece of legislation introduced in the interests of the farmers. Every opportunity was used to urge upon congress the necessity for legislation that would encourage the farming industry.

*Fixing Coal Prices*

Two bills (S. 1806 and 1807), providing for stabilizing the coal industry were introduced in the senate by Senator Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. Representatives of the miners and of the A. F. of L. opposed section 6 of S. 1807, which is as follows:

That the Secretary (of Commerce) shall investigate, from time to time, the wages, working conditions and practices, terms of employment, and the living expenses of miners and other workmen employed in mines, washeries, coking plants and other plants pertinent thereto from which coal is transported in commerce.

This clause if enacted into law would tend to fix practically an unchanging standard of living by law in opposition to the hopes of the labor movement to ever advancing living standards. The section also placed in the hands of the Secretary of Commerce functions that distinctly belong to the Department of Labor. The opposition of Labor was successful in preventing action. The bills contained most of the provisions of the Calder bill which had been protested so vigorously and which was defeated.

*Garnishment Bill*

H. R. 8570, introduced by Representative Dyer, of Missouri, provides for the garnishment of wages of civil employes of the United States. It is a most vicious bill. Section 1 provides that unless there is exemption by state or federal laws the wages of civil employes of the United States, other than officers, shall be subject to garnishment upon any judgment rendered against them in any state or territory. It will be noted that no matter how meager the wages received by the federal employe might be he could be garnished in Washington no matter from what city he might come. The further fact that officers of the government would be exempt makes the bill all the more objectionable. So many protests were made that the bill has not been heard from.

*Maternity and Infancy*

Congress enacted a law providing for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy. It appropriates \$10,000 to be paid to each state for the first year and \$5,000 for each subsequent year for five years. These sums are given outright to the states. The law also provides what are classed as additional appropriations of \$1,000,000 for the year ending June 30, 1922, and \$1,000,000 annually thereafter for a period of five years. These sums are to be matched dollar for dollar by the various states on a basis of population. The children's bureau was allowed \$50,000 for meeting the expenses of the administration of the act, which will be enforced by a board consisting of the chief of the children's bureau, the surgeon general of the United States Public Health Service and the United States Commissioner of Education. Forty-one states have accepted the law.

*Rural Letter Carriers Endangered*

H. R. 7544, introduced by Mr. Steenerson, of Minnesota, now on the house calendar provides for the temporary reduction in the pay of rural letter carriers instead of suspension without pay when necessary to discipline them. If a letter carrier disobeyed some rule he could be reduced one grade for one year. An arbitrary or unjust official with some imaginary grievance or dislike could reduce a carrier to the next lower grade, thereby reducing his wages. Protests were made to Representative Steenerson and to other members of congress and the bill has not been pushed.

*Home Ownership*

Representative John I. Nolan, of California, appreciating the great lack of dwelling houses in the United States, introduced a bill (H. R. 2229), to encourage home ownership and to stimulate the buying and building of homes. It provided for the creation of a standard form of investment based on building and loan association mortgages, the creation of government depositories and financial agents for the United States and to furnish a market for government bonds. Nothing was done.

Representative Kelly, of Pennsylvania, introduced a bill (H. R. 2163), proposing to establish a United States savings board for the purpose of making loans to citizens to erect or purchase dwelling houses. No loans for more than \$6,000 were contemplated by the bill. It provided that the postmaster general, secretary of labor, secretary of the treasury, secretary of commerce and attorney general should be constituted a board to take over the control of the existing postal savings system, depositors paid 4 per cent per annum and loans made to citizens to erect or purchase dwelling houses. Nothing was done.

#### *Nolan Minimum Wage Bill*

Notwithstanding the defeat of previous efforts, Representative John I. Nolan, of California, is just as vigorously urging the passage of H. R. No. 2429, which provides that "no person employed by the District of Columbia shall receive less than \$3 per day, 37½ cents per hour, \$90 per month or \$1,080 per annum, according to the method of payment. The bill is on the house calendar, but every effort to place it on its passage has failed. Representative Nolan has been urging this measure for nine years. When it is known that there are 80,000 employes of the government receiving less than \$3 per day it is surprising that anyone in congress would try to prevent the passage of such a meritorious measure. The wages for which these government employes work were fixed by law in 1854 and in spite of every effort made to change it the law remains as originally passed. This should be a warning to all of those who advocate the fixing of wages and hours of employment or working conditions by law.

#### *Fixing Wages By Commission*

Two bills (S. 2557 and S. 2558), that would have been of very grave danger to the miners, were introduced in December by Senator Kenyon. They ostensibly provided for data on the costs and distribution of the production of coal. They also gave the President in case of an emergency power to take over the mines. It was believed that "an emergency" would be when the miners in order to protect their economic interests would have to cease work. In that event the government could decide the wages and conditions of employment for mine workers, fix the price of coal at the mines and to the consumers wherever they might be located. This would establish a principle of government through a commission which could arrogate to itself the right to determine the wages of employes or groups of employes in any or all industries. No hearings were held on the bill and the protests entered appeared to have had good effect.

#### *Overtime For Postal Employes*

Only those who depend upon congress to fix their wages realize what it means to secure necessary changes. April 12, 1921, Senator McKellar introduced S. 338, which provides additional compensation for overtime service in excess of eight hours for clerks in first and second class post offices, railway mail clerks assigned to terminals and letter carriers at the rate of 50 per cent higher than the salaries fixed by law. Nothing has been done.

#### *Meat Packing Monopoly*

The law enacted by congress to control the meat packing industry, which was still further weakened by providing that no official engaged by the department of agriculture to administer the act be paid more than \$5,000 a year. In criticizing the limiting of salaries to be paid to the officials to \$5,000 Senator Kenyon declared on the floor of the senate, that it would mean that competent men could not be employed to do the work and that successful enforcement of legislation would be blocked.

#### *"Lobbying"*

Efforts to enact a law punishing "lobbying" have been unavailing because of the un-American provisions which provides that a legislative agent can not personally talk to a member of congress on any measure before that body.



*Postal Employees' Legislation*

At the request of the affiliated postal workers the congress enacted on July 21, 1921, the Steenerson bill, which was amendatory in a number of important respects of the postal reclassification law of June 5, 1920. In the annual postal appropriation bill, which was awaiting final action of the congress when this was written, the affiliated postal workers have had two amendments incorporated that amplify the postal sick leave law and the legislation giving credit for military service.

The Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads is conducting an investigation at the request of the affiliated postal workers of the question of night work in the postal service. Strong efforts are being made to secure at this session of congress the long-deferred action on remedial legislation granting a time differential for night employment in the service. This reform has been repeatedly urged by the labor movement.

*Conclusion*

More than 400 bills have been introduced in the sixty-seventh congress which directly or indirectly affect Labor. Ninety per cent of them are inimical to the interests of Labor and the people. The astonishing feature of this, however, is that few of them ever get beyond the committee stage while many are not even given hearings except for propaganda purposes. Most of these bills were presented to carry out pledges to the enemies of Labor, but the effect has been to create an atmosphere of the most reactionary nature to everything done or proposed in the Capitol. The result has been that 99 per cent of the work done by Labor in Congress has been to defeat pernicious legislation. There is little sentiment in favor of beneficial legislation. This is so apparent that the statement is often made that if the United States capitol could be transported to the England of the fifteenth century half the members of congress would be "to the manner born."

The idea seems to prevail that the outcome of the 1920 elections means that every liberty of the people can be taken away provided some individual or group of individuals representing the privileged few desire it for their own especial benefit.

Constructive legislation is taboo. The fact is that since March 4, 1919, the country has run itself. In considering legislation only those things that will give some political friend or friends something for nothing are considered. Ship subsidies are discussed as a matter of course. When a bill was introduced providing for the return of all fines imposed on profiteers during and since the war for violations of the food control act it was considered a "noble proposal."

The legislative representatives of the A. F. of L. were faced with these conditions. Remedial legislation had no chance for consideration and the greatest activities were necessary to defeat vicious legislation. Progress of the people from a constructive legislative standpoint has been nil.

The E. C. recommends that this lack of action by congress on the needs of the people shall be considered by this convention. Some declaration should be made which would awaken the people of our country and at the same time impress upon congress that it must change its reactionary methods.

**LEGISLATION IN THE STATES**

Notwithstanding the wave of reactionism that has been spread over the country by the enemies of the people they have failed in a great majority of the legislatures to secure the legislation they so much desired. Persistent efforts to have the Kansas court of industrial relations' act copied by other states met with no response. This convincingly proves the fact that the Kansas law which has for its purpose compulsory labor does not commend itself to even those who might be willing to prohibit the normal activities of Labor.

Representatives of the state federations of labor and city central bodies are to be commended for the practical results obtained in fighting anti-labor measures. In some of the states really beneficial legislation was enacted, but in many of them the real work has been in defeating bad legislation. While in some of the states no remedial legislation was enacted there were no reactionary laws passed.

The Alabama legislature, despite most persistent protests from the wage earners, passed a "sue and be sued" law and further strengthened an anti-blacklisting and anti-picketing act.

The results achieved in many of the states, in view of the fact that all the avenues of publicity are closed to Labor, have been gratifying. The same conditions existed in the states to those in Washington and Labor has had to confine itself most entirely to fighting bad legislation. While the following is an incomplete report of legislation in the states it gives an idea of what has been accomplished:

*Alabama.*—In 1920 a special session of the Alabama legislature was held and efforts were made to pass an industrial court law similar to that of Kansas. Through activities of the officials of Labor and influence brought to bear by President Gompers the bill was defeated. In 1921 another special session was called for the purpose of passing two bills, one authorizing suits against unincorporated associations and the other making more stringent the black-listing and anti-boycott law. The bills became laws. President Gompers urged the national and international unions having locals in Alabama to aid in the defeat of the measures, but the officers of the Alabama State Federation of Labor, who had had wonderful success in defeating vicious bills in the past, were unable to overcome the pernicious influence used to pass these measures.

*California.*—Twenty-eight laws were enacted of great benefit to Labor and the people. Three bills prohibiting strikes, attacks on the woman's eight-hour law and the initiative and referendum were defeated by Labor.

*Illinois.*—Thirteen bills of benefit to Labor were defeated; four favorable to Labor were passed. At the same time Labor succeeded in defeating eight bills of great danger to the wage earners. These included state constabulary, anti-strike and anti-picketing bills. A constitutional convention has been in session for more than a year and efforts have been made to have a clause inserted in the constitution declaring that Labor is not property, that working people have a right to organize, and prohibiting courts and state officials from interfering by arbitrary proclamations and injunctions with the normal activities of Labor.

*Louisiana.*—The Louisiana legislature did not pass any bills against Labor, although several inimical to the interests of the workers were introduced. The legislature enacted laws giving absent workers the right to vote in all elections, the recall of all state officials except judges, free employment bureaus and a commission to investigate workmen's compensation laws with a view of establishing a commission and insurance by the state. A constitutional convention held in Louisiana adopted a clause prohibiting the legislature from passing any laws fixing the wages or hours of employment of wage earners.

*Georgia.*—Two bills urged by labor organizations died in committee. They provided a nine-hour law for women and an anti-injunction law. A number of anti-labor bills were introduced but failed of passage.

*Maryland.*—A bill proposing the establishment of a state constabulary was defeated, but the full crew law was repealed.

*Michigan.*—A law was enacted accepting the act of congress providing for the vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry.

*Missouri.*—Two measures known as the "Spanish Inquisition" and anti-union bills were defeated. The former provided that when any prosecuting attorney filed a statement with a justice of the peace that he believed a crime had been committed against the law, it would be the duty of the latter to issue subpoenas for such persons to appear and testify. The justice of the peace would be vested with all the powers of a grand jury. Any one who gave him information could be fined \$200 for telling another to what he had testified before the "grand jury." The other bill provided severe penalties for "unwarranted industrial warfare." Both bills were defeated. The labor forces were successful in securing the reenactment of a child labor law and a workmen's compensation law in the face of great opposition.

*Nebraska.*—Two laws enacted by the legislature will be voted on in the November election. Farmers joined with Labor in securing signatures for a referendum. One law prohibits picketing. The other requires that when a citizen desires to change his party affiliation he must give good reason to the clerk of the court of his district.

*New Jersey.*—Several bills of benefit to wage earners were passed by the New

Jersey legislature. The bill to repeal the full crew law was passed by the senate by a vote of eleven to ten.

*New York.*—Ten laws beneficial to Labor and the people were enacted by the New York legislature. An anti-strike bill was defeated after a most strenuous campaign. President Gompers and Vice-President Woll offered arguments that effectually killed the measure. It provided that employers and employes could not discuss a grievance around a table but must write letters to each other, and if they could not reach an agreement the grievance was to be referred to the state supreme court for official action. Such a law would have given the court the right to fix wages and the hours of labor as well as working conditions. Two bills passed were vetoed at the request of Labor. These provided for excessive charges by theatrical employment agencies and a bill allowing the arrest and imprisonment of innocent persons on the ground that they were mentally deficient.

*Oklahoma.*—Two industrial court bills were introduced in the legislature but died in committee. A bill to punish conspiracy, which was designed to affect labor, was killed by the senate committee. Two bills to abolish the Department of Labor of the state died with the adjournment of the legislature. Four garnishment bills were defeated. An attempt to amend the eight-hour law to permit ten hours' work on roads and bridges failed of passage. A bill providing eight hours instead of nine hours for women workers passed the senate but failed in the house. An amendment to the workmen's compensation act of benefit to Labor died in the committee.

*Ohio.*—Ten labor laws were enacted in Ohio. Labor succeeded in defeating the establishment of a state constabulary and a number of other measures.

*Rhode Island.*—Two bills that savored of law making in the fifteenth century were presented to the Rhode Island legislature. One made it imperative for trade unions to incorporate and the other prohibited strikes of any nature. President Gompers immediately circularized the unions in the state. The officials of the State Federation of Labor and central bodies made a most determined campaign against the bills and they were defeated in committee.

*South Carolina.*—Bills to establish an eight-hour day in the textile industries and to prohibit unreasonable charges for rent failed of passage. A bill to fix a minimum wage for women in certain industries may come up at the next session of the legislature.

*Texas.*—A most insistent campaign was launched in Texas to create sentiment in favor of an industrial court law similar to that of Kansas. Organizations assuming to represent labor failed in their endeavor to create sentiment for such an un-American law. However, the next legislature undoubtedly will consider such legislation and every effort should be made to awaken the people to its dangers.

*Utah.*—Nine bills inimical to wage earners of Utah were defeated and six laws enacted of great benefit. One of them amended the workmen's compensation act to give greater benefits. A sue and be sued bill was defeated.

*Virginia.*—Every attempt to enact anti-labor laws was defeated but several of benefit to Labor were enacted. Among the bills defeated was one merging the Department of Labor with the Industrial Commission, which would have meant the abolishment of the department. Laws providing for greater protection for children in asylums, boarding houses, institutions, and in industry were strengthened by amendments. More authority was given the commissioner of labor and inspectors to enforce industrial laws. Laws providing for credit unions and cooperative marketing were enacted.

### COLORED FREIGHT HANDLERS

Resolution No. 74 of the Denver convention directed the Executive Council to arrange for a conference at Washington, D. C., for the purpose of working out a plan and selecting representatives to handle grievances and problems of the colored railway employes directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor until the convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and to make provision to establish a fund to meet the necessary expenses of such representatives.

This conference met at headquarters July 19, 1921. At the time the call for the conference was sent out there were seventy-nine colored freight handlers and station employes' locals affiliated directly to the A. F. of L. In order to reduce to a minimum the expense of such a conference with the consent of the local unions President Gompers

selected five of the local unions having the largest membership, each of which selected one member, the committee of five thus formed to represent the entire membership of the colored locals. The conference agreed upon the following:

That a plan should be developed by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks that will admit to the Brotherhood the colored railway employes whose work belongs to the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; that in the interim of their admission into the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks the representatives of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks would take up the reduction in wages enforced upon the colored freight handlers and other station employes; that the colored local unions should form system boards of adjustment for each railroad system or group of systems to act in cooperation with one or more representatives selected by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks in protecting the rights and interests of the colored workers; that the colored freight handlers and station employes' locals should levy a monthly assessment of 50 cents per member to defray the expenses of this work.

The A. F. of L. assigned two organizers to carry out the purposes of the agreement who served six and two months, respectively.

Six system boards of adjustment have been organized among the colored locals. The total amount collected on account of the special assessment to April 5, 1922, was \$2,504. Of this amount \$1,737.40 has been turned over to the respective system boards of adjustment and \$744.60 went into the general fund of the A. F. of L. Since April 5, all remittances received on account of the special assessment as provided in the agreement have been refunded to the locals with the information that they should pay the assessment direct to the representative system boards of adjustment.

The total amount paid by the A. F. of L. on account of organizing expenses to assist the colored freight handlers in this work was \$4,675.34.

Through the establishment of the system boards above mentioned and the efforts of special organizers as well as the advisors and A. F. of L. officers there was refunded to the colored freight handlers on several divisions the unpaid monies which had been withheld by the companies. In the aggregate it amounted to a large sum of money. The refund would not have been made had the A. F. of L. failed in being of service to the men.

### COLORED WORKERS

The printed proceedings of the recent conventions of the American Federation of Labor report the discussions which have taken place from year to year upon the matter of the admission to membership of colored wage earners by various national and international unions. In lieu of the adoption of several resolutions of this nature submitted by delegates of local unions of colored railroad workers to the Denver convention, the convention directed a conference to be held between the several organizations involved with a view of bringing about an amicable adjustment of the existing differences, that is, the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, the Brotherhood of Boilermakers on the one hand, and the local unions of Railroad Coach Cleaners and Boilermakers' Helpers directly affiliated to the A. F. of L. on the other. There was no convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen after the Montreal convention of the A. F. of L. until August, 1921. The delegates from the Brotherhood of Boilermakers to the Denver convention stated that their convention passed a resolution authorizing the appointment of a special committee to deal with the subject. After correspondence with all parties it was deemed in the best interests of all to defer holding the conference until the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen convention should have met.

Upon invitation of the President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, President Gompers attended and addressed their August, 1921, convention at Toronto, and through personal conferences as well as by correspondence, did everything within his power to be helpful in carrying out the declarations of the A. F. of L. conventions.

The Carmen's convention adopted the following constitutional amendment:

On railroads where the employment of colored persons has become a permanent institution they shall be admitted to membership in separate lodges.

Where these separate lodges of negroes are organized they shall be under the jurisdiction of the nearest white local, and shall be represented in any meeting of Joint Protective Board, Federation meeting or convention where delegates may be seated by white men.

Therefore, in view of this action, President Ryan, of the Brotherhood, expressed the belief that the suggested conference would be barren of results because he and his fellow officers would have no authority to go beyond the amended constitution as just indicated. The local unions were notified of the action of the Carmen's convention and we are informed by the officers of the Brotherhood that they have received numerous applications for membership.

We have heard nothing further from the Brotherhood of Boilermakers as to what has been done by their committee.

## JURISDICTIONAL AGREEMENTS AND DISAGREEMENTS

### BUILDING TRADES—THEATRICAL STAGE EMPLOYES

The Denver convention directed the President of the American Federation of Labor to call a series of conferences between the representatives of the Theatrical Stage Employes and each one of the contending organizations affected in the Building Trades Department in an effort to reach an agreement as to what the claims of each organization relative to jurisdiction are, and further that he should appoint a member of the Executive Council to preside at these conferences.

President Gompers, President O'Connell of the Metal Trades Department and Organizer Hugh Frayne represented the A. F. of L. The conferences were held at headquarters July 9-11, 1921. The following agreements were reached:

#### *Theatrical Stage Employes—Carpenters*

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 9, 1921.

In compliance with the decision of the A. F. of L., a conference was called and held July 9, 1921, in the E. C. chamber of the A. F. of L. The organizations participating in the conference were represented as follows:

- The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:  
Frank Duffy and John Cosgrove.
- The International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes:  
Harry L. Spencer, William F. Canavan, Richard J. Green.
- The A. F. of L.:  
Samuel Gompers, James O'Connell and Hugh Frayne.

The entire subject of the differences of jurisdictional claims between the two first named organizations were thoroughly gone into with a view of reaching an agreement.

It is agreed by the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes that all work done on lots or location and all work done in shops, either bench or machine work, comes under the jurisdiction of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

It is agreed that:

All carpenter work in and around moving picture studios belongs to the carpenter. This includes:

1. Any and all carpenter work in connection with the moving picture studios, the construction of stages or platforms on which buildings or part of buildings are to be erected.
2. All carpenter work in connection with the erection of any building or part of building, from which a picture is to be taken.
3. The operating of all wood working machinery in the making of all furniture, fixtures, trim, etc., for use in motion picture studios, belongs to the carpenter.

The carpenters lay no claim to what is usually termed or referred to as the property man, or those employed in placing furniture, laying carpets, hanging draperies, pictures, etc.

It is clearly understood that in so far as section 2 of this part of the agreement is concerned and particularly the right to the setting up and striking of the scenes on the stages after the construction work has been completed, it shall be liberally and cooperatively construed so as to do no injustice to either the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America or the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes.

Any difference arising as to the interpretation of this agreement and particularly of section 2 hereof, shall be adjusted by the international presidents of both organizations.

For Theatrical Stage Employes:

(Signed) WM. F. CANAVAN,  
RICHARD GREEN,  
39 W. Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.  
HARRY L. SPENCER,  
110 N. Fortieth Street, New York City.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America:

(Signed) JOHN T. COSGROVE,  
First General Vice-President.  
FRANK DUFFY,  
General Secretary.  
(Signed) SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
President, A. F. of L.

*Theatrical Stage Employes—Plasterers*

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 9, 1921.

It is agreed by the representatives of the Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada and the representatives of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes of America that all work recognized by the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L. as coming under the jurisdiction of the Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, such as plastering, cement finishing, the modeling and making of molds and all imitation of plastering work where plastering tools are used, shall come under the jurisdiction of the Operative Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada.

It is also agreed that President Gompers shall send a copy of this agreement to the international officers of both organizations with instructions that same shall be sent to all local unions located where moving picture studios are in operation with instructions that this agreement is to be carried into effect at the earliest possible date.

It is also agreed that President Gompers arrange to have a representative of the A. F. of L. bring about the organization of a general council made up of representatives of all trades employed in moving picture studios in all centers where there are a sufficient number of these moving picture employes to form such a council. The council of moving picture studio employes to be formed for the purpose of assisting in carrying into effect this agreement and similar agreements that may be entered into with the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes of America by other organizations affected with a view to bringing about a better state of organization in all the trades to the end that the trade rights of all organizations shall be respected and protected, all of which is intended to be in the best interests of all the employes of the moving picture studios.

(Signed) OPERATIVE PLASTERERS AND CEMENT FINISHERS:  
E. J. MCGIVERN.

STAGE EMPLOYES AND MOVING PICTURE MACHINE OPERATORS:  
WILLIAM F. CANAVAN.  
RICHARD GREEN.  
HARRY L. SPENCER.

Representing A. F. of L.:  
SAMUEL GOMPERS.  
JAMES J. O'CONNELL.  
HUGH FRAYNE.

*Theatrical Stage Employes—Electrical Workers*

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 11, 1921.

In compliance with the decision of the Denver Convention of the A. F. of L., a conference was held in the E. C. chamber of the A. F. of L., on July 11, 1921, those participating therein being Mr. J. P. Noonan, President, and Mr. G. M. Bugniazet, Vice-President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Mr. Richard Green and Mr. Wm. F. Canavan, of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes; Mr. Samuel Gompers and Mr. Hugh Frayne representing the A. F. of L.

It was agreed that the following decision rendered by the E. C. of the A. F. of L., August, 1920, is hereby accepted by the two organizations as a basis for an adjustment of any matter in controversy between the two organizations relating to work in moving picture studios:

In the dispute between the Theatrical Stage Employes and the Electrical Workers, the E. C. decided that the laying of conduits and all installation work in connection with electrical devices for lighting effects belongs to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, but that the operation of all lights and of all devices for electric lighting and electrical effects as well as the operation of motion picture machines belongs to the Theatrical Stage Employes' International Alliance.

It was further agreed that any matter which is not specifically covered in the above decision of the E. C. shall be referred to the international presidents of the two organizations for adjustment.

It was further agreed that upon any of the above matters which the two international presidents fail to adjust it shall be referred to any representative trade unionist agreed upon by both parties to the dispute as final arbiter upon the disputed point, whose decision shall be final and binding upon both organizations.

For the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

J. P. NOONAN.  
G. M. BUGNIAZET.

For the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes:

R. J. GREEN.  
WM. F. CANAVAN.

For the A. F. of L.:

SAMUEL GOMPERS.  
HUGH FRAYNE.

*Theatrical Stage Employes—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers*

NEW YORK CITY, July 9, 1921.

In conference held at the Continental Hotel, New York City, Friday, July 8, 1921, between P. J. Morrin, President of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Ornamental Iron Workers, and James Lemke, President of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, with reference to jurisdictional control over work on moving picture studios, it is mutually understood and agreed between the parties hereto that all iron and steel construction on moving picture studios is to be done by members of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Ornamental Iron Workers.

Further, that any members of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators who are employed or may hereafter be employed in moving picture studios as bridge, structural and ornamental iron workers shall become members of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers. The Theatrical Stage Employes' International Union hereby

agrees to turn over all such members employed to the Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers' International Union on or before September 1, 1921.

(Signed) JAMES LEMKE, *International President,*  
*International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes and Moving Picture*  
*Machine Operators of the United States and Canada.*  
 (Signed) P. J. MORRIN, *International President,*  
*International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers.*

*Theatrical Stage Employes—Sheet Metal Workers*

CHICAGO, ILL., June 29, 1921.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President,*

*A. F. of L.,*

A. F. of L. Bldg., Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: In answer to yours of June 26, subject-matter being Theatrical Stage Employes—Building Trades Department report of E. C., Denver, Colo., permit me to state that on account of having to attend a meeting of the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards in the building industry at Atlantic City, on July 11, it will be impossible for me to attend your proposed meeting at the A. F. of L. headquarters.

Might I also state that the controversy between our organization and the Theatrical Stage Employes in so far as studio work is concerned is very meager and we will be satisfied with any general adjustment that is made to clarify the controversy between the Theatrical Stage Employes and the Building Trades Department.

Wishing you every success and extending kindest fraternal regards, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed) JOHN J. HYNES, *General President.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 11, 1921.

The above position is agreeable to the Theatrical Stage Employes.

(Signatures)

WM. F. CANAVAN,

RICHARD GREEN.

39 W. Adams Street, Chicago, Ill.

*Theatrical Stage Employes—Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers*

CLEVELAND, OHIO, June 30, 1921.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President,*

*A. F. of L.,*

A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER: Your communication of June 26 in reference to the subject-matter of the conference of the theatrical stage employes which you designate to be held on July 11, I am very sorry but I will be unable to be present at this conference owing to my being compelled to appear before the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards, which convenes on July 11 at Atlantic City, N. J., in order to present our organization's side in a jurisdictional dispute pending before that board.

All our organization contends for in the moving picture studios is that when lathing is to be done that it shall be done by a lather who is a member of our organization.

Trusting that this expresses our stand in the matter, I am, with best wishes,

Fraternally yours,

(Signed)

WM. J. MCSORLEY, *President.*

*Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers' International Union.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 11, 1921.

The above position is agreeable to the Theatrical Stage Employes.

(Signed)

RICHARD GREEN.

(Signed)

WM. F. CANAVAN.

President James Lemke, of the Theatrical Stage Employes stated in a letter under date of July 14 that his organization claims absolutely no brick or mason work, and



that he had written to the president of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union that it would not be necessary for him to attend the conference in Washington.

### STEAM ENGINEERS—BRICKMAKERS

The delegates from the Steam Engineers' International Union to the Denver Convention made complaint through Resolution No. 70, of jurisdictional controversy between that organization and the United Brick and Clay Workers of America. The committee having this matter in hand reported to the convention that both parties to the controversy had agreed to meet in conference at the A. F. of L. headquarters in Chicago on July 14.

Under our authority and direction Vice-President Rickert represented the E. C. at the conference. A tentative agreement was reached which was submitted to both organizations and at a later conference the following agreement was made:

CHICAGO, ILL., September 1, 1921.

AGREEMENT BY AND BETWEEN THE UNITED BRICK AND CLAY WORKERS OF AMERICA  
AND THE  
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STEAM AND OPERATING ENGINEERS,

for the purpose of forming an offensive and defensive alliance as far as the workers in the brick-making industry are concerned.

It is agreed that both parties will do everything possible to organize the workers in the brick-making industry, and that the workers in this industry will be organized in their respective craft organizations.

It is further agreed that in negotiating agreements, both parties will consult each other in making such agreements and see that the expiration of said agreements occur upon the same date.

It is further agreed that in all offensive and defensive movements no subordinate local of either international union shall be permitted to take any local action whatsoever until the question requiring joint action shall have first been submitted to and determined upon by the presidents of the United Brick and Clay Workers of America, and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

It is further agreed that where there are local unions of Brick and Clay Workers of America will, if they have in membership in their organization any engineers, see that they are transferred into the local union of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

It is further agreed that there will be a charter issued by the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers for the engineers in the brickyards of Chicago and vicinity, said charter to be issued in accordance with the constitution of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, and to be located in Blue Island, Ill., and that the engineers employed in the brickyards of Chicago and vicinity will become members of this local union as per agreement between the officers of both organizations and the representative of the A. F. of L.

It is further agreed that in the employment of engineers from time to time in the brickyards, that if there is not a sufficient supply in the local union that has jurisdiction over the brickyards, the local unions of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers in Chicago will furnish competent and efficient engineers to fill the vacancies that may occur.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, hereby set our hand and seal this ..... day of ....., 1921.

For the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers:

ARTHUR M. HUDDALL.  
DAVE EVANS.

For the United Brick and Clay Workers of America:

FRANK KASTEN.  
WM. TRACY.

Witnessed by:

T. A. RICKERT,  
Vice-President, A. F. of L.

## ENGINEERS—QUARRY WORKERS

When considering Resolution No. 109, of the last convention, the convention directed that a conference be held between the representatives of the two organizations and a member of the E. C. to act as the presiding officer.

The conference was duly called and held at headquarters of the A. F. of L. on October 18, 1921, Vice-President Rickert represented the A. F. of L.

The following agreement was reached:

Both parties hereto representing their respective organizations which are involved in a jurisdiction dispute are desirous of promoting harmony and friendship between the two organizations, and with that in view agree as follows:

That in the organizing of the quarry workers in new fields, that when there are enough engineers to form an engineers' local, it shall be done, but if not the engineers shall join the Quarry Workers' International Union until a sufficient number has been organized in that field to form a local of the engineers when they shall be turned over to that international union.

Both parties hereto further agree to call no strike and make no wage scale where the interests of either organization are affected without the consent of the other.

This agreement to be in force for two years.

(Signed) ARTHUR M. HUDDALL,  
President, International Union of Steam Operating Engineers.  
(Signed) FRED W. SUITOR,  
Secretary, International Union of Quarry Workers.

Witnessed by:

T. A. RICKERT,  
Vice-President, A. F. of L.

Executed at Washington, D. C., on this day, October 18, 1921.

## CARPENTERS—LONGSHOREMEN

In November, 1920, an agreement was entered into between Secretary Duffy for the carpenters and former President O'Connor for the longshoremen. However, before becoming effective the agreement was subject to the approval of the executive boards of the two organizations. The executive board of the carpenters approved the agreement. The longshoremen failed to approve it. Arrangements were finally made for a conference between the representatives of the two organizations during the Denver convention but the conference was not held. Owing to local disagreements in several cities between the two organizations, the subject-matter in its national application was considered by us at our meeting in November, 1921. We recommended to the longshoremen and the carpenters that every effort should be made to put into effect as soon as possible the agreement entered into between Secretary Duffy and former President O'Connor.

With this object in view, the President of the A. F. of L. arranged for a conference between the representatives of the two organizations in Chicago, April 14, at which Vice-President T. A. Rickert represented the A. F. of L. The conference failed to reach a definite conclusion. Vice-President Rickert then made the following proposition to Secretary Duffy and President Chlopek.

It is agreed between the longshoremen and carpenters:

1. That the carpenters will not accept in membership longshoremen.
2. That the longshoremen will not accept in membership carpenters.
3. That the longshoremen will turn over to the carpenters' organization the carpenters now in their union.
4. That the longshoremen will refrain from doing carpenter work.
5. That the carpenters raise no objection to the longshoremen nailing a board or plank, or doing work where carpenters can not be had.
6. This agreement is made for the purpose of creating and establishing harmonious relations between both organizations. It may be changed in any particular by agreement between the presidents of both the organizations and

abrogated upon thirty days' notice by either side, in which event conferences shall again be held for the purpose of making a new agreement.

7. The interpretation or application of this agreement shall be left to the presidents of the two organizations, who shall take up all existing differences or such as may arise, and shall themselves jointly make an investigation in an effort to adjust same.

The carpenters have accepted but at the time this report is being prepared we have not received advice as to what action has been taken by the longshoremens.

#### BUILDING TRADES—MAINTENANCE OF WAY EMPLOYEES

The Denver convention instructed the E. C. to "give consideration at the earliest possible time to the claims of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers that the decision of the E. C. has been complied with; and if it be found that the provisions of the decision have not been fairly carried out, the E. C. is directed to interpret its decision in such manner as to permit of compliance with the provisions of that decision, to the end that the organization affected may become reinstated in the A. F. of L."

In pursuance with this instruction a series of conferences were held at the headquarters of the A. F. of L., October 5, 6, and 7, 1921, between the representatives of the Maintenance of Way Employes and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters; the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers; the International Union of Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers; and the Tile and Composition Roofers. President Compers, Secretary Morrison and Organizer Hugh Frayne participated in the conferences as representatives of the A. F. of L.

The following agreements were reached:

#### *Maintenance of Way Employes—Brick Layers and Masons*

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 5, 1921.

It is hereby understood and agreed:

First: That there is no contention or dispute between the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union and the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers over the classification of masonry work as defined in the constitution of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union adopted at the Cleveland Convention, October, 1920.

Second. But it is hereby understood and agreed that the officers, national and local, of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers will not permit employes of the Maintenance of Way Department of Railroads, who hold membership in said United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers, to do masonry work, when such work interferes with the rights and privileges of members of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, in districts where said masonry work is being done.

Third. It is further understood and agreed that where disputes or misunderstandings as to jurisdiction arise, in any district or locality, such disputes must be immediately submitted to the international officers of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers and the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union for investigation and adjustment.

E. F. GRABLE, *Grand President,*

*United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers.*

GEO. T. THORNTON, *Second Vice-President,*

*Bricklayers Masons and Plasterers' International Union.*

Representing the A. F. of L.

SAMUEL COMPERS, *President.*

FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary.*

HUGH FRAYNE, *Organizer.*

*Maintenance of Way Employes—Engineers*

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 6, 1921

First. The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers were awarded the Stationary and Hoisting Engineers, as covered by the jurisdiction of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

Second. But it is understood and agreed that where there is not a local union, nor a sufficient number of the above mentioned employes to form a local union of the International Steam and Operating Engineers, such employes may retain membership in the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers.

Third. It is further understood and agreed that where disputes or misunderstandings arise as to jurisdiction, in any district or locality, such disputes must be immediately submitted to the attention of the International officers of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, for investigation and adjustment.

E. F. GRABLE, *Grand President,*

*Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers*

ARTHUR M. HUDELL, *International President*

*International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.*

Representing the A. F. of L.:

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President.*

FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary.*

HUGH FRAYNE, *Organizer.*

*Maintenance of Way Employes—Plumbers*

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 5, 1921.

It is hereby understood and agreed by the representatives of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers and the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters, that the members of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers performing work covered by the jurisdiction of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters, as granted by the A. F. of L., shall be turned over to said United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters.

It is further understood and agreed that where disputes or misunderstandings arise as to jurisdiction, in any district or locality, such disputes must be immediately submitted to the attention of the international officers of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers and the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters.

E. F. GRABLE, *Grand President,*

*United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers.*

JAMES G. HIGGINS, *General Organizer, U. A.*

*For the General President,*

*The United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters.*

Representing the A. F. of L.:

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President.*

FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary.*

HUGH FRAYNE, *Organizer.*

*Maintenance of Way Employes—Painters*

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 6, 1921.

It is herewith understood and agreed:

First. That there is no contention or dispute between the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers and the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers over the classification of painting work as defined in the constitution of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

Second. But it is hereby understood and agreed that the officers, national and local, of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers will not permit employes of the Maintenance of Way Department of Railroads, who hold membership in said United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers to do painting work, when such work interferes with the rights and privileges of members of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.

Third. It is further understood and agreed that where disputes or misunderstandings as to jurisdiction arise, in any district or locality, such disputes must be immediately submitted to the international officers of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers for investigation and adjustment.

E. F. GRABLE, *Grand President.*

*United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers.*

JOS. F. KELLY, *2d G. V. P.*

*Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers.*

Representing the A. F. of L.:

SAMUEL GOMPERS, *President.*

FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary.*

HUGH FRAYNE, *Organizer.*

*Maintenance of Way Employes—Building Trades Department*

WASHINGTON, D. C., *October 5, 1921.*

In view of the fact that the Maintenance of Way Employes are agreeing with the Building Trades in hope that the suspension order be lifted and to be reinstated in the A. F. of L. that the Maintenance of Way Employes agree with John Donlin, as President of the Building Trades Department, that no claim is made by their organization for such work as comes under the jurisdiction of the following organizations which have not made individual agreements with them:

Asbestos Workers.

Granite Cutters.

Lathers.

Roofers.

Elevator Constructors.

Hod Carriers.

Plasterers.

Stone Cutters.

E. F. GRABLE.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

JOHN DONLIN.

FRANK MORRISON.

HUGH FRAYNE.

*Maintenance of Way Employes—Electrical Workers—Carpenters*

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers stated that the Maintenance of Way Employes had already signed an agreement with the trades affiliated with the Railway Employes Department, including the Electrical Workers.

*Maintenance of Way Employes—Sheet Metal Workers*

The Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance advised that the present agreement between their organization and the Maintenance of Way Employes covers any infringement that might be made upon their jurisdiction.

*Maintenance of Way Employes*

No agreement was reached between the Carpenters and the Maintenance of Way Employes, although several conferences were held between the representatives of the two organizations and the representatives of the A. F. of L. and later conferences between the representatives of the two organizations. Our recommendation upon this

subject to the Denver convention was referred back for further investigation and report to this convention. In conformity therewith we, therefore, report that—

Desirous of leaving no effort untried to reach an agreement we requested the representatives of the two organizations to meet in conference with a committee of the E. C. during the E. C. session at headquarters in May. The E. C. committee despite their best efforts failed to bring the two organizations together in agreement. Therefore, we decided as follows and so recommend to this convention:

That the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes be reinstated in the A. F. of L. when they agree to be governed by the following definition of the situation:

The term "carpenter repair work" is defined to mean where workmen are employed direct by the railroad corporations in repairing property of railroads along the line of the railroad proper but shall not apply to office and other railroad buildings, the former employment to be under the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employes and Railway Shop Laborers, and the latter to be considered as construction work and to be under the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

#### ENGINEERS—ELECTRICAL WORKERS

The convention of 1919 directed the President of the A. F. of L. to appoint a special committee of five men "who by training and experience are competent to judge the technical trade questions involved to make an investigation of the points at issue and that this committee submit its report to the E. C., which, after further conference with the two organizations in dispute, shall render such decision and make such disposition of this controversy as in its opinion the results of the investigation warrant." President Gompers rather than appoint the committee of five asked the presidents of the two organizations each to submit to him the names of five men possessing the qualifications required. From these names he selected a committee of five.

We reported to the 1920-1921 conventions that the chairman had failed to get the committee to meet.

Under the directions of the E. C. immediately after the last convention President Gompers endeavored to call this special committee together; several members were unable to serve. He thereupon again requested the presidents of both organizations to submit five names each so that from these ten names a new committee of five could be appointed. The committee thus appointed consists of: John H. Walker, Chairman; J. A. Franklin, John Donlin, William H. Johnston, Alex. W. Russell, Secretary.

The committee held a two day's session making the investigation and then discussed the recommendations which it should make and did make. The report of that committee to the E. C. follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 25, 1922.

The committee appointed by President Gompers to endeavor to adjust the jurisdiction dispute existing between the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, met in the A. F. of L. Building, on February 24, 1922, Room 604, and organized by electing J. H. Walker, Chairman, and Alex W. Russell as Secretary. The meeting went into session at 10 o'clock for the purpose of hearing the statements of the authorized representatives of both of these organizations.

The Electrical Workers were represented by:

President, James P. Noonan.  
Vice-President, Bugniazet.  
Vice-President, Edw. Evans.  
Business Agent and Member of the Executive Board, Michael Boyle.

The Steam and Operating Engineers were represented by:

President, A. M. Huddell.  
James Cooley.

The full day was consumed in the presentation, rebuttal and general discussion. President James P. Noonan and Vice-President Bugniazet presented the case

principally for the Electrical Workers, and President Huddell for the Engineers. Both sides made complete, detailed and very able statements on the matter from their different points of view.

At the close of the day, it was agreed by both sides that they had presented their case fully and in the way they wanted to present it. All questions asked by the members of the committee were answered fully. The case was then closed and the committee adjourned.

The committee met Saturday morning, February 25, 1922, in the same room and building, at 10 a. m., and carefully went over the evidence presented as well as the documents and exhibits that were brought before the committee by the representatives of the two organizations.

The committee came to the conclusion that this dispute was the result of the new developments that were taking place and the ever-changing conditions brought about by the continual process of transforming steam plants into electric plants, and the extending of the electrical industry in the sphere which prior to its discovery and development would have been the natural field of operation of the steam industry. The committee feels that during this period, in order, to protect the interests of the men who are working on the job, and of the employers who are having the work done, and the public which is served by these industries, as well as the organizations of labor directly and indirectly involved and affected, that there should be the closest kind of friendly relations between these two organizations; that they should take a broad view of the problems they are dealing with, having in mind not alone their own membership but the thing that is just and fair and reasonable for all others who are concerned and affected and particularly for the worker's whose whole life interests are at stake when these controversies arise, and that tolerant attitude should be taken on both sides in dealing with one another in the adjustment of these matters, making the changes when necessary in such a way as to minimize the injury and inconvenience of the workers affected as far as it is possible.

We believe that if the officials of both organizations will work in that spirit that agreements can be reached on all disputes pending, without injury to either, and that any future problems that may arise of this character may also be adjusted satisfactorily. The committee feels that unless there is that kind of spirit and attitude adopted by both sides it will mean endless trouble, worry, injury and cost, most of all on the ones who can least afford it, the men who work on the jobs, and their families.

The committee are pleased to be able to say that in this hearing there was indicated on both sides a sincere desire to be frank and honest with each other in dealing with the questions at issue, and to subordinate any petty differences for the purpose of presenting the facts and having the matter adjusted honestly on its merits.

Your committee in considering the matter and arriving at its conclusions desired only to be helpful and bring about a better feeling and that their decisions might clear up the misunderstandings that were the cause of the differences now, and lay the foundation for these organizations themselves adjusting these matters in the future. We are thoroughly convinced that no rigid decision can be made now which will settle all the questions that are likely to arise because of the new developments that are obviously going to take place, but honestly feel that the conclusion we have reached and which we recommend to the E. C., be made the basis of their decision, if complied with by both sides, will adjust the main causes for contention at this time.

And that if the spirit of broadmindedness and fairness as shown by both sides in this instance, is continued and developed, and each matter as it arises is dealt with specifically, leaving out the petty things said or done or felt by individuals, that the problems of the future will also be adjusted satisfactorily.

The conclusions of the committee on the main problems at issue, are as follows:

That the electrical installation, electric repairs, overhauling of general electrical apparatus in generating stations, sub-stations and the operating of exclusively electrical driven machines in the aforementioned plans or stations; also that the operation of traveling or other electric cranes for shop or factory purposes shall be electrical workers' work.

This decision is not to interfere with the jurisdiction of the Steam and Operating Engineers over operating steam generating plants, electric hoists in building construction or electric shovels.

These conclusions are not intended to disturb any other conditions obtaining that are mutually satisfactory at this time, or that have been provided for by past action of the A. F. of L. which are not in conflict with this decision.

(Signed) J. H. WALKER, *Chairman*.  
 J. A. FRANKLIN.  
 JOHN DONLIN.  
 WILLIAM H. JOHNSTON.  
 ALEX. W. RUSSELL, *Secretary*.

Copies of this report were furnished to President Noonan and to President Huddell twenty-four hours before we took up the consideration thereof. Both presidents had conference with us and the entire matter was thoroughly considered and discussed. We have great respect for the intelligence and understanding of the committee, yet we are reluctantly impelled to dissent from its conclusions and recommendations for we are fully persuaded that its adoption by us, instead of healing the breach and minimizing or modifying the conflicting claims of the two organizations in interest, would widen and accentuate them. Therefore, we reaffirm the decision reached by the E. C. at our meeting at San Antonio, November, 1918, as follows:

The E. C. of the A. F. of L. having under consideration Resolution No. 61 of the St. Paul, Minn., convention, representatives of the electrical workers and of the steam and operating engineers were given a hearing terminating in both parties agreeing to respect and abide by such decision as the E. C. would render upon the subject in dispute.

The E. C. then took the following action:

That the "resolved" in question be changed to read that the electric installation, electric repairs and overhauling of the general electrical apparatus in generating stations and substations as well as electric cranes properly belong to the electrical workers.

In a general way the above action deals with the subject in dispute but as the convention directed the E. C. to "render a decision setting forth the jurisdictional rights of the organizations in contention" it was further decided:

That the operating of electrical driven machinery in electrical generating stations and substations as well as the operating of electrical cranes properly belongs to and comes under the charter of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers.

#### TEAMSTERS—BRIDGE AND STRUCTURAL IRON WORKERS

The Denver convention directed the E. C. to request the officers of both organizations to meet in conference at Indianapolis within sixty days, both sides being requested to attend the meeting with full power from their executive boards to enter into an agreement, and further that "failing to reach any agreement in conference the matter be submitted for definite settlement and decision to a committee of three members of the E. C., said committee to be named by the president of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union."

President Gompers was in frequent correspondence by telegraph and mail with the presidents of both organizations in the attempt to arrange the conference. Charges and counter-charges of insincerity were made by each side. Failing to get the conference within the time limit set by the Denver convention your E. C. assumed the authority of extending the time limit thirty days. Within the extended time limit the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers representatives went to Indianapolis. President Tobin was necessarily absent from Indianapolis at the time designated for the conference. The executive board of the Teamsters appointed the Teamsters' representatives with full power to act. President Morrin believed that no agreement could be reached unless President Tobin were party thereto, and refused to enter into the conference. The whole



situation was considered by us at our meeting the week of November 14 when the following telegram was sent to President Morrin:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 17, 1921.

P. J. MORRIN,  
1615 Syndicate Trust Building,  
St. Louis, Mo.

E. C., A. F. of L. now meeting in regular session at headquarters. Submitted to my colleagues the correspondence I have had with you and President Tobin of Teamsters regarding action of Denver Convention and the E. C. meeting last August. President Tobin states that he and his committee will be prepared to meet with you and your committee in Indianapolis any time between the second and twelfth of December. E. C. earnestly hopes you and your committee will meet with Teamsters at the time and place stated and that you will so advise me. Unless the conference takes place or if held an agreement is not reached, the E. C. will expect you to select a committee of three members of the E. C. who shall render a decision and make definite settlement in accordance with action Denver Convention.

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

Conference was held in the Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, December 9. No agreement was reached at that conference.

At our November meeting it was decided that if the agreement or adjustment was not reached as the result of the December conference of the Teamsters and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, that the President of the A. F. of L. should request President Morrin to appoint a committee of three members of the E. C. as directed by the Denver convention, and further that this committee should be designated by him within thirty days of December 12, 1921, that in case of refusal or failure to appoint the committee as the resolution provides, "the President of the A. F. of L. shall appoint a committee of three to make a full investigation and decision upon this dispute and report the same to the E. C. ." In reply to the request that he should designate the committee of three, President Morrin stated:

I do not feel that I am in a position to select such a committee as I feel that I would have to get the power or authorization from our convention, which is to be held this coming September, before I could take such a step without causing a great deal of dissatisfaction and dissension among our membership. In other words, it is a request for me to delegate a committee of three, none of which are members of our association, the right to pass upon certain matters affecting our international union and its membership, and I do not feel that I have this power and feel if such authority is to be given, it should be given through the action of our international convention. I am willing that the matter should be presented to our next convention, either through you, the E. C. or myself, authorizing the appointment of such a committee, in accordance with the action of the Denver Convention.

Acting upon our direction, President Gompers appointed Vice-Presidents Valentine, Mahon and Green as the committee. The committee's report follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 16, 1922.

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The undersigned committee, appointed by President Gompers to render a decision in the jurisdictional dispute existing between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association, herewith submits the following report:

The controversy between the two organizations affected has been of long duration. It began more than ten years ago and has continued, in more or less aggravated form, ever since. Despite sincere efforts put forth at various times by representatives of both organizations to effect a settlement the rival claims for jurisdiction over certain classes of work in many localities became bitter and intense. This resulted in conflicts

which, to say the least, did not contribute to the welfare, efficiency and progress of the organized labor movement.

The Montreal convention directed that a conference be held between the representatives of the two organizations at interest for the purpose of adjusting their differences. This was done but without success. A report was made by the E. C. to the Denver convention, and that body directed that the E. C. bring about a conference within sixty days between representatives of both organizations for the purpose of reaching an agreement. The instructions of the convention were complied with but the conference was barren of results. The Denver convention, however, directed that, in the event of failure to reach an agreement through conference, the matter be submitted for definite settlement and decision to a committee of three members of the E. C., said committee to be named by the president of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union.

Pursuant to this action of the Denver convention, President Morrin, of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Organization, was repeatedly requested by the E. C. of the A. F. of L. to name the committee, to be composed of three members of the E. C. President Morrin refused to do this and consequently the E. C., deeming it to be its duty to carry out the instructions of the Denver convention, both in spirit and in letter, directed President Gompers to name a committee to which this vexing controversy could be referred for final decision and definite settlement. Acting in accordance with the decision of the E. C. President Gompers appointed Vice-Presidents Mahon, Valentine and Green, as a committee, to investigate the matter, hear the evidence in the case and render a decision.

President Morrin was given due notice of the appointment of the committee and was requested to appear at a meeting of the committee to be held during the meeting of the E. C. of the A. F. of L., beginning May 10, 1922. He answered stating that it was impossible for him to meet with the committee during the early sessions of the meeting of the E. C. but if the meeting was held on Tuesday or Wednesday, May 16 or 17, he could be present. He was promptly advised that the committee would accommodate him by holding the meeting on the dates which he stated would be convenient for him. On the following day, to the surprise of the committee, President Morrin sent a telegram from St. Louis stating that he did not have authority to appear before the committee consequently he declined to be present.

The committee then met on Monday, May 15. A committee representing the Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, composed of Secretary Thomas Hughes, Vice-President Michael Casey and General Organizers J. Gillespie and T. Farrell, appeared before the committee and presented the case of the Teamsters' Union. Voluminous correspondence with President Morrin presenting his side of the case was read and carefully considered.

It is impossible to set forth in consecutive order each development which has taken place during this unhappy jurisdictional conflict. We have referred to the action taken by the Montreal and Denver conventions and what has been done subsequent to the adjournment of these conventions so that all may understand that great patience has been exercised and earnest efforts have been put forth in trying to bring about a settlement through agreement between the two organizations. We have carefully considered the rival jurisdictional claims of the two organizations, all available facts in connection therewith and the jurisdiction granted through their charters of affiliation with the A. F. of L. and our decision is as follows:

It is clearly evident that the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Union has gradually and persistently encroached upon the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. It has constantly endeavored to broaden its jurisdiction by claiming, and in some instances practicing, the right to load and unload material on and off wagons, trucks and automobiles. In the opinion of the committee this work clearly belongs to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. This work was conceded to this organization through its charter of affiliation with the A. F. of L. All loading, hauling and unloading of material on and off wagons, trucks and automobiles belongs to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. However, where building material is hauled to buildings

under construction and the foreman, contractor or person in charge of the erection of the building, directs that it be hoisted from the wagon, truck or automobile, such hoisting shall be done by the members of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International organization. Where it is unloaded from wagon, truck or automobile on the ground, street or sidewalk such work shall be done by the members of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. We recommend that this decision be adopted by the E. C. as clearly defining the jurisdiction between these two organizations.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) W. D. MAHON,  
JOS. F. VALENTINE,  
WM. GREEN,

*Committee.*

We approve the report and recommend its adoption by this convention.

#### PLUMBERS—MACHINISTS

In the case of the Machinists—Plumbers, there is nothing that we can report other than that we continued our efforts to have a conference between the representatives of the two organizations but without result.

#### MACHINISTS—FLINT GLASS WORKERS

Under instructions of the Denver Convention a conference was arranged between the representatives of the Flint Glass Workers and the representatives of the International Association of Machinists, but we regret to report the conference was barren of results.

#### JEWELRY WORKERS—METAL POLISHERS

We are pleased to report that an agreement has been reached between these two organizations, Secretary Morrison representing the E. C. The agreement follows:

##### *Agreement*

We, the undersigned agree that in all shops or factories manufacturing jewelry, etc., in which metal polishers are employed, who are members of the Metal Polishers' International Union, they shall remain members of the Metal Polishers' International Union; and in all factories, shops, etc., in which jewelry is manufactured and in which metal polishers are employed who are members of the Jewelry Workers' International Union, they shall retain their membership in the Jewelry Workers' International Union, unless they desire to become members of the Metal Polishers' Union; and in all shops to be organized in the future in which jewelry is manufactured the Jewelry Workers' International Union will have right to take into membership those who properly come under their jurisdiction, but under no circumstances shall they admit to membership a metal polisher who properly comes under the jurisdiction of the Metal Polishers' International Union.

Recognizing that the Jewelry Workers' International Union represents the majority of wage earners in the jewelry industry, the Metal Polishers' International Union agrees to coordinate its efforts with those of the Jewelry Workers' International Union in case of difficulties with employers or attempts to better working conditions.

It is agreed that members of the Metal Polishers' International Union, working in a shop employing members of the Jewelry Workers' International Union shall not impede or oppose any effort of the jewelry workers to secure improved conditions as to hours, wages or conditions.

It is further agreed upon the part of the Jewelry Workers' International Union, that in case of a strike of the members of the Metal Polishers' International Union, in any shop or factory, that they will not work with non-union metal polishers, and if they do so, that the members working in violation of this agreement shall be suspended.

It is also agreed upon the part of the Metal Polishers' International Union, that in case of a strike of the members of the Jewelry Workers' International Union, in any shop or factory, that they will not work with non-union Jewelry Workers, and if they do so, that the members working in violation of this agreement shall be suspended.

In the case of the metal polishers in Rochester who went out on strike and afterwards admitted to membership in the Jewelry Workers' International Union, this case shall be referred to a board of arbitration. The Board of Arbitration shall consist of one man from each organization, both parties to name a third; on failure to do so within thirty days, President Gompers shall name a third person and the decision of the board in the case shall be final and binding upon both parties.

Representing the Metal Polishers' International Union:

(Signed) W. W. BRITTON, *President.*  
GEO. LEARY, *Vice-President.*  
JOHN J. FLYNN, *Vice-President.*

Representing the Jewelry Workers' International Union:

(Signed) WILBUR M. AUSTIN, *President.*  
A. GREENSTEIN, *Secretary.*  
DOUG JACOBS, *Third Vice-President.*

Representing the A. F. of L.:

FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary.*

#### STEEL CAR WORKERS, HAMMOND, IND.

Through Resolution No. 107, the delegates from several organizations to the Denver convention jointly called upon the officers of the American Federation of Labor to place before the President of the United States the facts about the shooting of four steel car workers at Hammond, Ind., by armed policemen and armed guards of the Standard Steel Car Company.

It was alleged that the guns used were the property of the United States Government.

\*The matter was given prompt attention through a formal letter from President Gompers to President Harding under date of July 9, 1921. To that letter, the following reply was received, copy of which was transmitted to the several organizations interested:

#### THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, *November 1, 1921.*

MY DEAR MR. GOMPERS: Referring to your letter of August 18, I wish to say that I have caused an investigation to be made by the Inspector General's Department of the War Department, which disclosed the following:

During the war the Standard Steel Car Company was engaged in the production of gun carriages for the War Department under a contract based on a fixed profit plus cost of production and cost of over-head expenses. This contract was finally completed on September 26, 1919. Under the heading of "plant protection," the Ordnance Department of the Army issued regulations which required all producing contractors to arm certain of their civilian employes as plant guards. Under these regulations the War Department agreed to furnish the arms for the guards, but due to delay in receiving such arms in this case the company, in March and May, 1918, itself purchased thirty Winchester Repeating shot guns. The government eventually reimbursed the company for the purchase of these shot guns as their purchase price was included in the over-head expenses as part of the cost under the contract. Ownership of the guns vested in the company, however, and on final settlement of the contract on September 26, 1919, that ownership was recognized and continued by the government.

Incident to the strike which occurred during the summer of 1919, while the contract of the Standard Steel Car Company was still uncompleted, a clash occurred be-

\*The difference in dates is due to a clerical error in the White House reply.

tween the strikers and the civil police of Hammond, Ind., during which four strikers were killed and about twenty were wounded. The guards of the Standard Steel Car Company had been previously sworn in as policemen of Hammond under the laws of Indiana, and during the clash of September 8, 1919, those guards were summoned by the chief of the civil police to render him assistance. Those guards responded and participated in the clash, and were at the time armed with the identical Winchester shot guns purchased as aforesated. Those guns were not the property of the United States Government. In responding to this summons from the chief of police of Hammond the guards were transported in automobiles which had technically been paid for by the United States since they, like the shot guns, had been charged to over-head expenses in fulfilling the company's contract with the government. These automobiles, however, like the shot guns, were not the property of the United States.

During the conditional examination of witnesses on October 28, 1919, before the Superior Court of Lake County, Indiana, in a hearing which grew out of a damage suit against the Standard Steel Car Company incident to the clash of September 8, 1919, several witnesses testified that the shot guns with which the aforesated guards were armed belonged to the Ordnance Department.

These witnesses erroneously confused the Ordnance Department of the Standard Steel Car Company with the Ordnance Department of the United States Government. From this confusion of terms grew the misconception of the ownership of the guns in question on which the resolution of the A. F. of L. was based.

Sincerely yours,  
 (Signed) GEO. B. CHRISTIAN, JR.,  
 Secretary to the President.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
 A. F. of L.,  
 Washington, D. C.

**GOLDEN-SNELLINGS MEMORIAL**

In accordance with the directions of the Denver Convention to convey to the families of John Golden and Milton Snellings the resolutions of sympathy adopted by that convention, under our authority the resolutions were handsomely engrossed and framed.

President Gompers attended the convention of the United Textile Workers and there during the memorial services, presented the engrossed resolutions to Mrs. Golden.

The engrossed resolutions regarding Mr. Snellings were duly presented to Mrs. Snellings by a committee representing the American Federation of Labor.

**REPRESENTATION IN CENTRAL BODIES**

In considering the graduated basis upon which the representation of delegates to central bodies should be predicated, the Executive Council examined all available data and as a result of its study recommends the following graduated basis of representation of local unions to central bodies:

|                     |                    |       |             |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------|-------------|
| Local unions having | 50 members or less | ..... | 2 delegates |
| “ “ “               | 100 “ “ “          | ..... | 3 delegates |
| “ “ “               | 250 “ “ “          | ..... | 4 delegates |
| “ “ “               | 500 “ “ “          | ..... | 5 delegates |

Local unions to be entitled to one delegate for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

**DISCARDED IDEAS REVAMPED**

During the past few years there has been a well studied effort by individuals here and there to create the impression that the American Federation of Labor is not organized along proper lines. During 1920 and 1921, two or three central bodies were induced to adopt resolutions demanding that a new method of organization of the

labor movement be devised. None contained a practical plan. In fact, they all demonstrated clearly that their authors did not really understand the American labor movement. Nevertheless, the preambles to such resolutions generally arraigned the American labor movement on the lines upon which the A. F. of L. is founded and functions.

While it was made to appear that there was a great demand for a change in the organization of our Federation, yet this idea was effectually exploded by the fact there was not presented to the Denver convention one resolution containing any of the proposals of this character.

During the past year there have been only isolated cases in central bodies of such resolutions intended to "revolutionize" the A. F. of L. In one case the secretary of a central body had a committee appointed to consider what could be done to bring about changes in the plan of organization of the A. F. of L.

The committee reported a plan to re-organize the A. F. of L. upon a basis similar to that of the federal, state and municipal governments. The plan was practically that of the Federation as it is now organized, but it was so full of misrepresentation of the A. F. of L. that the central body refused to endorse it. Then the secretary on his own initiative without the knowledge, authority or sanction of the central body, sent a circular letter to all other central bodies, some of which were led to believe that the plan was the offering of the central body.

Resolutions by another central labor union provided that all international unions should discharge their organizers and give the work to state federations and central bodies, "thus guaranteeing more effective work at a reduced cost." Then state federations, district councils, city central bodies and building trades councils were "to be empowered to call strikes."

Another central body entered the arena with a plan to industrialize the labor movement upon a plan which would eventually result in "one big union."

Due to lack of information or because of misinformation, there are but illustrations of the acceptance of supposedly new thoughts and new beliefs, though in reality ideas which, by reason of their utter futility, have been discarded long years ago by the labor movement.

It is unnecessary to comment on the statements contained in these "declarations." It is only necessary to state that but four central labor bodies notified the A. F. of L. that they had approved them. Some of the central bodies sent stinging letters to the offending central labor unions.

The officials of the A. F. of L. have explained to the central bodies the utter futility of their proposals. There has also been impressed upon them the fact that if there be a member of the trade union movement who has a really practical idea that would benefit Labor it would undoubtedly be received and favorably considered by the conventions of the A. F. of L.

The Executive Council is pleased to report that the efforts of those who would undermine or destroy the trade union movement, either because they would be personally benefited or are misguided, have met with defeat. This demonstrates that the principles upon which the A. F. of L. is founded are so appealing to the sense of justice of the rank and file that those who would create a cataclysm have only failure to register for their work. There is now less friction in the labor movement regarding its form of organization than there has been at any time in the past.

Attention is called to this matter simply to point out the fact that the attempt to create dissension was from a few individuals.

The A. F. of L. has accomplished so much in defense and furtherance of the rights, the interests and the welfare of the toiling masses of America as to commend itself to the sincere respect, affection and confidence of the wage earners.

#### MARINE TRANSPORT DEPARTMENT

By Resolution No. 89, the Executive Council was directed to ascertain the wishes of the several organizations which would be affected by the formation of a marine transport department, and that if it should be found advisable by the E. C. a conference with the representatives of these organizations should be called.

Conforming to that instruction, the several organizations were consulted by correspondence as to their wishes in the matter.

From this correspondence your E. C. is convinced that the majority of the transportation organizations do not desire the formation of such a department.

### APPOINTMENT OF TRUSTEES

From year to year, three men have been selected to act as trustees of the American Federation of Labor Building. Their appointments have been made simultaneously and their terms of office expired simultaneously.

To avoid the possibility of the building being without any trustee at any time, should the three trustees simultaneously resign or be unable to serve for any cause whatever, we recommend that in the future the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building be chosen for one, two and three years respectively so that there shall always be two trustees in office, and that the E. C. shall at the expiration of the terms of the trustees in their respective order elect for three years a successor for the trustee whose term shall expire.

### POLITICAL PRISONERS

The Executive Council continued through the year just closed to act in accordance with Resolution No. 24, adopted at Montreal, for the release of political prisoners and for the repeal of the espionage law.

The work of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of political prisoners was carried on largely in cooperation with the Central Labor Bodies Conference for the release of political prisoners. During the war there were approximately 15,000 military offenders and about 600 conscientious objectors placed in confinement. All of the conscientious objectors have been released and about 14,000 military offenders have been freed. About 1,484 convictions under the espionage law were secured by the United States Department of Justice.

On December 25, 1921, President Harding liberated a group of political prisoners, leaving only about forty-five still in confinement. It was understood at the time that these remaining prisoners were shortly to be released providing demonstrations were not made in their behalf. Following this the work of the Central Labor Bodies Conference was concluded and we are of the opinion that a discontinuance of the work was proper and justified inasmuch as a full measure of success had been achieved. The war-time laws were repealed by congress and nearly all of the political prisoners have been released. There is no doubt that the few remaining in prison would have been released had not their false friends made earlier action by the government difficult. As a matter of fact, throughout the whole campaign for the release of political prisoners, it was necessary not only to convince government officials of the wisdom and justice of our proposals, but it was necessary to contend against the propaganda activities of those who sought to exploit the prisoners for either personal or political purposes.

Once again we wish to make clear what has been frequently stated, that our efforts have been solely in behalf of those who were imprisoned for the written or spoken expression of thought or opinion during the war, on the ground that the war having been ended, no further reason for the imprisonment of these purely political offenders remained.

### AMERICAN LEGION

The Executive Council desires to report that most friendly relations exist between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion. Frequent conferences have been held between representatives of the two organizations on matters of interest to both. In legislative matters it has been found that the two organizations are working in complete harmony. The officials of the American Legion were very helpful in opposing the coolie bill. They also declared against the sales tax. Hanford McNider, commander of the American Legion, as well as his two predecessors, has explained to the membership the hopes and aspirations of the American labor movement. These communications have been very helpful in preventing interference with the normal activities of

Labor. A representative of the American Legion addressed the Denver convention of the A. F. of L. and the E. C. was directed to send a representative to the October, 1921, convention of the American Legion. To Geo. L. Berry, president of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistant's Union, was assigned that mission. He attended the Legion convention and conveyed to the legionaires the greetings and good wishes of the A. F. of L.

The E. C. is pleased to report that Mr. Berry was elected Vice-Commander of the American Legion. Since the Legion convention he has visited many posts of that organization and explained the hopes and aspirations of the trade union movement.

This has been of great educational value inasmuch as it showed the necessity to these organizations to aid each other in its work for the people.

The E. C. believes that there should be conferences from time to time between the organizations of Labor and the American Legion in every city in which there are Legion posts established, for the purpose of removing any misunderstandings that might arise. Such conferences would also tend to cement the friendly relations existing between the two organizations.

### LABOR AND THE FARMER

During the past year many conferences have been held by the officials of the American Federation of Labor with representatives of the various farmer organizations. These have proved of value as it has given each an opportunity to explain its attitude toward various important questions to be solved. Every opportunity has been taken to impress upon the farmers that Labor is interested in their welfare. Whatever injures the farmer, injures Labor and vice versa. The anti-labor publicity agents, however, have gained entrance to the columns of some of the farm journals and they have sought to create friction that would drive a wedge between Labor and the farmers. In the President's Unemployment Conference the farmers voted with Labor on all matters directly bearing upon labor movements.

We urge that the Executive Council be authorized and directed to continue to do what it can in furtherance of such educational work as will acquaint the farmers with the issues that not only affect the wage earners but the farmers as well.

### MOTION PICTURES—CENSORSHIP OVER MOTION PICTURES, THE STAGE AND THE PRESS

By action of the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council was directed to investigate the feasibility and advisability of having the A. F. of L. institute and maintain a studio for the production and manufacture of moving pictures, to portray on the screen the true principles, objects and activities of organized labor and to investigate the advisability of affiliated international and local unions establishing a chain of moving picture theaters for the exhibition of films of pictures portraying the labor movement and the labor cause.

Complying with these instructions, the E. C. caused an investigation to be made of this entire subject. It is found that there are three methods of producing motion pictures for entertainment and instruction purposes. One is to build your own studio and laboratory as has been contemplated in the instructions given to the E. C. Another is to lease or rent everything, and the third method is to contract with a competent film producing concern for the production of the pictures desired.

It should be understood that the cost of building and equipping a motion picture studio depends entirely upon the size, location and scale or magnitude of pictures contemplated. In undertaking to provide one's own studio and laboratory suitable for general productive purposes, it is estimated that the building of a studio, with proper lighting, camera, laboratory and other essential equipment, exclusive of all labor cost, would approximate \$225,000. To this must be added the permanent salaries for superintendent, watchmen, artisans and laborers, laboratory workmen and others at an estimated figure of \$525 per week or approximately \$27,000 a year. Thus it is estimated the building and equipment of a studio would approximate \$225,000 with a maintenance charge of approximately \$27,000 a year.



The investigation made has clearly demonstrated that to build and maintain a moving picture studio would be an unprofitable venture unless it be in continuous and profitable use. This could only be accomplished if the A. F. of L. were to enter the motion picture field as a business venture, unlimited and unrestricted in the character of the pictures it was to produce.

Another very important item entering into the production of motion pictures is the talent and settings to be employed in the making of any given picture. It is impossible to estimate this item of expense as each picture varies in the cost of production dependent upon the number and character of actors employed as well as the dramatic and spectacular features involved.

It is, therefore, evident that it is neither practical nor desirable that the A. F. of L. should undertake to own and maintain a motion picture studio.

In looking into the practicability and advisability of a leasing plan, we find that the estimated cost of leasing a studio, laboratory charges involving fifty reels a week or 50,000 feet, and charge of superintendency, watchmen and other labor costs would approximate \$160,000 a year. This estimate does not include the salaries of actors and other expenses in the taking of a picture.

We are informed that the Labor Film Service Company spent \$36,000 in the making of "The Contrast" film, outside of the cost of promotion and releasing. This picture is a six reel film. It was produced in a studio that was rented only for the time required for its completion, and while the picture contains more characters than usually appear in the average production, it does not contain any stars.

In these days of stupendous motion picture productions, none of the large producers attempt to make a production under \$60,000, and modern feature pictures range in cost from \$35,000 to \$500,000 and more. It is estimated that regardless of whether a picture is produced on the purchase or leasing plan, the average cost per picture, which could compete with the pictures now in the market, would range between \$60,000 to \$75,000. It is, therefore, evident that the leasing plan is likewise an undesirable venture for the A. F. of L.

The third plan is to contract with a competent motion picture concern for the production of whatever pictures and films are desired. It is impossible to secure an estimate on the probable cost involved in this method, as the cost depends largely on the scale and magnitude embraced in the scenario. It is said that pictures that are not featured consisting of two to five reels range in cost from \$5,000 to \$10,000, but what may be termed as feature pictures range from \$10,000 to \$1,000,000. Therefore, the cost of contracting for the production of motion picture films depends largely upon how elaborate are to be the settings and the class of talent that is to be employed.

We venture to suggest that this is not a field of activity into which the A. F. of L. can enter profitably either from a financial or practical viewpoint and, therefore, report adversely to the proposal of having the A. F. of L. enter into the field of producing motion picture films.

Our investigation into the proposal of having affiliated international and local unions establish a chain of motion picture theaters, while not as comprehensive as that of producing motion pictures, nevertheless indicated clearly the almost insurmountable difficulties that present themselves in such a large business enterprise and we do not hesitate to report adversely upon this proposal.

The resolutions upon which this report is based are predicated upon the declaration that the motion picture industry is one of the greatest forces in molding public opinion and in the dissemination of knowledge, that it is a censor of activities and principles and that this influence is being used to arouse public opinion and prejudice against the trade union movement.

Appreciative of the great influence of the motion picture productions upon the public mind and keenly alert to the dangers involved in presenting prejudiced and unfair picture productions of organized labor in its constant struggle with organized capital, the subject of presenting fairly and without bias the hopes and aspirations of the working people of our country by motion pictures, has been taken up with the motion picture producers. We are assured through William H. Hayes, president of the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, Incorporated, that it is the intent, desire and purpose of the motion picture producers of America to cooperate with the trade

union movement to present fairly and accurately the activities and attitude of the wage earner, without prejudice and in the light of helping to uplift the great family of human toil. It is said that the motion picture producers have come to realize that if the screen is to serve humankind, it must not only be true to a correct presentation of conditions of life as it finds them but that motion pictures must likewise encourage all movements and tendencies that tend to uplift mankind.

In connection with this it is incumbent upon the workers to cooperate with the trade union movement in seeing that those promises of motion picture producers are shaped into realities and wherever and whenever motion pictures are shown which are prejudicial and unfair to Labor that the attention of the A. F. of L. be directed to such productions so that steps may be taken to discourage such exhibitions and make them unprofitable.

It is also essential, whenever and wherever there are produced and exhibited, pictures which are helpful to the realization of Labor's hopes and aspirations and which fairly represent the activities of the trade union movement and its achievements, that support and encouragement be given to such producers and exhibitors and thus, by Labor's patronage, reward those who would devote their time and effort in the workers' cause and for human uplift.

Our investigation has led us to note a tendency of extreme danger to the general welfare in the subtle propaganda that is being promoted for the establishing of a political form of censorship of the motion picture method of communicating thought and action of the human race. It has been found that under the guise of protecting the morals and safeguarding the peace of a community, motion pictures depicting the brutal and unwarranted conduct of employers' hirelings and officers of the law against the working people engaged in an industrial struggle have been censored by these state censorship commissions. By that method the public has been denied the opportunity of becoming familiar with the vicious tactics used by employers in their mad attempt to suppress and depress the wage earners in their struggles for a better day and a brighter life.

While appreciative of the need and desirability of exhibiting only clean and wholesome motion pictures and while unsympathetic with any means of communicating thought that tends to weaken the bonds so essential to an improved civilization, time and experience have demonstrated that the principles underlying governmental censorship are such as to threaten to convert the liberties of our people into license and subjugate the rights of free men to the whims and fancies of governmental censorship commissions. Because of the dangers inherent in these censorship commissions to the rights and liberties of our people, the E. C. is impelled to reiterate the approved declaration of a year ago in protest to the existing censorship laws as well as against the proposal to extend this fraternal form of government.

The prediction made a year ago that the political censorship over motion pictures would ultimately extend over the stage as well as over printing and publishing has already developed to a considerable degree. Plans have been made by some of our so-called reform organizations to undertake the furtherance of legislation intended to establish a censorship over the stage, printing and publishing.

Those engaged in the theatrical profession, alert to the dangers confronting the stage, have undertaken to provide a voluntary method of reviewing such plays and performances against which complaint is lodged. It is proposed by those directly engaged in these professions and allied crafts to exercise their economic power so as to attract public favor, raise the standards of theatrical productions and deny to those who commercialize public sentiment, the opportunity of attempting to foist on the American people a further extension of regulative rules of conduct which do not find their enforcement in an enlightened conscience but by the rigors of statutory law and the vesting of vast discretionary powers into the hands of censorship commissions. The plans under way likewise embrace the ultimate attempt of censorship of the press. Indeed, it is difficult to understand how the work of an author or writer, artist or painter can well be permitted the freedom of the press, when these self same expressions if exhibited on the stage or on the screen may be censored or be denied freedom of expression. Thus, there is involved in this whole realm of censorship a danger boundless in extent and permeated with a purpose to stifle and suppress the venturesome spirit of a

free people and to enforce by law a predetermined moral, social, political and economic code and a bureaucratic form of government rather than to permit free expression, conflict of viewpoints and development of intellect and of a higher consciousness to determine the future moral, social, political and industrial relations of humankind.

Sensitive to the grave dangers involved in this wave for state regulation over all methods of communicating and distributing thoughts and human expression, the Author's League of America, the Actors' Equity, the American Dramatists, the Screen Writers' Guild, the Stage Mechanics and Motion Pictures Union, the Cinema Camera Club, the Motion Picture Directors' Association, the American Federation of Musicians and the International Printing Trades Unions, have undertaken to provide a program which will embrace the advancement of all that is good, in motion pictures and on the stage, to inculcate into all those persons engaged in the production and promotion of motion pictures and plays and writings a higher ethical standard; to bring into a closer and more harmonious relationship all branches of the professions and trades having to do with the expressions and communicating of the thoughts and activities and relations of man, and to oppose all forms of political and bureaucratic censorship boards and commissions as an unwarranted and extremely dangerous infringement upon the freedom of expression and freedom of the press.

We commend this voluntary and constructive program worthy of our approval and support and recommend re-affirmation of the declaration approved a year ago that we oppose all forms of political censorship over the freedom of expression and that if existing laws are insufficient to protect fully the morals of our people and the perpetuity of the democratic principles upon which our nation is founded, in that event additional and adequate laws be enacted but that freedom of expression, freedom of the press and freedom of assembly shall not be abridged or denied and that producers, exhibitors and publishers shall be held responsible for any transgression of the laws of our country or of the states.

#### OLD-AGE PENSIONS

By action of the Denver convention, the proposal to have introduced into the congress of the United States a bill for the payment of old-age pensions in the interest of and embracing all the citizens of the United States, was referred to the Executive Council for investigation and such action as might be deemed proper and necessary.

Pursuant to the instructions, the E. C. caused this investigation to be made. This inquiry confirmed the findings presented on this subject to the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Toronto, 1909.

As indicated in that report, the problem of providing old-age pensions to all the citizens of the United States presents a number of constitutional difficulties in that our form of government is one of constitutional limitations designed to safeguard the sovereignty and the individual rights of the citizens, and is founded on the conception that our federal government shall be vested only with such powers and authority as may be delegated to it by the several states.

In determining and defining the powers of our national government, we find its constitutional grants of authority extremely limited, and its sovereignty over the citizens of the several states provided only by the general declaration in the preamble of the constitution.

While the expressed intents and purposes of our national government embrace the establishment of justice and the promotion of the general welfare, the attainment of these objectives has been confined by judicial interpretation to include only such practical methods as are more particularly defined in the constitution itself and in the amendments enacted thereafter.

To accept this judicial interpretation of the powers of our national government as final is to deny the flexibility of our judicial mind; the historical development of our supreme judicial institution indicates otherwise. Were we to accept as final the present judicial point of view of the powers of our national government it would be impossible to provide old-age pensions to all citizens of the United States without securing additional authority to our national government by constitutional amendment. This procedure would involve a gigantic undertaking and would immediately arouse the whole question

of state rights, which, considered with the opposition such a proposal would inevitably awaken among the selfish possessors of wealth, would render this task an almost hopeless one. Then, too, proceeding in the form of a constitutional amendment would preclude any other possible procedure in that such an attitude would be expressive of the weakness of our national government in undertaking to provide old-age pensions under existing delegated authority.

It is conceivable that with a proper public conscience aroused, the constitutional declarations to establish justice and promote the general welfare might be broadened by subsequent judicial interpretation to include provision for an old-age pension to all citizens especially if predicated on the existing recognition of the duty and need of society to care for the aged as is evidenced at the present time in the form of poor-houses, hospitals, etc.

The recognition of this social duty is demonstrative of the need of an enlargement in providing justice and promoting the general welfare of the citizens of the United States. Society should undertake the performance of this duty, not as a matter of charity but as a matter of right and of justice.

Supplemental to this general constitutional declaration of intents and purposes is the specific authority delegated to the national government to regulate commerce between the several states. It is under this constitutional provision that the existing national compensation law is predicated. Unfortunately, however, we find that in the enforcement of this act the workers are involved in many subtle questions of conflict arising between interstate and intrastate employment. Altogether too often the wage earners are without relief or redress in what is clearly recognized in law as a compensatory injury. Thus, a railway worker may be engaged within a state in switching or hauling a car of freight destined for another state and yet if he does not pass the state line in the performance of his service, he is said not to have been engaged in interstate commerce. Then, too, there is the further possibility of our courts ruling against the constitutionality of an old-age pension predicated upon the power of congress to regulate interstate commerce in that immediately upon resigning from his employment a man would no longer be in the employment of interstate commerce and therefore not subject to the authority of the United States government. Evidently, this method of providing for old-age pensions presents too many present day difficulties to be given serious consideration.

Another method of providing old-age pensions would be through the exercise of the contracting power of our national government. It was during the period of war when the contracting power of our national government became the real dominating power and influence in our industrial life that through this power our national government was enabled to regulate private industrial activities and relations to meet the requirements of our national emergency and without involving many of the constitutional questions which would have arisen had any other method of procedure been followed. To exercise this power so as to require those who furnish materials, supplies or fulfill the needs of our national government in providing old-age pensions, and to consider this additional authority in connection with the power the government now possesses and exercises in granting pensions to its own employes, a much larger scope and percentage of wage earners would be required to be included in a national plan for old-age pensions. However, this method would involve so many intricacies and complexities and be subject to so many uncertainties that the value of such a plan, to say the least, is extremely doubtful.

It may be suggested that if it is impractical to secure the enactment of an old-age pension system through federal legislation that the same ends might be attained through state legislation. Practically, the same legal difficulties may be urged against this procedure. While we believe that the several states have the authority to enact old-age pension laws this procedure and method would not embrace all citizens of the United States. Then, too the difficulty in securing favorable legislation in the forty-eight separate states, the District of Columbia and in all of the possessions of the United States is so apparent that it needs only to be mentioned to be fully understood.

Another thought that has been advanced is to have the national government encourage state legislatures in providing old-age pensions by contributing a proportional sum of money equal to that expended by each state for this particular purpose.

That this method is perfectly constitutional is well demonstrated in the making of similar financial contributions by congress in providing for the educational facilities of our people, in promoting good roads, building plans, and in providing maternity benefits. However, this procedure is subject to the same difficulties embraced in the proposal to have the several states provide old-age pensions.

It is evident that it is extremely difficult to devise a direct method for the payment of old-age pensions by the national government unless recourse is had to the creating of an additional relationship of the individual citizen to the national government and upon which payment of services during old-age might be predicated. There is contained in the constitution of the United States the provision that congress shall have the power "to raise and support armies." From the inception of the national government and without question, congress has exercised that power and under this constitutional provision congress may fully regulate the age and qualifications of enlistment, terms of service and rates of compensation.

It is upon that principle of constitutional law that the convention of the A. F. of L. held in Toronto in 1909, declared for a national old-age pension system and caused a bill to be introduced into the national congress which is as follows:

#### THE BILL.

An Act to Organize An Army Corps, Prescribe Qualifications for Enlistment Therein, Define The Duties and Fix The Compensation and Term of Enlistment of Privates, and for Other purposes.

Be It Enacted, Etc. That immediately after the passage of this act, an army corps shall be organized in the Department of War, under the direction of the President, to be known as the Old-Age Home Guard of the United States Army.

Sec. 2. The Old-Age Home Guard of the United States Army shall be composed of persons not less than 65 years of age.

Sec. 3. Any person who is 65 years of age, or upwards, and who has been a resident of the United States twenty-five consecutive years, and a citizen of the United States fifteen consecutive years next preceding the date of application, and who is not possessed of property amounting to more than fifteen hundred dollars in value, free of all incumbrances, or an income of more than two hundred and forty dollars per annum, and who has not sequestered, or otherwise disposed of property or income for the purpose of qualifying for enlistment as hereinafter provided, may make application, in writing, to the Secretary of War, for enlistment in the Old-Age Home Guard of the United States Army, and it shall be the duty of the Secretary of War to enlist and enroll such applicant, for the term of his or her life, as a private in the Old-Age Home Guard of the United States Army, without regard to the physical condition of the applicant, provided that persons related as husband and wife shall not both be eligible for enlistment, enrollment and service therein at the same time, and in case of dispute as to whether husband or wife shall be enlisted and enrolled, as herein provided, the question shall be decided by the Secretary of War, by and with the approval of the President.

Sec. 4. The pay of a private in the Old-Age Home Guard of the United States Army shall be one hundred and twenty dollars per annum, to be paid in quarterly installments, as pensions are now by law paid, provided, that ten dollars per annum shall be deducted from the pay of each private, and retained in the Treasury of the United States, for every one hundred dollars' worth of property in excess of three hundred dollars, and for every ten dollars per annum income in excess of one hundred and twenty dollars, possessed by such private.

Sec. 5. Arms and ammunition shall be furnished to privates in the Old-Age Home Guard of the United States Army at the discretion of the Secretary of War, but no sustenance shall be furnished to them except the pay herein provided.

Sec. 6. No private, or applicant for enlistment as private, shall be required to leave his or her home for the purpose of enlistment, enrollment or service in the Old-Age Home Guard of the United States Army, nor shall they be

required to assemble, drill or perform any of the other manoeuvres, nor be subject to any of the regulations of the United States Army, except as herein provided.

Sec. 7. Privates in the Old-Age Home Guard of the United Army shall be required to report annually, in writing, to the Secretary of War, on blanks furnished by him for the purpose, the conditions of military and patriotic sentiment in the community where such private lives, but no private shall be discharged, disciplined, or otherwise punished for failure to make such report.

Sec. 8. The number of persons enlisted in the Old-Age Home Guard of the United States Army shall be in addition to the number of officers and privates now required by law in the United States Army.

Sec. 9. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

Unquestionably, the principle upon which this bill is predicated is well founded though the particular provisions relating to eligibility, conditions of service, terms of compensation, are subject to varying opinions and conclusions. This plan, however, seems to be the most feasible one yet presented or devised in that it provides the opportunity of old-age pensions for all citizens who have reached a certain age, places the pensioner in the direct employment of the government and lists him in the army of the United States under the direction of the President who is the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, enumerates the duties to be performed, limits the punishment for failure to perform them and stipulates the compensation to be received for the service required.

It will be noted that this method of providing old-age pensions is devoid of the element of poverty or charity, and that it is not conceived as the payment of deferred wages. It is founded entirely upon a relationship of service and for which compensation is provided. It is a method of providing old-age employment compensation and therefore, it applies to all wage earners regardless of the regularity or irregularity of employment. It reaches all classes of persons. It will not lessen the quality of self-help and self-reliance on the part of the individual. It will secure its contributions through means of taxation. It avoids the character of compulsory insurance in that it is not an insurance but it is in the nature of payment for services rendered. It does not infringe upon the inherent and natural right of individuals guaranteed freedom for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, nor does it deprive any person of property without due process of law. It seems more clearly to avoid all of the constitutional limitations which may be urged against all other plans and proposals.

It is the recommendation of the E. C. that if the principle of the legislation herein reported is again reaffirmed, that the E. C. be authorized to cause this bill to be introduced in the national congress modified in so far as the compensation features are concerned more nearly to meet the requirements of the living conditions of today.

#### LABOR DAY, LABOR'S SUNDAY AND LABOR'S MEMORIAL DAY

We again urge and recommend the observation of the fourth Sunday in May as Labor's Memorial Day, in accordance with the action of the convention of 1907. On this day labor everywhere should conduct appropriate ceremonies in tribute to the memory of those whose lives have been given to the struggle for progress and freedom. We urge everywhere proper and dignified observation of Labor Day, the first Monday in September, and we again call attention to the appropriateness of observation of Labor's Sunday, the day preceding Labor Day.

It is interesting to note this year in connection with our own Labor Day that the British Trades Union Congress has begun a campaign to secure for the workers of England a legal holiday to be known as Labor Day. We trust that the British trade unionists will be successful in their effort to secure parliamentary action for the establishment of Labor Day in England.

### WORK OF OUR ORGANIZERS

More than ever the work of our volunteer organizers has been of importance during the last year.

The fact that our movement has been able to withstand attack so successfully is in part due to the splendid efforts of voluntary organizers who have been unremitting in their vigilance and untiring in their work. We bespeak for them the gratitude of the movement and we feel confident that their efforts in the future will be as energetic and successful as in the year that has passed.

In the financial section of this report is given a detailed statement of the expenses for organization work. In connection with the work of the salaried organizers of the A. F. of L. there should be borne in mind the fact these organizers whenever they are called upon or whenever the occasion requires give every possible assistance to the national and international unions, not only in organization work but in helping to avert trade disturbances and in adjusting trade disputes. Through this assistance and co-operation a number of strikes have been averted that would have cost the A. F. of L. as well as affiliated unions large sums of money. Our organizers have proven helpful likewise in adjusting differences with employers and in securing to the unions concerned the conditions of employment desired. In addition, they have been frequently called upon to give their helpful service to the state labor movements in legislation advocated by the state movements and endorsed by the A. F. of L.

### IRELAND

Pursuant to the instructions contained in the committee substitute for resolutions Nos. 3, 101, 117 and 119, adopted by the Denver convention we report that we have complied with all of the instructions contained therein.

We call attention with a feeling of deep satisfaction to the progress that has been made by the people of Ireland toward a just and lasting settlement of their political problems.

We call attention also to the report of our fraternal delegates to the British Trade Union Congress and to the reference which they make to the faithful manner in which their instructions regarding Ireland were carried out.

### PAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

No convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor has been held since the last American Federation of Labor convention. We are informed that it is not the intention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to hold a convention this year; meanwhile the relations of the A. F. of L. with the labor movements of the various Pan-American countries have continued to be of the most friendly and helpful character.

The officers of the A. F. of L. have been of assistance wherever possible to representatives of the labor movements of other countries, particularly of Mexico and Santo Domingo. We have repeatedly expressed our conviction that there should be a readjustment of American relations with the Dominican Republic and that the government of the United States should extend recognition to the Republic of Mexico.

In this connection we believe it well to recall the following extract from the action of the Denver convention on this subject:

We are mindful of the greed which still seeks satisfaction in the rich resources of Mexico and in so far as that greed emanates from our country we must feel bound to place ourselves in opposition to it.

It is not going beyond the bounds of good citizenship to express here the hope that relations between our government and the Mexican government soon may be re-established on a basis of honor and respect, in order that our people may have that official contact and communication which are essential in modern society.

We believe that an early adoption of such a course, re-establishing the relations of the two nations on a sound and friendly basis, will do much to bring speedy solution to other problems of importance, which, in the absence of official friendly relations, are less likely of speedy and amicable settlement.

We recommend reaffirmation of that declaration, believing that it gives expression to that which is best calculated to serve the interests of all Americans. It outlines furthermore, we believe, one just policy which our nation can pursue in its relations with our neighboring republic.

We desire to call attention here to the unique service which the labor movement can render to the peoples of the American continents. In practically all governmental international relations it is the almost unvarying practice to ignore the Latin-American republics. Therefore, the Latin-American republics are prevented from making their proper contribution to the welfare and progress of the world. The nations to the south of us have no great menacing naval or military strength and perhaps for that reason they are not invited to participate in the international councils of governments. They have, however, a considerable wealth of thought, knowledge, and idealism which they should be encouraged to contribute to the councils of the world. We believe that it should be a matter of some pride to the A. F. of L. that it assisted so materially in bringing into being the first international organization through which the Latin-American countries might offer to the world their progressive and constructive thought and through which they might come to have a better understanding of each other. It is our conviction that the Pan-American Federation of Labor is but at the beginning of the period of its greatest usefulness and opportunity for service. Relations with Latin-American countries are of constantly growing importance.

The opportunity of the A. F. of L. through its participation in the Pan-American labor movement is therefore one of great promise and one which we feel should be developed to the utmost. Understanding between peoples is of infinitely greater moment than understanding between the officers of governments. The labor movement can best foster and develop this understanding between peoples.

#### A. F. OF L. FRATERNAL DELEGATES TO GREAT BRITAIN

William J. Spencer and James J. Forrester, Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress, submit the following report:\*

Desiring to make this report as brief as possible, without, however, omitting anything of importance, we will refrain from including herein any reference to our departure from the United States or to our ocean trip, and sojourn in Europe prior to the opening of the congress, except to say that both were pleasant and very interesting experiences and to further say that both delegates reached the congress city, Cardiff, Wales, on Sunday, September 4, the day preceding the opening of the congress; that both were present at all sessions, either all or a part of the time, and that there was no time while sessions were being held that one or the other was not present. Thus the American Federation of Labor was at all times, at all sessions, represented at this important gathering of British trades unionists.

The first action of the congress was the adoption of a resolution proposing the enactment by parliament of a law under which the government would "provide pensions for mothers on the principle of the schemes now in operation in many states of America."

An interesting proposal was adopted instructing the general council "to draft a scheme for the establishment of a national superannuation fund for the full-time employes of affiliated trade unions and of such other organizations connected with the labor movement as the general council may approve."

Almost at the outset of the session there took place a development which would not be possible in a convention of the A. F. of L. The secretary read a resolution which was on the agenda regarding "the apparent breakdown of the triple alliance as evidenced in connection with the miners' dispute" regretting "the failure of the transport workers and railway men to act in support of the miners" and ordering an inquiry into the cause. As soon as the resolution had been read a delegate stated from the floor that the

\*The Denver convention (by resolution 103), directed that the fraternal delegates should submit their reports to the convention through the Executive Council instead of direct to the convention as has been the previous policy.



delegation presenting the resolution desired to have it withdrawn. Without submitting it to the congress in any way, the president announced that the request was granted. Immediately there was a storm of protest but the chairman maintained the position he had taken and again declared the resolution withdrawn and not before the congress.

Disputes between management committees or executive officers of trade unions and their clerical staffs have become of such importance that the congress adopted a resolution providing for the organization of a joint board to deal with matters affecting the conditions of employment in trade union offices.

On the subject of railways the congress adopted without debate a reiteration of the demand for "complete nationalization."

In spite of the descriptions of opponents of the A. F. of L. who constantly cite the British labor movement as a model far in advance of our own movement we found the British Trade Union Congress struggling with the same practical problems that occupy our own attention and we found them under the same necessity of slowly working out the solutions to these problems.

There is a considerable popular belief that the British Trade Union movement is free from what we know as jurisdictional disputes. We found, however, the same disputes coming before the British Trade Union Congress under the description "disputes between organizations." The British Trade Union movement also is struggling to eliminate duplication of organizations and by amalgamation to bring about a condition under which there will be only one organization in a given field.

There are in Britain many national organizations covering the same class or classes of workers. But on the other hand many organizations take into membership workers of several classes. As, for instance, there are two organizations, possibly more than two, but two organizations, covering transport workers, such as dockers (longshoremen), which have within their membership general workers such as farm laborers, domestic servants, maids in hotels and in homes, elevator operators and many others outside the transport service. This we also opine would not work in America.

One of the serious problems before the conference was that of wage reductions. There was a lengthy report on this matter, many unions being involved. So long was the report and so many were the unions involved that to go into this question so as to make it at all intelligible would lengthen this report beyond reason. Suffice it to say that our trade union friends in Britain and Ireland are up against the same thing, so far as wage reductions and proposed and attempted wage reductions are concerned, as are the workers of America.

A resolution in regard to unemployment presented by the parliamentary committee called forth discussion which was at times heated, not to say bitter and acrimonious. The resolution "calls upon the government immediately to summon parliament and to introduce practicable schemes of work, without delay with the necessary financial provision." The resolution expressed grave apprehension because of the "increasing extent of conditions of unemployment," and placed upon the state the entire burden of providing "work or adequate maintenance for every willing worker."

The congress took under consideration the question of the League of Nations and reaffirmed previous declarations demanding "a re-organization of the league in such manner as will provide the fullest opportunity for the adequate democratic representation of all nations if they are to be preserved from the catastrophe of another world war." The resolution also instructs the general council, formerly the parliamentary committee, to "obtain the united national and international aid of organized labor in support of the establishment of a League of Nations fully representative of the people and recognizing the rights of all nations without regard to either influence or power."

We deem it wise to call attention to a resolution adopted by the congress which brought out the difficulty our British Trade Union friends are having with wages and working conditions established by law or fostered or suggested by government. This resolution "strongly protests against the manner in which the Fair Wages Resolution of the House of Commons has been administered both with respect to contracts accepted and direct employment by government departments," and instructs the parliamentary

committee to endeavor to have put into practice a long list of suggestions calculated to remedy the various evils.

Immediately following that action a resolution was adopted providing:

That in so far as in several industries the operatives have agreed to wage negotiations with the employers, based upon a sliding scale in definite relationship to the cost of living, as revealed by the published index figures of the Board of Trade, this congress be asked to express an opinion as to whether such means are desirable.

It will be noted that all this resolution contains is a request that the congress "express an opinion as to whether such means are desirable," and believe us the delegates in debate (not the congress as a whole or the parliamentary committee but the individual delegates on the floor), did express their opinion of it in no uncertain terms and language. It is our information, that this plan, this so-called sliding scale, which was adopted and put into effect in working agreements, by a number of unions, was first suggested, then urged by certain governmental agencies. We leave it with you without further comment. Draw your own conclusions.

Notwithstanding the difficulties encountered as set forth in the previous resolution with relation to the fixing of wages and working conditions by law, the congress adopted the following resolution:

That the Trade Union Congress executive convene a national congress to consider the fixing of a minimum wage for all workers.

This resolution contemplates the establishing, by law, of a minimum wage for all workers. While such a law might be all right for the workers of Great Britain, we do not recommend it for American workers, because we very much fear the establishment of a minimum wage in this country by law, for all workers would mean that an effort would soon be made by employers to make such minimum wage the standard wage, and thus bring about a situation which would be equivalent to fixing all wages by law, and in this way destroy entirely and absolutely the principle for which we have so long fought and to establish which so much sacrifice has been made, the principle of the right of collective bargaining by trade union organizations. There are many other objections that we could offer to such a law in America, but we will not take the time or try your patience by presenting them. Further comment is unnecessary.

It is interesting to note that the very next action of the congress was to adopt a resolution condemning "the concerted endeavors made by many sections of employers to lower the standard of life of the workers least able to bear any reduction," condemning the inaction of the Minister of Labor and emphasizing the assertion that it is the duty of the Minister to administer the law "in the spirit of impartial justice rather than under the influence of sinister political pressure." This resolution to our mind furnishes further evidence that the regulation of wages and working conditions by law or by boards established by law is not always successful, satisfactory or desirable.

The most heated debate of the entire congress was occasioned by the resolution expressing satisfaction with the calling of the international conference on the Limitation of Armament and asking the suspension of armament manufacture in England pending the holding of the Washington conference. It is unfortunate that all organized American workers have not the opportunity to read the discussions on this resolution, because in addition to being interesting reading it would give them an idea of the many "isms" under different names and titles, such as "the one big union," "communism," "internationalism," etc., etc., that is creeping into and has gained some ground and prominence in the British Trades Union movement, although as yet a large majority of the parliamentary committee (now general council) and leaders and a majority, but a small majority, of the rank and file do not subscribe to or accept any of them.

There is also a considerable following of the third or Moscow or, as it is sometimes referred to, the "Red International." This following is not so numerous but it is noisy, active and always busy.

An effort was made the second time to rebuke the now defunct triple alliance. The resolution in which this second effort was embodied, in part declared "that the results to the workers as a whole from industrial strikes carried out on present lines makes it imperative that adequate machinery should be provided through the Trades Union Congress, whereby, in the event of any serious industrial dispute being likely to lead to a stoppage of work, involving directly or indirectly large bodies of workers, that before a stoppage of work takes place, a proper opportunity for consultation, and for consideration of the merits of the dispute, must be provided, so that the power and influence of the labor movement, industrially and politically, may be brought to bear, first to obtain an equitable settlement of the dispute without a stoppage of work; and secondly, failing such a settlement, that the machinery and resources of the movement generally may be co-ordinated and applied in such a way as to ensure a successful issue."

The introduction of this resolution provoked a lengthy and heated discussion. It finally was defeated on a roll call vote in which there were 981,000 ayes and 5,628,000 nays.

American workers will be interested in knowing that the congress adopted a resolution by unanimous vote advocating the establishment by law of a national labor holiday to be known as Labor Day. The resolution asked that the first Saturday in May of each year be established as Labor Day.

Like the American movement, the British movement has had its difficulties with the organization of policemen. The congress adopted a resolution condemning the government for refusing reinstatement of police officers and prison officials who took part in a strike in 1919 and reaffirmed the position taken by previous congresses that "the police and prison service have the right to organize on independent lines," demanding the repeal of clauses of the Police Act of 1919, which deny that right to such employes.

During the fifth day's session of the congress a resolution to place the chairman of the general committee (who is by virtue of that office also president of the congress) on a salary and have him devote his entire time to the work of the committee and to the interests of affiliated organizations was brought forward by the parliamentary committee.

The debate on this resolution became so bitter and accrimonious, and so general was the opposition to it that it soon became apparent that if a vote was permitted to be taken, it would be overwhelmingly defeated. This situation caused a hurried consultation of members of the parliamentary committee, after which the resolution was withdrawn, leaving this work where it always theretofore had been, in the hands of the secretary and his staff.

#### *The Irish Question*

In reference to the Irish question and substitute for resolution No. 117 of the 1921 A. F. of L. convention we desire to say that immediately on our arrival at Cardiff, we began an inquiry among the leaders and delegates to learn, if possible, the attitude of the trades unionists of Great Britain on that question. This inquiry convinced us that the statements made by J. H. Thomas, M. P., at the Denver convention of the A. F. of L. reflected the attitude of a large majority of the leaders and delegates at the congress. Inquiry also developed that there had been a change of sentiment since the adoption of the resolution, at a special congress, endorsing the freedom of Ireland, complete independence if they desired it, with a government of their own choosing and construction. Just what caused this changed sentiment we were unable to discover but it was evident that so far as the congress reflected the sentiment of the membership it had changed from support of absolute independence to support of a dominion home rule government for Ireland.

Having learned this and having been given a "quiet tip," in fact several "quiet tips" not to read our resolution into the records of the congress, and further being advised that if we did so it might cause a resolution to be brought forward and adopted, reversing the former action of the congress and endorsing the position of the Prime Minister Mr. David Lloyd George, we decided not to do so but instead for one of us to refer to it in addressing the congress. And, because Mr. Forrester was instrumental

in the preparation and introduction of Resolution No. 117 at Denver and in urging its adoption it was decided between us that he should be the one to refer to it in his address, which he did.

While on this subject it is well to also report our action re the seventh resolve of the substitute resolution, adopted by the A. F. of L., on the Irish question, which directed us to "visit Ireland and personally convey to the Irish Trades Unionists our sincere wishes for their success." Both of us did visit Ireland, though at different times, Mr. Spencer prior to the opening, and Mr. Forrester after the close of the congress. We did carry out the instructions and did deliver that message to the trade unionists of Ireland.

*Regrouping of Organizations Affiliated to, and Change in Basis of Organization of the Trades Union Congress*

This congress put into effect the new plan of grouping of organizations affiliated thereto which caused a slight change in the plan of organization. This new grouping removes some of the organizations from the groups to which they were formerly assigned and also adds an eighteenth group to which all women workers are assigned. It also discontinues the parliamentary committee and sets up instead a "general committee" on which, as we understand it each group is entitled to at least one member and groups having large membership, two or more, according to their increased membership over the smaller groups. As we have not been advised of the result of the new election ordered we can not report as to who are the new officers, or members of the general committee except that E. L. Poulton of the Boot and Shoe Workers, and H. Smith, of the Miners, were chosen fraternal delegates to the A. F. of L. This information was conveyed to us by letter.

*Woman's Trade Union League*

Until the fifth day of this congress there was in Great Britain a woman's trade union league, similar to the one in America. But that league is now a thing of the past over there, its membership having been taken over by an amalgamation with the organizations of women workers and affiliated in Group 18 to the Trades Union Congress.

*Convention of Building Trades*

Your delegates accepted an invitation to attend the annual convention of the National Federation of Building Trades Operatives, held at Perth, Scotland, August 17 to 19, 1921, inclusive.

The general character of the organization is very much similar to that of the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., not only in point of its general activities but in the number of attendant delegates as well. It differs, however, in two important phases: First in that local or chartered bodies are given representation, which has a tendency to increase the ratio of delegates from certain trades, to the detriment perhaps of others especially in the case of trade trespass—a condition which will in all probability confront the building industry of Great Britain in the near future; second, because of the fact that the general organization is vested with authority to negotiate wages and conditions for the workers of the industry.

In this respect the difference is a most radical departure from the policy followed in our country, for the national unions are apparently quite content to entrust the general organization with the task of composing wage disputes. This is accomplished through the medium of standing committees of equal number representing the several groups of contractors and the employees. The wage of the workers is based on the cost of living, which is computed at stated intervals, as for instance semi-annually. Accordingly wages fluctuate in the same relation that living costs rise or fall, so that wage scales are subject to change every six months. Provision is made, however, for unforeseen events which may warrant readjustment before the expiration of the fixed term by the convocation of the joint committee in special session.

Such an arrangement would meet with determined opposition on this side of the Atlantic by the employes as well as the employers—certainly by the latter, who for years

have insisted that yearly agreements are unsatisfactory in that they do not give sufficient stability on which to base estimates. Neither time nor opportunity permitted of more than a cursory investigation of the subject, but those whom we were privileged to consult, both contractors and workmen alike, gave no expression of sympathy with the preference of American contractors for agreements covering a period of three years.

Aside from the two subjects herein referred to, the business of the convention, conducted as it was in a highly intelligent manner, appeared to be an identical parallel with that transacted annually by the convention of our Building Trades Department.

#### *Trade Jurisdiction*

The question of jurisdictional controversy has not yet become so serious a problem in Great Britain as we have been called upon to face in this country, for the most part due to the difference in the form and character of construction.

Such operations as are in course of erection in the larger cities are of the modern American type, in which preference is given to those materials intended to eliminate skilled workmanship. It must be obvious then that, as in this country, workmen will be specially trained for the installation of these materials, to be followed by a desire for the development of distinctive national unions. With the inception of these, jurisdictional discord will be created of the same intensity as that which we have witnessed. The result is inevitable, for already the dual union is appearing and it formed the subject of unusual consideration at the Perth convention, where the union of domestic engineers (so-called) was ordered to amalgamate with the operative plumbers and fitters, owing to its close alignment with the latter trade.

It is not only a pleasure but a duty to state that so far as our inquiries extended a healthy and militant condition or organization was found among the workers of the building industry. What is more the workmen consulted gave every outward evidence of their personal pride in carrying a card in their respective national unions and being identified in the great world-wide movement for the amelioration of the toilers of the earth.

#### *General Observations*

We would not feel that we had made a complete report were we to close it without referring to some of the things we observed, both at and before and after the congress that impressed us as being so different to what they are in America.

#### *Agitation for One Big Union*

There is a notable sentiment among the British Trades Unionists of the radical type for One Big Union, though the cause for it is not greatly apparent. The national unions have established uniform control over the several crafts and are in surprisingly thorough accord with each other. If the purpose is to dominate the unionists or union affairs of the various industries, as for example all of the building trades where the strongest sentiment was found, then the aim and purpose of One Big Union is not entirely manifest, for the organizations of the building industry are apparently in complete harmony through their affiliation with a central form of alliance very much of the character of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, where the attention of the general industry is given joint consideration and action is accordingly determined.

Your delegates had occasion to comment on the problem, notably for the reason that frequent reference was made to One Big Union, still generous approval was not withheld when the declaration was made that international unions in America are accepted as the best medium for the organization of the workers, as well as the most capable of obtaining improved conditions. The deduction may therefore be drawn that while talking One Big Union, the judgment even of its advocates is in favor of national trade unions.

*Unemployment*

As in America, the question of unemployment is a most serious one abroad, especially in the British Isles but perhaps the more noticeable because of the industrial rather than the agricultural character of the country, and the nearness of the several cities to each other. Without doubt this condition is world-wide and a direct result of the top speed with which manufactures were carried on during the war. With its close, industry ceased, and the returning fighting forces faced idleness. However, the government made some effort to alleviate distress by assuming the payment of out-of-work benefits in sums equal to those paid by the national trade unions to their members. As a means of relief these payments are inadequate to the needs of the unemployed, so there is an emphatic demand for an increase of the doles, as the payments are termed. The more radical trade unionists, true to tradition, have accepted the meager relief as a means of disseminating propaganda of a high-colored type for political purposes. Hopeful as only men can be whose families are hungry, they accept the prospect offered and thus give impetus to the agitation which is being conducted with such vigor and emphasis that a demand was presented to the congress by a deputation of the unemployed for the payment by the government of sums equal to the wage earned by those regularly employed at their respective vocations. Indeed the leading spokesman of the delegation without hesitancy gave utterance to the opinion that two pounds per week should be paid to the unemployed, in excess of the wage earned by their more fortunate brothers, who are able to find steady employment. Judging by the frequent applause of the great multitude accompanying the delegation, the sentiment expressed by the speaker referred to found harmonious accord. The subject is one that is recognized by the working class, the business interests and the general public as of most serious concern, and the congress instructed the general committee to call it to the attention of the government for redress.

If the practice of sending fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress is to be continued, the amount of money appropriated for that purpose and given them ought, in fact will have to be materially increased. The cost of crossing the ocean has more than doubled in the past two or three years, the cost of railroad travel in Great Britain has done the same and the cost of hotel accommodations and eating has floated skywards so that the amount now given your fraternal delegates but very little more than covers the ocean trip at the minimum first-class rate. If such fraternal delegates are to do more than attend the congress, if they are to make any investigations into industrial conditions, trades union conditions, wages paid, or working conditions, etc., so as to be able to make an intelligent report thereon, then they will in future have to be given at least double the amount heretofore appropriated. Even if they are only to attend the congress and come directly back and report they must if it is to cover their expenses, have more, much more money than was given to the undersigned, and we so recommend.

Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) Wm. J. SPENCER,

(Signed) JAS. J. FORRESTER,

*Fraternal Delegates to British Trades Union Congress, 1921.*

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR FRATERNAL DELEGATE TO CANADA**

John O'Hara, fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, submitted the following report:

The thirty-seventh annual convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, with 642 delegates, was held at the Hotel Royal Alexander, Winnipeg, Manitoba, beginning August 22, 1921.

In the report of the Executive Council great stress was put on the efforts made to disrupt the trade union movement, particularly the propaganda of slander and misrepresentation put forth by the Third International of Moscow. After recommending the many necessary acts of legislation, and arguments, it was decided to hear the fraternal delegates on Friday, the 26th. Your delegates were called first, because of my

presence at a conference between President Samuel Gompers and President Mosher of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees. While the said conference was arranged by or through lieutenants of Mr. Mosher, Mr. Mosher made and gave statements to the press very misleading regarding President Gompers' opinion. I made statements to the convention that had I not been present while the said conference lasted at the King Edward Hotel, at Toronto, I could not have placed the true facts of that conference before the delegates, as I desired to do, in justice to President Gompers and the American Federation of Labor. Because of a court injunction the congress was forced to seat Mosher and some 127 delegates, and by action of the congress, suspended them and their suspension unseated them.

One of the most annoying matters of the convention was the refusal of the congress to pay ex-President Waters as fraternal delegate to the British Trade Union Congress. Because of his refusal to go in time to be in attendance at the British Congress, the E. C. delegated an alternate. The matter was the subject of much debate, and the vote of the delegates sustained the E. C.

Neal McLean, M. P., fraternal delegate from the British Trade Union Congress, made an able address to the congress. Secretary Draper submitted report and showed the delegates the disposition of all money, and also accounted for the new headquarters at Ottawa, Ontario, all paid for, and revenue incoming to meet maintenance of same.

President Moore requested fraternal delegate O'Hara, from the A. F. of L., to take charge of the convention during the election of officers. President Moore having no opposition was returned to the office of president for the coming year.

Secretary-Treasurer P. M. Draper was also unopposed, and was re-elected to that office for the coming year. The re-election of President Moore and Secretary Draper was enthusiastically received. The vice-presidents were next chosen as follows:

Martel, McAndrew and Halford. Provincial executives were next elected. The choice for delegates to the British Trades Union Congress and A. F. of L., were Delegate John W. Bruce, to the British Trades Union Congress and E. Robinson, to the A. F. of L. The city for the next convention of the congress was Montreal by unanimous vote of the delegates.

I found generally a very friendly feeling toward the A. F. of L. on part of the delegates, with the exception of Mr. Mosher of the Canadian Railway Brotherhood, and his few followers which are insignificant.

The feeling and hope of a closer cooperation with the big brothers in the states were enthusiastically manifested. I also found a great and universal desire on the part of the delegates to have President Gompers attend their next convention.

In conclusion, I must express my sincere thanks to the delegates of the Denver convention that made it possible for me to attend the Canadian Congress, as the benefits through education and otherwise were beyond my expectation; and also thanks for the courtesies of the E. C. of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, also the delegates of the Labor Congress, municipal and provincial officials, and the Canadian people in general, for the wonderful hospitality shown to me as the fraternal delegate from the A. F. of L.

### CONCLUSION

We have passed through a year of trying experience. We can say with conviction that our movement has given true interpretation to the aspirations of the workers of our country. Constantly confronted with new problems, the labor movement is compelled to hold itself in readiness to shape new policies as new issues arise. It is essentially a movement of progress and it never can be anything else.

We point out to the workers of our country, wherever they may be, the supreme necessity of organization in order that the workers may be able to present a constantly growing opposition to those who would despoil the workers, and in order that there may be a constantly growing force for constructive effort. The great need of the time for the workers is organization and ever more organization, but more than that, the greatest asset that our country can have and the greatest safeguard that it can have, is a constantly growing, constantly developing enlightened and democratic trade union movement. We urge for the coming year unceasing efforts in the work of organization, federation and unification.

It would be improper and unjust to close this report without referring to the splendid cooperation and assistance that have been given by the officers and representatives of the various international unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. This assistance and cooperation have been of the most helpful character and have been given in a spirit of service to our movement. This cooperation and assistance has been one of the great evidences of the solidarity and strength of our movement and we express the hope that a similar spirit of cooperation and mutual helpfulness in the common cause may prevail during the year to come.

Fraternally yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS  
*President*

JAMES DUNCAN  
*First Vice-President*

JOS. F. VALENTINE  
*Second Vice-President*

FRANK DUFFY  
*Third Vice-President*

WILLIAM GREEN  
*Fourth Vice-President*

WILLIAM D. MAHON  
*Fifth Vice-President*

T. A. RICKERT  
*Sixth Vice-President*

JACOB FISCHER  
*Seventh Vice-President*

MATTHEW WOLL  
*Eighth Vice-President*

DANIEL J. TOBIN  
*Treasurer*

FRANK MORRISON  
*Secretary*

*Executive Council*  
*American Federation of Labor.*



## APPENDIX

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### CANADIAN TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS

P. M. Draper, secretary-treasurer of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress submitted the following:

The report of membership submitted to the last convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada showed a slight increase over that of the preceding year. It has not been possible, however, to maintain this favorable position up to the present time, the decline in membership caused by the long period of unemployment having manifested itself in Canada to a marked degree during the past several months.

Many international unions being compelled to reduce their staffs of organizers and general officers, found it necessary to withdraw their special Canadian representatives and this has considerably added to the difficulty of maintaining the prestige of the international trade union movement.

The campaign against international trade unions is being vigorously waged from many quarters. A portion of the press lose no opportunity to urge workers to sever their connections with international unions. The Quebec provincial legislature passed a resolution last session with the same object, and during the discussion the prime minister and others announced the probability of definite legislation next session to bring this about in that province.

The activities continue unabated of the national Catholic unions in Quebec and the Canadian Federation of Labor, in the other provinces, on the one hand, and the "one big union," workers' party of Canada and similar revolutionary organizations, on the other.

#### *Congress Journal.*

To meet the situation and properly and *continuously* place before the Canadian worker the policies of our movement, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada commenced the publication, in January of this year, of an official monthly journal. This effort has been well received and we believe will considerably strengthen our position.

#### *Legislation*

A proper review of all legislation secured in the dominion parliament and the legislatures of the nine provinces is not possible in a report of this nature. Progress has been made, however, in extending and improving the workmen's compensation acts, minimum wage laws, mothers' allowances, factory acts and similar legislation of benefit to wage earners, as a whole.

#### *Conclusion*

The problems with which workers in nearly all countries are faced are demanding our daily attention and include immigration, unemployment relief, protection against sickness, accidents and destitution in old age, broadening of educational facilities and, in general, the creating of opportunity for the social and industrial development of every worker.

### PORTO RICO

Santiago Iglesias, president, Free Federation of Workers of Porto Rico, submitted the following report of the activities of that organization during the year.

Since the inauguration, more than twenty years ago, of the first local union in the Island of Porto Rico, affiliated with the organized labor movement of the mainland, we have never witnessed a year in which labor was so bitterly, wantonly and brutally attacked in all its lawful and proper activities, as this year. It has been the year of the "open shoppers."

*Labor Conditions*

Early in December last, President Samuel Gompers and myself, handed to President Harding a memorandum containing a word-picture of economic conditions of Porto Rico.

In said memorandum were described the prevailing wages of the workers, amounting from 25 cents to 75 cents per day in the coffee, sugar and tobacco plantations; the deplorable living conditions and homes of over 300,000 workers, and the improper food they are compelled to eat on account of the low wages they receive.

The memorandum also urged the intervention by the federal government by appointing a commission with broad powers granted by the President, to investigate and to take action in the industrial crisis, as strikes in Porto Rico have been the only means left to the workers to secure better wages and improved labor conditions. It must be understood that the conditions of the Porto Rican workers can not be understandingly compared with the conditions of any of the workers of continental United States.

Unfortunately, when the starving workers resorted to strikes in order to better their unhappy conditions, they were not treated with fair play by the employers, local magistrates and police.

During the last year a number of tragedies have occurred as a result of industrial disputes. About twenty workers were cruelly killed by the bullets of the police force and the agents of the employers; hundreds of workers were sent to jail; many abuses were committed by local magistrates, evictions of strikers without due process of law; the right of free speech has been denied in many instances, and many peaceful meetings and parades were dispersed by force, and scores of men, women and children were injured as a result of brutalities by the police and agents of employers.

In this connection and as a matter of fact the workers and farmers of Porto Rico have been denied national governmental protection. The federal laws passed by congress and the commission and bureaus created by the President for the purpose of protecting the welfare of workers—children, women and men—have never extended their operation to Porto Rico nor have they been considered when national gatherings, conferences or meetings have taken place for the purpose of protecting the farmers, producers and industries in general.

The official report of General McIntyre to the Secretary of War for 1921, in reference to Porto Rico, has this to say:

The evidence on every hand of prosperity and progress in Porto Rico and the prosperity and progress shown by the commercial statistics and by the increased revenues by the government may easily mislead one into the belief that progress in all directions has been satisfactory. This is not the case. It has been impossible to distribute this progress in Porto Rico in such a way that the very large extremely poor element in Porto Rico could participate fairly in it. These people because of their relative helplessness must for some years receive special governmental consideration.

General McIntyre, chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, is of the opinion that "to improve conditions of the people of Porto Rico to the extent that would make it comparable to that of the least fortunate Americans has been found to be practically impossible owing to the density of the population. That a great deal has been done in the way of education, but it is doubtful if education under the conditions, can do much more than create dissatisfaction with a condition which becomes the more intolerable as it is the more intelligently viewed."

*Why Conditions In Porto Rico Could Not Be Improved?*

Among other causes why economic conditions of Porto Rico are not better, may be mentioned the following:

The solution of the economic and social problems of Porto Rico has been delayed for years because of the fact that the President of the United States, the Secretary of War, who has jurisdiction over insular affairs, and the congress of the United States,

have not been sufficiently informed as to these problems. As a matter of fact, Porto Rico has not the proper standing in the national life. Very few officials of the federal government have had a thorough knowledge regarding the living conditions of the people of that Island and especially of the economic and financial organization imposed upon them through a colonial system of unlawful monopoly of the lands and business controlled by non-resident enterprises.

Consequently, two-thirds of the annual profits yielded by the agricultural and industrial producing masses of Porto Rico leave the country in the shape of rents, commissions and dividends estimated at 60 per cent, to be distributed and invested in other communities outside of the Island.

It is not strange then that more than half of a million of workers, men, women and children, engaged in farm and industrial work are continually in a depressing condition. The exportation of the profits in such amount has prevented the reinvestment of same in new enterprises and industries within the Island for the last twenty years. Many millions of dollars have already been lost to the progress and welfare of the people of Porto Rico.

It has been proved by a legal document transmitted to the senate by the President of the United States on January 18, 1919, that a number of American, Spanish, and French corporations and individuals of other nationalities, non-residents own and monopolize over 1,000,000 of acres of land and franchises of all classes, including hills, rivers and falls, valued at over \$100,000,000, and in violation of the Organic Law of Porto Rico, which does not allow any corporation to hold or possess in Porto Rico over 500 acres of land.

General McIntyre, in regard to the land question has made the following comment:

The difficulty, then with large holders of agricultural lands arises not from the size of the holdings but from the disposition of corporations and large absentee owners holding lands in the tropics to loot the property annually; that is, instead of studying the situation with a view of developing a property for all the time, with tenants and laborers living under real living conditions and with a fair share of contentment, the disposition is to secure for each year the maximum return on the money invested. It is for this reason that suitable land for food crops will not be available for that purpose normally and it is also for this reason that the labor troubles are almost continuous where this condition prevails.

The Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor of Porto Rico, Hon. C. Toro Labarthe, on January 9, 1922, in a meeting held at the Agricultural Experimental Station of Porto Rico, has stated that out of the 200 million of acres of cultivable land in Porto Rico, only about 500,000 are cultivated, or used for agricultural purposes. He also stated that in 1910 Porto Rico had 59,000 of small farm owners, while in the last ten years that number has been reduced by 17,000, leaving 41,000 farm owners at present according to census of 1920.

#### *Organization and Strikes*

On account of the conditions above referred to, our unions have had to confront a most unusual situation in an effort to preserve the wages and living conditions which were the product of years and years of struggle and hard work throughout the Island. With the people confronting almost starvation conditions a cut in wages followed hand in hand with changed working conditions by which almost all the achievements secured by labor in years past were done away with, leaving the workers deprived of all means of defense in the shops, factories and agricultural fields and with no voice in determining the conditions under which they shall work.

The workers could not yield willingly and voluntarily to the establishment of such conditions and the employers, determined as they were to break down the organization, to do away with the unions and of industrial bargaining collectively established, brought about conditions that were unbearable for the workers, thus causing unrest and trouble.

Many protests were recorded on account of the attitude of the employers. Minor

cases were registered in which the bakers and some of the building trades had to fight to preserve their conditions. The railroad men affiliated with the International Association of Machinists, the cigar makers affiliated with the Cigar Makers' International Union of America and the agricultural workers in agricultural unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, had to fight the hardest and more important battles on account of their number and the grade of their organization.

#### *Cigarmakers' Controversy*

The most protracted of these battles involved the cigar makers. At the end of December, 1920, the tobacco trust, which is the only one employer in this industry in Porto Rico, closed all its factories and served notice to the workers that work would be resumed about the middle of January under conditions prevailing at the time of closing. An agreement duly signed by the workers and the firm was in force, same to expire in August, 1921. When the shops were prepared to work on January, 1921, working conditions had been changed by the firm in violation of the agreement in force. Many conferences were held and all means of mediation, conciliation and even arbitration suggested by the workers were rejected by the firm and the "open shop" campaign inaugurated to beat down the workers. All the yellow press helped along the employers. The Cigar Makers' International Union responded and supported the cigar makers most liberally and to its fullest capacity, for the cigar makers had finally to declare a strike to fight the lockout with which the firm sought to impose upon them new conditions in violation of the agreement. Such strike involved about 10,000 men and women. After nine months of brave resistance the strikers had to call the strike off, for they were practically exhausted.

#### *Railroad Men's Controversy*

With little variance as to the beginning of the fight and the reasons advanced to start it, this situation is absolutely true with the railroad men. These people having gone on strike without waiting a previous order from the grand lodge, had to fight without an international strike benefit. Notwithstanding, the grand lodge did all that was possible to help them morally and financially. About \$2,000 were received as a donation from the grand lodge and the proper steps were taken in Porto Rico and at Washington by the high officials of the grand lodge to settle the strike and secure all possible advantages for the members of the local lodges in Porto Rico. A special representative from the grand lodge was also sent to Porto Rico with instructions to help the members in this Island and try to have an official commission of mediation and conciliation of the government of Porto Rico to step in and bring about some understanding. This has not been done.

#### *Sugar Workers' Difficulties*

Where the effects of ambition and wanton selfishness have been more intensively felt is in the rank and file of the undernourished, barefooted, wretched and starved agricultural workers. Selling sugar during the period of the war and after the war at any price they wanted, and becoming millionaires at the expense of those unfortunate people toiling on the land and cutting the cane, the sugar magnates have now, when the price of sugar has come down, reestablished the old peonage system of 50 and 60 cents as a wage for ten or eleven hours of work. Lack of sufficient organization has made it possible for the employers to succeed in practically reestablishing a system practically unknown in Porto Rico since about twenty years ago. These poor people have done all possible by protests, suspension of work, strike, etc., to prevent the imposition of such conditions. Even when sugar was sold at the highest prices these people never received a wage in proportion to the wealth produced.

The situation has been carefully studied and exhaustively discussed and the proper remedies in line and harmony with the policy of our organized labor movement should be applied in due time.

*Wage Cut to the Longshoremen*

About the middle of October, 1921, all the shipping companies making business in Porto Rico served notice to the longshoremen and stevedores by posting bills on the docks to the effect that their wages will be cut about 40 per cent. And so it was done. A general dissatisfaction was felt among the workers engaged in work on the piers and on board, the result of which would have been a strike. In view of conditions the men were advised to continue to work pending action on the part of the United States Shipping Board, to which the whole matter would be referred for study and consideration, since the wages received by these workers in Porto Rico, even up to the time of the cut were very far from a living wage and about 50 per cent less than the scale of wages prevailing in New York for the same kind of work. Pursuant to this resolution the case was submitted to the shipping board at Washington and with the aid and support of the American Federation of Labor we succeeded in getting the shipping board to discuss the situation. The undersigned had the pleasure to visit Washington in November, 1921, to present the case to the shipping board and it was his pleasure also to do his level best in the mission entrusted by the longshoremen. In this mission we had to confront the hostility of the shipping interests, the shipping board finding the same conditions. Many conferences were held and letters written to persuade the shipping companies to make a revision and make some raise over the cut in wages imposed. The position of the employers was absolutely contrary to that and they also refused to have any conference with accredited representatives of labor. Despite that we were not discouraged in our efforts and insisted with the proper authorities at Washington to have the situation settled. Finally, after having exhausted all legal means and with the support of all those of influence in sympathy with labor, some change was secured. The shipping companies, however, insisted that if something could be done, it had to be done in a way that no credit should be given to organized labor for this action. After some communications exchanged between Governor Reily, of Porto Rico, and the shipping companies, it was agreed that a raise of 10 per cent would be made, but without the labor organization taking any part in it, the governor on his return to Porto Rico from Washington, to take up the matter with the local managers of the companies to make the increase and to get the credit for his cooperation in settling the situation. As soon as the governor returned to the Island steps were taken to effect the purpose in view, but local affairs of the Island taking the time of the governor have prevented at the time of this writing final settlement of the case. However, it is our hope that things will be settled and that better conditions will be obtained later on to the benefit of these workers.

*From Yager's to E. Mont. Reily's Inauguration*

As it is very well-known the administration of Governor Arthur Yager, in Porto Rico, was a disgrace for the laborers of the Island, and for the good name of the American institutions as represented by him. He not only absolutely ignored labor in the administration of the Island and even in all those matters connected with their living conditions, but also permitted these to be killed by dozens when trying to improve their working and living conditions by means of the strike after having exhausted all means of conciliation, mediation and arbitration, and jailed and beaten by hundreds, while those responsible for such conditions were left unpunished and unmolested. To his attitude is due the encouragement taken by the advocates of secession of the Island from the United States and all the economic, social and political evils that have lately brought this Island to a state of unrest and general uneasiness.

The inauguration of the new governor of Porto Rico, E. Montgomery Reily, took place in San Juan on the 30th of July, 1921.

In a letter to the undersigned, Governor Reily made clear his intention to deal fairly with labor and by his actions subsequently demonstrated his sincerity in that expression. In his opposition to the secession movement in the Island he took a position which had been sustained for more than twenty years by Porto Rican labor. One of our first requests to him was for the prompt appointment of a mediation and conciliation commission, as provided for in the insular laws. The former governor had been

constituted a commission without regard to representation for bona fide organizations of labor. Governor Reily granted our request in this connection.

Another act of justice to the labor movement was the granting of a pardon upon our request for a number of strike leaders who were imprisoned under Governor Yager's administration. He also assisted in conferences in Washington in the efforts to settle strikes of cigar makers, railroad workers and longshoremen.

He further demanded the resignations in Porto Rico of certain judges and police officers whose conduct had been improperly hostile to labor.

A new chief of the Insular Bureau of Labor was appointed from the ranks of organized labor by Governor Reily.

So far as we have been able to observe his official acts in Porto Rico, we believe they have been inspired by the best of motives and that it has been his aim to promote justice and fair dealing for everyone.

#### *Recognition of Labor*

These being the feelings and sentiments of Governor Reily as expressed by himself we could not help giving him our sympathies and the respect for his position that we thought to be fair and for his high regard for the American Federation of Labor. We had the right to think such expression to be honest and sincere and we still think the same way. Being in sympathy with the new executive for his declaration with reference to labor and having also concurred with his views of Americanism in this Island as against secessionism, an issue advocated by us for more than twenty consecutive years against all tendencies to the contrary, it is needless to say that the best relations were established in an effort to help and cooperate to the success of the new administration.

One of our first requests to Governor Reily was to appoint in the proper way the mediation and conciliation commission as provided for by one of the laws of our insular legislature.

Such commission had been formerly constituted illegally by Governor Yager, ignoring bona fide organized labor and giving representation to a fake labor organization constituted by politicians as a branch of the secessionist party to counteract the action of the American Federation of Labor in Porto Rico.

An invitation was extended to Governor Reily to address a special convention of the state federation of labor held on Labor Day, September 5, following his inauguration. Other officials of the insular and municipal government were invited to express their views in regard to labor. The governor attended and addressed the convention, there being present more than three thousand people. At this occasion he not only ratified all that he had previously said, but announced that in compliance with our first request he had appointed the mediation and conciliation commission and gave the names of the members of organized labor we had suggested. This was his first act of justice to organized labor.

#### *Progress of Labor Organization*

The forces of reaction and greed have shown great aggressiveness during the last year. All that could be done to destroy existing labor organizations and to prevent the organization of new ones in the Island has been done. Nevertheless we were able to organize eighteen new local unions and a great campaign of organization is being carried on all through the Island.

The Free Federation of Workingmen of Porto Rico is a state branch of the American Federation of Labor, has over 20,000 members with 168 organizations, as follows:

|                                 | <i>Number of Bodies</i> |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Cigarmakers' Unions.....        | 16                      |
| Female Cigarmakers' Unions..... | 1                       |
| Carpenters' Unions.....         | 16                      |
| Typographical Union.....        | 1                       |
| Painters' Unions.....           | 3                       |
| Womens' Protective Unions.....  | 3                       |
| Barbers' Unions.....            | 2                       |

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| Tobacco Strippers' Unions.....                                      | 14         |
| Wrapper Selectors' Unions.....                                      | 3          |
| Federal Labor Unions.....   | 6          |
| Retail Clerks' Unions.....  | 1          |
| Longshore Workers' Unions.....                                      | 7          |
| Bakers' Unions.....   | 12         |
| Agricultural Workers' Unions.....                                   | 25         |
| Shoemakers' Unions.....   | 7          |
| Bricklayers' and Masons' Unions.....                                | 2          |
| Hodcarriers' Unions.....  | 2          |
| Hat Weavers' Union.....   | 1          |
| Cigarmakers' Helpers' Unions.....                                   | 2          |
| Hotel and Restaurant Employes' Union.....                           | 1          |
| Meat Cutters' and Butchers' Union.....                              | 1          |
| Tobacco Box Decorators' Unions.....                                 | 3          |
| Box Makers' Union.....  | 1          |
| Machinists' Unions.....   | 9          |
| Laborers' Protective Union.....                                     | 1          |
| Tobacco Workers.....  | 1          |
| Electrical Workers' Union.....                                      | 1          |
| Women Cigar Banders' Union.....                                     | 1          |
| <b>Total local unions.....</b>                                      | <b>145</b> |
| Central Labor Unions.....   | 4          |
| Joint Advisory Board of the Cigar Makers' Unions of Porto Rico..... | 1          |
| Joint Advisory Board of the Carpenters' Unions of Porto Rico.....   | 1          |
| Joint Advisory Board of the Longshoremen Unions of Porto Rico.....  | 1          |
| Local Trade Councils.....   | 4          |
| Cooperative Institutions: Free Federation Press.....                | 2          |
| Barber Shop of the Free Federation.....                             | 1          |
| Labor Temples.....  | 9          |
| <b>General total of organizations.....</b>                          | <b>168</b> |

#### *Insular Labor Legislation*

The undersigned being a senator in the legislature of Porto Rico, has constantly kept watch of all legislation that might affect labor in any way and has succeeded in striking out of all laws any clause that might represent some harm for labor. In the last legislature several amendments were passed bettering the workmen's compensation law and including occupational diseases, also increasing the maximum of wages granted to workers incapacitated for work.

#### *Political Status of Porto Rico*

Decisions of the supreme court show that there has been no change in the status of Porto Rico by reason of the granting of American citizenship. We are American citizens and yet the constitution of the United States does not apply to Porto Rico in many respects. Therefore, while we are citizens of the United States, we are not entirely under its constitution. Congress should decide the question and give Porto Rico at once its proper status.

Congressman John I. Nolan, of California, introduced recently a bill to make

Porto Rico an incorporated territory of the United States, which contains the following provisions:

Sec. 4. The constitution and except, as otherwise provided, all the laws of the United States, including laws carrying general appropriations, which are not locally inapplicable shall have the same force and effect within the said territory of Porto Rico as elsewhere in the United States; Provided, however, that hereafter all taxes collected under the internal-revenue and customs laws of the United States in Porto Rico and on articles produced in Porto Rico and transported to the United States, or consumed in the Island, shall be deposited in the treasury of Porto Rico, to be wholly devoted for education, sanitation and permanent public works of the Island as may be prescribed by the legislature.

Another bill has been introduced by Congressman Towner, chairman of the committee on insular affairs of the house, proposing an amendment to the constitution of the United States "to fix and determine the representation in congress of the United States of overseas and non-contiguous territories now held or hereafter acquired as territory, possession or dependency of the United States upon its admission and thereafter as a state of the United States."

Still another bill is to be introduced proposing "to enable the people of Porto Rico to form their constitution and state government to be admitted into the union on equal footing with the original states."

The above three measures are entirely American and are in the right direction to build up a superior kind of citizenship, civic character and mentality and strengthen the loyalty of the people of Porto Rico, stamping out the political hypocrisy of a group that under the pretense of more home rule are preaching and sustaining the idea of secession from the United States.

#### *Conclusion*

As a remedy to this situation we recognize, first of all that a thorough organization of all the trades and callings comprising all the skilled and unskilled laborers is imperatively necessary. Being, as we are, so distant from the continent, arrangements should be made by the different national and international unions to help in the work of organization from time to time by sending a man for a number of weeks or making an adequate appropriation to be spent in organizing purposes.

#### *Federal Action Needed*

That a federal high industrial commission should be appointed by the president with broad powers to investigate the unbearable economic and industrial situation of the people of Porto Rico making recommendations on the basis of their findings that would build another form of economic standing for the country, bettering the living conditions of the workers of the island and helping the prosperity of the people generally. Besides this federal high commission should report to the president the means of establishing and developing industries essential to the welfare of the people, its sanitation and education.

This federal high industrial commission should elaborate a plan to increase the economic and credit power of the people of the Island and to create and foster the industrial capacity of Porto Rico to counteract the serious damages, losses, misery and starvation resulting from so many years of monopolization of the lands, rivers, falls and harbors in the hands of absentee combinations.

This federal high industrial commission should see that the banking and credit system of Porto Rico be not left entirely to absentee manipulations, speculation and monopolies, but it should be controlled at least for the next fifty years by the federal and insular governments in the interest of all the people.

It would necessitate years for the laborers by themselves to acquire the necessary force and strength through organization to effect by economic or legislative action all the changes necessary.



So, it is readily understood that to bring about now this radical change of policy in the Island, federal help should be granted to the government of Porto Rico in an amount adequate for the development of credit of the people, the development of new industries, irrigation system, redemption of the public indebtedness and for education, sanitation and permanent public works. The money loaned for such purposes should be paid back in a reasonable number of years by the government of the people of Porto Rico.

*Other Federal Laws Wanted*

"The federal farm loan act," "the federal reserve bank system act," and "the federal good roads act," will also be of great benefit.

These are the true conditions prevailing in Porto Rico at this time and the demands of organized labor which we earnestly hope will be carefully studied and considered by our convention as in the past.

## SECOND DAY—Tuesday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 13, 1922.

The convention was called to order at 10 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

### Absentees

Mountford, Myrup, Beisel, J. Goldstone, Franklin, Belair, C. E. James, Boyers, Quesse, Peters, Hyland, M. B. Greene, E. H. Fitzgerald, England, Dee, E. E. Baker, Conway, Desepte, C. C. Coulter, R. S. Sullivan, Baer, Kirby, Houck, L. Langer, Amdur, Greenberg, Cordell, G. W. Marshall, J. L. Lewis, P. H. Murray, Moore, T. Kennedy, D. A. Carey, Winkler, Stickel, Yarrow, M. H. Parker, Bergstrom, Coefield, C. Anderson, Gunther, F. H. Hutchins, Stier, J. P. Burke, P. J. O'Brien, J. Clark, C. C. Shay, Suarez, T. Malloy, Freel, T. Sweeney, Canterbury, Curtis, Doane, Koesner, J. Jones, J. H. Walker, Howat, S. Ely, Fenton, H. L. Franklin, H. W. Fox, Lorntsen, Hushing, J. B. Lennon, Lehman, Snyder, Overting, McGahey, Thornsborough, Winans, M. C. Franklin, Lochray, G. G. Johnson, Robt. Marshall, Ogg, E. W. Odell, Carl Mullen, B. F. Brown, J. W. Ford, Iglesias, Argo, McSpadden, Downes, Sims, Muir, Kaiser, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Frampton, Arnburn, Meloon, Bower, Wobser, Hourigan, J. J. McAndrews, Wrenn, Donaldson, McGovern, Wm. E. Colman, Boulware, Allen, Hart, Caporal, Carter, McCoy, White, Tunnage, S. B. Davison, A. Stewart, Harris, Rogers, Fizer, J. Flynn, Latimore, Rinckel, F. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstone.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

"Trinidad, Colo., June 12, 1922.

"Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor Convention, Cincinnati, Ohio:

"Stanley Hardman Post Number Eleven, the American Legion, Trinidad, Colo., extends to you their best wishes for successful and harmonious meeting. May your deliberations greatly benefit the majority of our citizenship. Your fight is our fight. By the Commander, Frank Cescolini."

"Shreveport, La., June 12, 1922.

"Samuel Gompers, Convention Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio:

"Greetings. May God be with you all the way.

"C. L. BRONKS."

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Cook, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

We have examined the credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Patrick E. Gorman.

Iowa State Federation of Labor, Alfred Hjort, 1 vote.

New Hampshire State Federation of Labor, John L. Barry, 1 vote.

Rhode Island State Federation of Labor, Lawrence A. Grace, 1 vote.

Providence, R. I., Central Federated Union, Christopher N. Dunn, 1 vote.

Mexican Federation of Labor, Canute A. Vargas, Fraternal Delegate, 1 vote.

Ashland, Kentucky, Central Labor Council, Sam Pasco, 1 vote.

Union County, N. J., Central Labor Union, Jacob C. Taylor, 1 vote.

Yours fraternally,

THOMAS F. FLAHERTY,

Chairman.

PETER McKILLOP.

HARRY H. COOK, Secretary.

Committee on Credentials.

The report of the committee was adopted as read.

Secretary Morrison read the following report:

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT No. 1 Of the Executive Council to the Cincinnati Convention of the American Federation of Labor, June, 1922

#### Longshorem—Carpenters

Since our report was drafted and printed, we are very happy to inform the convention that the Longshorem's Association has also approved the proposition for adjustment made by Vice-President Rickert.

For the record, we quote herewith the letter from President Chlopek and the letter from Secretary Duffy:

**INTERNATIONAL LONGSHORE-  
MEN'S ASSOCIATION**

"Buffalo, N. Y., June 7, 1922.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.:

"**SUBJECT MATTER:** Re Controversy with United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America.

"Dear Sir and Brother—Under date of April 16th, Brother Thomas Rickert, Sixth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, addressed communication to me as well as to Brother Frank Duffy, of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, in which he embodied his recommendation to be used as a basis for adjusting the dispute between this organization and the Carpenters.

"In compliance with his request this recommendation or proposition was submitted to the members of our International Executive Council for vote, with the final result that such recommendation has been approved by our Council.

"With kind regards, I am

"Fraternally yours,

"**ANTHONY J. CHLOPEK,**  
"President."

**UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CAR-  
PENTERS AND JOINERS  
OF AMERICA**

"Indianapolis, Ind., May 5, 1922.

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

Dear Sir and Brother—Enclosed find copy of a communication I am sending to Vice-President Rickert, which is self-explanatory.

"With kind regards, I am

"Fraternally yours,

"**FRANK DUFFY,**  
"General Secretary."

(Enclosure)

"May 5, 1922.

"Mr. Thomas A. Rickert, Morrison Hotel, Chicago, Illinois:

"Dear Sir and Brother—I wish to inform you that I am now in receipt of the votes of the members of our board on the proposition and recommendations made by you under date of April 16, 1922, for adjustment of the dispute between the Longshoremen's organization

and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, and it is with a great deal of pleasure I tell you that they have voted in favor of it.

"With kind regards, I am

"Fraternally yours,

"**FRANK DUFFY,**  
"General Secretary."

James F. Dalton, President of the Union Labor Temple in course of construction at Louisville, Kentucky, invited the delegates and visitors to attend the laying of the corner-stone on Sunday, June 18. He stated that President Gompers had accepted an invitation to be present, as well as a large number of officers of the various international unions, and specially urged all who could do so to take advantage of a special railroad rate to Louisville for the occasion, adding that the presence of a large number of visiting trade unionists in Louisville on the Sunday of the corner-stone laying would mean a great deal to the labor movement of that locality.

President Gompers emphasized the message delivered by Mr. Dalton, reminding the delegates of the fact that the men and women of labor in Louisville had made many sacrifices in order that the movement might go forward, and the presence of the delegates on Sunday next would do much towards heartening their future efforts.

**REPORT OF AUDITING COM-  
MITTEE**

Delegate Cook, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 13, 1922.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Forty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greeting:

As your Auditing Committee, duly appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor as provided by Section 4, Article 3 of the Constitution, we herewith submit for your consideration and action the following report:

We have examined and audited the

books and records of the American Federation of Labor covering all fiscal transactions for the year beginning May 1, 1921, and ending April 30, 1922.

The total receipts and disbursements for the respective accounts are as follows:

| RECEIPTS  |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| Balance on hand Apr. 30, 1922...  | \$178,262.72        |
| Per capita tax.....   | 417,171.62          |
| American Federationist .....  | 81,492.26           |
| Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions:                      |                     |
| Per capita tax from   |                     |
| locals .....  | \$46,815.16         |
| Refund of strike benefits .....   | 161.00              |
|   | 46,976.16           |
| Initiation fees .....   | 9,022.66            |
| Reinstatement fees .....  | 522.25              |
| Interest:   |                     |
| Bank deposits .....   | \$4,692.99          |
| U. S. Liberty Bonds..   | 2,075.00            |
| Canadian Victory Loans .....  | 825.00              |
|   | 7,592.99            |
| Supplies .....  | 8,198.42            |
| Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through the A. F. of L. .... | 5,979.90            |
| Special Assessment, Freight Handlers .....                                  | 2,809.40            |
| Disbanded and suspended unions and fees for charters not issued .....       | 3,354.37            |
|   | 583,120.03          |
| Total receipts .....  | <u>\$761,382.75</u> |

| EXPENSES  |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| General .....   | \$458,150.70        |
| American Federationist .....                                | 64,792.73           |
| Defense Fund:   |                     |
| Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions ... | 32,815.24           |
| Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions .....    | 4,963.00            |
| Refund of initiation fees .....                             | 12.00               |
| Special Assessment, Freight Handlers .....                  | 1,854.40            |
| Total expenses .....  | <u>562,588.07</u>   |
| Balance of funds on hand Apr. 30, 1922 .....                | <u>\$198,794.68</u> |

| RECAPITULATION   |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| In General Fund .....  | \$ 23,415.80        |
| In Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions ... | 175,378.88          |
| Balance of funds on hand Apr. 30, 1922 .....                 | <u>\$198,794.68</u> |

All recorded bank disbursements are supported by cancelled bank vouchers and by itemized statements showing the purpose of each expenditure.

#### Where Funds are Deposited and Invested

The bank balances of the secretary and the treasurer were confirmed by statements from the respective depositories.

The United States Liberty Bonds and the Canadian Victory Bonds, as listed in this report, were inspected and counted by us.

We find the funds of the American Federation of Labor to be deposited as follows:

|  |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| Certificates of deposit by Treasurer Tobin in the Union Trust Co., Indianapolis, Ind., interest bearing certificates ..... | \$ 80,000.00        |
| On deposit in the Indiana National Bank, Indianapolis, Ind., subject to check .....  | 51,794.68           |
| Liberty Bonds .....  | 50,000.00           |
| Canadian Victory Bonds .....   | 15,000.00           |
| On deposit in Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C., subject to check of Secretary Morrison .....                         | \$6,673.73          |
| Outstanding checks .....   | 4,673.73            |
|  | 2,000.00            |
| Total .....  | <u>\$198,794.68</u> |

#### Fund for Promoting and Advancing Co-operation

Contributions to the fund for promoting and advancing co-operation upon the plan of the Rochdale Co-operative Society System, in accordance with direction of the Buffalo, 1917, American Federation of Labor Convention, showed receipts from April 1, 1918, to and including April 30, 1922, \$4,223.58, and expenses from February 6, 1919, to April 30, 1922, \$21,092.95, leaving a balance on hand April 30, 1922, amounting to \$2,130.63.

#### Recapitulation

|  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
| Total of receipts, April 1, 1918 to April 30, 1922 ..... | \$4,223.58      |
| Total expenses, February 6, 1919 to April 30, 1922 ..... | <u>2,092.95</u> |

Balance on hand April 30, 1922, \$2,130.63

An itemized report of this fund, including the receipts and expenses up to April 30, 1920, was printed and copy mailed to each contributor.

This account remained stationary throughout the past year—there were no expenses or receipts. We have examined all records and find them correctly reported.

#### Contributions to Leather Workers

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued an appeal for contributions to assist the

United Leather Workers' International Union to meet the cost of appeal in an injunction case to the highest courts.

Total of donations, February 26, 1921 to April 30, 1922.....\$3,375.43  
Total forwarded to Leather Workers, less two unpaid checks of \$5 each made good to bank..... 3,375.43

An itemized statement of the moneys received and to whom paid was printed and copies mailed to each contributor.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**Fund for the American Federation of Labor Publicity Bureau**

Contributions to the American Federation of Labor Publicity Bureau as authorized by the Executive Council upon the recommendation of the conference of National and International trade union representatives in Washington, D. C., February 23-24, 1921, showed receipts from May 9, 1921, to and including April 30, 1922, \$5,532.34, and expenses from July 22, 1921, to and including April 30, 1922, \$5,532.34, the account being squared on April 30, 1922.

We have examined the records in this account and find them correctly reported.

**Contributions to National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee Fund**

Total receipts, April 12 to April 30, 1922 .....\$2,838.00  
Balance on hand, April 30, 1922.... 2,838.00

At date of this report—April 30, 1922—there had been no expenditures from this fund. We have examined the receipts and find them correctly reported.

**American Federation of Labor Building Fund**

Balance on hand April 30, 1921.\$ 3,142.45  
Receipts ..... 27,717.24  
Total receipts .....\$ 30,859.69  
Expenses ..... 24,986.74  
Balance on hand April 30, 1922.\$ 5,872.95

**RECAPITULATION**

Receipts .....\$ 30,859.69  
Total expenses ..... 24,986.74  
Balance on hand April 30, 1922.\$ 5,872.95

Moneys deposited and invested as follows:

Riggs National Bank, Washington, D. C. .... 872.95  
United States Treasury Certificates ..... 5,000.00  
Balance on hand April 30, 1922.\$ 5,872.95

(See page 22, Executive Council's Report, for itemized statement of receipts and expenditures.)

We have examined the statement of the Riggs National Bank, Washington,

D. C., and find a balance of \$1,033.89, from which should be deducted \$160.94, to cover four outstanding checks, leaving a cash balance of \$872.95. We have also personally inspected and counted the U. S. Treasury Certificates in the safe deposit vaults of the Mount Vernon Savings Bank, Washington, D. C., amounting to \$5,000.00.

It is fitting in connection with this portion of our report that we make mention of the American Federation of Labor Building, in which are located the national offices of our great organization. The building itself is imposing and impresses even the casual observer with the dignity and stability of the labor movement. It is excellently maintained and all of its appointments are modern. It is a worthy monument to the unceasing labors of those who have by slow degrees unbuild our movement to its present firm place in our public life.

**Securities in Hand of Treasurer**

| U. S. Liberty Bonds          | Par Value   |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| First issue, No. 2721.....   | \$ 5,000.00 |
| No. 2722 .....               | 5,000.00    |
| Second issue, No. 482 .....  | 5,000.00    |
| No. 483 .....                | 5,000.00    |
| Victory, No. 1210 .....      | 10,000.00   |
| Third issue, No. 1287 .....  | 10,000.00   |
| Fourth issue, No. 1527 ..... | 10,000.00   |

Canadian Victory Bonds ..... \$ 50,000.00

Total .....\$ 65,000.00

We wish to invite the attention of the delegates to the pleasing fact that, considering the widespread industrial depression and the vicious attacks on organized labor by hostile forces, there has been no material reduction in the normal membership of the American Federation of Labor. It should be remembered that abnormal war conditions caused an unusually rapid growth of membership in recent years, and we now find that the American Federation of Labor is coming through the present period of readjustment in good shape, with a membership considerably in advance of that which would have been attained had the growth followed the usual normal upward trend.

The smaller per capita tax receipts for the past fiscal year do not necessarily indicate a corresponding decrease in members. Per capita tax payments represent only the members who are at work. Therefore, the difference in the per capita tax receipts is merely a reflect of the industrial depression and consequent unemployment of thousands of wage earners.

To have maintained practically unim-

paired its numerical strength in the face of the trying period we have gone through is a most eloquent testimonial to the virility and stability of the American Federation of Labor and indicates the high purpose of its membership to carry on the battle for human rights and liberties.

We wish to commend Secretary Morrison and his able corps of assistants at headquarters for the systematic manner in which the records and accounts are kept.

The accounting systems in use at headquarters are modern and excellently adapted for the efficient and accurate handling of the finances of the American Federation of Labor. Every conceivable safeguard against errors has been made.

We were given every opportunity by President Gompers and Secretary Morrison to make a thorough inspection of the records and properties of the American Federation of Labor covered by this report.

Respectfully submitted,

THOS. F. FLAHERTY,

Chairman.

PETER McKILLOP.

HARRY H. COOK, Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

President Gompers: The president desires to submit just a word, and that is that you have heard read in this convention this morning and in the presence of visitors and a corps of newspaper men the report of the financial transactions of the American Federation of Labor during the past year. Every dollar received and expended by and for the American Federation of Labor and the labor movement has been laid bare and will be printed in the proceedings of the American Federation of Labor, so that those who may want to look for the good, or, if they can find, to look for the bad—it is all there.

I challenge comparison with our open methods in taking the whole world into our confidence, I challenge the open shoppers, the Chambers of Commerce and the Boards of Trade and all the other capitalistic organizations to make such a clean showing as is made by the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the Auditing Committee was unanimously adopted.

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

John Sullivan, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

We, your Committee on Rules and

Order of Business of the Forty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Cincinnati, Ohio, June 12, 1922, submit the following report:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30. Convene at 2:30 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m., except on Saturday, on which day the session shall be from 9:30 to 12:30 p. m.

Rule 2. 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 decided.

Rule 3. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

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

Rule 5. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have an opportunity to do so.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice on the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 7. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by vote of the convention. The committee recommends that this rule be strictly observed.

Rule 8. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 9. At the request of five members the mover of a motion shall be required to reduce it to writing.

Rule 10. When a question is pending before the convention, no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend; which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 11. Motions to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order.

Rule 12. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless by a delegate who voted in the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 13. That the reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 14. Any delegate failing to present his card within thirty minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the

event of unavoidable absence he may so report to the secretary and be marked present.

Rule 15. It shall require at least thirty delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 16. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate.

Rule 17. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak on it if he or she so desires.

Rule 18. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had the opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll-call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Robert's Rules shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided.

Rule 21. The main body of the hall shall be reserved for delegates.

#### Order of Business

1. Reading minutes of previous session, which will be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of the Committee on Credentials.
3. Report of officers.
4. Report of regular committees.
5. Report of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,  
JOHN SULLIVAN,  
Chairman,

W. G. POWLESLAND,  
THOS. J. CURTIS,  
FRANK KASTEN,  
E. L. EDGERTON,  
EDW. I. HANNAH,  
E. J. CANTWELL,  
JOHN WILLIAMS,  
P. J. RYAN,  
MRS. DAISY A. HOUCK,  
HENRY ABRAHAMS,  
Secretary,

WILLIAM KOHN,  
J. V. MORESCHI,  
W. R. WALDEN,  
FRED W. SUITOR.

The report was adopted as read.

The Committee on Rules and Order of Business then presented the following supplemental recommendation:

Your committee recommends to the convention that inasmuch as the Executive Council has recommended that the third day of this convention, Wednesday, June 14, 1922, be set aside for special consideration of the protection of child life and the prohibition of child labor, the proposal of the Executive Council be adopted by this convention; and we further recommend that Wednesday, June 21, 1922, be set aside by special order to consider, discuss and determine American Federation of Labor action upon recent decisions of the Supreme Court antagonistic to labor and labor's rights, particularly the decision in the Coronado case.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Flaherty, for the committee, presented the following report:

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegate James Duncan, Granite Cutters' International Association:

WHEREAS, The bill known as S 3217 now pending in Congress and which is purported to be "a bill to amend and supplement the Merchant Marine Act of 1920 and for other purposes," is in reality a cunningly devised scheme to enrich certain classes of so-called American ship-owners at the expense of the truly American taxpayer and also to provide patronage which is certain to be used for purely political purposes; and

WHEREAS, Said bill commonly known as the "Ship Subsidy Bill" is being widely misrepresented as a measure intended for, and necessary to the maintenance and upbuilding of the American Merchant Marine; and

WHEREAS, The facts are that its enactment into law will bring about a condition under which all managers and operators of ships must regard politics as the prime factor in their business, and efficient management as a secondary consideration of comparatively little importance; and

WHEREAS, The claim that ship subsidies are necessary to equalize the cost of operation between foreign and American vessels is deceptive, and cannot be substantiated except in cases where such inequality exists because American

government officials have failed, and are failing, to properly enforce the existing American laws, intended to promote equalization, this being especially true of the law known as the LaFollette Seamen's Act; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, that the said Ship Subsidy Bill be condemned as inimical to the public interest, and particularly destructive to the nation's hopes and aspirations for sea power; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, members of the Cabinet, and to the members of Congress.

The committee concurs in the resolution and recommends its adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Furuseth, Seamen's Union: I am not, Mr. Chairman, going to take up the time of the convention by just simply relieving myself of some feeling that I may have on this subject, nor do I think it is necessary, but I do believe that some information ought to be given you as to what this legislation really means on the question of sea power for America.

Very few of you here have any real personal recollection or any real personal experience of what is meant by bondage. Nearly all of you, fortunately for you, have lived at a period of time in which it did not come to you to suffer under it. I and the men whom I represent have lived, until some six years ago, and the vast majority of seamen throughout the world have lived and live yet, under a condition that can only be compared to the one that existed south of the Mason and Dixon line application to the colored men in this country prior to the Civil War. As the slave belonged to the master, so the seamen, under the laws of all nations but this, belong to the ship.

It is through the efforts of this body in years gone by that this kind of law was wiped from the statute books of the United States, and the United States was made holy ground in the sense that the old Abolitionists, looking upon free territory as making free men.

This subsidy proposition—there is no reason for it in fact; it cannot be defended on the score of fact. Its basis is laid in the proposition that there is a great distinction between the operating cost of foreign and American ves-

sels and that that distinction is in favor of the foreign vessel. That is not true, and we proved that it was not true before the Joint Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and the Committee on Commerce. The hearings went on for more than six weeks. Only a few persons appeared against the bill, only a few persons appeared to tell what it really meant, but the cross-examination that was carried on forced out of the proponents of the bill the evidence upon which it ought to be utterly and absolutely condemned, and the evidence upon which, if it shall be forced through Congress through the power of the President—and nothing else can force it through—will so discredit this Administration, will so discredit those who are responsible for it that their opponents who are wishing from a political point of view that it might be forced through are fighting it in the interests of human liberty and for the purpose of preserving to the United States what hope it has of building up sea power.

This legislation begins with a statement that there is a great advantage to the foreign shipowners. On the very contrary, as it now stands, so far as the licensed officers are concerned, there is a slight advantage to the foreign ship owner, yes, but when you have dealt with that and you come to the unlicensed men—the sailors, the firemen, the cooks and stewards—when you come to them the cost of operating an American vessel as compared with the English vessel is greater in the English today than it is in the American. Nothing that can be shown, nothing that has been produced, nothing that can be produced will prove anything to the contrary of my statement.

We said, and you believed and Congress believed that when you took the bondage off the seamen their wages would equalize this cost automatically, the man lying alongside the dock on this side having a certain amount of wages much smaller than the man lying alongside the dock on the other side, the information would crawl through the very docks to the other men and they would quit. They would quit for two reasons; first, because the wages were smaller; second, because the seamen are stripped so that they have absolutely nothing to lose.

That was the situation then. It came in exactly the way we said it would. The wages on foreign vessels and the conditions on foreign vessels came step by step after the American conditions and wages; the foreign followed the



American as a cart follows a horse up a hill if it is well tied on. The British did their utmost to discourage the men from equalizing the cost through the courts of the United States. They arrested them when they came back to England when they could find out what vessels they deserted from. Of course they did not get very many men upon which to wreck their vengeance, because John Smith, when he left England, was John Smith, and when he left America he was Jim Jones. He didn't go back to Cardiff or to Southampton; he went back to some other British port under some other name. Of course they made the seamen carry passports, but it was easy to get a new passport here, and on the new passport there could be and there was a new name, consequently they did not get very many men and that system did not work out.

So there was a combination between the International Shipping Federation, Ltd., and the American ship owners, and through the American ship owners with the American Shipping Board. They used their power and the fact that one-half of the tonnage throughout the world was idle, making all these men idle—some 50,000 or 60,000 men in the United States alone—they used that to reduce the wages and conditions in America first, and then they followed soon afterward in the European countries. If anybody questions that statement he can get it from the report of the Shipping Board; it is issued by its Industrial Department.

What does this bill do aside from what it does in the matter of taking some \$700,000,000 out of the pockets of the taxpayers and giving it to the ship owners? What else does it do? Well, it provides, first, that the vessels shall be sold. So far as we seamen are concerned we say Amen, may the gods sell them as fast as possible and get the United States Government out of shipping as fast as possible, because the ship owner, whether he is a government official or a man in private life, is the same, his sentiments and ideas are the same, and when he is a government official he has behind him all the law-making and all the law-disrupting power that lies in government officials. So it becomes indefinitely more dangerous when the government owns the ships. We have no chance at all then, with the government officials, so we want them out. May the Lord God look in kindness on them and take them out of the shipping business—I don't care how, but soon.

Now, then, the bill provides further for a Revolving Fund of \$125,000,000.

This fund is to be borrowed at a rate of 2 per cent per annum—lent, I mean, from the Shipping Board to those who borrow the money, and the Shipping Board is empowered with the authority to say to John Doe, "Oh, no, you can't have any of this money, we don't like the color of your hair, the color of your eyes, or the cut of your chin, we don't think you are the right men." Of course the language isn't that; it provides that if his character, in the opinion of the Shipping Board, is not right, if they think he will not use it right, they have the right to refuse it. They can grant it to one and refuse it to another; they can sell the ships to one and refuse to sell them to another; they can give the subsidy to one and refuse it to another; they can reduce the subsidy to nothing or double it at their own discretion. Such power as this was never reposed in any Board or any Commission in any country, and the powers are so full of temptation that no good man will want them, so no good man will get them, and no bad man ought to be endowed with them.

Fifteen years they have to pay for the ships at 2 per cent interest on the purchase price. The contract is for ten years, so that the Congress can't repeal the law. It is log-rolling from beginning to end. It is tying up the people so they can't get out. It is the most scientifically arranged looting proposition that I have ever seen in my time, and God knows I have worn out some dozen knee pads around Capitol Hill.

Now then, what does it do to the seamen? We told you when the LaFollette Seamen's Act was passed, we told you that the American would come to sea, we told the Congress that and we told the ship owners that, and the ship owners sneered, but the members of Congress gradually came to believe, and they passed the law. What happened? When the law was passed less than seven per cent of the men sailing before the mast—this is, the native and naturalized crews on the lake, coastwise and foreign trade were less than seven per cent. On December 1, 1920, when the law had been in operation less than four years, 51 per cent of the men on board vessels were native Americans, and some seven to eight per cent were naturalized. It proved beyond peradventure of a doubt that they were wrong and we were right.

When we met on the 29th of April in Washington for the purpose, if possible, to prevent the lockout that took place on the first of May, we offered to disregard unionism altogether if they would give the first preference to Amer-

ican citizens, with the condition that they have the necessary skill, and the second preference to men with intention papers, always conditional upon skill and the citizenship papers to be treated according to their seniority. Thus you would build up that which creates a merchant marine and sea power, because friends, it is not ships that do it. It was refused. We wanted to preserve America's chance for sea power and we offered to leave it to the President and sail for wages and under conditions set by him. It was refused, and now there are less than 18 per cent of citizens left.

Look in your ports now and see these vessels rusting and rotting to pieces. It is men that make a merchant marine and sea power. Sea power is in the man and not in the ship. Ships are nothing but tools with which men work. A factory, as you know, is a liability as long as there are no men in it; so is the mine, so is the ship.

Now, then, they locked us out. Our organization is decimated, our funds practically gone, but our fighting spirit has not passed, it is not gone, it blazes as ever, and with your assistance we believe we can prove to the people of the United States that we are right and that the other fellow who looks after his own selfish interests is wrong.

What does it do besides to the seaman? It takes away from the seaman who comes to an American port the right to quit the vessel. In other words, America is to be holy ground no longer. Well, that fits in with other things that come to you. That fits in with a law passed in Kansas, that fits in with the laws proposed in the different States that they have not succeeded in passing yet, and it fits in with the decisions that have come down to you in the courts in these many years, the climax of which is in the last and worst of them all.

So that when I speak to you of freedom it is not simply our freedom that I am considering. I have never done that in the time that I have had the chance to speak to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. It was the freedom of all the men who produce, freedom of the individual, freedom of the group, and not the freedom of the individual and servitude of the group, as they are now trying to bring it about.

In addition to that—I don't know what they will do in the committee with the bill—they may put into it something about so many Americans being employed. Men and women, don't you believe their talk because it is not true; it is camouflage. The proposition that

the Shipping Board made would go no further than to provide citizenship for those who already have it, and at the most for one section of the vessel, so that you cannot believe these things.

Now, in addition to that they had a section that provided for a Merchant Marine and Naval Reserve. As I read it, here is the most scientifically, governmentally protected and governmentally paid strike-breaking agency that I have ever seen, and I charged it to their teeth in the committee room, and they withdrew that section—they said they were going to withdraw it, anyway—and the next day another bill came into Congress with exactly that same thing in it, in a different way. In other words, it is deception, and again deception, and again deception, no matter which way you turn.

Down in Brazil they say there exists a certain animal called a vampire bat. It follows the traveler as he goes through the forest; noiselessly, silently it watches him, and when at noontime he gets tired and lies down to rest under a tree and falls asleep the bat sits watching. The sun, moving a little through the heavens, sends its rays through the trees and strikes the sleeper's face. He tries to wake up, and then he moves, and the bat leaves its place and hovers over him, fanning him. The cool, gentle breeze from those large wings keeps cooling him off and he goes back to sleep soundly again. Then the bat sits on his breast, fanning, then it sinks its teeth into the jugular vein, fanning, fanning, fanning, and if nothing happens to wake up the poor sleeper and wake him up quick, he will never wake up any more.

Look at the stuff coming to you from the daily papers about this Merchant Marine Bill. It it a giant bat, fanning you, fanning you, fanning you, making you believe it is all right. It is just the cool breeze from the fanning wings that you feel. It is all handled by the most scientific advertising man in America, Mr. Lasker—fanning, fanning, fanning. Then you are told in other directions that there is no danger in the Kansas Bill. Somebody's fanning you. You are told again there is no danger in the court decisions. Somebody else is fanning you.

May the Lord God wake you up and keep you awake, men and women, because you are now going through the most terrible times that you have ever seen, and upon the temper and strength and endurance and fortitude that you shall show will depend America's future.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

The latest information is that in all probability this bill will be reported out of the sub-committee to the full committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries tomorrow, and I therefore move that the action of the convention be transmitted at once to the Speaker of the House and to the chairman of the committee.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

President Gompers: I have the honor and the pleasure of presenting to you, not introducing to you, because the introduction, however formal, was made yesterday, the two delegates from the British Trades Union Congress. You know these men personally or by the reputation, which is justly theirs for honest, energetic and faithful effort on behalf of the rights and interests of the great masses of the working people of our country. I have the great pleasure of presenting to you as the first of the two fraternal delegates from the British trades Union Congress, Brother Poulton, who will now address you.

**ADDRESS OF MR. E. L. POULTON,  
Fraternal Delegate Representing the  
British Trade Union Congress**

Mr. President and Fellow Trade Unionists: I don't think it ever entered my mind that I should have the very great honor and pleasure of coming across to this great country and presenting, with a colleague of mine, the good wishes and fraternal greetings of our British trade union movement. But our colleagues considered that we could represent them here, and thus we find ourselves on your platform this morning, deputized to convey the greetings of the British movement to you here in your assembly.

My colleague, with myself, have the great pleasure of knowing in person a number of the delegates here present. We are fairly old delegates ourselves, so far as the British movement is concerned, and therefore from year to year we have the pleasure of grasping the hands of those you send across to us.

It is, Mr. President, a very significant and a very interesting fact that twenty-six years ago in this city of Cincinnati the two delegates who represented the British trade union movement were a miner and a boot worker. This morning the British delegates are a miner and a boot worker, so that the

wheel has come a full circle around in that period of time.

It is indeed an honor and a pleasure to me to attend this, your Annual Convention, and to be, with Mr. Herbert Smith, delegated to convey to you, on behalf of the British Trade Union movement, their hearty greeting and goodwill to you as delegates, and, through you, to the great army of members whom you represent.

The British trade unionists wish for you all an ever-increasing momentum of those forces which will increase the speed whereby the workers will come fully into their legitimate rights, and remove forever from the path of humanity those obstacles which through the centuries have hampered, trammelled and inflicted upon the people, burdens which under any just and equitable system of government would not exist. The recent past is a past which ought to bring home to the workers the absolute necessity of doing their full part in life in such way and manner as to forever preclude any such awful things happening again. It may be said that such an awful war as we have only just emerged from surely is the last war. Did we not fight to make an end of war? Yes, a great many did. It is, however, very significant, that here and there statements are being made by men who are supposed to know what they are talking about, that another war will take place within ten years, and that it will be worse than the last one. We ought, therefore, all to be so on our guard as will insure that any differences between nations shall be settled by reason, and that the representatives of nations shall only act in a manner for the best and highest interests of all. To come still nearer, the past year has been one of great difficulty, economically, industrially, politically. Questions are constantly arising full of complexity demanding from those holding official positions a wide outlook, and a statesmanlike grasp of affairs if they are to successfully grapple with the problems confronting them.

The trade union movement, whether in America or Europe, is engaged in a fight of the first magnitude—a fight not only against reactionary employers—a fight not only against adverse trade conditions, but a fight against mighty financial forces and with the economic situation completely out of balance; the said fight may, I think, fairly be said to be one involving vital and far-reaching issues. Within the ambit of these issues will be fought out problems involving the welfare of millions of people.

I understand that you have immediately confronting you decisions of law which go right down to the foundations of not only trade unionism, but also the question of government of the nation under your constitution. It is not for me to enter into criticism of what has brought this about, but it does seem to me, a visitor to your shores and coming from the same county, viz: Northamptonshire and Town where in 1532 and 1545 Laurence Washington was mayor, and whose relative, the great Geo. Washington, did so much for liberty and freedom, strange that in 1922 you are called upon yet once again to enter the lists for liberty and freedom. I can only hope that right and justice may prevail, that the bounds of freedom may be set yet wider and wider, bringing in their train still greater comfort and happiness to the people generally and making the pathway of life for the oncoming generation one of still greater possibilities being achieved by them than were possible to their forebears. How necessary, therefore, it is that we should, by interchange of view, and by personal talks, and discussion of policy, come to an understanding with one another as to the best means to adopt in the struggles in which we are constantly engaged, and thereby insure not only to our members, but also to vast multitudes who are not members, benefits which but for trade unionism would not be secured.

In Great Britain the past year has been to us a time of testing; many attempts have, and are still being made, to increase on the one hand, the length of the working week, and reduce wages on the other. These attempts we are resisting to the best of our ability, and it is cause for congratulation that at such a time, despite poverty and suffering, the people as a whole are more and more realizing the great value of trade unionism in helping them through such a period, and bad as things are at present, they would be infinitely worse if there had not been such a force to fall back upon as their trade unions.

It might be imagined from the ignorant statements at times made by persons who have no real knowledge of industrial conditions, that trade unions exist to impose upon the community all kinds of tyranny. An impartial investigation of history would, on the contrary, prove that among the organizations doing good work on behalf of humanity, stand in the first rank trade unions. What about general conditions where labor is unorganized? What is it we are contending for? To secure for

the worker his fair share of the product, to give labor reasonable hours, to insure sanitary conditions of a proper character, to make provision for payments at times of sickness, out of work, and death.

These benefits alone have absorbed millions of money during the past year or two, and have been of untold benefit, not only to the recipients but to the community generally.

The world policy is radically out of joint when we find millions of people crying out for the barest necessities of life, crying up to the present to deaf ears. On the other hand, millions of men and women find themselves without employment. I may say that we reached the point since your last convention of unemployment in Great Britain of three millions of men and women. That has gradually gone down and it is now two million three hundred thousand. And to add to the irony of the situation many capitalists are telling the workers day by day that what is wanted is more and yet more production; to such a statement we say, and say with no uncertain voice, give the people a chance to produce and they will speedily take advantage of the opportunity to produce those articles and goods which we know are wanted. The trade union movement is fully alive to this tragic situation, and if only statesmen would pay more heed to those who day by day have to deal with the sad circumstances, surrounding the lives of vast multitudes of people, I venture to suggest that both in this country and in Europe the situation would speedily be improved.

The second International (Trade Union) has, during the past year, been active in very many ways, and despite opposition has accomplished much good work in connection with the movement, especially in helping toward unity. If I might be allowed, I should like to say we are hoping that ere long it may be our pleasure to once more have linked up with such International the American Federation of Labor. The International has done a notable piece of work during the past year, viz.: The distribution in Russia, in the famine area, of food and goods to the starving Russians from moneys contributed by trade unionists. This distribution was carried out by direct personal supervision. This work was undertaken by Mr. Jas. O'Grady, M. P., who, I regret to say, contracted smallpox in the carrying out of this work. He, however, I am glad to say, returned home, and after recovery went back again to continue this good work, which

is one more contribution of trade unionists to humanity.

The international situation is full of complications, and complications of a kind which place upon trade unionists a great responsibility. That responsibility is being shouldered and tackled in a courageous manner, and upon lines which ought and will prove to any fair-minded person that we are not out for a mere selfish policy, but rather that which we are striving after is to uplift the people, to enhearten and brighten the lives of our fellow human beings. Though in many respects the outlook at present is dark, and though our forces may suffer some losses, I feel confident that here in America, as in Great Britain, you will go forward, full of courage, inspired by a great ideal; sustained in many a battle by the knowledge that you are fighting the people's battle; that the warfare is not for destruction of life, but for its preservation; that you are determined to press the battle until full, entire and complete victory is assured. Let us not under-rate the forces against us; they are powerful, and have command of large sums of money; their ramifications and influence are world-wide. We must be equally international in our outlook, our policy must shape itself more and more upon a general rather than upon a particular outlook. If needs be, we must like many manufacturers be prepared to scrap machinery, which good as it may have been in the past, does not meet the present-day situation. We are endeavoring to do this in Great Britain; for instance, the committee known for so long as the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Congress, and consisting of sixteen members, has been enlarged to thirty-two; in addition the Women's Trade Union League, which for so many years did splendid work for the women, has become part and parcel of the machinery of what is now known as the General Council. There is also joint working upon many matters with the National Labor Party, and the Parliamentary Labor Party; all with one end in view—more efficiency and greater help to the workers in their daily lives; nevertheless, machinery, however perfect, will be of comparatively little value unless there is loyalty in our ranks, loyalty to principle and support to those who are placed in positions of difficulty. Given these conditions, I venture to assert we shall emerge from the strife, not only with honor, but with added prestige to a movement which has already done much to ameliorate the lot of the worker, and which has within it the potential force

to achieve very much greater success than any of our past endeavors have produced. In conclusion I trust your deliberations in this city may conduce to that time speedily coming when truth, equity, peace and goodwill may be dominant, and the worker, whether by brain or hand, may have insured to him all those things which will make life so far as it is possible full of joy and gladness. That the American and British movements may so work, so act and comport themselves as to insure the wide world o'er, peace and good will to all mankind.

President Gompers: I am sure that the delegates to this convention have manifested their sincere appreciation of the address just delivered to us by Brother Poulton, and I am confident that if you realize in him a representative trade unionist in character and understanding you will find this equally true of his colleague, the other delegates from the British Trades Union Congress, Brother Smith, whom I have the honor of presenting to you.

#### ADDRESS OF MR. HERBERT SMITH

Fraternal Delegate Representing the British Trades Union Congress

Mr. President, Brothers and Sisters:

Like my Comrade Poulton, I want to convey to you on behalf of the British trades union movement sincerest fraternal greetings, and the sincere wishes of the British labor movement for the growth and progress of American labor.

I cannot in reviewing the situation in Great Britain refrain from making special reference to the position of British miners.

British labor has since the armistice of 1918 gone through one of the greatest crises in its history. To some extent this may also be true of American labor. Unemployment figures in America are bigger than those of Britain, although they are less in proportion to the total population than they are in Great Britain.

The peace upon the battle field through the end of the greatest military struggle in history brought no peace in the industry.

During the war it was believed that the comradeship of the trenches would be expressed in social life when the war came to an end. As both peer and peasant, aristocrat and artisan, bankers and boiler-makers, went over the top to their death, it was hoped that those who remained would be enthused with a new spirit of comradeship, and would jointly assist in the reconstruc-

tion of the broken fabric of our national life.

Alas, no such thing happened. Business seemed to destroy brotherhood, and last year and the year before more industrial war was experienced in Great Britain than in many a decade before.

Employers seemed to take it into their heads that even the pre-war privileges and those that had been secured during the war must be taken away.

They immediately commenced to challenge the important trades unions in the country. The challenges were accepted and many a bitter fight followed the longest and bitterest of which was that waged upon the miners of Great Britain.

For thirteen weeks this war was waged, principally by the Government, of course, aided directly by the coal-owners, but it was a government war from beginning to end, arising from their desire to shake off any further Government responsibility for carrying on the industry.

The Government had controlled the industry for four years for the purpose of more successfully waging war against the enemy, but later abandoned the industry entirely when the need for war organization passed away.

The miners put up a grand fight, but were defeated in the end because they were not strong enough, either industrially or politically, to secure the great objects they had in view, namely, a wage agreement which would provide as far as possible uniform wages throughout the country, regardless of the particular revenue earning capacity of a mine or a district, or a country. An agreement by which both wages and profits would be pooled and divided in fixed proportions as between labor and capital.

This proposal was so far reaching in its nature and involved such a radical change in the structure of the industry that the fullest pressure both on the part of the Government and capitalists generally was brought against it to defeat it, and defeated it was.

An honorable and just settlement, however, might have been arrived at earlier had it not been for the fact that the Executive Committee of the Miners' Federation and its officers were hampered and embarrassed by people of the extreme wing who had neither experience nor responsibilities in trades unionism prior to the war.

What is true of the miners is true to some extent of the other unions. Circumstances have compelled the trades union movement in Britain to accept for the time being almost the inevitable consequences of the great war upheaval.

Tremendous sacrifices have been made, and much misery endured by our working people since 1918 and the worst has only just been reached.

We have had our army of unemployed in the neighborhood of about two millions, with their families, making about one-eighth of the total population of the country for the last two years. The Government is responsible for starting a movement for absorbing the unemployed by cutting down the wages of the employed, stupidly believing that the more wages were reduced amongst those who are employed, the quicker the wheels of industry would turn, and the more workmen would be brought into production. This is the greatest fallacy that the British Government has been responsible for since the war, but it has persisted in it and has been cleverly encouraged and assisted by the big federation of employers of labor.

In 1921 the workmen in Great Britain lost in wages five hundred million pounds, at the rate of ten million pounds reduction per week.

The Government said this was good; it would bring down the cost of living; it would cheapen the necessities of life.

My brothers, when the purchasing power of those who are engaged in work is reduced by 50 or 60 per cent, it creates unemployment because these men and their families cannot go into the markets to buy their goods; the less wages they earn the less they buy, and the unemployed army is swelled day by day in consequence.

Now all this had a very distressing effect upon the trades union movement generally in Great Britain. People are earning such poor wages, many of the members of the unions have failed to pay their dues; instead of representing here about six and a half to seven millions of organized trades unionists, we may not be able to boast of more than four and a half to five million trades unionists.

The men who have been through the fires and the mills before are sticking to their trades union. The younger generation, though full of ideas and enthusiasm, do not appear to be equipped to meet adversity and difficulty as are the older and more tried members of the labor movement. They get so easily disappointed. I suppose this is the same in America as it is in the old country. Most of the evils and much of the depression, however, is due to world situation. Being an island country we are most sensitive to the influences that are prevailing in other countries.

We were more and more dependent upon the rest of the world as the years went by and though the great world up-

heaval must have its devastating effects on all countries, it seems as though they had a greater and more acute effect on Great Britain than any other, with perhaps the exception of Russia, but in the latter case, it was mostly political in origin.

It is being recognized, therefore, that in these circumstances the British people must become more and more international in their outlook, as far as labor is concerned, and it is only natural that by language, and by birth, they should look instinctively to their American brethren to join with them in such international movement as will be of lasting benefit to all concerned.

America is a long way from Europe, but the American work people are very near the heart of the British work people.

Being an old country we have many traditions and privileges and practices in the labor movement which have not yet been secured by labor in other parts of the world but we know that we cannot go on indefinitely improving our situation without the assistance and understanding of American labor.

To illustrate what I mean. The miners in Great Britain and certain of the European countries have a seven-hour working day. In Great Britain it is established by law. There is a complete freedom of organization, and education, and free speech for trades unionists, and from time to time there arises a most wholesome fear that other bigger, wealthier countries like America, which because of a more extensive natural gifts and in some respects by her longer hours of labor, and her greater dedication to use of machinery may increase the difficulties for the British worker who is born to be a part of a great exporting machine.

The ideal that the British labor movement is trying to make to, and by the way such an ideal will soon, I hope, be within the practical realization of the International Miners-Workers' Federation of Europe and America, that the conditions of employment throughout industry shall, as far as practicable, be the same in all countries.

There is no reason why throughout the world there should not be uniform working day. There should be no reason why a worker in one country should have a worse standard subsistence than in another country.

Minimum wages should be universal in civilized countries, by which I mean, in countries where industrialism has become anything like highly developed.

If nature has been more bountiful in one country than another, then the inhabitants of that country should experi-

ence to the full nature's gift, by having to work less hard and less long than workmen have to work in other countries where nature is less favorable.

We think that America is the country that will lead the way in working class progress.

She has the natural gifts. She has the land. She has the intelligence. If her sons and daughters have the will, they can utilize these wonderful gifts to such an extent as will provide a "beacon light" which will be readily followed by the workers in other parts of the world.

In Europe many countries have reached their zenith.

Industrially and politically their suns may have set, but there is no reason why their people should go down into poverty and misery, because of the more vigorous developments of newer and more favorably placed nations. The American labor movement, like America itself, can be great and vast but it cannot be so great as to neglect to perform its part in the great world effort to bring happiness to humanity.

#### ADDRESS OF MR. ERNEST ROBINSON

##### Fraternal Delegate, Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: After listening to the words of my young friends from Great Britain I suppose it will be in order for me to give you a few words of fatherly advice. I can assure you that they are going to be very few. I am not so sure I ought not to take the advice of a little girl whom I once read about. It was a Sunday school anniversary; the afternoon was very hot, and the scholars had gathered together to hear the words of their spiritual advisers. The superintendent of the Sunday school had given an address, he had been followed by the clergyman of the church to be followed by the clergyman of a neighboring church, and last of all there was called upon to address the scholars the bishop of the diocese.

As the bishop arose to speak he stroked his chin somewhat meditatively, and, more to himself than to the audience, he said: "I wonder what I shall talk to you about this afternoon?" One little girl in the front row, thinking the question was addressed to the scholars, said:

"Thay amen and thit down." If I were to take that advice I might be serving the interests of the movement as well as my own reputation.

You have had a message from my friends of Great Britain of what has

happened. They have talked to you in a retrospective view; they have told you what has occurred. I haven't a message of that kind this morning; the movement from which I come is too young to have achieved much. Small numerically, not having accomplished great things, but in that movement in Canada we have a potential giant who, in the years to come, will wield a mighty influence, not only in national affairs but in international affairs.

I think the movement I represent this morning is in a unique position. On the one hand we have Great Britain. We call her the mother of parliaments. As we look at the achievements of her labor men, not only industrially but politically, we are compelled to acknowledge that there in Britain you have the acme of accomplishment as far as trade unionism is concerned. We in Canada are linked to Great Britain by reason of blood and tradition. And then we have the movement in this great Republic here, a movement that was started with the experience of Great Britain to guide her, a movement that has immense achievements so far, but whose achievements of the past will be pigmy by the side of this movement in the days to come if only we have the loyalty the men we have had in the movement have shown.

I trust that as we go into the future, Britain on the one hand, America on the other, and Canada in between—holding the hand of each—I trust that we shall show to the world what it means to have an Anglo-Saxon unity in the great trade union movement; and if we have Britain and Canada and the United States linked together, what a mighty force we shall have for the uplifting of the working class of the world.

There are many ways in which the amelioration of the condition of the working class can be achieved. It would ill become me to try to go through all of that, but there are three things I want to speak very briefly upon. First of all, I think the time has come when the working class should take a greater control of the productive and distributing agencies of our country. Too long these things have been in the hands of the capitalist class, and whilst we have been working for wages, whilst we have been using our organizations to improve our conditions, we have not given enough thought to the purchasing power of those wages. And whilst we may have raised our wages, so far as dollars and cents are concerned, the very fact that the producing and distributing agencies of the needs of life have been in the

hands of the capitalist class has nullified to a very large extent the wages we have been receiving. In Great Britain they have taken up the Rochdale co-operative system. I am not saying that it is the best system for this country, but it is based upon a principle, the principle that there shall be a combination of the working class in controlling the producing and distributing of their food and other goods. And I want to say, too, that whether America takes hold of the Rochdale plan or not, the time is now when we must realize to the utmost the necessity of taking under our wing the producing and distributing agencies and getting those things for the benefit of the working class.

I remember listening to a very eloquent address given by the delegate from the British Trades Union Congress to our Congress in Canada last September, referring to the remarkable things that had been done in connection with the British miners' strike. He said the miners lost a great deal by that strike, but that if it had not been for the Co-operative Society of Great Britain those miners would have been driven back to their work weeks and weeks before they were, because you know and I know that starvation is the greatest strike-breaker we have, and they would have been driven back under the bosses' terms; but when everything else failed the Co-operative Society came to their aid by giving them food and other goods and money that enabled the funds of the miners to be conserved, the spirit of the miners to be revived, and the fight carried on to the very last moment. I know the seed has been sown in America, and I want to impress upon you the necessity of expanding the agencies already started.

I want to refer briefly now to political action. We have been devoting a good deal of our thought to the industrial side of labor activities—and I am not for a moment going to minimize the magnitude, the influence or the power of the industrial side of the labor movement—but is it not a fact that we can often take a lesson from our employers, our antagonists? They recognized the importance of political action years and years ago. In Great Britain, in Canada and in the United States many of the victories we gained on the industrial field have been taken from us because we did not control the political government.

Whilst the laboring class has been divided in some countries between Liberal and Conservative and in others between Democrat and Republican, when you take the covering from them all



there is no difference between them except the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee; they are both handmaidens of the capitalist class, and the sooner the workers unite their efforts on the industrial field with their endeavors on the political field, the sooner shall we realize that the time has come that the workers' salvation shall be brought about.

One more thought in conclusion. I pleaded this morning for a greater expression of real internationalism. I am not going to say we have not a real internationalism, for we are here in the name of the international labor movement. We have overseas another international labor movement. They have great problems, just as we have great problems; they need you and me over there with our influence and our help, just as we need them over here with their influence and their help; and I want to say that if we can see a great, world-wide expression of internationalism there are three things, I think, it will make for. Brother Smith lightly touched upon two of them, when he said it will have a tendency toward a greater uniformity in wages, hours and conditions of work.

We are told that the people in some of the other countries are so backward, that the time and effort spent in trying to raise their position will hinder us. Every backward country is a menace to America, and we are not going to get very many strides ahead whilst we have to contend with backward countries. Then, sir, I claim that not only in the interests of other people, but even for our own selfish ends, it is incumbent upon us that we should give our help, give our assistance and make one with that great international movement.

Just one more thought, Mr. Chairman. I believe that the greater expression of internationalism will make for a better understanding of the views of various international subjects. We misinterpret things because we do not know all the facts. If we could see from the angle of the other fellow we would see things in a different light many times. That takes place in our negotiations between capital and labor. How much more so, then, in our relations with the workers of other countries. We look at Britain and say that such things ought to be, or that such things ought not to be, and we do not know, because we never see them in the light the British see them. If we can get a closer affiliation so far as our international relations go these misunderstandings on these great subjects will largely disappear.

Lastly, I believe a closer international relationship will make for the elimination of war. When the disarmament conference was sitting some months ago the press of the city from which I come decided to secure the expression of different people on the subject. They came to me, and, amongst other things, I made these remarks: "There are two factors which, in my opinion, will have the greatest influence in deciding for or against war. On the one hand you have the women, they who, when the war drums roll and the war flags are unfurled, suffer most. And whilst they may sit at home, having given their loved ones to fight, they are the people who pass through that mind-struggle we know little about. On the one hand you have the women and on the other side you have labor, labor that in all wars fight and lastly have to pay. If you can get these two great forces of humanity together, the women on the one side and organized labor on the other, there will be no war. And the sooner we realize that internationalism will bind the workers of all lands, and finally bind all of womankind together, we will have the greatest influence for the elimination of war."

We have a past black, dark and criminal, but whilst the past cannot be altered the future can be changed. The day in which we live has been determined by yesterdays that are past, and the tomorrows we will have to live through will be largely determined by what we do today. May I plead, then, for a greater coming together of men of all colors, of all races, of all nationalities upon the great principle of internationalism. Then shall we see these dark and dingy days pass and the dawning of another day.

In conclusion, may I say in the words of the poet:

Ring out the old, ring in the new;  
Ring out the false, ring in the true;  
Ring in the day that is to be.

President Gompers: One cannot help but say that the address of Brother Robinson was, as his first name typifies, earnest, and comparable to the splendid expressions which have already passed from the lips of the gentlemen who addressed us before.

Following the addresses of the fraternal delegates, it was suggested that an adjournment at noon might be advisable in order to give the various committees an opportunity to meet, none of the committees being prepared to report at this time.

A motion embodying that suggestion

was offered by First Vice-President Duncan, seconded and carried.

**President Gompers:** The chair desires to announce again that tomorrow, by order of this convention, will be set aside for the discussion of the abolition of child labor and the means by which it can be accomplished and perhaps such other pertinent subjects as may come up. United States Senator Robert M. La Follette will address the convention, Miss Florence Kelley will address the convention, and Dr. Albert Freiberg, who has given great study and who is an authority from the biological and physiological standpoint on the effect of child labor on the child, will also address us.

I want to say, not only to the delegates, but to our visitors, that they are welcome, as are others; their friends or opponents of our cause are cordially invited to be here tomorrow or at any other session so that there may be heard and seen the American labor movement at work. I ask you to make this known to those with whom you come in contact.

Delegate Kummer, of the local arrangements committee, requested the delegates to insist upon the services of union chauffeurs when hiring taxicabs.

Announcements were made as to time and place of committee meetings, and at 12:45 p. m. the convention was adjourned, under suspension of the rules, to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, June 14th.

### RESOLUTIONS

**Resolution No. 1—By Delegate James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' International Association:**

**WHEREAS,** The bill known as S. 3217, now pending in Congress and which is purported to be "a bill to amend and supplement the Merchant Marine Act of 1920 and for other purposes," is in reality a cunningly devised scheme to enrich certain classes of so-called American ship owners at the expense of the truly American taxpayer and also to provide patronage, which is certain to be used for purely political purposes; and,

**WHEREAS,** Said bill, commonly known as the "Ship Subsidy Bill," is being widely misrepresented as a measure intended for, and necessary to the maintenance and upbuilding of the American Merchant Marine; and

**WHEREAS,** The facts are that its enactment into law will bring about a

condition under which all managers and operators of ships must regard politics as the prime factor in their business, and efficient management as a secondary consideration of comparatively little importance; and

**WHEREAS,** The claim that ship subsidies are necessary to equalize the cost of operation between foreign and American vessels is deceptive and can not be substantiated, except in cases where such inequality exists because American government officials have failed, and are failing, to properly enforce the existing American laws, intended to promote equalization, this being especially true of the law known as the La Follette Seamen's Act; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** By the American Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, that the said Ship Subsidy Bill be condemned as inimical to the public interest, and particularly destructive to the nation's hopes and aspirations for sea power; further,

**RESOLVED,** That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, members of the Cabinet, and to the members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Wm. C. Hushing, of Central Labor Union of Balboa, Canal Zone:**

**WHEREAS,** The President of the United States, at the instigation of the Secretary of War and the Governor of the Canal Zone, issued an executive order, effective January 1, 1922, which takes from the American employes of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad—on the Canal Zone—living and working conditions that they have enjoyed for many years; and,

**WHEREAS,** The loss of these conditions are in effect a reduction of approximately \$35 per month in pay, as their loss will increase the living costs that amount; and,

**WHEREAS,** This reduction is in addition to the reduction made in the actual rates of pay, many employes having been reduced \$41 and some \$58 per month, since the beginning of the present fiscal year, July 1, 1921; and,

**WHEREAS,** The total average reduction, since July 1, 1921, has been approximately \$76 per month; and,

**WHEREAS,** The employes had a bill introduced in Congress, known as H. R. 10646, to restore the above mentioned conditions, that have been with-

drawn by the terms of the President's executive order; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention be recorded as being strongly opposed to said executive order; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That this convention be just as strongly recorded as favoring H. R. 10646; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a telegram be sent to the President and the Secretary of War, protesting against the action they have taken; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a telegram be sent to the Speaker, and the majority and minority leaders in the House, requesting that they do all in their power to aid the passage of H. R. 10646.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Jas. E. Hopkins, California State Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS**, Public opinion in the United States on the subject of foreign immigration is now well crystallized and demands a positive, constructive policy on the part of the Federal Government, under which our future citizens and permanent residents of foreign birth shall be selected with due regard for the present and future welfare of the nation; and

**WHEREAS**, The present three per cent restriction law, recently continued in effect for two years up to June, 1924, was enacted because it offered a temporary plan for reducing to a fraction a threatened flood of undesirables; but it has failed to improve the general average of the quotas admitted because the present law, in fact, recognizes officially a plan which perpetuates in kind, though not in degree, our mistakes of the past; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, at Cincinnati, Ohio, That we urge Congress to hereafter deny admission, as immigrants and permanent residents, to all aliens who are ineligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States.

Referred to the Committee on Legislation.

**Resolution No. 4—By Delegates Max J. Sillinsky, Arthur Keep, Thos. Sweeney, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, as per instructions of their convention held in August, 1921:**

**RESOLVED**, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, now held in Cincinnati, instruct the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to use their good officers to bring about an affiliation of the two existing organizations in the garment trades, namely, the United Garment Workers of America and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, to the end that peace and harmony be restored in the clothing industry, and a better working agreement reached thereby, thus clearing the field for an amalgamation of all the unions in the clothing industry, such as the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, the United Garment Workers of America, the International Ladies' Garment Workers of America, the Cap Makers' Union, the Neckwear Makers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, on a department plan.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

**Resolution No. 5—By Delegate Geo. T. Simmons, Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union:**

**WHEREAS**, The best interests of organized labor demand that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (either directly or through their national or international organizations) should by affiliation become members of the central labor bodies of their vicinity; and

**WHEREAS**, The machinery provided by the American Federation of Labor Constitution seems to be, and is, inadequate to compel that solidarity so necessary to the success of the labor movement; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be amended to contain the following principle: "That national and international organizations shall compel all local unions under their jurisdiction to affiliate with the central bodies of their vicinity; and where a local union persists in its refusal to so affiliate, the proper officers of the national or international organization having jurisdiction shall notify the offending local union that its charter is suspended until such time as the affiliation is consummated; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Secretary of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and Vicinity shall send a copy of this resolution to all central labor bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, requesting that this resolution be indorsed and that the delegate to the

American Federation of Labor Convention shall do his utmost to secure the passage of such legislation as is contemplated in this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates Max J. Sillinsky, Arthur Keep, Thos. Sweeney, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, as per instructions of their convention, held in August, 1921:

WHEREAS, The class struggle between the workers and the capitalists all over the world is assuming more and more the aspect of one international front; and,

WHEREAS, The imperialists are preparing new wars in which the workers will be called upon to slaughter each other for the sake of the capitalists' greed and profits; and,

WHEREAS, These conditions which are menacing the workers demand that labor must unite nationally and internationally in order to present a solid front against the enemies of the working class; and,

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor is at present not affiliated with any international body; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, now held in Cincinnati, instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, immediately upon adjournment of this convention to get in touch with the International Federation of Trades Unions and reaffiliate with that body.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Resolution No. 7—By Delegate H. O. Cline, of the Alabama State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The rank and file and the leaders of the labor movement in the United States, know no North, no South, no East, and no West, but wish the development of the great natural resources of the nation wherever located; and

WHEREAS, at this time a fight is on in Congress between the friends and enemies of the well-known plans for the development of the water power of Muscle Shoals, on the Tennessee River, in Alabama; and

WHEREAS, We realize that scores of dollars have been appropriated for

the great Ohio River, near which we are meeting, to only a few dollars for the development of the navigation and power of the Tennessee River equally great; and

WHEREAS, Our natural allies, the farmers, will greatly benefit by the development of Muscle Shoals according to the plans of Henry Ford, of Detroit, as set forth in his unmatched offer made over a year ago; and

WHEREAS, The recent convention of the Alabama Federation of Labor has gone on record as favoring the Ford bid; and

WHEREAS, All the labor unions of Florence, Tuscumbia, Sheffield, Albany and Decatur, Alabama, cities located near the Muscle Shoals have unanimously endorsed the Ford offer to lease the Shoals property; and

WHEREAS, We believe with Arthur Brisbane, the well-known editorial writer, that the time has come for Congress to lease the Muscle Shoals to Henry Ford and stop talking about it, and that the final decision of Congress as to the disposition of the Shoals project will show whether fertilizer manufacturers or farmers have most influence with Congress; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the forty-second annual convention of the A. F. of L., sides with the farmers in their controversy as to the acceptance of the Ford bid, and that this convention instruct its Executive Council to use all means in its power to secure favorable action on the final offer of Mr. Ford to lease Muscle Shoals, and in view of the deterioration of the property at Muscle Shoals and the immediate and very urgent need of the farmers for more fertilizer, that the Executive Council use all haste possible in bringing pressure to bear on the President of the United State and Congress to secure favorable action at the present session, on the Ford contract to develop Muscle Shoals.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Investigations of those influences that are waging a war of destruction on organized labor, through their advocacy and promotion of the so-called "American Plan," open shop movement, develop the fact that they are being financed by banking institutions, many of which have been and are still the depositories of the funds of the

workers and farmers individually and of their national and international treasuries; and

WHEREAS, The Machinists and Locomotive Engineers have pioneered the work of establishing banks financed by and operated in the interests of the workers and have made successes of their ventures, thus proving that the field of banking is not closed to the workers; and

WHEREAS, The national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the Railway Brotherhoods, other than the Engineers, and other unaffiliated organizations have reserves totalling many millions of dollars, much of which lies in the banks and the power of which is being utilized to crush labor in its legitimate aspirations and to deflate the farmers from their hard earned dollars; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in 42nd Annual Convention assembled, That we empower the incoming Executive Council to take such steps as they deem necessary to secure the co-operation of all national and international unions, railway brotherhoods and other organizations of working people and farmers in the establishment of a central bank at Washington, D. C., together with such branch banks as occasion may demand or opportunity afford, to the end that the workers in all lines of productive effort may, by their deposits, take part in the building of financial institutions, that may act as a safeguard to organized labor and those sympathetic with its program.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The fact that a major portion of the workers are from time to time compelled to change their occupation, thus changing the jurisdiction of their employment, compelling them in most cases, under present practice, to pay new initiation fees; and

WHEREAS, This practice inflicts unnecessary hardship on the workers in the extra expenses involved; causes many to divorce themselves from the labor movement, thus weakening our line of defense; and

WHEREAS, We believe the interests of labor in any division will be adequately safeguarded from unnecessary invasion by the qualifications exacted both by the organization and employers as well as by the regulations that might be adopted covering any difference in initiation fees, where membership was of short duration; and

WHEREAS, We believe the removal of the unnecessary restrictions imposed by the burden of new initiation fees would result in the building up of a better and greater labor movement, a vast increase in membership and an increase of interest; be it

RESOLVED by the 42nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, That we recommend to all affiliated national and international unions that they effect such changes in their constitutions as may be required to permit the acceptance of transfer, traveling or clearance cards from any other affiliated organization in lieu of an initiation fee as is now required; such acceptance to be contingent on the applicant's ability to perform the work covered by the organization in a manner to command the minimum wage provided for that class of work.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 10—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, representing Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

BE IT RESOLVED by the delegates to the 42nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, That, in order that the labor movement may be known through its labels and house cards, by an isignia representative of all federated workers, that we indorse and accept the label design of the American Federation of Labor as one to be used by all organizations affiliated herewith and to be attached by them to all articles manufactured by their membership; that same be made a part of the display on all union house or shop cards, with such additional lettering in each case as will identify the particular jurisdiction of the organization. That we urge all affiliated national and international unions to take such steps as will be necessary to secure the adoption of this label, to the end that greater impetus may be given the sale of union made merchandise and the patronage of union establishments.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

To amend Section 11, Article 9, to read as follows:

"Sec. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any national or international union without a positive and clear acceptance of the requirements regarding affiliation of all local unions subordinate to such national and international union with chartered local central labor bodies, departments and State federations of labor; nor shall such charter be granted to any national, international, trade or federal labor union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant," etc.

Referred to the Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

The following is offered as a substitute for present Section 2, Article 11:

"Sec. 2. All national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall require that their subordinate local unions join and maintain active affiliation with the chartered central labor bodies, departments and State federations of labor in their vicinity where such exist. Failure on the part of any national or international union to comply with this section or to bring about such affiliation when any subordinate local or locals fail to carry out this provision shall subject them to suspension as provided in Section 12, Article 11. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all trade and federal labor unions under its jurisdiction."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

That Section 10, Article 11, be amended to read as follows: "Sec. 10. Local unions of national or international unions affiliated with the departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a local department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any local department unless they are connected with the chartered central body and state federation for their state, nor shall they be eligible for membership in such central body

or state federation unless they are affiliated with the local department."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

That Section 2, Article 14, be amended by adding to the end of the present section, deleting the period: "and its regularly chartered central bodies and state federations of labor."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

That Section 3, Article 14, be amended by adding after the words, "Central Labor Unions" the words "and State Federations of Labor."

The last sentence of the section to read, as amended: "Said local unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to central labor unions and state federations of labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 16—By delegation from Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, by request: W. D. Mahon, William Quinlan, Fred Schultz, A. Conn and J. Rodgers:

WHEREAS, The program of 1919 should be much enlarged and brought down to date on economics, politics and sociology, so that no second shall be lost in the placing of the fruits of labor in the hands of organized workers and workers in general; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the following subjects shall be added to our constructive plan of 1922:

1. Advertising of all Union Made Goods.
2. Complete Restriction of Immigration for ten years.
3. Reforestation of Wild Game and Preservation.
4. Restocking of Streams and Shores.
5. Completion of Good Roads and Trails.
6. Full support of Farm Bureau and Agricultural Department.
7. More Outdoor Life and Recreation.
8. Improvement of Evening High Schools.

9. Gradual Reduction of the Army and Navy.

10. Full support of Growers and Grazers' organizations.

11. United States Production of Chemical and other fertilizers.

12. Standardization of all Power Machines.

13. Building and Enlarging United States Dirigible Airship Plants.

14. State Annuals Compiled for Apprenticeship and Vocational Guidance.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Geo. W. Fisher, Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The labor movement of America, on account of its magnitude, is fast coming to the point where the burden of the enforcement of its principles can not be placed on the backs of a few; and

WHEREAS, The present laws of the American Federation of Labor are inadequate to compel the international unions to compel their subordinate locals to affiliate with city central bodies and State federations, so necessary to the labor movement and to the enforcement of the principles thereof; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the constitution of the American Federation of Labor be so changed as to make it mandatory upon all national and international unions to compel all locals under their jurisdiction to affiliate with the various central bodies and State federations, and where a local union refuses to affiliate, its charter be suspended by their respective internationals, except where such national organization's membership wages are fixed by law; and be it further

RESOLVED, That delegates from various affiliated locals of the central bodies be compelled by their international organizations to attend at least one-half of the meetings of central bodies of each calendar month, as it can readily be seen that dormant affiliation is of no use in these trying times of industrial autocracy.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate Anthony J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There is in effect a law known as the "65 Ft. Motor Boat Law" which permits a boat under 65 feet in

length to be operated, except when engaged in towing by non-licensed pilot and engineer; and

WHEREAS, This law not only works a hardship upon the members of the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association, an affiliated part of the International Longshoremen's Association and the American Federation of Labor, but endangers the lives of such persons as are carried as passengers, as these boats are exempt from inspection by the local United States Inspectors; and

WHEREAS, The Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association and the International Longshoremen's Association will cause a bill to be introduced in the House of Congress of the United States of America, which bill is intended to amend the "65 Ft. Motor Boat Law"; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to render any and all possible assistance to the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association and the International Longshoremen's Association in their efforts to amend the "65 Ft. Motor Boat Law" to fully protect all power boats engaged in any commercial industry.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Chas. W. Redfern, National Federation of Post Office Clerks:

WHEREAS, There is now a worldwide, growing sentiment that suitable and honorable provision should be made by the government for the support in old age of those who expend the energy of their vigorous years in production for the benefit of society at wages too low to permit of their laying by for themselves, and who in the grip of age find themselves without employment and without income for their support; and

WHEREAS, The most effective and least costly way of removing from the minds of citizens the haunting fear of want in old age and dependency, seems to be through old age pensions, which investigation in several states has shown would cost less than the present pauper support; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the old age pension system of providing for those who have grown old in honest toil without being able to lay by for themselves, and we instruct our national officers to exercise their best efforts to se-

cure the effective carrying out of this resolution through every proper and legislative means.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

**Resolution No. 20**—By Delegate John G. Clay, Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The Mooney case is a standing disgrace and a constant source of discontent due to the fact that Tom Mooney and Warren Billings are still in prison, after all the witnesses against them have confessed that their testimony was perjured; and

WHEREAS, All legal process has been tested in an endeavor to remedy this crying miscarriage of justice and has completely failed to grant relief; and

WHEREAS, An appeal for pardon, which is the only legal process available according to high authority, is now pending before Governor Stephens, of California, with the personal endorsement of District Attorney Brady; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor hereby affirms that a complete and unconditional pardon should be granted to Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, as the only means of remedying this disgraceful condition, and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor immediately send a telegram to this effect to Governor Stephens, Sacramento, Calif., demanding that he grant partial and belated act of reparation to the victims of this shameful frame-up.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 21**—By Delegate D. C. Smart, Order of Railroad Telegraphers:

WHEREAS, The Russian Railway Service Corps was organized under the authority of the President of the United States during the World War, and the officers thereof were commissioned with ranks of second lieutenant to colonel by the President of the United States, attested to by the Adjutant General of the War Department; and

WHEREAS, It was the understanding of the officers of said corps that they were being commissioned as such in the regular army of the United States; and

WHEREAS, It subsequently developed that their status was uncertain, with the result that they have been denied the benefits of the War Risk In-

surance Act and have been denied forms of discharge from the United States Army; and

WHEREAS, The said Russian Railway Service Corps was made up largely of Brotherhood and union men, consisting of conductors, engineers, trainmen, firemen, train dispatchers, operators and mechanics; and

WHEREAS, The Senate of the United States has passed Senate Bill No. 28, which provides for granting honorable discharges to former members of the said Russian Railway Service Corps, which said bill is now pending before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, this day of ———, 1922, does strongly endorse the passage of said Senate Bill No. 28, as a meritorious measure and an act of common justice, and respectfully petitions the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives to act promptly and favorably on said bill; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a certified copy of this resolution be forwarded to each member of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

**Resolution No. 22**—By Delegate John G. Clay, Chicago Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, In the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Montreal, Canada, June 7th, 1920, a resolution was introduced by Ben F. Parker, of the Chicago Federation of Labor, to establish a food-producing and distributing department under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The resolution was referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to call a conference of the international unions involved; and

WHEREAS, To the best of our knowledge, no action was taken by the Executive Council; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the delegates representing the Chicago Federation of Labor at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, to be held in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, commencing Monday, June 12, 1922, reintroduce the resolution that was known as Reso-



lution 45 at the Montreal convention, which was as follows:

"WHEREAS, The workers in the food and catering industry of America are separated into various organizations such as cooks, waiters and waitresses, general hotel employes, bakers, ice cream makers, flour mill workers, egg inspectors, butchers, stockyard and packing house workers, milk, bread, grocery, butcher and ice cream drivers, and many other divisions, most of them under the charters granted by and under the control of the American Federation of Labor; and

"WHEREAS, To unite these workers into a food-producing and distributing department, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor is the only real and effective way to procure justice for the millions of toilers engaged in the important work of producing and distributing food for the American people; and

"WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has already established a building and mining department; therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to request the convention of the A. F. of L., held in Montreal, Canada, commencing June 7, 1920, to appoint a special committee for the purpose of investigating and recommending to the convention or to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, a plan and a programme to establish a food-producing and distributing department under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, with the view of bringing about better relations of all workers engaged in the production and distribution of food products."

Adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor meeting held Sunday, May 7th, 1922, and ordered re-introduced in the convention of the American Federation of Labor beginning June 12th, 1922, at Cincinnati, Ohio.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate Anthony J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, Prior to March 18, 1916, considerable controversy existed between the International Longshoremen's Association and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks as to the jurisdiction over freight handlers; and

WHEREAS, On March 18, 1916, through the efforts and good offices of the American Federation of Labor, a conference was held at Washington, D. C., for the purpose of bringing about an amicable understanding between the International Longshoremen's Association and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, which resulted in the following agreement having then been reached and approved by the American Federation of Labor:

"Washington, D. C., March 18, 1916.

"At a conference held this day at Congress Hall Hotel, at which were present T. V. O'Connor and Anthony J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association, and James J. Forrester and W. V. M. Bright of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, matters of jurisdiction affecting the organizations named were taken up, pursuant to action of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. It was determined and mutually agreed that:

"Where men are employed in marine warehouses, their work consisting of moving freight to and from marine warehouses to deep water vessels of seaports and the Great Lakes, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks concede the jurisdiction of these men to the Longshoremen's International Association.

JAMES J. FORRESTER,  
Grand President, Brotherhood  
of Railway Clerks.

W. V. H. BRIGHT,  
General Secretary - Treasurer,  
Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

T. V. O'CONNOR,  
President, International Long-  
shoremen's Association.

ANTHONY J. CHLOPEK,  
Vice - President, International  
Longshoremen's Association.

SAM'L GOMPERS,  
GRANT HAMILTON,  
Representing American Federa-  
tion of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks have and are still continuing to disregard the agreement herein mentioned by taking away from the International Longshoremen's Association and admitting into their organization freight handlers who rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremen's Association, and contrary to the agreement of March 18, 1916; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-second convention of the American Federation

of Labor hereby instruct the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to refrain from taking into their organization members who rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremen's Association, and that the men who are now members of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremen's Association be returned to them.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Anthony J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, The official guide issued by the American Federation of Labor gives the title of the Railway Clerks as the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; and

WHEREAS, The stationery of that organization bears a title of "Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes," which is misleading, particularly that part which refers to the "Steamship Clerks," as steamship clerks rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremen's Association—the Longshoremen having complete and full jurisdiction over the loading and unloading of vessels; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks be and are hereby instructed to use the name of their brotherhood in accordance with their charter rights, as issued them by the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks be and are hereby instructed to refrain from organizing, or taking into membership, steamship clerks who rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremen's Association, and that steamship clerks who are now members of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks shall be turned over to the International Longshoremen's Association.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 25—By Delegate Herman Defrem, of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, No. 12646:

WHEREAS, The conditions of unemployment which prevail in every industry throughout the country are caus-

ing great suffering to American working men and women; and

WHEREAS, There exists in Russia at the present time a state of famine in which many millions of workers and farmers are suffering, not only from lack of food, but from the scarcity of all necessary manufactured articles; and

WHEREAS, The existence at one time of a great body of unemployed workers in America and a great need for manufactured goods in Russia is plainly due to artificial economic barriers which impede the natural flow of commerce and prevent the American workers from finding employment in the production of foodstuffs, clothing, tools, machinery and all the other commodities needed by the Russian people; and

WHEREAS, The principal manufacturing nations of Europe, including Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Norway and Sweden, have concluded trade agreements with the Soviet Government of Russia for the purpose of promoting commerce with Russia and giving employment to the workers of those countries; and

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States, by refusing to recognize the Government of Russia, and by neglecting to conclude a trade agreement with that Government, is prolonging the state of famine and suffering in Russia, and is directly withholding useful and profitable employment from American workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we demand that the Government of the United States recognize the present Government of Russia, and that the State Department take immediate steps to negotiate a trade agreement with the Russian Government which will restore the facilities for communication and commerce between the United States and Russia, and enable the American worker to secure employment in the manufacture of the commodities needed by the Russian people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to President Harding and to the State Department.

Referred to Committee on International Relations.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Wm. P. Hohmann, Mark B. Greene and Chas. W. Redfern, of the National Federation of Postal Clerks; B. E. Thompson, of the Railway Mail Association; John T. Muga-

vin, Ed J. Cantwell, E. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, and C. D. Duffy, of the National Association of Letter Carriers; A. J. Fallon, International Plate Printers and Die Stampers' Union; Frank J. Coleman, Maryland and D. C. Federation; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees:

**WHEREAS**, The Postal Savings System is not being utilized to its fullest possibilities; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor favors an increase in the rate of interest to at least three per cent, same to be paid quarterly on balances.

**RESOLVED**, That accounts should be with the United States Post Office Department, thus allowing deposits and withdrawals anywhere.

**RESOLVED**, That joint accounts, where either of survivors may draw; accounts for minors of any age by parents or guardians, and accounts for organizations should be arranged for; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take appropriate steps to secure the necessary legislation to thus improve the Postal Savings system.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Resolution No. 27—By Delegates E. H. Fitzgerald, A. C. Hay, H. B. Odell, Wade Shurtleff, Louie J. England, Mabel E. McNolto, of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees:**

**WHEREAS**, Many of the railroads throughout this country still have in active use baggage and express cars that are constructed entirely of wood; and

**WHEREAS**, Many of these wooden cars in active service are old and dilapidated, unsanitary; and

**WHEREAS**, Many of these wooden baggage and express cars are placed between cars of steel construction in trains, thereby in case of accidents, wrecks, etc., being the cars to suffer the greatest damage; and

**WHEREAS**, Due to this fact the lives of the baggagemen and express messengers and helpers are jeopardized to a greater extent on account of these facts; and

**WHEREAS**, Congress did, in 1914, pass a law requiring every railroad in the country to place in the railway mail service either cars of all steel or cars with steel underframe construction, and said bill also provided for the equipment of said cars with modern, sanitary conveniences for safety and comfort of railway postal employes; and

**WHEREAS**, Baggage and express cars are not included within the scope of this legislation; and

**WHEREAS**, The express employes, members of this Brotherhood, working in train service, feel that our lives are as valuable to us and as precious to our families as those of any other class of railroad employes; and

**WHEREAS**, A bill was introduced in the last Congress by Senator Robinson, of Arkansas, to protect the lives of express employes; and

**WHEREAS**, This bill died with the adjournment of the last Congress; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By this convention assembled that our president appoint a committee to work in conjunction with the national legislative representatives of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes, with a view of having a similar bill introduced in Congress as was passed in 1914, covering railway mail cars; and further be it

**RESOLVED**, That this committee endeavor to secure the assistance of Senator Robinson, of Arkansas, or some other favorable Congressman in presenting and assisting in the passage of this legislation.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

**Resolution No. 28—By Delegates E. H. Fitzgerald, A. C. Hay, H. B. Odell, Wade Shurtleff, Louie J. England, Mabel E. McNolto, of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees:**

**WHEREAS**, The conditions of unemployment which prevail in every industry throughout the country are causing great suffering to American working men and women; and

**WHEREAS**, These conditions are being used by employers to take from organized labor the hard-won gains of many years and to reduce wages and lengthen hours; and

**WHEREAS**, There exists in Russia at the present time a state of famine in which many millions of workers and farmers are suffering, not only from lack of food, but from the scarcity of all necessary manufactured articles; and

**WHEREAS**, The existence at one time of a great body of unemployed workers in America and a great need for manufactured goods in Russia is plainly due to artificial economic barriers which impede the natural flow of commerce and prevent the American worker from finding employment in the production of foodstuffs, clothing, tools, machinery and all the other commodities needed by the Russian people; and

**WHEREAS**, The principal manufacturing nations of Europe, including Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Norway and Sweden, have concluded trade agreements with the Soviet Government of Russia for the purpose of promoting commerce with Russia and giving employment to the workers of those countries; and

**WHEREAS**, The Government of the United States, by refusing to recognize the Government of Russia and by neglecting to conclude a trade agreement with that government, is prolonging the state of famine and suffering in Russia and is directly withholding useful and profitable employment from American workers; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, demand that the Government of the United States recognize the present Government of Russia, and that the State Department take immediate steps to negotiate a trade agreement with the Russian Government which will restore the facilities for communications and commerce between the United States and Russia, and enable the American workers to secure employment in the manufacture of the commodities needed by the Russian people; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Secretary of State and be given wide publicity as the expression of American workers.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

**Resolution No. 29—By Delegates E. H. Fitzgerald, A. C. Hay, H. B. Odell, Wade Shurtleff, Louie J. England, Mabel E. McNolty, of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees:**

**WHEREAS**, The employers throughout the nation have solidly united, being bound together by a solidarity of interest and organization which leaves no room for divided action or desertions, and moreover, they are supported by the government, the courts and the press in any union-smashing undertaking they engage in; and

**WHEREAS**, They are carrying on a vicious attack upon the labor movement, singling out various unions and forcing them to engage in a bitter struggle for self-preservation; and

**WHEREAS**, These unions, because they are divided against themselves, along trade lines and are thus unable to make united resistance against the employers, constantly suffering defeat after defeat, with heavy losses in membership and serious lowering of the workers' standards of living and working conditions; and

**WHEREAS**, The only solution for the situation is the development of a united front by the workers through the amalgamation of the various trades unions so that there will remain only one union for each industry; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor take the necessary action toward bringing about the required solidarity within the ranks of organized labor, and that as a first step in this direction that the various international unions be called into conference for the purpose of arranging to amalgamate all the unions in the respective industries into single organizations, each of which shall cover any industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 30—By Delegate Herman Defrem, of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646:**

**WHEREAS**, The employers throughout the nation have solidly united, being bound together by a solidarity of interest and organization which leaves no room for divided action or desertions, and moreover, they are supported by the government, the courts and the press in any union smashing undertaking they engage in; and

**WHEREAS**, They are carrying on a vicious attack upon the labor movement, singling out various unions and forcing them to engage in a bitter struggle for self-preservation; and

WHEREAS, These unions, because they are divided along craft lines and are thus unable to make united resistance against the employers who are organizing along industrial lines, constantly suffer defeat after defeat, with heavy losses in membership and serious lowering of the workers' standards of living and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The only effective means of meeting situations is in the development of a united front by the workers through the amalgamation of the various national craft unions in each industry so that there will be only one national union for each industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is directed to take the necessary action toward bringing about the required solidarity within the ranks of organized labor, and as a first step in this direction that the various international unions be called into conferences within the next six months for the purpose of arranging the affiliation of all of the local craft unions in their respective industries into great national organizations, each of which shall cover all of the workers in an industry.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 31—By Delegate James Lord:

WHEREAS, Since December, 1920, the present government of Mexico, headed by Hon. Alvaro Obregon, who was elected president by the Mexican people in what was without question the fairest and most truly popular election Mexico has ever had, has been in power and has maintained in that country a degree of public order that compares favorably with the degree of public order maintained in any other country; and,

WHEREAS, The legislatures of a number of these United States, including the legislatures of the States bordering with Mexico, and numerous organizations representative of all walks of life in our country, have repeatedly petitioned the United States Government that recognition be granted to the Mexican Government; and

WHEREAS, Regardless of the above and regardless of the repeated declarations of the Mexican Government that due protection is and will be given to the life and property of American citizens, complying with the precepts and requirements of international relations, has so far refused to grant recognition to the Mexican Government; and

WHEREAS, It is a fact beyond dispute that certain powerful groups of American capitalists have sought and are seeking through all means at their command to shape the policy of the United States towards Mexico in such a manner as to bring to American investors the largest possible return from their investments in Mexico without the slightest regard for the needs and the welfare of the Mexican people and the requirements of the Mexican Government for the successful administration of the public affairs and the necessary and proper conservation of the natural resources of the country; and,

WHEREAS, The recognition of the Government of Mexico by that of our country is absolutely essential for the re-establishment of the cordial and friendly relations that should be the rule between two neighbor countries and their peoples, and inasmuch as the United States and Mexico will always be neighbors; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the 42nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, do hereby petition the President of the United States that immediate recognition be granted to the government of Mexico, of which Hon. Alvaro Obregon is president; and

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent by the president of the American Federation of Labor to the president of the United States, to the Secretary of State, to the president of the Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the President and the Cabinet members of the Mexican Government and to the Mexican Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 32—By Delegate Joseph N. Boulware, Boilermaker Helpers' Union No. 17430, Columbia, S. C.:

WHEREAS, There are boilermakers that bar colored boilermaker helpers from certain classes of work, such as cutting and swagging flues, and scaling boilers with air hammers, etc.; and

WHEREAS, There are colored boilermaker helpers competent to do this class of work, but are not permitted on account of color; and

WHEREAS, On account of this unjust discrimination colored boilermaker helpers are held out of their seniority rights and are thus compelled to continue their fight against these injustices, realizing the need and importance of a

solid union against the enemies of organized labor; and

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor does not discriminate against any worker on account of creed or color, but stands up for the right of every worker, and for a closer federation of the trade union movement, thus accomplishing great good along this line and is still exerting a powerful influence; and

**WHEREAS**, The International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That this 42nd Annual Convention, now assembled in the City of Cincinnati, will use every means in its power to have the word "white" before the word helpers stricken out in doing certain classes of boilermaker helpers' work, and thus bring about an amicable adjustment of the trouble between the boilermakers and colored helpers; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor make some provision for the settlement of colored helpers' grievances and for their uniform organization.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 33**—By Delegate Jerome Jones, Georgia State Federation of Labor, Atlanta, Ga.:

**WHEREAS**, The best interests of organized labor demand that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (either directly or through their national or international organization) should by affiliation become members of their respective state federation of labor and central bodies and district councils; and

**WHEREAS**, The machinery provided by the A. F. of L. Constitution seems to be, and is, inadequate to compel that solidarity so necessary to the success of the labor movement; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council shall, in a city, where a national or international union is in session, the President of the American Federation of Labor shall direct the nearest resident organizer of the American Federation of Labor to appear before that convention and urge in the name of the American Federation of Labor that the section in the law of said international relating to delegates to central and

state bodies be so amended making it compulsory on the locals to affiliate with central and state bodies. Be it further

**RESOLVED**, That such organizer, after performing the duty prescribed in this resolution shall report to the president of this body what disposition was made of the request; and, further

**RESOLVED**, That the reports from such organizers appointed to perform this duty shall be read as other reports at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 34**—By Delegate Thos. H. Gerraughty, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, The best interests of organized labor demand that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (either directly or through their national or international organization) should by affiliation become members of their respective state federation of labor and central bodies and district councils; and

**WHEREAS**, The machinery provided by the American Federation of Labor Constitution seems to be, and is, inadequate to compel that solidarity so necessary to the success of the labor movement; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be amended to contain the following principle: "That national and international organizations shall compel all local unions under their jurisdiction to affiliate with their respective state federations of labor, central bodies, district councils, and where a local union persists in its refusal to so affiliate the proper officers of the national or international organization having jurisdiction shall notify the offending local union that its charter is suspended until such time as the affiliation is consummated.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Resolution No. 35**—By Delegate Anthony J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

**WHEREAS**, It is essential to the development of organization that the greatest possible degree of co-operation between all groups of the component parts of the American Federation of Labor is necessary, this being particularly pronounced in the case of groups whose jurisdiction is closely allied or interlocking in its character; and,

WHEREAS, Our past experience has shown us, in the case of closely allied groups, that our activities can find a more intelligent and concrete expression on an industrial basis, as witness the operations of the Building Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor rather than through the Federation as a whole; and

WHEREAS, The past strikes of Marine Workers illustrated the necessity of a greater degree of co-operation between all groups that come under the classification of Marine Workers, particularly so in view of the efforts that are now being made to enforce the so-called "open shop" throughout the country; and

WHEREAS, It is only by concerted effort that we are going to be able to resist further encroachments by the employers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention take the necessary steps to create a "Marine Transport Department" of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Chas. Hixson, Federal Labor Union No. 16707, New Albany, Ind.:

WHEREAS, On account of the fact that there are a large number of the members of the federal labor unions and the unskilled workers who are now and have been out of employment for a long time, and further that prospects are at this time not very encouraging; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by this convention in session, That the present rates for reinstatement be reduced to one (\$1.00) dollar; be it further

RESOLVED, That 25 cents of this amount be used for the reinstatement stamp; be it further

RESOLVED, That 25 cents of this amount be used for per capita tax; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the remaining 50 cents be left in the local treasury. Local 16707, of New Albany, is of the opinion that by the adoption of the foregoing resolution the way will be opened by the organization to reinstate a large number of the now willing but unable workers to encouraging them to renewed efforts re-establishing them in the good graces of the organized world and strengthening the organization to such a point that they will be able to

defend their position in the great fight that they are now putting up to sustain themselves as men and as American citizens should be sustained.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate G. E. Mikel, Arkansas State Federation of Labor, Jenny Lind, Arkansas:

WHEREAS, Due to the many labels used by the various crafts there is a confusion as to what is the genuine label in the minds of many union men and women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED by this convention, That we suggest to the American Federation of Labor the advisability of issuing a universal label that can be used by all crafts.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Herman Defrem, of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646:

WHEREAS, There are, in this country, hundreds of unaffiliated labor unions, with a total membership of hundreds of thousands of workers; and

WHEREAS, Many of these unaffiliated unions are in substantial accord with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The existence of these labor organizations outside of the American Federation of Labor is a most serious detriment to the unity, to the solidarity and to the strength of the American labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president be instructed to appoint, within three months, a committee of five on Labor Unity. The functions of this committee to be:

1. To make a survey of the non-affiliated labor unions of the country in regard to their number, their membership, the industries in which they operate, and the reasons for their non-affiliation.

2. To find out the exact conditions on which affiliation or amalgamation with American Federation of Labor unions could be brought about.

3. To promote the movement toward greater labor unity by arranging conferences with the organizations concerned, and by making specific recommendations in each case.

4. To publish a report of its findings,

its activities and its recommendations one month before the next convention.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

**Resolution No. 39—**By Delegates G. E. Mikel, Arkansas State Federation of Labor, and W. C. Franklin, Central Labor Union, El Dorado, Ark.:

**WHEREAS,** The best interests of organized labor demands that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, either directly or through their national or international organizations, should, by affiliation, become members of their respective State Federations of Labor; and

**WHEREAS,** The machinery provided by the American Federation of Labor Constitution seems to be, and is, inadequate to compel that solidarity so necessary to the success of the labor movement; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be amended so as to contain the following principles: That national and international organizations shall compel all local unions under their jurisdiction to affiliate with their respective State Federations of Labor and local central bodies, and where a local union persists in its refusal to so affiliate, the proper officers of the national or international having jurisdiction shall notify the offending local that its charter is suspended until such time as the affiliation with the State Federation and central bodies is consummated.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Resolution No. 40—**By Delegates Geo. W. Fisher, Texas State Federation; L. M. Andler, Houston, Texas, Central Labor Council; R. E. Roberts, Dallas, Texas, Central Labor Council:

**WHEREAS,** The workers of Mexico, under the present government, are now making wonderful strides in the task of organizing and bettering the conditions of the toiling masses of that Republic; and,

**WHEREAS,** The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated National and International unions should use every means to assist our brothers and sisters in the Republic of Mexico, in this worthy cause; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor, request the Executive Council to send a fraternal delegate to the fourth annual convention of the Federa-

tion of Mexico, which meets in the City of Guadalajara, State of Jalisco, beginning August 1 and continuing to August 10, 1922.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

**Resolution No. 41—**By Delegates Fred. W. Baer, Jas. A. Kirby, International Association of Fire Fighters:

**WHEREAS,** The fire losses for the last ten years have been steadily increasing to the extent that in 1921 the per capita loss in the United States and Canada was over five dollars; and,

**WHEREAS,** These fires have tended to increase the unemployment in this country, thereby working extreme hardships on the workers; and,

**WHEREAS,** From the investigations made by the International Association of Fire Fighters and other organizations interested in fire prevention, it has been found that a vast majority of fires are caused by carelessness on the part of the public; and,

**WHEREAS,** The American Federation of Labor realizes the necessity for a curtailment of this enormous loss of life and property; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That they hereby instruct their affiliated organizations to co-operate with the civic officials of their respective cities in all matters that will tend to alleviate this enormous loss of life, labor and material.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 42—**By Delegate Ernest H. Zwally, Louisiana State Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS,** The best interests of organized labor demand that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (either directly or through their national or international organization), should by affiliation become members of their respective State Federations of Labor, Central Bodies and District Councils; and,

**WHEREAS,** The machinery provided by the American Federation of Labor constitution seems to be, and is inadequate to compel that solidarity so necessary to the success of the labor movement; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be amended to contain the following principle: "That national and international organizations shall compel



all local unions under their jurisdiction to affiliate with their respective State Federations of Labor, Central Bodies, and District Councils; and where a local union persists in its refusal to so affiliate, the proper officers of the national or international organization having jurisdiction shall notify the offending local union that its charter be suspended until such time as the affiliation is consummated."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Several attempts have been and are being made under the guise of "reclassification" and "efficiency systems" to fix wages by statute or by executive order for those in the employ of the Federal Government; and,

WHEREAS, Such efforts are directly at variance with the principles of collective bargaining; and,

WHEREAS, The subject of wages is of too vital importance to permit the same to be subjected to legislative action which would make it necessary to secure action by Congress to meet changing conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor is opposed to any method or form of fixing wages by legislation for Federal Employees which is intended to, or which operates in any manner to prevent or interfere with the adjustment, settlement and agreement upon terms of employment between Federal Employees acting through their duly authorized representatives, and the administrative head of departments or their representative; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor communicate with the Senators, Congressmen and others contemplating the enactment of such legislation or orders, clearly defining the views of the Department in the premises.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Alf Hjort, of the Iowa State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The International Union of the United Mine Workers of America are at the present time engaged in a titanic struggle for the right of collective bargaining and for the maintenance of wages that will assure

them of an American standard of living; and,

WHEREAS, This struggle was precipitated by the arbitrary attitude of certain great and powerful combinations of coal operators, by refusing to comply with previous contract provisions providing for joint wage conferences before the expiration of the 1920-1922 contract; and,

WHEREAS, The International Union of United Mine Workers of America have through their officers done all that they honorably could do to avert the struggle, and since its inception to bring it to an end, by at all times standing ready to meet the coal operators in joint conference on a just and equitable basis; and,

WHEREAS, This struggle of the United Mine Workers of America is of necessity a struggle that will affect all organized labor in its consequences; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the stand taken by the United Mine Workers of America and pledge them our moral and financial support to the fullest extent possible; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we recommend to all affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor to extend their endorsement and financial assistance to the United Mine Workers of America in this great struggle.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 45—By Alf Hjort, of the Iowa State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Interests who are opposed to the aims and advancement of organized labor are creating and maintaining special influences and exercising their every effort to defeat the endeavors of organized workmen by maintaining paid emissaries both within and without the confines of the trade union movement, for the purpose of creating dissension and thereby contributing to the disruption and abandonment of true union principles; and,

WHEREAS, The best interests of the trade union movement can be most successfully served by the co-ordination and co-operation of such unions; and,

WHEREAS, Such co-operation is available only by actual affiliation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Iowa State Federation of Labor in convention as-

sembled instruct its delegate to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor to use all honorable means to have changed the existing law, Article XI, Section 2, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, in the following manner: Substitute the clause "to require" for that of "to instruct" therein. Also add the following to the section:

"The penalty for non-compliance with this section shall be forfeiture of the charter of a local union in its international organization upon charges being brought and proven, as required by the Central Labor Union laws with which such local union is affiliated." The section will then read:

"Section 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to require their local unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction. The penalty for non-compliance with this section shall be forfeiture of the charter of a local union in its international organization upon charges being brought and proven, as required by the Central Labor Union laws with which such local union is affiliated."

Adopted by the Iowa State Federation of Labor Convention at Davenport, Iowa, May 19, 1922, and recommended to the American Federation of Labor convention.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Albert Wobser, of Central Labor Union, of Sandusky, Ohio:

WHEREAS, The G. A. Boeckling Resort Co. has in the years past negotiated working agreements and wage scales with the building crafts of the City of Sandusky, Ohio; and,

WHEREAS, This Resort Co. has saw fit to ignore the building crafts during recent attempts to negotiate working rules and wage scales; and,

WHEREAS, They have declared themselves for the "open shop" "American Plan," with a declaration that their management was through with organized labor insofar as working rules and wage scales were concerned; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That due to the fact that the G. A. Boeckling Resort Co. has declared themselves for the "open shop" or "American Plan," we the officers and delegates of the Central Labor Union of Sandusky, Ohio, unanimously go on record as placing the G. A. Boeckling Resort Co. on the unfair list; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we make every effort to secure the co-operation of all local, State, international and national unions and all fraternal organizations in an effort to bring about a satisfactory settlement with this unfair Resort Co.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the officers and delegates of the Central Labor Union urgently request that the delegates to the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor adopt this resolution and urge their Executive Board to do all in their power to secure the moral support of the trade union movement in behalf of the Building Trades Crafts in the city of Sandusky, Ohio.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 47—By Stephen J. Angleton, Christian M. Madsen, John M. Finan, N. F. Smith, John J. Doyle, Thos. H. Mugavin, delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen includes in its membership men engaged in the painting of railway equipment and cars; and,

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has gone on record on several occasions, giving the jurisdiction over this work to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; and,

WHEREAS, The charter of the Carmen when granted was with the specific understanding that the issuing of the charter of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen shall in no way infringe upon the jurisdiction of any existing national or international union; and,

WHEREAS, Several conferences have been held by representatives of the Railway Carmen and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America in order to bring about an adjustment of this long-standing controversy without any results being obtained; and,

WHEREAS, During the last few years the Railway Carmen have been

discriminating against members of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America on many occasions refusing to allow members of the Brotherhood of Painters to work in railway car shops, unless they became members of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen which prevented members of the Brotherhood of Painters from following their occupation and in many instances resulted in the loss of their positions; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen be notified by the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, to refrain from further encroachment upon the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Resolution No. 48**—By Delegate James A. Legassie, of Central Labor Union, Berlin, N. H.:

**WHEREAS**, The Berlin Central Labor Union cannot reach its highest degree of efficiency and effectiveness in its functioning in the best interests of the organized workers of Berlin unless all organizations in the city whose national and international unions are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor affiliate with the said Berlin Central Labor Union; and,

**WHEREAS**, Article 11, Section 2, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor states that "It shall be the duty of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local bodies to join chartered central labor bodies, department and State federations in their vicinity where such exist, similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all trade and federal unions under its jurisdiction"; and,

**WHEREAS**, The Berlin Central Labor Union has done everything within its power to get the bricklayers to affiliate with this central body, even to the extent of taking the matter up with the American Federation of Labor, without success; and,

**WHEREAS**, There are many other central bodies, departments and State Federations that are having the same trouble with local unions of various national and international unions; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Cincin-

nati, Ohio, instruct the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor to use their best efforts to have Article 11, Section 2, of the constitution enforced, to the end that our central bodies, State federations, etc., will be better fortified to protect the interests of their affiliated local unions.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Resolution No. 49**—By Delegate James J. McAndrews, South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly:

**WHEREAS**, There was formed during the past year the Building Service Employees' International Union; and,

**WHEREAS**, By the formation of this international union it was deemed advisable by the several elevator operators and starters' local unions, to join this international union; and,

**WHEREAS**, This affiliation was consummated with the full and complete understanding that the rights and interests of these workers would be fully conceded and safeguarded, co-equal with all other branches of work represented in this International union; and,

**WHEREAS**, These workers were still further assured of their rights and interests by the insistence by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, that certain constitutional provisions must be fully observed; and,

**WHEREAS**, All these safeguards, constitutional and otherwise, intended to protect the best interests of the elevator operators and starters, have been wholly and flagrantly thrown aside and these workers have been treated merely as vassals to a combination which makes their affiliation no longer tolerable or desirable; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention confirms the point of view that the elevator operators and starters in joining the Building Service International Union did not waive or forfeit their rights and privileges to the continuance or renewal of their several local unions' charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed and directed to again re-issue local union charters to such elevator operators and starters as may apply for same and to inform the Building Service Employees' International Union that this class of work does not come within the charter rights of that organization.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 50 — By Delegate James A. Legassie, of Berlin Central Labor Union, Berlin, N. H.:

WHEREAS, Past experiences have proven conclusively that granting complete and absolute autonomy to affiliated national and international unions has been detrimental to the American labor movement, inasmuch as many national and international unions have disregarded the rights of others; and,

WHEREAS, National and international unions have been known to go so far as to allow their members to work for employers unfair to other crafts and where strikes existed, thus materially weakening the position and defense of the fighting organization; and,

WHEREAS, Such action is entirely foreign to the true principles of trades unionism, and constitutes an abrogation of the following part of Article 2, Section 4 of the American Federation of Labor constitution, to wit, "An American Federation of all national and international trade unions, to aid and assist each other;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we respectfully request the American Federation of Labor to strike out the words "based upon the strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade" from Section 2 of Article 2, making Section 2 of Article 2 read "The establishment of national and international unions, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 51 — By Delegates Joseph F. Valentine, John P. Frey, Dan Regan, Arthur Burns:

WHEREAS, The conventions of the American Federation of Labor have time and again urged upon the authorities of the State of California to act upon the mass of information which has been gathered and which proves collusion between the prosecutor's office and witnesses to introduce perjury in connection with the trial of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings; and,

WHEREAS, The present prosecutor of San Francisco, the Hon. Matthew Brady, has forwarded a letter to Governor Stephens, presenting the legal reasons which make it a matter of justice that the Governor should immediately pardon Mooney and Billings, accompanied by the statement that if they were given a retrial there was no evidence which could secure their conviction; and,

WHEREAS, Governor Stephens has not yet acted upon the recommendation of Prosecutor Brady; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor respectfully and unanimously request Governor Stephens to immediately issue a pardon to Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings and right the great wrong which has been done to these two men; and be it further

RESOLVED, That each affiliated national and international union, all State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Bodies and Federal and directly affiliated local labor unions be requested to forward communications to Governor Stephens requesting immediate pardon of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings and that the affiliated national and international unions be requested to communicate the action of this convention to their local unions and request them to forward communications to Governor Stephens of California, requesting pardon for Mooney and Billings; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and it is hereby requested to forward a communication to all local unions in California to assist the American Federation of Labor by forwarding communications requesting pardon to the governor of their State; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention respectfully request the labor press to give the widest possible publicity to the action taken by this convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 52 — By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor stands for justice and freedom for all peoples; and,

WHEREAS, The people of India, one-fifth of the population of the world, are striving to attain their birthright of independence from a foreign yoke by practising non-co-operation method enunciated by Matatma M. K. Grandhi and adopted by the All-India National Congress; and,

WHEREAS, About forty thousand people, including Grandhi and other popular leaders of India, were put in jail during the last six months because of their voicing the aspirations of the people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor convention in ses-

sion at Cineinnati express its sympathy to the people of India for their just struggle; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That copies of the resolution be sent to the All-India National Congress and M. K. Grandhi, India.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Resolution No. 53—By Delegates Wm. J. Doherty and Henry Abrahams, of the Boston Central Labor Union, and John P. Frey:

**WHEREAS**, Only one person "identified" Vanzetti at the scene of the crime, and only four persons "identified" Sacco. While to offset this twenty-two persons who saw the faces of one or more of the participants in the crime testified that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti were the men that they saw; and,

**WHEREAS**, The one witness who made the "identification" of Vanzetti had stated previously, according to the testimony of four witnesses, that he could no make an "identification" and of the four witnesses who made an "identification" of Sacco, two of them had stated previously, each of them, according to the testimony of four witnesses, that they could not make an "identification." While the other two who had testified a few weeks after the crime occurred that they were not positive of the identity of the accused, became positive when they took the witness stand a year later; and,

**WHEREAS**, No attempt has been made to impeach any of the twenty-two witnesses who were certain that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti were the men they had seen at the moment that the crime was committed; and,

**WHEREAS**, Nine persons testified on behalf of Sacco that he was in Boston, thirteen miles from the scene of the crime, and of these, three based their testimony on documentary evidence. Eleven persons testified on behalf of Vanzetti that he was in Plymouth, twenty-five miles from the scene of the crime. Not a single effort was made to impeach the testimony of any one of the twenty persons who testified to the alibis of Sacco and Vanzetti; and,

**WHEREAS**, Further evidence has been placed in the hands of the State in support of these men's innocence, such evidence requiring that a new trial be had in order that the same may be properly presented; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in convention as-

sembled, favor a new trial for these men toward the end that justice may be done.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Luigi Antonini, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union:

**WHEREAS**, Sacco and Vanzetti have been convicted of murder in the first degree by a biased jury under the instructions of a prejudiced judge in the State of Massachusetts; and,

**WHEREAS**, It is the opinion of millions of workers throughout the United States and the world over, emphatically expressed in thousands of mass meetings, demonstrations and resolutions that these two men are innocent of the heinous crime ascribed to them; and,

**WHEREAS**, They are in immediate danger of their lives unless the prompt intervention of an enlightened public opinion prevents this ghastly miscarriage of justice; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in its forty-second annual convention assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, hereby demands a new trial for these defenseless victims of race and national prejudice and class hatred to the end that the honor and fairness of the American people may be preserved untarnished before the eyes of the civilized world; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the Governor of Massachusetts, the President of the United States and the press.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., of Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, One of the greatest influences of government arrayed against the hopes and aspirations of labor for a better day and a brighter life is that exercised by our courts through the so-called "equity" power; and,

**WHEREAS**, It has become the practice of courts to place themselves above other branches of government by re-making laws through additions to and alterations of constitutional provisions and statutory enactments, or through creating laws by injunctive order, thereby usurping the authority vested in legislative bodies; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that to eliminate such tyrannical domination by the courts and to afford the people a necessary voice in judicial practices involving their well-being, we declare for the right of the people to recall any judge; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to put forth every effort to make this declaration effective.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 56**—By Delegates W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary and H. C. Diehl, of the Metal Polishers' Union:

**WHEREAS**, The Crescent Tool Company of Jamestown, New York, manufacturers of wrenches, pliers, etc., has been endeavoring to disrupt the trades union movement in all its departments, and as a consequence the men were forced to strike in an endeavor to maintain their conditions and a living wage; this strike occurring May 6, 1919; and

**WHEREAS**, This firm at that time made large reductions in wages, declared for the open shop, discharging all active members of all trades unions there employed, and they are continuing, up to the present time, to try and operate their factory with strike-breakers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this, the forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor, declare the actions of the Crescent Tool Company antagonistic to organized labor and the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be directed to notify all labor organizations in the cities wherein their goods are handled and distributed.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Resolution No. 57**—By Delegates W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary and H. C. Diehl, of Metal Polishers' International Union.

**WHEREAS**, The H. P. Snyder Company of Little Falls, New York, manufacturers of bicycles and tricycles, heretofore recognized as a union shop, did, during the month of January, 1922, discharge the officers and shop stewards of the Metal Polishers' Union, also made a sweeping reduction in wages in all departments, and all efforts to obtain a settlement, as far as the Metal Polishers' and the Painters' Unions are concerned, have been unsuccessful; and

**WHEREAS**, The General Manager of the concern made the statement, when asked for his reasons concerning the discharge of the Metal Polishers' Union officials, that they would call it discrimination if they so desired; and

**WHEREAS**, Since that time this firm has been hiring strike-breakers in the departments where union metal polishers and union painters were previously employed, and are doing all possible within their power to destroy the trades union movement of the two organizations above named. This concern manufactures bicycles by the following names: Savage, Cavalier, Man-O-War, Clinton, New Era, American Flier, Pilgrim, Peerless, Speedmore, Pagone, Liberty, Pershing, Sunbeam, Gold Medal, Newport, Velvet, Hawthorne, Princeton, Winchester, Roamer, Puritan, Vim Delux, Pacific Flier, Royal, Excelsior, Toledo Blade, Rending Flier, Packard, Cadillac, Stratford, Devon, Marshall-Wells, Zenith, Shapleigh Special, Shapleigh Wonder, Delux Flier, Red Injin, Onondaga, Rollfast, South Land; and, therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That this, the forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor, declare the actions of the H. P. Snyder Company antagonistic to organized labor and the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be directed to notify all labor organizations in the cities wherein their goods are handled and distributed.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

**Resolution No. 58**—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, William P. Hohmann, Charles W. Redfern and Mark B. Greene, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks; B. E. Thompson, C. M. Harvey and J. P. Cleland, of the Railway Mail Association:

**WHEREAS**, For a number of years the American Federation of Labor has afforded postal organizations to bring relief to the thousand postal workers who are employed at night; and,

**WHEREAS**, It is heartening to note that at least the U. S. Senate has appreciated the importance of this question of postal night work by authorizing an investigation of it by the Postoffice Committee of the Senate, with a view of recommending appropriate legislative action; and,

**WHEREAS**, It is the view of the representatives of the affiliated postal workers that this legislative relief should take the form of shorter work-

ing tours, as the most satisfactory offset for night work hardship; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its previous declarations in favor of a time differential of fifteen minutes in every hour between 6:00 p. m. and 6:00 a. m. for postal workers and instruct the Executive Council to continue its helpful co-operation to have enacted by the Congress as speedily as possible the necessary remedial legislation reducing the night working hours for postal employes.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

**Resolution No. 59—By Delegates** Thomas F. Flaherty, Mark E. Greene, William P. Hohmann and Charles W. Redfern, of National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edwin J. Gainor, Ed. J. Cantwell, L. E. Swartz, Charles D. Duffy and John T. Mugavin, of National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, of National Federation of Federal Employes; B. E. Thompson, C. M. Harvey and J. P. Cleland, of Railway Mail Association.

**WHEREAS**, The present Federal Compensation for Injury Act, which the American Federation of Labor was largely instrumental in having placed on the statutes in September, 1916, is not wholly satisfactory because of the inadequacies of the compensation rates; and,

**WHEREAS**, The Compensation Commission in charge of the administration of this humane act is endeavoring by a most liberal interpretation of its provisions to grant to all beneficiaries the maximum benefits and thus partially overcome the law's defects; and,

**WHEREAS**, The Compensation Commission has repeatedly requested Congress to liberalize the original law by increasing the compensation rates; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Committee to co-operate with the representatives of the affiliated organizations of Government employes with the view of getting the Congress to enact legislation increasing the compensation paid to beneficiaries under the Compensation for Injury Act.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Resolution No. 60—By Delegate** C. F. Foley of Barbers' International Union:

**WHEREAS**, One of the chief obstacles to the progress of labor in its fight for better conditions has been military force, which is always at the beck and call of the oppressors of the workers; and,

**WHEREAS**, Next to the Cossack mounted state constabulary, the most ruthless of the military organizations is the State Militia, officered by civilians, usually chosen from the ranks of business men who, when called out to suppress strikes, are actuated by the desire to return to their business associates with the added prestige, from their point of view, of having defeated struggling wage earners; and

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor has, at previous conventions, declared for disarmament and for abolition of military forces and equipment; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor demands that the principles of disarmament and abolition of military force be applied, not only to nations, to prevent their warring on each other, but even more stringently to such forms of military organization as are most frequently used against the toilers of our country, namely, the State Constabulary and the State Militia.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 61—By Delegate** Claude O. Taylor, American Federation of Musicians:

**WHEREAS**, There appears a decided effort on the part of certain interests to disrupt organized labor, and one of the methods used is that of the so-called "industrial private detectives;" and,

**WHEREAS**, Publicity is perhaps the greatest means to defeat the efforts of these "private detectives;" therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention go on record as opposed to this type of business being used in industrial problems; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we urge the passage of legislation—national, state and municipal—to the end that this business shall be licensed and regu-

lated, if not prohibited entirely in industrial problems, and that the operatives of the companies and their patrons be listed and open to public inspection.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, Joseph R. White, James Garrity, John L. Barry, Martin T. Joyce, James P. Holland and William Larkin, of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, On December 20th, 1920, a reduction in wages of 22½ per cent was given to the workers in the textile mills of our land; and

WHEREAS, The manufacturers not being satisfied with the above reduction in wages, decided again on January 19th, 1922, to take another 20 per cent out of the already small pay of the workers; and

WHEREAS, The mill barons not being satisfied with reducing wages, decided that the 48-hour week must be eliminated and 54 hours substituted in the States of New Haven and Rhode Island; and

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America voted to fight these un-American and unmoral actions of the textile manufacturers; and

WHEREAS, The fight is now in its twenty-first week, with between 60,000 and 70,000 textile workers on the firing line in the States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island; and

WHEREAS, There are tens of thousands of women and children today who need bread, their husbands, fathers and brothers are in the trenches, the end will come when the manufacturers are convinced the great heart of American labor is back of the workers; victory is in sight; dollars are needed and needed badly; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record in favor of a one-cent assessment upon its entire membership, the proceeds of which to be turned over to the United Textile Workers of America for the support of the men and women who are making this wonderful fight.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Mark B. Greene, William P. Hohmann and Charles W. Redfern of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks; Edward J. Gainer, Ed. J. Cantwell, L. E. Swartz, J. T. Mugavin and Charles D. Duffy, National Association of Letter Carriers; Andrew J. Fallon, International Plate Printers and Die Stammers; Frank J. Coleman, Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor; Luther C. Stevard, National Federation of Federal Employees, and Charles B. Stillman, American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, It is recognized that the Federal Civil Service Law, during the forty years since its enactment, has been of immeasurable benefit to the public service, despite its inadequacies and the continuous opposition of those hostile to a real merit system; and

WHEREAS, The primary purpose of the civil law was to divorce employment under the Federal Government from political influence, and although substantial progress has been made in fulfillment of this purpose, it is a regrettable fact nevertheless that influences of spoilsmen are still too much in evidence; and

WHEREAS, Such pernicious and destructive influences have very generally determined promotions and assignments to preferred positions, with consequent demoralization of the personnel; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in forty-second convention assembled, hereby reaffirms its position in advocacy of an effective Civil Service System as a sound public policy; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we stand for a real merit system in public service, entrance to be determined by practical tests, tenure of place to be based on merit, promotion to the higher positions to be made exclusively from the ranks and the determining factors in such promotions to be seniority, fitness and favorable standing with fellow workers.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates William J. Doherty, delegate Boston



Central Labor Union, and James P. Holland, President State F. of L., State of New York:

WHEREAS, The Newspaper Writers of America have indicated a desire for organization and affiliation with the organized workers, and have already formed organizations in many cities; and,

WHEREAS, Newspaper writing and newsgathering is a craft separate unto itself and should be organized as a separate body; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president, secretary and members of the Executive Council are hereby authorized and directed to issue federal charters to organizations of Newspaper Writers and to any existing Newspaper Writers' Unions now affiliated with any international union upon request of a majority of the members of such Newspaper Writers' Unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council are hereby authorized and directed to make suitable provision for the organizing of those engaged in this craft.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Marcella Malone, Library Employees' Union, New York, No. 15,590:

WHEREAS, We believe that public libraries are public utilities, and should be owned, controlled and administered directly by the State or city financing such libraries; and,

WHEREAS, We believe the present low and inadequate salaries and intolerable working conditions in our public libraries are due to the fact that most of the libraries are under the control of private corporations who are not responsible to the community at large, although they are spending the public's money; and

WHEREAS, That since the right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively is recognized and affirmed by the United States Government, that this right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers of the library; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Cincinnati, June, 1922, that in the interests of the people and in order to secure good conditions

for the worker, we declare ourselves in favor of civil service for librarians; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a member of a Library Union to be elected by the union be placed upon all committees having in charge library activities, in which union labor is asked to cooperate; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a member of union labor be represented on all Boards of Trustees for libraries; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we earnestly urge all locals to give all assistance possible toward the organization of these workers; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take action to remedy the situation.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates Chester M. Harvey, B. E. Thompson and J. P. Cleland, of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Department is and has been operating under a deficit; and,

WHEREAS, Any material reduction in rates of postage at the present time will seriously curtail the revenues of the Government at a time when the country is called upon to exercise the most rigid economy in order to meet the necessary financial demands upon the Treasury; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as opposed to any material reduction of postal rates; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the convention that a thorough investigation of the prevailing parcel post rates should be conducted by the Postoffice Department for the purpose of determining a fair and reasonable rate of postage, commensurate with the cost of the service.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 67—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Mark B. Greene, Wm. P. Hohmann and Chas. W. Redfern, National Federation of P. O.

Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, Ed. J. Cantwell, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy and John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees; B. E. Thompson, C. M. Harvey and J. P. Cleland, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, After continued agitation on the part of organized government employees, supplemented by the effective co-operation of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of the United States enacted legislation establishing a federal retirement system under which aged employees are retired on service annuities; and

WHEREAS, While this federal civil service retirement system has had a stabilizing effect on government employees and has brought relief to many superannuated government employees, it is evident from a close observance of the operations of the law that it would be greatly improved if promptly amended in at least two respects: viz: the annuities should be increased above the present inadequate rates; and, secondly, eligibility for retirement should be based on length of service and not on the employee's age; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to continue to give its assistance to the affiliated government employees in securing from Congress the remedial legislation required to correct these inadequacies in the present federal retirement system.

Referred to the Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate James A. Legassie, of the Berlin Central Labor Union, Berlin, N. H.:

WHEREAS, The employers throughout the Nation have solidly united, being bound together by a solidarity of interest and organization which leaves no room for divided action or desertions, and moreover they are supported by the Government, the courts and the press in any union smashing undertaking that they engage in; and

WHEREAS, They are carrying on a vicious attack upon the labor movement, singling out various unions and

forcing them to engage in a bitter struggle for self-preservation; and

WHEREAS, These unions, because they are divided against themselves along trade lines and are thus unable to make united resistance against the employers, constantly suffer defeat after defeat, with heavy losses in membership and serious lowering of the workers' standards of living and working conditions; and

WHEREAS, The only solution for the situation is the development of a united front by the workers through the amalgamation of the various trade unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Berlin Central Labor Union, in regular meeting assembled, call upon, aye, urge the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, to take the necessary action toward bringing about the required solidarity within the ranks of organized labor.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates Steve Kelleher, Ambrose O'Brien and William F. Quesse, of the Building Service International Union:

WHEREAS, The Building Service International Union, having jurisdiction over janitors, window washers, elevator conductors and starters and others engaged in the care of public and private buildings, theaters, etc., was chartered by this American Federation of Labor in April, 1921; and

WHEREAS, This baby international union has during the first year of its existence, despite the adverse conditions confronting the general labor movement, managed to develop; and

WHEREAS, There are as yet thousands of unorganized workers employed in public schools, theaters, apartment and office buildings as janitors, elevator men, window washers, etc., in the various cities where Central Labor Councils exist who could be organized by and with the assistance of the Central Labor bodies, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that in order to further develop Building Service Employees' International Union and bring about a decent standard of wages and working conditions, that

we urge all City Central Labor Councils to render all possible assistance to have school, apartment, office building and theater janitors, elevator conductors and starters and window washers form local unions or join existing local unions; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That all organizers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to co-operate to that end in every locality where such workers are employed.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate John P. Frey:

**WHEREAS**, One of the greatest obstacles that the American Federation of Labor has encountered in its efforts to establish a common understanding and a harmonious relationship between the people of our country and the peoples of the Latin-American Republics, especially with Nicaragua, Santo Domingo and Haiti, has been the fact that powerful groups of captains of finance have acquired the control, in some way or another, of the financial resources of these countries, this control being deeply felt in their political, economic and social structure; and,

**WHEREAS**, This controlling tendency is being emphasized more and more as time passes and extended to other and larger countries, like Bolivia and Guatemala, where captains of finance have negotiated or are negotiating financial contracts with the governments on such outrageous terms and conditions to the detriment of the economic welfare and political freedom of these peoples, the total effect of which will be to create an atmosphere of antagonism to the United States; and,

**WHEREAS**, The present government of Mexico is at present negotiating with a committee of international bankers in New York City for some sort of an arrangement that will insure the service of Mexico's public debt, in which connection the recent attacks of certain American newspapers upon the stability of the Mexican Government and the publication of dispatches intended to convey the impression that Mexico is again on the verge of another revolution, can, coming at this time, have no other purpose than a concerted drive by the financial powers to discredit the

Mexican Government before the eyes of the American people with the possible, though not probable, result that the Mexican Government may agree to onerous terms and conditions in its negotiations with the international bankers, of which American bankers form a part; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the delegates of this convention, mindful of the effect of the methods of our captains of finance upon the relations of our country with the Latin-American Republics, emphatically denounce the cupidity and greed with which our banking institutions proceed in their negotiations with the Latin-American governments; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we give expression to the sincere belief and the faith we entertain that the Mexican Government will continue in its attitude of refusing to agree to any terms or conditions that international bankers may attempt to dictate, which may prove to be harmful to the economic safety and welfare of the Mexican people or may tend to abridge, through the bankers' financial control, the sovereign rights of Mexico as a free nation; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor urgently call the attention of the labor movements of all the Latin-American Republics to the necessity of using their influence to prevail upon their respective governments, when negotiating with foreign banking institutions, that the future welfare of their peoples, as it may be affected by such negotiations, be the first consideration before agreeing to terms and conditions imposed upon them by the bankers.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate James A. Legassie, of the Berlin Central Labor Union, Berlin, N. H.:

**WHEREAS**, Articles have appeared from time to time in all of the leading labor papers of this country in regard to an organization known as the Ku-Klux Klan, characterizing said Ku-Klux Klan as un-American and tending to create discord among the working people of the country; and

**WHEREAS**, These articles indicate a usurpation of power by the said Ku-Klux Klan and relate tales of

many outrageous crimes by said Ku-Klux Klan on leaders of labor all over the country as well as other exponents of free speech and liberty for the people as guaranteed by our Federal Constitution; and

WHEREAS, The rather abrupt ending of the investigation of the Klan's activities, started by the government last fall, seems to prove quite conclusively that the said Klan is opposed to the interests of the working people; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates assembled in the Forty Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, believe this said organization (Ku-Klux Klan) to be detrimental to the best interests of the working people of this country and directly opposed to the Constitution of the United States of America; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States and to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate James A. Legassie, of the Berlin Central Labor Union, Berlin, N. H.:

WHEREAS, There are many persons outside of the ranks of organized labor, in the ranks of small business and professional men, who are indeed very friendly to organized labor and who stand ready and willing at all times to render such assistance as their means permit; and

WHEREAS, Each year sees an increase in the number of people, who could not possibly affiliate with us, who view the trade-union movement with favor, inasmuch as they are brought to realize as time progresses that their interests are so interwoven with our interests that they must adhere more closely to us; and

WHEREAS, In these trying times when nearly every organization within the folds of the A. F. of L. is being openly attacked, these organizations are kept busy securing the wherewithal with which to meet their financial obligations to their members, to say nothing of aiding other organizations in trouble; and

WHEREAS, Due to the fact that small business and professional men are beginning to realize now, more than ever, that they are dependent upon the workers for their existence, they are willing in many cases to aid us financially; and

WHEREAS, President Samuel Gompers is absolutely opposed to the acceptance of charity "even to allay hunger," as per his communication to the Berlin Central Labor Union under date of November 29, 1921, in reply to a resolution forwarded to A. F. of L. headquarters by the said Central Labor Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the Forty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as favoring the acceptance of charity when offered by persons who recognize our need.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates John P. Bleasius, of Holyoke Central Labor Union; Martin T. Joyce, of International Brotherhood Electrical Workers; Thomas H. Gerraughty, of Massachusetts State Branch American Federation of Labor, and George J. Schneider, of International Brotherhood of Paper Makers:

WHEREAS, It is the bounden obligation of all union men to purchase only union label goods, and to do all in their power to turn the patronage of others to union label goods; and

WHEREAS, There is even greater need now of purchasing only union label articles, so that we may be certain that none of our money finds its way, directly or indirectly, into the coffers of employers of non-union labor, to be used in their fight against unionism and for the so-called "open shop;" and

WHEREAS, It is a fact that many of the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are using tremendous quantities of non-union paper for their journals, stationery, books of account, etc., etc., thus being disgracefully inconsistent and helping finance the fight against labor; and

WHEREAS, There is no legitimate nor justifiable excuse now possible for using non-union paper, as a choice can be had from large lines of really

high-grade paper at prices that, union conditions considered, compare very favorably with prices for similar grades of non-union paper; and

WHEREAS, No paper can be considered as union made unless it carries the union watermark of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, which is the same principle of unionism that applies to all other label trades; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By this, the forty-second annual convention, now in session in Cincinnati, that the President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor urge, by correspondence with the officers of the various international unions, the consistent 100 per cent use of union watermarked paper, and that they be requested to furnish the officers of the American Federation of Labor with information as to whether or not they are using union watermarked paper in their official journals, circulars, stationery and envelopes, books of account, etc., etc.; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all trade unionists and friends of labor having printing or bookbinding done be urged to use only union watermarked paper.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Resolution No. 74.—By Delegates John L. Barry, president New Hampshire State Federation of Labor, and Lawrence A. Grace, secretary Rhode Island State Branch, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has consistently fought for and maintained the eight-hour day with not more than forty-eight hours per week; and

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America have, despite tremendous obstacles, succeeded in maintaining the eight-hour day in the textile industry of New England, which action has been of great value to the organized workers of this country; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, congratulate the officers and members of the United Textile Workers of America for their wonderful energy and fortitude, and we request all those interested in maintaining the eight-hour day to give to the officers and mem-

bers of the United Textile Workers of America their full moral and financial support.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 75.—By Delegates Matthew Woll, Benjamin Schlesinger and Wm. J. Doherty of Boston Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, It has been stated in the public press that Harvard College contemplates placing a restriction upon admission based on religious and racial grounds, which would lend strength to the all too-prevalent forces of racial and religious bigotry, and especially to anti-Semitism; and

WHEREAS, Harvard College, by reason both of its recognition in the constitution of the commonwealth of Massachusetts and of its own repeated self-dedication to the better understanding and humanistic interpretation of large public problems, is affected with a public interest; and

WHEREAS, Organized labor has constantly condemned any sanction of racial or religious discrimination because of its tendency to undermine the solidarity of labor, and hence of the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor expresses its unqualified disapproval of any departure from true liberal tradition, and condemns as utterly un-American any policy which may deny to any racial or religious groups equal opportunities for education and advancement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby authorized and directed to investigate or cause to be investigated the alleged discriminatory action contemplated by Harvard University, and if found to be true that the executive Council take such action as it may deem feasible to remove the discrimination contemplated and assure to all, regardless of race and religious affiliation, equal opportunities.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 76.—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, Louis Langer, Max Amdur, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg and Louis Pinkofsky of

the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, There are still a number of men and women confined in federal and state prisons for political offenses committed by written or spoken word during the recent war; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, together with all international bodies affiliated with it, has aided vigorously and wholeheartedly in the general amnesty campaign; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor recommends the continuance of efforts to secure amnesty for those still imprisoned and whose offenses consisted in alleged unlawful use of the written or spoken word during the period of the war, and that our government be urged to speedily release such prisoners.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 77—Introduced by Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, Louis Langer, Max Amdur, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg and Louis Pinkofsky of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Manufacturers of women's wear, in an attempt to break down the union standards and terms of employment prevailing in the organized ladies garment centers, have been opening systematically factories in small towns, employing tens of thousands of women workers under oppressive and un-American conditions; and

WHEREAS, In endeavoring to organize the workers in these smaller cities, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union finds itself opposed by the local authorities, the press and the organized manufacturers who are prejudicing the minds of the citizens in these towns against the legitimate trade union activities of our organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in Cincinnati assembled, That the Executive Council instruct its general organizers and also call upon all city and state central labor bodies to render all possible assistance to the organizing work conducted by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, so

that not only the standards of the organized workers in the larger centers of the ladies' garment industry will be protected, but that the workers in the smaller towns may also achieve and enjoy the benefits of organization.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 78—Introduced by Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, Louis Langer, Max Amdur, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg and Louis Pinkofsky of International Ladies' Garment Makers' Union:

WHEREAS, The work for labor adult education is proving to be a factor of importance in developing the intellect of an ever-increasing number of men and women in our labor unions; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at former conventions has gone on record as approving this movement for labor education and has made special investigation into its scope and possibilities of development; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor give its further and full sanction to the workers' educational campaign carried on now by a number of international unions and central bodies of the American Federation of Labor and urge upon all other affiliated unions the need of labor education and to organize wherever possible throughout the country labor courses and labor colleges under trade union auspices.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Henry F. Hilfers, Essex Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The Whitehead-Hoag Company, manufacturers of badges, buttons and novelties, of Newark, N. J., has reduced wages as follows: June, 1921, 10 per cent; March, 1922, 5 per cent; April, 1922, demanded that their employees take another reduction of 5 per cent, making a total of 20 per cent in ten months; and

WHEREAS, After every effort was made by the central body and representatives of the different unions involved to get the firm to recede

from its position of insisting on the last 5 per cent reduction; and

WHEREAS, The firm steadfastly refused, and informed some of the committees that they were going to run an open shop, and are now employing strikebreakers; and

WHEREAS, This firm has constantly advertised themselves as a union concern, stating in some of their circular letters that they had agreements with nineteen different unions; and

WHEREAS, The facts are that the only agreement this firm has is with the Allied Printing Trades, with which it has an agreement until October next, but has no agreement with any individual union; and

WHEREAS, This firm repeatedly has refused to permit the girls in their employ to be organized, either under a charter from the American Federation of Labor or the Jewelry Workers Union; and

WHEREAS, This firm is now sending out to the trades letters claiming that they are still a union concern, for the reason that they are entitled to the use of the Allied Printing Trades label; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor declare this firm as antagonistic to organized labor, and that all national and international unions, state branches, city centrals, local trade and federal unions be so notified.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 80—By Delegates J. N. Kline, W. G. Powlesland, C. W. Glover, M. W. Martin, of International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers:

WHEREAS, An agreement was entered into in New York City, July 26, 1921, by and between the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers and the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union to conform to Resolution No. 110, acted upon at the forty-first convention held in Denver, Colo.; and

WHEREAS, This agreement contains this language—"That the Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union agrees to turn over all Blacksmiths and Helpers who are

now or who in the future may become members of their organization or who do blacksmith's work or use anvil tools, or who do work that comes under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers; and

WHEREAS, By reason of not being specific and definite as to the claim of all classes of work that blacksmiths perform, the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union is now making, dressing and tempering drills, all of which is purely blacksmiths' work, whether made on the anvil or by machines; and

WHEREAS, Demand has been made repeatedly by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers on the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union for these blacksmiths, and that the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union has absolutely refused to comply with this agreement, and even has gone so far as to notify their members to pay no attention to this agreement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That unless the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union comply with the full meaning of this agreement, which includes this class of work mentioned in the third paragraph, because it is purely blacksmiths' work, and that unless the transfer of these and any other members coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers is made within thirty days from the adjournment of this convention the charter of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union Stands revoked.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates William Green, United Mine Workers of America; John Owens, Cleveland Federation of Labor; William P. Clarke, American Flint Glass Workers; John A. Voll, Glass Bottle Blowers' Union, and Thomas S. Farrell, Hotel and Restaurant Employees:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at the annual conventions in 1920 and 1921 unanimously endorsed the Ohio Workmen's

Compensation Law and requested each affiliated State Federations to seek similar legislation; and

WHEREAS, The Liability Insurance Companies, through the expenditure of enormous sums of money and insidious lying campaigns, have been successful in preventing the adoption of this beneficial legislation in other States, and are attempting at present, through the agency of a committee of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, supposed to represent the employers coming under the law, to weaken the Workmen's Compensation Law in Ohio—a law which has the approval and active support of every trade unionist in Ohio and more than 95 per cent of the employees of Ohio; and

WHEREAS, The action of the American Federation of Labor has been misinterpreted by interested parties to some State Federations of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, re-indorses the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law and we urge the officers of all international unions; the editors of official labor journals; the officers and members of all state branches; the officers and delegates of all central bodies, and the officers and members of each local union to petition for and actively work for the adoption of the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law in other states, other than Ohio, and for the preservation of the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law in Ohio, which excludes liability insurance companies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the officers of all international unions, state federations and central bodies at the close of this convention with a request that they co-operate in carrying into effect these resolutions.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates Matthew Woll, B. E. Woodmansee, Thomas F. McMahon, B. F. Brown, E. F. Dunn, Ben I. Davis, Jere L. Sullivan, Harry Dechend, Claude O. Taylor, William Tracy, C. L. Balne, A. Greenstein and E. S. Mahan:

WHEREAS, There is in existence an organization styled "The Federated Press," claiming to furnish news to labor publications, which, it is alleged by reputable labor editors, persistently pursues a policy of attacking and undermining the trade union movement and which, reputable editors maintain, is consistently canvassing the labor movement for funds with which to continue its work of spreading misinformation and distrust of our movement and its policies and which, it is alleged, has raised \$50,000 by sale of bonds to labor unions and individuals and from many not connected with the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, It is of utmost importance to our movement and to the bona fide labor press to know where this money comes from and where it goes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized and instructed to make or cause to be made a searching and immediate investigation of the Federated Press and its financial and editorial methods and purposes and to communicate its findings to all branches and groups of the labor movement.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Resolution No. 83—By G. W. Perkins, of Cigar Makers' International Union of America:

WHEREAS, Efforts have recently been made to secure the passage of a bill by Congress to make Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday within the District of Columbia, the seat of our National Government, where he rendered his greatest service, suffered his greatest agony and finally sacrificed his life for his country; and

WHEREAS, A majority of the States have made his birthday a legal holiday, and it would therefore seem to be particularly fitting that in the Capital of the Nation, where Congress has exclusive jurisdiction, his name should be coupled with that of Washington, the one the father and the other the savior of a great nation; and

WHEREAS, In this movement labor must inevitably have a particular interest inasmuch as the Great Emancipator was of the common people and a staunch advocate and defender



of their rights, interests and welfare; and

WHEREAS, We find among the great truths to which he gave utterance the following which we believe it fitting to quote at this time:

"Capital is the fruit of labor and could not exist if labor had not first existed. Labor, therefore, deserves much the higher consideration."

"Thank God, we have a system of labor where there can be a strike. Whatever the pressure, there is a point where the workingman may stop."

"The strongest bond of human sympathy outside the family relation should be one uniting all working people of all nations, tongues and kindreds."

"We will speak for freedom and against slavery as long as the Constitution guarantees free speech; until everywhere on this wide land the sun shall shine, and the rain shall fall, and the wind shall blow upon no man who goes forth to unrequited toil."

"No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which if surrendered will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost;" and

WHEREAS, Of particular interest to this convention at the present time are the following quotations from addresses delivered by Lincoln in the city of Cincinnati:

"The people of these United States are the masters of both Congresses and Courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution." (Speech at Cincinnati September 17, 1859.)

"In regard to the Homestead Law, I say that insofar as the government lands can be disposed of, I am in favor of cutting up the wild land into parcels so that every poor man may have a home." (Speech at Cincinnati, O., February 12, 1861); and

WHEREAS, Our Representatives in Congress have seen fit to delay the action which would make Lincoln

Day a legal holiday in the Capital of our Nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor disapproves most heartily of the tactics that have been employed to retard the enactment of this most fitting legislative measure as a means of providing inspiration in perpetuity to the youth and to all the people of our land and implanting more firmly than ever the great lessons of freedom and noble human conduct so eloquently spoken and lived by our great martyr; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we instruct our officers and our Executive Council to use every proper influence to secure the enactment of the desired legislation by the Congress in order that this fitting memorial day may be established, not only for America, but as a reminder to the world of the simple yet powerful lessons in human freedom and progress taught by the lonely figure who befriended and championed people and who fought injustice and oppression.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates C. L. Baine, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas F. McMahan, Sara A. Conboy and John A. Voll:

WHEREAS, There has continued during the year a persistent propaganda in favor of some sort of recognition of the communist autocracy in Russia which has crushed and all but broken the Russian people; and

WHEREAS, This propaganda has taken form under various heads as follows:

1. Propaganda for official American recognition of the Soviet dictatorship as a government;
2. Propaganda among trade unions for relief for Russia to be forwarded for distribution in Russia under direction of the Soviets;
3. Propaganda for so-called trade relations with Russia, which as a matter of fact have existed and now exist in so far as they can exist with a disorganized people ridden by a brutal tyranny;
4. Propaganda for communism in the abstract among American working people; and
5. Propaganda having the definite purpose of destroying the American

Federation of Labor in obedience to the command of the chief of the Russian tyranny to the effect that the American Federation of Labor must be destroyed as the first necessary step in the communist scheme to overthrow the republic of the United States; and

WHEREAS, All of this propaganda is based upon the desire of communists and communist central power to undermine and overthrow democratic institutions everywhere; and

WHEREAS, We find, in brief, the facts in the case to be:

1. The Russian Soviet authority, called a government, is a most rigorous, brutal, tyrannical autocracy in the absolute control of communists of whom there are among all of the millions of Russians less than 400,000, with no freedom of speech, no freedom of press (only authorized government-controlled newspapers are permitted), no freedom of assemblage, no secret ballot, a system of plural voting which gives communists four votes to one for the peasant; there is a complete economic breakdown due to communist tyranny in theory and practice; there is thrust upon the people the burden of the largest standing army in the world; there are and have been persecution and execution of thousand of workers whose crime was their effort to be trade unionists and to express their opposition to the autocratic powers in control; there is a despotism which seems to grant concessions as a part of its propaganda when that is deemed wise, but which may withdraw at any moment the concessions it grants; there is absolutely no power residing in the people who have been stricken of everything material, political, industrial and ethical; there is the most brazen misrepresentation to the people of the world;

2. As to relief, which it is sought to gather from trade unionists, this is a deception of the most despicable kind, since it plays upon the heart-strings for the deliberate purpose of bolstering the despotism; the American Relief Administration is putting into Russia regularly more food than Russian equipment can transport inland to the famine area; relief sought for propaganda purposes from trade unionists through special agencies can not even, if collected, be got to those who need it because the Russian transportation system is incapable of transporting that which is

and has been available through the generosity of the American people and the American Government; and the Soviet powers, utterly lacking in human sensibilities and ready to practice any deception for a propaganda purpose, have deliberately sought to impose upon American workers the most heartless misrepresentation:

3. In relation to trade it can only be said that the accounts of riches awaiting Americans upon the establishment of trade relations are as false as other Soviet propaganda and are calculated to serve Soviet ends alone; there is now no bar to trade with Russia except the inability of Russia to pay for those things which she needs most sorely; the only end to be served by trade relations would be to extend a quasi recognition to a hateful tyranny and to make the American Government in some measure a guarantor or collector for bills which the Soviets unquestionably would seek to avoid paying;

4. Propaganda for communism in the abstract in America is too obvious to need fresh description. It is not effective, but it is in evidence and it appears to be well financed and well organized, all for the purpose of foisting upon Americans the nightmare that has ruined Russia;

5. Propaganda having for its definite purpose the destruction of the American labor movement is also declared; unfortunately some trade unionists, essentially sound and well meaning, are temporarily deceived by this propaganda, leading to sporadic outbursts here and there for such fanastic schemes as the "One Big Union," the "amalgamation" of unions which would mean the disintegration of unions, and even the complete abolishment of unions and their replacement by Soviets; these various schemes having such variations as the propagandists think will win them the most support, their one aim being to destroy our trade unions in order that they may then destroy our government; and

WHEREAS, There is in support of all of this work a diffused propaganda working through many channels for one purpose, having no scruples as to honesty or truth, drawing to its support at various times a wide variety of persons, including public speakers, writers, editors, ministers, business men and some labor men, calling for constant vigilance on the part of all who wish to avoid deception; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we declare the foregoing to be a truthful statement of facts justifying our position, adding thereto the declaration made by our convention in Montreal and affirmed in Denver, as follows:

"That the American Federation of Labor is not justified in taking any action which could be construed as an assistance to or approval of the Soviet Government of Russia so long as that government is based upon authority which has not been vested in it by a popular representative national assemblage of the Russian people; or so long as it endeavors to create revolutions in the well-established, civilized nations of the world; or so long as it advocates and applies the militarization of labor and prevents the organizing and functioning of trade unions and the maintenance of a free press and free public assemblage"; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we express again our great friendship for the Russian people, our distress because of their terrible misfortune, our compassion and our sympathy, our pledge of continued friendship and assistance, and that we further extend to Russia trade unionists our greeting and our hope that they may soon be free to act democratically as trade unionists, unfettered by any tyranny, and that in that way they may contribute mightily toward the rebuilding of a great nation by a people tried unto despair, victimized by adventurers, ridden and ruled by lust and avarice, denied the most elemental rights by the most audacious, unscrupulous and incongruous despotisms in history.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

**Resolution No. 85**—By Delegate Herman Defrem, of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union:

**WHEREAS**, It is desirable that the delegates to the convention have time and opportunity to properly study the resolutions on which they are going to be called upon to act; and

**WHEREAS**, It is fair and democratic that the delegates should have the right to have their resolutions come squarely before the convention without their being distorted or smothered by amendments and substitutes of committees; and

**WHEREAS**, The convention should have the opportunity of voting a clear yes or no, if in favor or opposed to a proposition, instead of being compelled to vote contrarywise by a committee's motion "to nonconcur;" therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the constitution be amended by the inclusion of the following:

**Section 1.** All resolutions must be in the hands of the secretary six weeks before the opening of the convention. They shall be printed and distributed to the affiliated organizations one month before the convention. After the date of printing no resolution may come before the convention except it deal with a situation which has arisen in the meantime.

**Section 2.** Where there are several resolutions dealing with the same subject it shall be the function of the committee to which they are referred to call a conference of the introducers in order to obtain agreement, if possible, on a joint substitute resolution. Such a substituted resolution shall be immediately printed and distributed.

**Section 3.** All resolutions shall come directly before the convention for action in the form in which they were introduced, or agreed to by the introducers.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

**Resolution No. 86**—By delegates of the Allied Printing Trades Unions:

**WHEREAS**, The United Brethren Church in Christ is one of the thirty churches comprising the Federated Council of the Churches of Christ in America; and,

**WHEREAS**, The Federated Council of Churches subscribe to the Social Ideals adopted at the Cleveland (O.) meeting of May 6-8, 1919; and,

**WHEREAS**, The United Brethren Church in Christ at the general conference held in Indianapolis, in May, 1921, adopted said ideals in their Church Discipline; and,

**WHEREAS**, Sections 12 and 14 of said Social Service read as follows:

12. For the right of employees and employers alike to organize for adequate means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

14. For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which

is a condition of the highest human life.

WHEREAS, The publishing house of the United Brethren Church, located in Dayton, Ohio, was one of the few commercial printing plants employing union compositors refusing to grant the 44-hour week to its employees, or to co-operate in any manner with their efforts to add a few years to their lives; and,

WHEREAS, The composing room of the publishing plant owned and operated by the United Brethren Church now employs none but scabs and strikebreakers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, condemns the action of the United Brethren Publishing House as being un-Christian and unfair in its attitude toward organized labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention are hereby instructed to report back to their respective unions the action of this institution and take such steps as will influence the officials and members of the United Brethren Church to take such action as will compel the observance of the church's Social Creed in the operation of the publishing plant, and thus relieve the church of any charge of gross materialism or utter disregard for the rights of humanity which attaches to the employment of scabs and professional strikebreakers.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 37—By Delegates Frank Williams, Andrew Lewis, Joseph E. Hobbs, George Llopts and Simon St. Cyr of Freight Handlers' Local No. 17,413:

WHEREAS, The time has come when organized labor must present a solid front, they must close up the ranks and fight a bitter fight against unjust doings as the labor movement of our land and country has fought so brave in the past and up to this present time that each and every organized labor shall enjoy what belongs to every human being, that is life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and

WHEREAS, The Freight Handlers of Local No. 17,413, at Basin Street Terminal, Southern R. R., N. O. N. E. Division, have not been given a

fair deal as organized labor, or treated just by our general foreman or our supervising clerks, who are union men, that is in power in putting on the employees daily, and are also in power in cutting off the employees after they have worked certain hours of the day that the company is compelled to give these men, they will always call the non-union men in preference of our union men, and put them to work, and in cutting off the men the supervising clerks in the sheds will cut off the union men and hold the non-union men, who do not give any better satisfaction than the union men in working condition, and will let them accomplish a full eight-hour day's work when such privilege should be given the union men by union foreman and clerks; and /

WHEREAS, These non-union men have been spoken to day after day by the representative and also the members of the Freight Handlers' Union organization, trying to convert these non-union men to organize with us and be protected by the American Federation of Labor in the labor movement, but by receiving so much courtesy in being given such a fair deal by the foreman and clerks in getting the preference of the work in the face of union men that it makes the freight handlers fight a fight that is in vain to get these non-union men to become organized, because it looks as these men are protected right on without being organized; and

WHEREAS, These employees should not be given any preference over the union men, but they will say boldly to the union men that as long as we are protected by the foreman and clerks, who are union men, in getting a fair deal, as we have been getting, we will never become organized, because we are protected the same as the union men, and still we are not organized; and

WHEREAS, These non-union men receive this privilege and protection in wage and working conditions without paying one penny per year to the union or to help the American Federation of Labor in receiving this protection, or to help upbuild the labor movement of our country that organized labor may be able to fight and accomplish justice against unfair treatment that is handed day by day to every bread earner by the employ-

ers of corporations and industries of our country; and

WHEREAS, Such non-union employees who will not stand up for their rights and become organized under the labor movement are detrimental to organized labor and the labor movement of the land, and are sympathizers with the employers in unjust treatment that is given to organized labor by the employers; and

WHEREAS, This matter has been submitted to the officials in conference at the Basin Street terminal by the committee of Local No. 17,413 at two different conferences, and it was adjusted by the committee of said local and officials that the union men should be given the preference, and general foreman and the clerks were ordered to act accordingly in carrying out this decision, but since the year 1921 up to the present time, with all of our pleading to the foreman and clerks, we have failed to receive from them such action for the protection of organized labor; and

WHEREAS, If this condition remains in existence with organized labor helping unorganized labor, who do not assist the labor movement, then I must say in the near future the freight handlers and all other organized labor will be treated likewise, and be crushed to the feet of the employers without any mercy to defend them against unfair treatment and cruelty; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the forty-second annual convention, in session in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, beginning June 12, 1922, will give this resolution your most hearty consideration in seeing that the freight handlers get a better decision from the general foreman and the clerks against unorganized labor in the future than what they have received in the past for the betterment of organized labor and also the freight handlers and their respective organizations; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the General Chairman of all the railroad clerks, with the request that it be given consideration.

Referred to the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 88—By delegates Sandy Colmon, Local 17064, Cordele, Ga.; Jordan Rodgers, Local 16982,

Freight Handlers' Union of Winston-Salem N. C.; S. P. Dorn, Freight Handlers, 17175, of Greenville, S. C.; J. Dillard, Freight Handlers, 17230, Richmond, Ind.; Lee A. Holloway, Baggage men, No. 16834, Petersburg, Va.; H. Bryan, Freight Handlers, 16324, Charleston, S. C.; Robert Butler, Freight Handlers, 17451, Alexander, Va.; J. L. Anderson, Freight Handlers, 17316, Cincinnati, O.; R. E. Burford, Freight Handlers, 16220, Richmond, Va.; Jas. H. Herbert, Freight Handlers, 16413, St. Louis, Mo.; H. H. Hawkins, Freight Handlers, 17535, Tampa, Fla.; Frank Williams, Freight Handlers, 17413, New Orleans La.; P. A. Stratton, Freight Handlers, 17025, Lynchburg, Va., and Ambrose Harris, Freight Handlers, 17555, Portsmouth, Va.:

WHEREAS, Resolution Number 74 as presented to the Forty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Denver, Col., in June, 1921, was received and adopted by the convention; and

WHEREAS, In compliance with said resolution a conference was called in Washington, D. C., in the council chamber of the American Federation of Labor Building, July 19, 1921, between the representatives of the A. F. of L., the Brotherhood of Railway, Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers and Express and Station Employees, and a committee of Colored Freight Handlers; and

WHEREAS, At this conference an agreement was made and signed by a committee representing the above named organizations; and

WHEREAS, It was agreed that a plan should be developed by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks that would admit to the Brotherhood the Colored Railway Employees who belong under their jurisdiction; and

WHEREAS, This plan has not been developed, so we have been informed; and

WHEREAS, This leaves us with no protection from the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and leaves us at the mercies of unscrupulous men who will exploit us for their personal gains; and

WHEREAS, This agreement was in effect until the convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, which was held in Dallas, Tex., in May, 1922; and

WHEREAS, We are informed that this agreement was turned down flatly by the clerks in convention; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. will arrange for a meeting and a conference at Washington, D. C., between the Executive Council and the colored freight and baggage handlers, express and station employees, for the purpose of working out some plan whereby these colored railway employees can have a general representative.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 89.—By Delegate James Hubbard of Freight Handlers, 16,413:

WHEREAS, There are about forty-two colored freight handlers on the cotton platform in St. Louis; and

WHEREAS, We were informed by the General Chairman of the M. K. & T. that no brother would be admitted to the system board unless such belonged to the union; and

WHEREAS, Of these forty-two brothers, only two of whom belong to the union, but on the contrary of the advice of the General Chairman mentioned above, forty of these brothers are permitted to pay system board tax and are given the same recognition and consideration as is given the brothers who belong to the union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-second annual convention consider and adjust this matter and the practise of accepting fees from brothers not members of this union be discontinued.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 90.—By Delegate James Hubbard, of Freight Handlers' No. 16,413:

WHEREAS, Local No. 16,413, composed of the twenty-one freight houses in St. Louis and East St. Louis; and

WHEREAS, Grievances can not be handled unless through the adjustment system boards, thence the general chairman; and

WHEREAS, The general chairman on several of the respective roads in St. Louis and East St. Louis have not and will not handle grievances for brothers not members of their respective system boards; and

WHEREAS, We have several times made application for membership to the adjustment boards to the following roads herein named: The B. and O. R. R., the L. and N. R. R., the Pennsylvania R. R., of East St. Louis, respectively, and the Wabash of St. Louis; and

WHEREAS, The board of these roads will not admit us as members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention consider means that we may join and have representation on the system boards so that our grievances may be given the proper consideration and handled through the proper authorities.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 91.—By Delegate Lee A. Holloway, Local 16,834:

WHEREAS, The Railway Clerks' Adjustment Board of the Norfolk & Western Railroad has been collecting moneys from the freight and baggage handlers and station employees, telling them it was for adjustment board taxes and dues; and

WHEREAS, No agreement has been made between the Clerks' Adjustment Board and the freight and baggage handlers and station employees on the Norfolk & Western Railroad, and nothing has been done for them by the said board; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention have this matter investigated at once and have this money returned to the employees in this system.

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Resolution No. 92.—By Delegates Allied Printing Trades Unions:

WHEREAS, By systematical elimination the Donaldson Lithographing Company, Incorporated, of Cincinnati, Ohio and Newport, Kentucky,

has eliminated from its plant at Newport, Kentucky, all members of the printing trades unions; and

WHEREAS, After repeated efforts to secure conference with the Donaldson Lithographing Company, Incorporated, looking to the conciliation of existing differences, all of which have failed due to the refusal of the Donaldson Lithographing Company, Incorporated, to either conciliate or arbitrate the differences between the printing trades unions and the Donaldson Lithographing Company, Incorporated; and

WHEREAS, The said Donaldson Lithographing Company, Incorporated, is engaged largely in the production of theatrical, circus, carnival and fair display printing and lithographing, which printing and lithographing is now being produced under conditions that are in contravention to American standards as fostered by the printing trades unions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, through its President and Secretary, be instructed to advise all international, national and federation unions, state and central bodies, of the status of the Donaldson Lithographing Company as herein recited, and to call upon all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to make known the facts to the respective local organizations and individual members and to those who are purchasers of the Donaldson product; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed, through the President and Secretary of the Federation, to bring this matter to the attention of theatrical organizations, circus companies and such others with whom it is possible to make contact.

Referred to Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegation of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, In violation of a contract with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America the United States Printing and Playing Card Company of Norwood, O., refused to arbitrate the issue raised by said United States Printing and Playing Card Company of Norwood, O., with regard to the

subject of reducing wages and increasing hours, notwithstanding a specific provision of said contract which required that arbitration should apply to all matters, including the renewal of an agreement; and

WHEREAS, On the first day of September, 1921, the United States Printing and Playing Card Company of Norwood, O., arbitrarily, and in violation of an existing contract, reduced the wages of the pressroom workers in said company an amount approximating \$6 per week and increased the work week from forty-four to forty-eight hours and thereby forced the members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America upon the streets; and

WHEREAS, The product of the United States Printing and Playing Card Company is largely purchased by the working masses of the United States and Canada, and in that said product is now being produced under nonunion conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, through its President and Secretary, be directed to bring the facts as herein cited to the attention of all international and national organizations, state and central bodies and federation unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to the end that members of the trades union movement as well as the general public may know of the arbitrary action taken by the United States Printing and Playing Card Company in violating its agreement and in reducing wages and increasing hours and thereby forcing members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America upon the streets by lockout.

Referred to the Committee on Boycotts.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate M. E. Steadman of Alexandria Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The community service movement is becoming a potent factor in the happiness, general welfare and uplift of human society, and merits the co-operation of all good citizens in that its purpose is to assist communities in making the leisure time of citizens more valuable and more expressive through community service; and

WHEREAS, It seeks to promote useful citizenship, neighborliness and happiness, made possible to the coming together of citizens to think, to plan and to act together for their mutual interests; and

WHEREAS, Community service is nonpartisan, nonsectarian and non-commercial; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, indorse and lend moral and material assistance to its advancement.

Referred to Committee on State Organizations.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegates Joseph Lynam, Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly, and J. W. Ford, Herrin (Ill.) Trades Council:

WHEREAS, Alexander Howat and August Dorohy, respectively President and Vice President of the Kansas District of the United Mine Workers of America, have been imprisoned by the authorities of the State of Kansas for refusing to acquiesce in the establishment of slavery in that state; and

WHEREAS, Defeat of the effort to enact so-called Industrial Relations Court laws in the States of New York, Illinois, Oklahoma, Colorado, Alabama, Montana, Iowa and Texas has been largely the result of the example furnished by the fight of the Kansas miners, led by Howat and Dorohy; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, representing the working people of the United States, that we congratulate Alexander Howat and August Dorohy for their courageous and steadfast determination to uphold the fundamental law of the nation by opposing the illegal and unconstitutional orders of the unlawful court which is now endeavoring to enforce group slavery in the State of Kansas.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegates of the Railroad Labor Organizations affiliated to the A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, The Railroad Industry of the United States, upon which the progress and prosperity of the nation so largely depends, is waging a cam-

paign to break down organizations of employees and reduce wages below the subsistence level, through the United States Railroad Labor Board, a tribunal created by the Cummins-Esch bill, known as the Transportation Act of 1920, which act was passed by Congress over the strong protest of the American Federation of Labor and the sixteen standard railroad labor organizations; and

WHEREAS, After more than two years of operation under this act there is recorded not a single deliberate violation of the law by employees, while continued flagrant and cunningly devised violations have been publicly known and are now chargeable to railroad management, and said managements continue to defy the law, thus creating a situation inimical to the public peace and stability of the industry; and

WHEREAS, Recent decisions of the Railroad Labor Board, charged with the duty and responsibility of establishing "just and reasonable" wage schedules, have made effective on July 1 standards of wages for certain classes of employees which will not permit of the purchase of the barest essentials of a normal living, a wage which, measured in food, clothing, housing, etc., will place hundreds of thousands of American workers below the level which now obtains in the poverty-stricken regions of Europe; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in forty-second annual convention assembled, that we again affirm our opposition to the iniquitous Cummins-Esch law and call upon Congress for its repeal, and hereby declare that the Railroad Labor Board has invariably functioned in the interest of railroad management and against the employees; that it has placed the dollar sign over and above the human needs of the workers, serving as an instrument to shackle and coerce 2,000,000 wage workers in the industry, a policy which is hurtful not alone to the railroads but to every branch of American industry; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we accept this opportunity to commend the three members of the labor group on the board who have consistently stood for a wage that might be truly defined as "just and reasonable," as exemplified in their courageous dissenting opinions, which stand out in clear-cut contrast with the total in-



ability of majority members to justify their acts to the public.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 97—** By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Wm. Hannon, Wm. Schoenberg, C. F. Grow, G. W. Marshall, F. Hewitt and Wm. Larkin of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The American Flint Glass Workers have disputed the claim of the International Association of Machinists for jurisdiction over men engaged in the manufacture and repair of metal molds for molding glassware bottles, etc.; and

WHEREAS, This controversy has been before various conventions of the American Federation of Labor for adjustment, and a decision rendered by the convention that has divided the employees in the machine shops in several plants, into two organizations, and resulted in the loss of recognition, the loss of signed agreements and the disruption of the power of the organized labor movement as well as a drastic reduction in wages and the loss of other favorable working conditions; and,

WHEREAS, The American Flint Glass Workers is a Glass Workers' organization, and the International Association of Machinists is a metal working organization with jurisdiction over machinists employed in machine shops, factories and elsewhere; and

WHEREAS, The shops where molds are made and repaired are machine shops pure and simple; we contend that no good to the organized labor movement has been accomplished by granting jurisdiction over this class of work to the American Flint Glass Workers, while on the other hand much harm has been done to the International Association of Machinists and the organized labor movement by this decision; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the Forty-Second Annual Convention in session assembled instruct all parties at interest that the work of making and repairing molds for molding bottles, glassware, etc., come under the sole jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

**Resolution No. 98—** By Delegates William H. Johnston, William Hannon, Fred Hewitt, C. F. Grow, W. Larkin and William Schoenberg, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, There are still held in the Federal prisons in Atlanta, Leavenworth and McNeil's Island a number of men convicted under the Espionage Act and other war-time laws for their political and economic opinions, many of them serving sentences of ten and twenty years; and

WHEREAS, Eugene V. Debs and several hundred other such political prisoners have already been freed by the Federal Government, whose cases are no different in principle from the men still in prison; and

WHEREAS, The wives and children of a number of these men are now in Washington petitioning the Government for their release; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has unanimously and repeatedly urged upon the Federal Government a general amnesty of all such prisoners regardless of their political or economic views or activities, with many of which we wholly disagree; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Cincinnati, O., urges upon the President of the United States the wisdom and justice of freeing without further unnecessary delay the remaining political prisoners whose imprisonment no longer serves any useful public purpose in time of peace.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Resolution No. 99—** By Delegates W. D. Mahon, John J. Hynes, William Green, William L. Hutcheson, Arthur M. Huddell, P. J. Morrin, A. J. Kugler, T. A. Rickert and G. M. Bugniatet:

**RESOLVED,** That Section 1, Article 3 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be so amended as to read "the first Monday in October" in place of "the second Monday in June," so that Sec-

tion 1, Article 3, as amended, shall go into effect in 1923, and read:

"The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 o'clock on the first Monday in October at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention."

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 100—By Fred W. Suitor of the Quarry Workers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Quarry Workers' International Union of North America has been engaged in a life and death struggle since September, 1921, with the following three Employers' Associations: The International Monumental Granite Producers' Association, Incorporated; the National Building Granite Quarries' Association of the United States, Inc., and the Granite Paving Block Manufacturers of the United States, Incorporated. These three associations operate east of the Mississippi River and have banded together into a Board of Control to further their plan of disrupting our union and introducing the so-called "American Plan" or "Open Shop;" and

WHEREAS, The Granite Manufacturers' Association of California is following a similar course, thus making this a nation-wide effort to annihilate the Quarry Workers' International Union of North America; and

WHEREAS, Most of the individual employers broke their contract with our union in order to launch this un-American movement; and

WHEREAS, There has been a severe strain on our funds in carrying on this protracted struggle by valiantly and successfully withstanding these dastardly and unscrupulous onslaughts; and

WHEREAS, These employers' associations have so far made practically no inroads in our ranks; and

WHEREAS, We are confident of ultimate success and that a settlement of our difficulties will be hastened if we can enlist your moral support and financial aid; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Cincinnati, endorse the stand of the Quarry Workers' International Union of North America against this un-American attempt to introduce the "American Plan" or "Open Shop" in

this industry, and commend the heroic resistance of its members in this trying struggle; and be it therefore further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to levy a one-cent assessment per member on all affiliated unions to be used to assist the Quarry Workers' International Union of North America in carrying this fight to a successful issue; or to provide such methods and urge such an appeal as will result in securing the essential aid in bringing this contest to an early and successful conclusion for the Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.

Referred to Committee on Reports of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates John S. Barry and James A. Legassie:

WHEREAS, There has been some organization work conducted in the States of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont; yet there remains many unorganized; and

WHEREAS, The future must bring forth still greater efforts in the work of organization both for the sake of the organized and unorganized; and

WHEREAS, It is imperative that every effort be put forth during the coming year for the strengthening of the labor movement in general; and

WHEREAS, The more effective the work of organization of workers the greater will be the results achieved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Cincinnati, O., assign an organizer to the district of Maine, New Hampshire, where there is a fertile field for organization.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal:

WHEREAS, All civilized governments have endeavored to encourage and develop inventive genius to the highest possible degree, and to this end have undertaken to grant monopolistic rights for a fixed number of years to all patentees; and

WHEREAS, Under guise of the protective features of our patent laws, many useful and valuable inventions are either disused or misused and the monopolistic rights rendered have

come to serve the purpose of benefiting a few instead of all citizens of our land; and

WHEREAS, Under the patent laws of other nations provision is made requiring patentees to work or operate their patents within a fixed period of time and to so operate or work them as to favor and stimulate home production; and

WHEREAS, It is believed that holders of American patents are working or operating their patents in foreign lands while not doing so in this country, thus favoring foreign workers and stimulating foreign production under American patent laws while totally ignoring home production; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized and directed to investigate or have investigated this entire subject of patents and of patent rights to the end that the Executive Council, in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, may take such action as will remove from our patent laws provisions and practices that tend toward this disuse or misuse of the monopolistic rights rendered patentees and to cause to be inserted into our patent laws such provisions as will require those holding American patents to so work or operate them as will result in actual production in the United States of the article disclosed in such patents in reasonable quantities and in a reasonable time; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council investigate or cause to be investigated patent laws and practices under which laws of other nations operate and to take such further action as will stimulate American production under all patent laws and under such conditions as will bestow the full benefits of all patents rendered upon the American people as a whole.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Wm. Hannon, Wm. Schoenberg, Fred Hewitt, Wm. Larkin and C. F. Grow of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The Mexican Government has fulfilled every condition required by international law to entitle it to our friendship and intercourse; and

WHEREAS, It has proved its stability, its fidelity and its power to maintain law and order throughout every section of the Mexican republic; and

WHEREAS, It has enacted social welfare and humanitarian legislation, which evidence the very essence of diplomacy, and places Mexico among the most progressive and civilized nations of the world; and

WHEREAS, We are advised that Mexico is actually expending more money for education than on its army and navy; and

WHEREAS, At least twenty-two governments, including Japan, have recognized the Mexican republic, while the United States still holds aloft; and

WHEREAS, We fail to understand why a sister republic, which has apparently fulfilled all the obligations of international law, prerequisite to mutual intercourse, continues to be classed with the unstable, unfriendly and outlaw nations by the Department of State of our country; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of Cincinnati, O., fails to find a single valid reason why the recognition of the Mexican Government should longer be withheld; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we do hereby urge upon the Department of State that it give recognition to the Mexican Government without further unnecessary delay.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates of Allied Printing Trades Unions:

WHEREAS, An agreement was approved and entered into May 1, 1921, between the International Printing Trades Unions and the associations of printing trades employers identified with the Printing Trades Industrial Council and in behalf of all employers associated with these employers' organizations providing for the observance of the forty-four-hour working week throughout the printing industry on May 1, 1921; and

WHEREAS, All agreements entered into between the International

Printing Trades Unions and all employers during the interim between the approval of that agreement and the time for its observance were predicated upon the implied and expressed conditions that the forty-four-hour working week would be observed on May 1st, 1921; and

WHEREAS, Large financial and industrial interests within and without of the printing trades determined to weaken, if not destroy, the international printing trades unions, undertook to interfere with this national agreement between employers and employees and did compel (by the use of trade opportunities, banking and credit facilities) employing printers to violate and to disregard the terms of this national agreement; and

WHEREAS, The International Printing Trades Unions are as determined to require employers to observe agreements that they had entered into with trade unions as they have been insistent that local unions observe agreements entered into with employers; and

WHEREAS, This demand that employers shall fulfill their contractual obligations like any other law abiding citizen has resulted in large numbers of printing trades men giving up their employment; and

WHEREAS, This contest, now raging in the printing industry not only contemplates the observance of the forty-four-hour work week in the printing industry, but also embraces the important question of requiring employers to observe contracts; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, emphatically denounces the dishonorable, unwarranted and destructive attitude and action manifested by the printing trades employers and their associations in treating contracts entered into as mere scraps of paper; that it pledges to the International Printing Trades Unions all the moral and all other helpful support at its command and to this end calls upon all trades unions and labor organizations, all trades unionists and their friends to favor and to purchase only such printed matter produced under union conditions and by employers who honor their word and observe

agreements that they have entered into; that the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to aid and assist the International Printing Trades Unions in whatever additional way those organizations may deem helpful in their cause.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates E. C. Scott, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants No. 11,773, Washington, D. C., and Herman Defrem, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12,646:

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has been petitioned several times during the past years to appoint organizers who shall work chiefly in the interests of the office workers; and

WHEREAS, There exists today no better field for organization work than the office workers, there being over two million in the United States and Canada; and

WHEREAS, This class of workers are now alive to the needs of organization since they have never received a wage commensurate with their skill and ability, and are now more than ever in need of organization, due to the general wage reductions being imposed on all organized and unorganized crafts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, desirous of organizing these workers, realizing the conditions under which they labor, extends to them the fullest support; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the president of the A. F. of L. be authorized and directed to appoint one or more organizers who shall devote their entire time to the organization of office workers in order that this craft may improve its conditions and establish these workers in the position of labor which is justly theirs; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That such organizer or organizers be appointed from among the ranks of the office workers and that all delegates to this convention carry back to their respective communities the necessity of assisting in all manner possible the organization of this craft.

Referred to Committee on Organizations.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate E. C. Scott of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11,773, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, There is considerable work done every year in international and national headquarters by accountants, certified accountants, reporters and lawyers; and

WHEREAS, There is among the membership of the various Office Workers' Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. competent help among the above classes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as recommending to the various bodies affiliated with it that in every case where it is necessary to employ help of a nature that falls within the province of the office worker that the local unions be called upon first to furnish such help who are members of organized labor and in the event such competent help can be supplied by the various locals that such help be given first preference; and be it further

RESOLVED, That help other than those belonging to an Office Workers' Union be employed only after the local unions fail to provide a competent employee, and in the case of employing such outside help the organization so employing them be requested to suggest to such help that they join the membership of the nearest local union.

Referred to Committee on Organizations.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate E. C. Scott of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11,773:

WHEREAS, The time has come when a minimum wage should be established to those engaged in clerical work; and,

WHEREAS, There are working in commercial offices throughout the country thousands of employees engaged in doing office work; and,

WHEREAS, Realizing that this convention can only recommend to affiliated bodies; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the following resolution be spread upon the minutes as a working basis for those National and international bodies who have al-

ways in the past shown themselves as willing and anxious to promote the welfare of all workers generally; and, be it

RESOLVED, That a minimum wage of \$7.00 per day be paid stenographers and bookkeepers, \$5.00 per day for clerical work and \$10.00 per day be paid to foremen; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the vacation period during a calendar year shall consist of thirty days as well as a thirty-day sick period; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the average minimum basic rates of pay mentioned above can be changed according to local conditions in the different sections of the country but in no sense less than \$1.00 per day than the amounts mentioned above; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the working day shall consist of seven hours a day with closing time at 12 o'clock noon on Saturday with full pay; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution is offered so that a basic rate can be established among this craft of workers the same as other trades.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate E. C. Scott of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants, 11,773, and Delegate Herman Defrem of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, No. 12,646:

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has in the past issued charters to local unions under different names, such as bank clerks, court reporters, counters and timekeepers, state, city and county employees whose work is similar to that of a stenographer or office clerk, and whose interests would be best subserved by being affiliated with an international union of office workers; and

WHEREAS, It is much easier to organize a trade through an International Union than through a number of unrelated local unions; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has within the past year granted an International Charter to the Fruit Growers, who had at that time a membership of less than 2,500; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the E. C. of the A. F. of L. is hereby directed to issue such an international charter whenever the combined membership of all of the above classes of local unions shall total (2,500) two thousand five hundred members or more.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council Reports.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate Julia O'Connor, of Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

**WHEREAS**, The enactment of laws granting the right of suffrage to women does not carry with it in all States all other political rights, and there are on the statute books various laws discriminating against women as to property rights, guardianship rights, naturalization rights and other rights now guaranteed to men; and

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor has long advocated political, civil and economic equality for women; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention hereby declare itself in favor of the removal of all discriminations against women and advocate specific laws to this end; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we disapprove and oppose the blanket legislation for this purpose because such legislation is necessarily drawn in general terms which must be subject to judicial construction and therefore place in jeopardy labor laws for women.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council Reports.

Resolution No. 110—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Chas. W. Redfern, Wm. P. Hohmann and Mark B. Greene, National Federation of Postoffice Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Edward J. Cantwell, Chas. E. Duffy, L. E. Swartz and J. H. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees; B. E. Thompson and C. E. Harvey, Railway Mail Association:

**WHEREAS**, The Saturday half holiday observance, which wage earners in many industries have brought about through the intelligent exercise of their organized power, has proved to be a sound economic policy of mutual benefit to employees and employers; and

**WHEREAS**, This beneficial policy of extending the weekly periods of rest and recreation for workers is becoming more general in its application in private industrial pursuits and in state and municipal governments; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this Forty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the importance of the United States Government establishing and maintaining advanced employment standards, instructs the Executive Council to cooperate with the representatives of the affiliated government employees for the purpose of having the Saturday half holiday observance in government establishments extended to benefit every possible worker.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Ed S. Mahan, representing the Trades and Labor Assembly, Shawnee, Oklahoma:

**WHEREAS**, Believing that the future progress and advancement of the just and honest claims of the American labor movement depends very largely upon the intelligent use of the ballot, the only weapon that labor has at its command on the political field to protect these sacred rights that the sons and daughters of the American toiling men and women are guaranteed by that sacred document, the Constitution of the United States, therefore, realizing that the American men and women of labor constitute an overwhelming per cent of the voters of both Republican and Democratic parties; and

**WHEREAS**, Believing that while the third party is necessary, there are too many of our laboring men and women that owe too close an allegiance to the two old parties for inherited national reasons, that they are unwilling to relinquish and renounce; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in the forty-second convention assembled, do go on record demanding of the union men and women of the United States that for their own good and their own liberation and freedom from political enslavement, that they do take a more active interest in the precinct, county, state and national convention

and assemblies of the two old parties, thereby getting control of the two old parties' machinery by electing only men who are fair and honest with labor in the precinct, county, state and national assemblies. Both the old parties and ultimately controlling the machinery of our national government.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Luther E. Steward of National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, Women are now a permanent factor in industry; and

WHEREAS, As unorganized workers they are a menace to the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, There are still some international unions which refuse to admit women to membership, despite the fact that such action is in direct opposition to the best interests of the whole movement; and

WHEREAS, While these international unions have the right to determine whom they will accept as members, if they will not take women workers in their trades, some other place must be provided within the labor movement for such women; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention authorize and instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to issue charters direct to groups of women in any given occupation if the national or international union of that trade declines to admit them to membership.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, When the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament was convened the organized labor movement in conformity with its traditional position lent its whole-hearted support and sympathy to the administration efforts to prevail upon all the nations convened to agree upon a substantial reduction in arma-

ments. Organized labor expected in view of this attitude that when the final program adopted by the Conference became effective in the United States, the interest of the workers at the government navy yards and arsenals affected by the Limitation of Armament would be adequately safeguarded. Much to its disappointment, however, no steps were taken by the government in this direction or apparently even considered. With hardly an hour's warning, thousands of its faithful workers in the navy yards and arsenals were furloughed and discharged; and

WHEREAS, There is invested in these navy yards and arsenals many millions of the people's money in the form of government securities and taxes. The plants are among the most superior of their kind in the country. They are absolutely indispensable to the naval and military establishments such as remains necessary under the limitation of armament agreements; and

WHEREAS, It is the concern of organized labor in keeping with the concern of all patriotic American citizens that these splendid plants be kept at the maximum of efficiency and usefulness to the government and the people of the country; and

WHEREAS, In order that this may be accomplished, that employment in these plants may be stabilized, that the temptation of profiteering at the expense of the government on the strength of war and war scares may be eliminated, that the people may be saved many millions of dollars each year through the intensive utilization of these plants for the manufacture of all governmental supplies, it is imperative that Congress pass immediate legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby record its approval of such legislation and urge upon Congress the passage of the Hull Bill H. R. 10,967, which embodies such legislation.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

### THIRD DAY—Wednesday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 14, 1922.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m. President Gompers in the chair.

#### Absentees:

Mountford, J. A. Mullaney, Beisel, Goldstone, Belair, Dobson, Tracy, Boyers, Hyland, Hutcheson, Dee, Desepta, Coulter, Feeney, Brennan, G. W. Marshall, J. L. Lewis, P. H. Murray, Thos. Kennedy, Canavan, Winkler, J. T. Carey, M. H. Parker, Hannah, Bergstrom, Rooney, Gunther, James Murphy, F. H. Hutchins, LaBelle, Freel, Sumner, Smart, Canterbury, Doane, Koester, J. H. Walker, Howat, Stephen Ely, J. E. Murphy, Fenton, Iglesias, Grace, H. L. Franklin, H. W. Fox, Pascoe, Lorntsen, Clendenning, Hushing, Lehman, Snyder, Niemeier, Thornsborough, J. E. Sullivan, Winans, J. C. Taylor, Lochray, Robt. Marshall, Ogg, O'Dell, J. W. Ford, Argo, Bennett, Downes, Sims, Kaiser, Nickolaus, Frampton, Tinney, McKinnon, Lynam, Dunn, Bower, Wrenn, Whitcomb, McGovern, Boulware, A. E. Allen, Wm. Carter, McCoy, C. L. White, Tunnagem, S. P. Davis, A. Stewart, Milton, Jas. Flynn, Latimore, F. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstone.

As the convention opened, Mr. Adolph Kummer, president of the Cincinnati Central Labor Council, with other members of the local committee, carried a beautiful silk American flag to the platform and presented it to President Gompers.

Mr. Kummer said: Mr. President and delegates, this being June 14, designated as National Flag Day, I desire at this time to present to you, Mr. President, in behalf of the working men and women of Cincinnati, this beautiful

American flag, the most glorious flag that ever was raised in any part of the world, the flag that stands for the noblest institutions in this great country of ours.

Following the flag presentation, Miss Ada Emerson sang the "Star Spangled Banner," accompanied on the violin by Mr. Henry Zoellner.

Mr. Daniel J. Tobin, treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, recited the following ode to the flag:

#### YOUR FLAG AND MY FLAG.

By Wilbur D. Nesbit.

Your flag and my flag,  
And how it flies today  
In your land and my land  
And half a world away!  
Rose-red and blood-red  
The stripes forever gleam;  
Snow-white and soul-white—  
The good forefathers' dream,  
Sky-blue and true-blue with stars to  
gleam aright—  
The gloried guidon of the day, a shelter  
through the night.

Your flag and my flag!  
And, oh, how much it holds—  
Your land and my land—  
Secure within its folds!  
Your heart and my heart  
Beat quicker at the sight!  
Sun-kissed and wind-tossed—  
Red and blue and white,  
The one flag—the great flag—the flag  
for me and you—  
Glorified all else beside—the red and  
white and blue!

President Gompers: It seemed to be the part of understanding that it was most appropriate that this day set apart to celebrate the anniversary of the day upon which the Stars and Stripes were created, the official flag of the republic of the United States of America and that at no gathering within the confines of the jurisdiction of the United States of America was a service in honor and honoring that flag more appropriate than in the convention of the



American Federation of Labor. And therefore the simple democratic and yet appropriate ceremony so splendidly conducted this morning at the opening session of the third day of the convention, and the morning of that day during which we have decided to discuss the question of the gravest concern to the people of our country not only of today but for all time to come—the safety and the protection of our child life under our starry flag.

To me America has more meaning than that of a name. America and the Flag which typifies the United States of America typify that which is good and great and noble and sympathetic, making for a higher and better understanding of the rights and the protection to which the people of our Republic are entitled, standing in the front ranks of civilized nations of the world, battling day after day for the attainment of that great, everlasting time of peace, progress and happiness. To me America is more than a country, more than a continent; it is a name which stands in its best sense as the apotheosis of all that is great and true and free and democratic and humane, and so it gives me pleasure to have taken this simple part in the services which will soon close, so that we may proceed with the business before our convention.

May I express my gratitude and appreciation with the presentation by Mr. Kummer and his associates as the representatives of the organized labor movement of Cincinnati and vicinity of this flag, the flag of my allegiance, the flag of my idealism which I accept gratefully and shall keep and honor as my guide and guidon to help my fellows so long as life shall remain in me, my fellows of America, my fellows of every clime and of every nation on the face of the globe.

The labor movement of our country and of all other countries stands for progress, for protection of the interests and the rights of the masses. There can be no real freedom where labor is enslaved. (Applause). It is our mission to see to it that the heritage handed down to us by our forefathers of this and of other countries, who have borne the scars of battle, is accepted, and that we take up the struggle where they were compelled to lay it down, be true to them, be true to ourselves and to the people of our time, and more important than all, to hand down that heritage of freedom to those who shall come after us to bear the burden of their day, to make life and toil better,

and better worth the living and the doing.

In that spirit, in that thought, with that feeling I express my deep sense of gratitude and declaration of the purpose to serve by the American Federation of Labor in the great cause for which our movement was instituted and contends.

I thank you for your attention.

President Gompers informed the delegates that Mr. Walter N. Reddick, international president of the Bookbinders' Union, had agreed to sing "The Marseillaise" as a part of the Flag Day program, but that he had been unexpectedly called to Washington, and that he had requested the president to say that he was regretful that he could not take his part in the program.

While awaiting the arrival of the invited speakers, opportunity was given for announcements as to time and place of committee meetings.

Upon the request of the Cincinnati local committee that a time suitable to the delegates be set for taking the official convention photograph, it was decided, upon motion offered by Delegate James Wilson, that the picture be taken at 1 o'clock on Saturday.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"Springfield, Ohio, June 12, 1922.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary American Federation of Labor, Cincinnati, Ohio:

"Ohio State Conference of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union send greetings to the American Federation of Labor and wish them success in all their deliberations.

"JOHN W. JOCKEL,  
"Secretary."

President Gompers: The program for the day is about to begin with an address by Dr. Albert Freiberg, who will speak to you upon the subject, or at least one or many phases of the subject of the abolition of child labor, the necessity for it and the means by which it may be accomplished. I have the honor to present to you Dr. Freiberg.

**ADDRESS OF  
DR. ALBERT FREIBERG.**

Ladies and Gentlemen:

When the secretary of your highly esteemed president called me up day before yesterday and asked me to come here and speak, I felt that I could not refuse so distinguished an honor, and so I accepted; but that, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, was only the first thing that I did. The second thing I did was to think up a set of alibis which I could offer here this morning, because I assure you I need them. In the first place, when I come before this body of American workers to speak about the abolition of the evil of child labor, I realize that I am bringing coals to Newcastle, and in the second place, I realize that I am a doctor and not an orator; and if I pleased I could go on and deliver some more alibis, which I believe is not what you are here to listen, so I shall content myself, if you please, by simply expressing again the great honor which I have in being permitted to speak to you, and, if I am permitted to say so, to express my sentiments of very great admiration for the gentleman who sits at your head and who has in so distinguished a way led you for so many years. I had the pleasure of hearing him before the City Club the other day, and although you are aware of the fact, I want to compliment you upon the distinguished way in which you are being led and the able way in which your cause is being presented to the people of this country.

I said before that I was bringing coals to Newcastle when I spoke to union men about the abolition of child labor. That is indeed the case, because the union men were the pioneers in attacking this problem, and it is with a great deal of pleasure that I remember my frequent meeting and association with one Cincinnati trade unionist who was one of the most persistent and consistent fighters against the evils of child labor in the United States of America. I speak of a man whose station in life was humble, but whose spirit was defiant and earnest, as self-reliant as any American can be, and that's going some. I refer to Joseph Heberle, and I wish to pay the highest tribute in my power to the memory of that man, because his work lies behind him in such a way that no one need be ashamed of him.

When it comes to discussing the evils of child labor and the toil of children in gainful occupations from a scientific point of view, I really am somewhat at

a loss—not because it would be difficult to bring before you a tremendous amount of evidence to this effect, that child labor does injure the organism of the child and that it injures it permanently, but because the thing is so self-evident that it really seems like a more or less foolish investigation. It is really as evident as most of the things we take for granted every day in our lives.

The child's business in the world is to grow, to play and to learn—that is what a child's business is in the world. If a child does not do these things, then the child is not having a childhood, and if a child does not have a childhood it can't get to be the right kind of man, the kind of man which its natural endowments entitle it to, any more than you can have a large apple before you have a small apple, any more than you can have a small apple before you have the flower or the bud. The thing is just impossible, and any attempt to make scientific research on this subject, while perhaps laudable, is, after all, useless, some of it so much so that it seems almost foolish.

I am compelled to think of a scientific publication that was made in the lay publications of this country some years ago in which a man rather well trained in science showed the harmful effects of alcohol on rabbits. The rabbits were given the alcohol and they died—of course they died. If he fed them with beefsteak they would have died also, because rabbits are not supposed to eat beefsteak any more than they are supposed to take alcohol. In the first place it was foolish, because it was self-evident what the result would be, and in the second place it was foolish because it had no purpose.

We do not have to make scientific experiments as to the effect of gainful employment on children, because we can look about us in the world and find it. The facts have been set forth so often in the publications of the National Child Labor Committee that I hesitate to repeat any of them, but one or two of them are very striking. I call to your attention, for example, that in Baltimore fifteen hundred children were medically examined who were between fourteen and fifteen years of age and who had been working in twelve different industries in the city of Baltimore. One hundred of these children had diseases or defects which could, beyond doubt—I am not speaking of the doubtful cases—one hundred of them had diseases or defects which could beyond a doubt be attributed to the labor in which they were engaged. That is, one

child out of every fifteen. That seems to me rather a convincing fact.

We know from the experiments, or rather from the investigations which have been made under the auspices of the Children's Bureau of the United States Government, that we can hand to you a great many other facts and observations just as telling and perhaps more telling than these. We know, for example, that the injuries received in industry are from two to three times as frequent among the child workers as among the adult workers, which shows that the child is not calculated or made to take his place in industry beside the adult. Figures of the Children's Bureau of our Government show that the general accident rate of children between fourteen and fifteen years of age is 48 per cent higher than it is at the age of sixteen. Just see what a difference there is in that short space of time, and for children who work among shafts and belts and gears the rate is 133 per cent higher; for children who work among gears alone it is three and one-third times higher. We have only to look about us in our country away from the confines of industrial plants to see plenty of evidence that we must do something more for our children in this respect than we have been doing.

Let us look at the results of the army draft that we have recently gone through. I don't doubt but that you have heard it all before, but you can't hear it too often. Twenty-nine per cent of the men examined in the army draft were found physically unfit. I haven't the least doubt in my mind but that industry, premature toil had its large part in producing this result. And then what is more important still is that 25 per cent could not read and write. The largest percentage of that twenty-five per cent were white persons who could not read and write, and of that one-fourth at least were American born. These are damaging figures.

If we go into the realm of juvenile delinquency we can find figures equally astonishing and convincing; we can find that of five thousand child delinquents whose records were examined, there were nine thousand offenses against them; of that, sixty-two per cent of those were among children who worked, who were in industry in some way or other. That is a very striking fact. We know, for example, that in Manhattan alone, working children contribute four times their share of delinquents as compared with other children, and this has nothing to do with the kind of

homes they come from, because that has been carefully gone into.

If we go away off from that part of the country down to Dallas, Texas, we find that an investigation there among the newsboys shows that they present two and three-fourths times their share of delinquents. Surely this is evidence enough that the employment of children in gainful occupations hurts their souls, their morals, just the same as it does their bodies. Perhaps this is even more important.

If we look into these figures of illiteracy that I referred to a moment ago, we shall see another striking fact that I want to call your attention to, and that is that in the cities illiteracy is only half as great as it is in the country. Now, of course, this is a rich country. We say it is the richest country in the world; I haven't any doubt that it is the richest country in the world, and it is the richest country in the world, not simply by reason of the gold within the vaults of our Government, not simply because of the materials to be found in our cities, not simply because of the products to be found on our land; it is the richest country in the world because of the character of its citizenship, and if it is no longer the richest country in that regard it will no longer be the richest country at all, in my estimation.

Now, this country is not nearly rich enough to be able to afford the amount of illiteracy, the moral degradation that is produced by the evil of child labor—not by any means; we can not afford it. If we allow it to continue we are going bankrupt, because we are the most illiterate large nation in the world today. We have ten persons of every thousand in this country who can not read and write. England has five, Sweden and Norway have only one. These are astonishing figures, and I say to you we are not rich enough in any respect to be able to afford this, so something must be done about it.

Now, after all is said and done, there is really no reason for discussing the undesirability of child employment. Let us leave the scientific aspect of it entirely aside; there is no reason for discussing it anyhow, because no one believes in it. The employer does not believe in child labor because he does not send his own children to work in the mine or workshop; the laborer does not believe in child labor because every child that is sent into the mill or workshop to work for its living is sent there because of economic expediency on the part of the adult; it is the grown-up

that sends the child into the workshop because of his fancied need.

Our citizenship must be strong in body, it must be self-reliant, it must be honest, and above all things it must be intelligent, and if we allow the state of affairs to go on that exists in this country at the present time we cannot progress in the way we must do to keep our place among the nations of the world. I think there is no question about that whatever.

A great deal has been accomplished by the United States in this fight against the premature employment of children—and I am not trying to minimize what has been done. Of course the subject of child labor is more actively before the minds of all of us today than it was a few months ago, because of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States which made void the law taxing the products of child labor, and there is more or less unhappiness about that decision and about the court, even though I am not disposed personally to question it. At the same time I do not say that this law would have provided efficiently for this evil at all. No, this law would not have brought the general situation, as far as standards are concerned in the United States, up to the standards of the most enlightened States in the Union as individual States.

It is a mistake to regard this problem as a sectional problem. We hear some gentleman in a northern State saying this is a problem of the southern States, of the southern cotton mills. That is a mistake. Alabama has better laws today than the States of Maine, New Hampshire and Rhode Island. As far as national legislation is concerned, the attitude of the nation toward this evil, we hope that something may still be accomplished, and I am able to say to you that on behalf of the National Child Labor Committee that very able lawyers are now studying the problem of devising something that will stand any assault.

When it comes to your own very important organization, Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen, there is something to be said there. I hope that I shall not be considered as being in bad taste if I recall to you the fact that you and your attitude on this very subject has been a matter of criticism; in other words, it has been said that even though the labor unions were the pioneers in child labor reform, and that even though they had very remarkable accomplishments in this field to their credit, their attitude in this respect was not altogether altruistic; that they

sought for child labor reform, not only because it was bad for the child, but because the child laborer was a competitor with adult labor.

This is no time to call names one way or another. I don't believe that is true, but I do believe it is possible for you to do something more than you have been doing. In other words, the child that needs to be protected is not simply the child in the workshop, is not simply the child in the mill; it is the American child wherever he happens to be found not getting a square deal. And there are more of them outside of the mill and workshop that need to be protected in this way than there are in the mills and workshops. Your aid is needed to protect these children. The children I refer to are those working in the streets in the cities and on the farms who are being done out of childhood, and often with the consent of their parents who do not know any better. The prime need in this instance is a campaign of education among those very people.

In the State of Colorado, in the beet fields, 800 children below fourteen years of age are working from nine to eleven hours a day, and at least 200 of these children are less than ten years of age. Do you think any education is needed there? I am pretty sure you do.

I am entitled to say, therefore, that with respect to legislation for children in this regard no State in the Union has done its full duty; and of course no Federal enactment, even those which were thrown out, has been up to the level of State legislation. One child in every eight in the United States of America is at work outside of legal protection. That is a striking figure, but it is true; we have the best authority for it, and every year one million children between the ages of ten and fourteen leave school to go to work. We cannot afford it.

I shall not detain you much longer, because I know you have before you a man much better able to speak in such a place as this than I am. There are, however, one or two things I will say in closing. In the first place, what can the American Federation of Labor do about this? What can be expected of this tremendously important and powerful organization? Well, what may be expected of it is that it may throw the political influence of such large numbers of men who come together as often as you do in favor of enlightened legislation for children in every State in the United States, because to a degree that is not true of any other organization in this country, that I know you

are universally organized throughout the country, because I do not believe there is a spot of territory in the United States where your influence does not extend.

I am stating this, not to make you proud of the extent of your influence, but to call to your attention the responsibility that goes with it. Where men have power they are responsible for a proper use of that power, and therefore I call upon you to use that influence and that power in favor of those children who cannot speak for themselves. They have to have us to speak for them or their case will be undefended.

The backward States must be brought up to line; they must be brought up, first of all, and at least to the line of the standard that was involved in the recent Federal tax law that has been called void. And of course we must not stop then, we must bring them up to the ideal standard. All the States must be brought up by your great influence. I feel sure that my appeal and the other appeals that will come to you in this regard will not fall upon deaf ears. I feel that the spirit is here to help this movement, and I wish that in that work you may have more power and more influence and more success.

President Gompers: It is quite evident that this convention, at the appropriate time, will in some way express its appreciation and gratitude for the masterful address which we have had the honor and the pleasure of listening to by Dr. Freiberg.

#### ADDRESS OF MR. MAX PINE Of the United Hebrew Trades of New York

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: In conferring this great honor of an invitation to me to address this convention, I take it for granted that it was given to the organization I represent. Coming to the question of child labor, I want to say that whenever a country, a State or a family is met with misfortune, it is the children who suffer the first and suffer the most. Whether it be a war, a strike, unemployment or a reactionary wave such as we have now in this country, it is the children who suffer most.

I am not a lawyer and do not know much about law, but I know that whoever makes children work, whether it be a rude contractor or a refined gentleman, he is nothing short of a criminal and an enemy to mankind. The children are the seeds of the country, the

seeds by which a country lives, grows, survives and succeeds. We have in our State, and I believe in other States, laws that forbid fishing out of season, that forbid killing game out of season. Why not have a law to forbid killing and crippling children out of season?

And pray, sisters and brothers, is there any necessity for taking children out of schools and sending them into factories? Cannot adult labor do the work of our country and leave the children in school? There are millions of men, brave and willing men who fought in the armies in France, heroes, who have not been able to find a day's work. Now they want the children to compete with them in order to get cheap labor. And it is not only fitting, it is not only appropriate, it is natural that you men of labor should take up the cause of the children and defend them, because it is your children and the children of our fellow working men who will be in the factories. The children of the rich will be exempted, as a rule.

I do not want to take any more of your time, except to say that in this great concentration point of labor, at the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, you will have to contend with great problems. You have great determination and I am sure you will win, the way you won the fight for the eight-hour day. In the fight for a shorter work day we had not only the employers against us, but we had a great many of the workers against us because they did not understand.

I know the delegates are eager to hear the address of Senator LaFollette, so I will conclude by asking the privilege to be permitted in this fight to help free the children, to help free the workers, because the freedom of the workers is the freedom of mankind.

#### PRESIDENT GOMPERS

Fellow Delegates and Friends: When the Executive Council decided that this day should be devoted not only to the exercises of honoring and avowing our continued and unflinching allegiance to our Flag, and to add as a part, a great part, of the services of this day the cause of the protection of child labor and the great measures which require the attention and the serious consideration, and the service and activity of the people of our country to safeguard freedom and justice and the right. I was accorded the privilege of extending invitations to a few people whom we knew to ring true under any and all circumstances. I looked upon it not only as my duty, but my great pleasure

to have the opportunity of meeting with Senator LaFollette and extending to him orally and later by formal letter an invitation to be present at our convention and address our delegates and friends today. I may say this to you, that without the slightest hesitation our honored guest of the day said: "I have no intention of waiting for any formal invitation other than that which you have just given me, and I shall be at Cincinnati on the third day of your convention, June 14, 1922."

It was in accord with his entire career, it was an expression of his characteristics and his character. There are so few people, despite their opportunities, who are today the tribunes of the people. The man whose unbroken record in advocacy; in defense of the rights of the people, of the great masses of the people, has manifested his character and his ability and his faithfulness to the cause of the people in every great public question that has come up for consideration and decision—you know that he is the author of the Seamen's Act. He fought its way through until it became the law of the land and its influence has not been confined to the United States of America. Its influence has extended to the seafaring men of the whole world, and the only obstacle in its way is selfish greed which impedes it.

I don't know that any other man has designated our honored guest as I desire to designate him here and now. A great Englishman saved the lives of thousands and thousands of men who went to the sea in ships and earned their living in their profession, saved the lives of unnumbered peoples from a watery grave by establishing the life line of cargoes of ships. Aye, Plinsoll of England—LaFollette, the Plinsoll of America. Foremost in every piece of legislation and the earnest advocate of administrative fairness, I present to you the tribune of the American people, the Honorable Robert M. LaFollette, United States Senator from Wisconsin.

#### ADDRESS OF SENATOR ROBT. M. LA FOLLETTE

Mr. President and Members of the American Federation of Labor: I count it a great honor and a great privilege to be given the opportunity to appear before you here today. Permit me, sir, to say out of a full heart that I deeply appreciate your more than generous

words of introduction to this great audience.

You have accorded to me more praise and achievement than is my due. I am not the author of the Seamen's Law. I wish I might claim it all as mine. To Andrew Furuseth, more than any other living man, is due the credit of that piece of legislation. I think I may fairly say that I added after the matter was submitted to me some few provisions to it which gave it a broader public interest and enabled us to enlist the general public in its support. It was of practical value. I may say that my contribution was in extending the life-saving provisions to the general public and thereby enabling us to make a broader appeal for support for that legislation. And, sir, in the fullness of time, when we have all passed, a grateful public will erect a suitable monument to the memory of Andrew Furuseth—the one man above all others who emancipated the American sailor from slavery.

Now, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I come to the subject which has been assigned to me through your invitation to address this convention. I have set down with some care what I am to say here today. I have been, Mr. President, misquoted sometimes in my addresses (laughter) and when it befalls a man in public life that some statement is attributed to him either through mistake or through malice which he never made, he suffers a long time before he can get a fair correction.

Perhaps no one in this country has experienced the truth of that statement more than yourself, Mr. President, for you have been maligned and misrepresented all through your great work as the head of this organization.

A century and a half ago our forefathers shed their blood in order that they might establish upon this continent a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed in which the will of the people, expressed through their duly elected representatives, should be sovereign.

By a process of gradual encroachments, uncertain and timid at first, but now confident and aggressive, sovereignty has been wrested from the people and usurped by the courts.

Today the actual ruler of the American people is the Supreme Court of the United States.

The law is what they say it is and not what the people through Congress enact. Aye, even the Constitution of

the United States is not what its plain terms declare, but what these nine men construe it to be.

In fact, five of these nine men are actually the supreme rulers, for by a bare majority the court has repeatedly overridden the will of the people as declared by their representatives in Congress, and has construed the Constitution to mean whatever suited their peculiar economic and political views.

The nine lawyers who constitute the Supreme Court are placed in positions of power for life, not by the votes of the people, but by Presidential appointment.

Ex-President Taft recently was made Chief Justice by President Harding.

Thus a man was invested with the enormous prestige and influence of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court by Presidential appointment who had been repudiated by the voters of the United States on his record as President. After they had experienced a single term of his administration as Chief Magistrate and studied his attitude, his acts, his sympathies on public questions for four years, they declined to re-elect him President.

No one will contend that he could have been elected Chief Justice of the Supreme Court by vote of the people. And yet made Chief Justice by presidential appointment, Mr. Taft wrote the opinion that annulled the Child Labor Law. He also wrote the opinion in the Coronado Coal Company case.

In making this observation, I level no criticism at the personnel of the present Supreme Court. I am not concerned with personalities. I am dealing with fundamentals. The present court is probably up to the average of that court in ability, wisdom, and character; but these judges, even though they sit upon the Supreme Bench of the United States are, after all, but men. I am concerned only with allowing them or any other body of men so chosen to have supreme power over the happiness, the rights, and the very lives of the 110,000,000 people of the United States.

Sharing the sovereign power of the Supreme Court, but in every way subordinate to it, is the array of minor Federal judges. Many of these Federal judges are excellent and enlightened men, with a high sense of justice. Some of them, notably Judge Anderson of Indiana, and Judge McClintic of West Virginia, have, in my opinion, shown themselves to be petty tyrants and arrogant despots.

Here again I am not attacking the personalities or opinions of individual judges. I am dealing with the fact, which cannot be denied, that we are ruled by a judicial oligarchy. Even if all these Federal judges were men of the greatest wisdom, the most irreprouchable character, and the broadest views, the essence of the situation would not be altered. If this were the case, and unfortunately it is not, we would merely have a benevolent despotism—a system repugnant to every American ideal.

From what source, it may be asked, have the Federal judges derived the supreme power which they now so boldly assert? Not only was such power not given to the judiciary in any constitution, State or Federal, but the records of the Constitutional Convention show that when it was proposed in the Constitutional Convention that judges should have a veto upon acts of Congress, it was decisively defeated on four separate occasions, and at no time received the support of more than three States. As a matter of fact, no member of the Constitutional Convention was bold enough to bring forward a proposition that Federal judges should have the power of nullifying a law after it had been enacted by Congress and approved by the President. The most extreme measure offered exalting the power of the judiciary was merely the proposal, presented by Madison and James Wilson, that the Supreme Court have the same power as the President to pass upon legislation before its final adoption, and if the Supreme Court should hold it unconstitutional, that the measure in question should be passed by a two-thirds vote of each house before it should become effective as law. It was in this restricted form that the members of the Constitutional Convention overwhelmingly rejected the theory of "a paramount judiciary."

There is, therefore, no sanction in the written Constitution of the United States for the power which the courts now assert. They have secured this power only by usurpation. Thomas Jefferson foresaw this inevitable encroachment of the judiciary upon the sovereignty of the people, and used his mighty powers to resist it. He said:

"It has long been my opinion, and I have never shrunk from its expression, that the germ of dissolution of our Federal Government is in the judiciary—the irresponsible body working like

gravity, by day and by night, gaining a little today and gaining a little tomorrow, and advancing its noiseless step like a thief over the field of jurisdiction until all shall be usurped."

In extending their jurisdiction in other directions, the Federal courts have often gone to the judiciary of England for precedents, but in asserting their right to set aside the laws of Congress they have never looked in that direction, and for a very good reason. As Chief Justice Clark of the Supreme Court of North Carolina has aptly said:

"The courts have attempted only once in England to assert a right to set aside an act of Parliament, and then Chief Justice Tresillian was hanged and his associates exiled to France, and hence subsequent courts have not relied upon it as a precedent. \* \* \* No court in England since Tresillian's day has refused to obey an act of Parliament."

In the beginning encroachment by the Federal judiciary was very gradual. In the case of *Marbury vs. Madison*, where the power of the judiciary to nullify statutes was first formally declared, it is worthy of note that this principle was not involved in the decision, but was asserted only as an opinion of the court, and that it was further qualified by the statement that it is only legislation "clearly repugnant to the Constitution" that can be declared void. That was the first time they undertook to say anything on the subject and then they said it had to be a very plain case about which there could be no dispute.

This is one of the commonest stratagems of the court. The particular case is decided in accord with the popular attitude, but there is often adroitly introduced into the decision what lawyers call obiter dicta—that is, a carefully worded declaration as a mere incidental and collateral expression of opinion not material to the decision of the case before the court, but which is injected into the case at bar to prepare the way for a contemplated decision when the occasion shall be more opportune.

This, it may be remarked, is exactly what the Supreme Court did the other day in the *Coronado* case, where it dismissed the case against the United Mine Workers, but laid down a line of policy which will in future be relied upon by all Federal and many State courts to limit and hamper, if not destroy, not only trade unions but organizations of farmers and others who are concerned in bitter controversies against the powers of entrenched wealth.

Until recent years the Supreme Court ventured to assert this great power to override the acts of Congress only upon rare occasions and at widely separated intervals of time. As only a relatively small part of the people were directly affected by any of these decisions, the public as a whole were not aroused to the dangerous usurpation which was taking place. There were, it is true, occasions, such, for example, as the decision that Congress did not have the right to levy an income tax, which aroused the entire country, but in these cases the evil was cured by constitutional amendment overruling the Supreme Court, so that the direct question of the court's usurped power did not become a continuing issue.

For several years before the outbreak of the Great War, however, the people had become aroused to this dangerous situation and a continuous campaign was being conducted to check or correct it. This, you will recall, was one of the issues in the campaign of 1912, when Theodore Roosevelt brought forward as his remedy a proposal for the recall of judicial decisions. The growing movement for the reform of the American judiciary, like many great reform movements of that kind, was interrupted and set back by the outbreak of the World War. But the judiciary was not checked. On the contrary, it availed itself of this period, when the attention of the people was diverted by the problems of war and of reconstruction, to extend its powers and to nullify the acts of Congress with greater boldness than it ever before displayed.

Several years ago Justice Harlan, one of the wisest and most far-sighted men who ever sat upon the Supreme Court, said:

"When the American people come to the conclusion that the judiciary of this land is usurping to itself the functions of the legislative department of the Government, and by judicial construction only is declaring what should be the public policy of the United States, we will find trouble. Ninety millions of people—all sorts of people with all sorts of opinions—are not going to submit to the usurpation by the judiciary of the functions of other departments of the Government and the power on its part to declare what is the public policy of the United States."

In my opinion, the time of which Justice Harlan spoke is now at hand. I believe that the decisions of the Supreme Court and the injunctions of the lower Federal Courts, coming as they



have as the culmination of a long train of judicial usurpations, have aroused every citizen who pretends to have any concern for the welfare of his country.

I believe that his question of judicial usurpation is now a supreme issue.

The decision handed down by the majority of the Supreme Court on May 15 last, in what is commonly known as the Child Labor Case, is merely one of the latest manifestations of the usurpation of power by that court.

Assuredly it is not necessary in this presence to discuss the evils of child labor in our industrial system. The conscience of the people of this country has been aroused upon that subject both by daily witnessing the baleful results of pressing children of tender years into the service of greedy and selfish employers, and by scientific knowledge of the race deterioration that results from depriving childhood of its inherent right to grow and develop under normal conditions.

The question here is not whether the people wanted the Child Labor Law. That they demanded it, and that Congress enacted it in response to enlightened public opinion, is certain.

When I first came to the Senate in 1906, the evil of child labor in the United States was one of the foremost subjects of interest and discussion in Congress and throughout the country.

Not until ten years later, however, was the Child Labor Act passed. But when the vote on the bill was finally taken there were 337 to 46 in favor in the House and 52 to 12 in the Senate.

Back of this vote was the enormous pressure of public opinion, a tremendous expenditure of energy and effort. In addition to the mighty power of the American Federation of Labor and labor organizations generally, the women's organizations of the country had worked unceasingly, unitedly, disinterestedly for the passage of the bill. The women's clubs, the Consumers' League, the Women's Trade Union League, the Federal Children's Bureau were all powerful factors in securing the enactment of the Child Labor Law.

Any discussion of this subject must take into consideration the immense setback to human progress which naturally follows the annulment of the Child Labor Law. It is a great task to overcome the loss of enthusiasm, the disappointment and discouragement on the part of those who have given years of life and service to a cause when it is defeated. The people are made to feel

helpless and hopeless. Their Government appears to be an autocracy instead of a democracy.

The decision of the Supreme Court has set aside and nullified that law. The pressing question is, what are we going to do about it? In order to answer that question, it is necessary to recall the leading facts in the struggle between the people and the Federal courts on the subject of child labor legislation.

The Congress first passed a law upon this subject in September, 1916 (c. 432, 39 stat. 675). That law prohibited transportation in interstate commerce of goods made at a factory in which children under the age of 14 were employed or permitted to work, or children between the ages of 14 and 16 were employed or permitted to work more than eight hours a day or more than six days in a week or after 7 p. m. or before 6 a. m. Certainly this was a most moderate regulation and afforded the minimum of protection to young children employed in industry. This law was passed by Congress in response to an insistent public demand. The old idea that it was desirable or even commendable to employ young children in exhaustive labor in factories, mines and shops had given way to the more humane and intelligent view that such labor was not only a crime against childhood, but that it degraded adult labor as well and was a menace to the nation, to the race, and hence to government itself. This more enlightened view had been approved by the people of the country generally—with the exception possibly of certain Federal judges, and always excepting powerful but selfish manufacturers in a few States who were able to defeat child labor legislation in those States.

The hearings before the Congress upon this measure were extended and most exhaustive. It was shown at these hearings that the mortality of children in industry was many times greater than among children of the same age not similarly employed. For example, in the House Report No. 46, 64th Congress, 1st session, page 222, it was pointed out that mortality from tuberculosis among the most youthful children employed in certain cotton mills was four times as great as among children of like age not so employed, and that of the older children the mortality from tuberculosis was two and one-half times greater than children of the same age and environment not so employed.

In the Senate Report No. 368, 64th Congress, 1st session, at page 11, it is said:

"The evidence is overwhelming that unregulated child labor does not promote a healthy citizenship; that it tends to the deterioration of the race physically; and the dwarfing of the children mentally through the denial of a full opportunity for education; and to criminality since the statistics of our juvenile court show that by far the largest percentage of juvenile delinquents are the children who were put to work too soon, rather than the children who are trained in the schools."

The medical evidence was to the same effect and showed that the young child worker became dwarfed in body and mind, that the State was deprived thereby of vigorous citizenship and the child lost his birthright to share in the opportunities given to his fellows, and child labor was denounced as "child slavery."

Wherever enlightened State courts have had occasion to deal with this subject, the evidence has all been to the same effect. In the case of the Inland Steel Company vs. Yedinak, upholding the constitutionality of the Indiana Child Labor Law, the court said:

"The employment of children of tender years in mills and factories not only endangers their lives and limbs, but hinders and dwarfs growth and development physically, mentally and morally. The State is vitally interested in its own preservation, and, looking to that end, must safeguard and protect the lives, persons, health and morals of its future citizens."

Because many States were without adequate child labor laws and because certain selfish and powerful interests in those States, which desired to exploit child labor, were sufficiently powerful to prevent State legislation, it became necessary that Congress should take action upon this subject under its admitted power to regulate commerce between the States. That congressional action was absolutely necessary was demonstrated beyond question at the hearings I have referred to. There was no means other than through the action of Congress by which the citizens of the States with enlightened and humane child labor laws could protect themselves against the goods turned out by cheap and underpaid child labor in the States which had no adequate protection for child workers. For example, in 1880, the percentage of chil-

dren under 16 years of age to all wage earners in the Southern States was 25 per cent. In the New England States it was only 14 per cent. In 1890 the percentage in the Southern States was 24.2 per cent, still substantially 25 per cent. In the New England States it had fallen to 6.9 per cent. In 1900 the percentage of the Southern States was still 25 per cent, and in the New England States it was only 6.7 per cent. One result of this conflicting economic situation was the establishment of branches of New England cotton mills in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and North Carolina, where young children could be worked with little restriction.

The Industrial Commission, created by the act of June 18, 1898, in its final report, Volume 19, page 922, said:

"Uniform or at least similar legislation in the various States is especially desirable in the case of laws restricting child labor, because in so far as the employment of children is a real economy it gives manufacturers in the States where it is permitted an unfair advantage over those in the States having child labor laws."

The whole matter was well summed up in the testimony of Mr. Brinton of Philadelphia, printed in the hearings before the Committee on Labor, 64th Congress, first session, on H. R. 8234, page 270, as follows:

"Mr. Brinton, Gentlemen of the Committee: From Pennsylvania we come to this hearing with high hopes. Session after session at our legislature we have been met by the cry from the manufacturers, 'State legislation is unfair. You ask us to compete with other States of different standards. This interstate competition will ruin our business. If we must advance, let us advance together.' . . . The condition which confronts us today is therefore in actual fact largely a problem of interstate competition through interstate commerce; a condition emphasized in every child labor campaign in every State; a condition certain to grow more hopeless as conditions of competition become constantly more intense. Interstate commerce is at the root of the evil as it exists today."

And in the Senate Report No. 358, 64th Congress, first session, page 21, which had under consideration the measure which afterward became law, it is said:

"So long as there is a single State which for selfish or other reasons fails

to enact effective child labor legislation, it is beyond the power of every other State to protect effectively its own producers and manufacturers against what may be considered unfair competition of the producers and manufacturers of that State or to protect its consumers against unwittingly patronizing those who exploit the childhood of the country."

It has been well and truthfully said that childhood labor in any State lowers manhood labor in every State.

Congressional legislation is absolutely necessary therefore to protect the childhood of the country, and to protect the manhood and womanhood of the country, and to protect the consumer from becoming a partner with the exploiters of child labor through unwittingly purchasing the tainted products of child labor.

It was, sir, in recognition of this situation and in obedience to these compelling reasons that the Congress enacted the Child Labor Law to which I have referred.

The power of Congress to enact that law is not only written into the plain language of the Constitution itself, but Congress has so frequently exercised a similar power as to make it seem certain beyond the possibility of a doubt that no court would venture to question the congressional authority to enact this much-needed legislation. The clause of the Constitution of the United States which I contend expressly confers upon Congress the power to enact this law is found in section 8, where it is declared "The Congress shall have power . . . to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."

The power of Congress to regulate commerce between the several states is therefore supreme. The Congress has precisely the same power to regulate and control commerce between the several States that it had to regulate and control commerce with foreign nations. Before the Congress passed the Child Labor Law it had passed many other laws, the constitutionality of which had been upheld by the Supreme Court, which not only regulated but practically prohibited interstate commerce in certain commodities. It had prohibited the movement in interstate commerce of lottery tickets (see lottery case 188 U. S. 321); of persons for immoral purposes (Hoke v. United States, 227 U. S. 308); of diseased live stock (Reid v. State of Colorado, 187

U. S. 137); of adulterated food (Hoplite Egg Company v. United States, 220 U. S. 45); and of intoxicating liquors (Clark Distilling Company v. West Md. Railroad Company, 342 U. S. 311, 335).

In these and many other instances, Congress had absolutely closed interstate commerce to certain persons and commodities under its power to regulate commerce. That the commodities excluded were in many instances not harmful made no difference. (See United States v. American Tobacco Company, 221 U. S. 106, 132.)

The Constitution vested in the Congress solely the right to determine the necessity and propriety of regulating even to the point of prohibiting the transportation of any article in interstate commerce. This rule had been so repeatedly declared in the cases to which I have referred and many others that it had come to be accepted as a self-evident proposition. Nor was this all. So tenacious of the power of Congress to control interstate commerce has the Federal Government always been that the power of States to regulate or tax corporations engaged in interstate commerce has been greatly hampered by the court and flatly denied by the Supreme Court wherever it could be made to appear that the action by the State to any extent burdened interstate commerce. (See *ex parte* Young 209 U. S. 123; Galveston, etc. Railroad Company v. Texas, 210 U. S. 217; Western Union Telegraph Company v. Kansas 216 U. S. 1; Yazoo, etc. Company v. Greenwood Company 227 U. S. 1, and numerous other cases.)

The administration of the law was given to the Federal Children's Bureau under the direction of Julia Lathrop, a rarely gifted executive. In her sixth annual report Miss Lathrop said:

"A well-organized system of administration had been developed which was constantly growing in efficiency. States with standards as high or higher than those of the Federal statute and with competent administering officials were working in excellent co-operation with the Government inspectors to the strengthening of both. In some States laws had been modified to make possible compliance with the certificating provisions of the new statute. In others the direct issuance of certificates by the officers of the Children's Bureau was securing an orderly procedure, returning many children to school, increasing the popular demand for schools, and incidentally showing the

parents and the public the need of physical tests of fitness for work. Cases of willful violation had been successfully prosecuted, though this was the least important effect of the law."

In spite of the clear language of the Constitution and the many decisions of the Supreme Court, the ink was hardly dry upon the Child Labor Act passed by Congress in 1916 before an inferior Federal judge in North Carolina assumed to hold the act void as unconstitutional and enjoined its enforcement in that district. I refer in the case of *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, which reached the Supreme Court on appeal by the Government and was decided in June, 1918. (See case reported in 247, U. S. 251.)

We are informed from the record in this case that the bill to test the constitutionality of the law was filed in the United States District Court for the Western District of North Carolina by a father in his own behalf and as the next friend of his two minor sons, one of the age of 14 and the other between the age of 14 and 16 years. All were employes in the cotton mill at Charlotte, North Carolina. Who paid the expenses of these cotton mill operatives in the litigation does not appear. The Supreme Court of the United States, however, by a 5 to 4 decision, declared the law unconstitutional in spite of the plain language of the Constitution, and in spite of that court's previous decisions. Mr. Justice Holmes filed a strong dissenting opinion which was concurred in by Mr. Justice McKenna, Mr. Justice Brandeis, and by Mr. Justice Clarke. In his dissenting opinion, Mr. Justice Holmes said:

"The question then is narrowed to whether the exercise of its otherwise constitutional power by Congress can be pronounced unconstitutional because of its possible reaction upon the conduct of the States in a matter upon which I have admitted that they are free from direct control. I should have thought that that matter had been disposed of so fully as to leave no room for doubt. I should have thought that the most conspicuous decisions of this Court had made it clear that the powers could not be cut down or qualified by the fact that it might interfere with the carrying out of the domestic policy of any State. . . .

"I should have thought that if we were to introduce our own moral conceptions where in my opinion they do not belong, this was pre-eminently a

case for upholding the exercise of all its power by the United States.

"But I had thought that the propriety of the exercise of a power admitted to exist in some cases was for the consideration of Congress alone. . . . It is not for this Court to pronounce when prohibition is necessary to regulation if it ever may be necessary—to say that it is permissible as against strong drink, but not as against the product of ruined lives.

"This does not meddle with anything belonging to the States. They may regulate their internal affairs and their domestic commerce as they like. But when they seek to send their products across the State line they are no longer within their rights. If there were no Constitution and no Congress their power to cross the line would depend upon their neighbors. Under the Constitution such commerce belongs not to the States but to Congress to regulate. It may carry out its views of public policy whatever indirect effect they may have upon the activities of the States."

I want you to get that into your minds. Congress enacts laws and Congress declares the public policy of government under the Constitution, as this government was builded by the fathers. It is the business of the courts to administer justice under the laws as written, and they have absolutely no business to meddle with or attempt to dictate the public policies of this government. That is what Justice Holmes means when he says:

"Instead of being encountered by a prohibitive tariff at her boundaries the State encounters the public policy of the United States which it is for Congress to express. The public policy of the United States is shaped with a view to the benefit of the nation as a whole. If, as has been the case within the memory of men still living, a State should take a different view of the propriety of sustaining a lottery from that which generally prevails, I can not believe that the fact would require a different decision from that reached in *Champion v. Ames*. Yet in that case it would be said with quite as much force as in this that Congress was attempting to inter-meddle with the State's domestic affairs. The national welfare as understood by Congress may require a different attitude within its sphere from that of some self-seeking State. It seems to me entirely constitutional

for Congress to enforce its understanding by all the means at its command."

The opinion, written by Mr. Justice Day for the five judges constituting the majority of the court, does not in form overrule any previous decisions, but says:

"In our view the necessary effect of this act is by means of a prohibition against the movement in interstate commerce of ordinary commercial commodities, to regulate the hours of labor of children in factories and mines within the States."

Of course the very purpose of the legislation was to prevent young children being overworked in mines and factories in States that refuse to pass decent child labor laws. The majority opinion, however, in apparent justification of North Carolina's law, said:

"In North Carolina, the state where is located the factory in which the employment was had in the present case, no child under twelve years of age is permitted to work."

The majority opinion held that the products of child labor, though stained with the sweat and blood of its victims, are untainted, and that the Congress of the United States is powerless to declare otherwise.

The seventh annual report of the Chief of the Children's Bureau tells the results of the repeal of this Child Labor Law by the Supreme Court in its decision of the Dagenhart case, as follows:

"The immediate effect of the decision of the Supreme Court in States where the State child-labor standards were lower than those imposed by the Federal law was the prompt restoration of the longer working day for children. In addition, in a number of these States there was an appreciable increase in the violation of the State laws. For example, of the 53 factories visited in one State by inspectors of the bureau shortly after the Federal law was declared unconstitutional, 47 were found violating the State law by employing 430 children under 12 years of age, while in the 40 factories inspected in this State while the Federal law was in operation only 95 children under 14 had been found at work. The tendency to illegal employment of children was especially marked in the canning industry. In one State where the minimum age for employment in canneries was 14 years, the same as that established by the Federal law, 721 children under that age, including over 50 who were not yet 10 years old, were found employed in 205 canneries visited

by inspectors of the bureau in the summer of 1918." (After the Supreme Court had nullified the Child Labor Law.)

Congress at the next session, passed the act of February 24, 1919, which sought to obviate the objection of the Supreme Court by levying an excise tax upon the employers of child labor who transported their product in interstate commerce and who employed children within the prohibited ages and in excess of prescribed hours. This statute, in my opinion, though amply supported by authority to be found in previous cases of the Supreme Court, was doomed unless the court should reverse its decision in the Dagenhart case. When the decision was handed down on the 15th of last month in the case of *Bailey v. The Drexel Furniture Company*, setting aside and nullifying this statute, only Mr. Justice Clarke dissented. I assume that the other judges dissenting in the Dagenhart case which I have already discussed thought that the decision in that case was conclusive and that a dissent was useless. The *Bailey* case, like the Dagenhart case, also came up from the Western District of North Carolina, and in both instances an inferior Federal judge assumed to nullify a statute passed by the Congress after the greatest consideration, and approved by the President. It is worthy of note also that the Dagenhart case which settled the principle and fixed the position of the majority of the court, should almost wholly escape public notice and condemnation, while the *Bailey* case decided last month, which does little more than to cite the Dagenhart case as authority, has provoked hostile comment from one end of the country to the other and is made the subject of consideration in this conference. The explanation is, of course, that the Supreme Court decided the Dagenhart case June 3, 1918, when we were all too busy making the world safe for democracy to pay any attention to what was happening to our own children in our own country.

I have briefly sketched the manner in which the Federal courts have thwarted the will of the Congress and of the people to protect children against exploitation by our industrial system simply because it is typical of the conduct of the Federal judiciary and particularly the Supreme Court whenever Congress has sought to enact progressive and humane legislation which was offensive to great financial interests and enterprises. The point that I am making

is that we are dealing with a fixed purpose and predisposition on the part of the Supreme Court and the Federal judiciary generally.

This decision is, however, merely the last of a long list of decisions equally arbitrary and equally indefensible from the standpoint of public welfare.

You have only to recall the decisions arising out of the employers' liability statutes, the Arbitration Act, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Income Tax Laws, and the shameful manner in which the court rewrote and misapplied the Anti-Trust Act in the Standard Oil and Tobacco Trust and other cases. If perchance the memories of any of you are very short, I direct your attention to the recent decision of the Coronado Coal Company case.

The opinion in this case by Chief Justice Taft is significant because of what the court says on questions that are not involved in the case rather than because of anything that is actually decided. This is another case of obiter dicta.

A six-line decision was all that was required to dispose of the case on its merits, for the Supreme Court was reluctantly obliged to admit the fact that there is not and never was, any evidence to show that the defendants conspired to restrain or monopolize interstate commerce. That being true, of course there is not, and never was, any case against the United Mine Workers in the Federal court. The court, however, went out of its way through 29 pages of obiter dicta to berate the defendants and to characterize them as outlaws and murderers, and Chief Justice Taft wound up his opinion by saying: "The circumstances are such as to awaken regret that in our view of the Federal Jurisdiction, we cannot affirm the judgment." Here again the court went outside the record to announce a principle which will be laid hold of by Federal courts whenever necessary to disrupt labor unions and farmers' organizations throughout the country.

There is no need for laymen to comment upon these decisions. Let the dissenting members of the Supreme Court themselves criticize the action of the majority of the court in these cases.

First of all, I remind you of the recent stock dividend decision, by which the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution was in large part nullified by the Supreme Court. This amendment empowered Congress to lay taxes "on incomes from whatever source de-

rived." But by a bare majority, five to four, the Supreme Court held that this did not cover income in the form of stock dividends.

Listen to what the minority, comprising the ablest members of the court, in dissenting, said with regard to this decision:

"If stock dividends representing profits are held exempt from taxation under the Sixteenth Amendment the owners of the most successful business in America will, as the facts in this case illustrate, be able to escape taxation on a large part of what is actually their income."

It was further declared by the minority: "That such a result was intended by the people of the United States when adopting the Sixteenth Amendment was inconceivable."

I cite also the late decision of the Supreme Court in the Steel Trust case. This was decided by a bare vote of four to three, inasmuch as Justices Brandeis and McReynolds did not participate in the decision. Justice Day in this case delivered the dissenting opinion, which criticizes the decision of the majority in these burning words:

"As I understand the conclusions of the court . . . they amount to this: That these combinations . . . although organized in plain violation and bold defiance of the provisions of the (Sherman) act, nevertheless are immune from a decree effectually ending the combinations and putting it out of their power to attain the unlawful purposes sought, because of some reasons of public policy requiring such conclusion. I know of no public policy which sanctions a violation of the law, nor of any inconvenience to trade, domestic or foreign, which should have the effect of placing combinations, which have been able to thus organize one of the greatest industries of the country in defiance of law, in an impregnable position above the control of the law forbidding such combinations. Such a conclusion does violence to the policy which the law was intended to enforce, runs counter to the decisions of the court, and necessarily results in a practical nullification of the act itself."

Another set of decisions particularly affecting the rights of labor were the so-called picketing cases in one of which the court nullified the power of a state legislature to define the conditions under which picketing might be carried on and instead itself laid down minute and absurd rules upon the subject. This case

well illustrates the tendency of the courts not only to legislate by evading the acts of Congress, but even to enter upon the field of prescribing minute rules and regulations of conduct upon any subject which it chooses.

I cannot leave these decisions, limited as my time is, without recalling to you the criticism which Justice Holmes (concurring in by Justice Brandeis) delivered with reference to the decision of the court in the now famous Abrams case. To my mind this case, involving the fundamental right of freedom of speech, best illustrates the extreme length to which the court is prepared to go under the influence of its prejudices and passions. Justice Holmes did not mince words when he said in his dissenting opinion:

"In this case sentences of twenty years' imprisonment have been imposed for the publishing of two leaflets that I believe the defendant had as much right to publish as the Government has to publish the Constitution of the United States now vainly invoked by them. . . . Only the emergency that makes it immediately dangerous to leave the correction of evil counsels to time, warrants making any exception to the sweeping demand 'Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech.' . . . I regret that I cannot put into more impressive words my belief that in their conviction upon this indictment the defendants were deprived of their rights under the Constitution of the United States."

Heretofore the people of the United States have met the difficult situations created by the court's decisions on constitutional matters by dealing with the particular question upon which the court was at variance with the popular will. When the court held that a sovereign state might be sued by the citizen of another state, the people were indignant, but they cured this situation by speedily passing the Eleventh Amendment. The people of the United States cured the situation created by the Dred Scott decision by the adoption, after a Civil War, of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. When the Supreme Court held the income tax law invalid, the people, after thirty years, were able to cure this situation by the adoption of the Sixteenth Amendment, which, as we have seen, the Supreme Court, has already partially nullified by exempting stock dividends from taxation. Now we will probably have to have a stock dividend constitutional amendment.

We have never faced the fundamental issue of judicial usurpation squarely, with a determination to make an end of it—once and for all.

The time has now come to do so. It would require a dozen constitutional amendments to correct the evils of the decisions which the court has handed down within the past three or four years.

The time has come when we must put the ax to the root of this monstrous growth upon the body of our government. The usurped power of the Federal courts must be taken away at one stroke and the Federal judges must be made responsive to the basic principle of this government.

Constitutions and statutes and all the complex details of government are ordained, established, and supported for the sole purpose of expressing and executing the sovereign will of the people.

Now, sir, as to a remedy!

The subject is one to which I have given much thought. For years I have seen the day coming when the Federal judiciary must be made, to some extent at least, subject to the will of the people, or we must abandon the pretense that the people rule in this country. We have created, or at least have suffered to grow up within our land a Frankenstein which must be destroyed or else it will destroy us. And we can destroy that Frankenstein without destroying the constitutional court that was created for us by our fathers if we will go about it.

No student of existing conditions, however conservative he may be, can ignore the alarming fact that there is a widespread and growing belief in the public mind that our courts and kindred tribunals established to administer justice under the law are more considerate of property interests than of personal rights.

For years the current literature of the day has teemed with it. It is idle to say that it is confined to the violent renunciation of the agitator and demagogue. It has found expression in publications of accepted standing. It has been the theme of eminent publicists. It has been denounced from the pulpit. It has been discussed in the meetings of National and State bar associations. It has become the settled conviction of millions of worthy citizens of the Republic.

I say this is no longer an academic

question. Out of it has come the demand for the recall of judges, which is already embodied in the constitutions of at least three States of the Union.

In the American home, in our schools, and in all the relations of life we are taught to respect and reverence our courts. The judiciary alone, of all our institutions of government, was set upon an eminence of station and consecrated to a service designed to lift it above the suspicion of perverting justice.

Standing somewhat apart from the turmoil and clash of the material world, our courts were insured a calm and repose where they might hold with even hand the scales of human justice. Nor was that all. Through common-law proceedings for contempt, and a great body of statutory crimes against justice, we have thrown about them as constituted every protection and safeguard which the wit of man can provide.

But this isolation and sanctity of position, this absence of direct responsibility to the people, has led the Federal judiciary, and particularly the Supreme Court, to assume and to exercise an arbitrary power wholly inconsistent with popular government.

The question is, Which is supreme, the will of the people or the will of the few men who have been appointed to life positions on the Federal bench?

It is idle, sir, in my opinion to talk about a constitutional amendment which will merely meet the objection to the Child Labor Law raised by a majority of the Supreme Court. We cannot live under a system of government where we are forced to amend the Constitution every time we want to pass a progressive law. The remedy must adequately cope with the disease, or there is no use applying it.

I fully recognize the fact that the power which the court now exercises to declare statutes of Congress unconstitutional is a usurped power without warrant in the Constitution, and it is absolutely certain the Constitution would never have been adopted had the men at that time believed that the court they were providing for would assume the powers now exercised by our Federal judges. Every student of history knows that to be true.

Is the remedy then such a drastic change in the Constitution as will forever strip the judiciary of this power? I do not think this is necessary, nor do I think that the popular election of Federal judges would adequately meet the situation.

I would amend the Constitution so as to provide:

(1) that no inferior Federal judge shall set aside a law of Congress on the ground that it is unconstitutional;

(2) that if the Supreme Court assumes to decide any law of Congress unconstitutional, or by interpretation undertakes to assert a public policy at variance with the statutory declaration of Congress, which alone under our system is authorized to determine the public policies of government, the Congress may by repassing the law nullify the action of the court.

Thereafter the law would remain in full force and effect precisely the same as though the court had never held it to be unconstitutional.

Had such been the provision of the Constitution the action of Congress in passing the Child Labor Law the second time would have been effective and we would have had an efficient child labor law today. Had such been the Constitution it would not have been necessary to wait twenty years to get an income tax law after the Supreme Court had reversed its former decision upholding the law. Were such now the Constitution, the Congress could by statute speedily correct the indefensible policy, asserted by the Supreme Court in the Coronado case, with respect to labor unions, farmers' associations and other voluntary organizations.

While, of course, it is a great burden upon the people to require them virtually to pass remedial legislation twice, nevertheless where the subject is important enough and the interest keen enough it will not be a difficult thing to do.

The Constitution gave to the President of the United States a veto upon legislation, in order that the executive might be able to protect itself against encroachments. But it also gave to the Congress the power to assert its will by repassing the law even after it had been vetoed. This was necessary in order to prevent the President from using his veto to block all progress and make himself a despot.

The Constitution did not give the courts a veto, but as I have shown, repeatedly refused to permit them even to participate in the exercise of the Presidential veto power. Nevertheless, the courts have asserted not a veto power while laws were in the making, but have usurped the far greater veto power of nullifying laws after they have been enacted and by the process of so



called interpretation to declare the public policy. They thus themselves enact what shall be the law of the land.

What I propose is that Congress shall be enabled to override this usurped judicial veto and to declare finally the public policy just as it has the power to override the Presidential veto, so that we may realize in fact the fundamental purpose of the Constitution as declared in Article I, Section 1, that "All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."

Certainly no one can complain that the plan proposed is revolutionary, or even radical. It can fairly be criticized as being too conservative, but it at least would give the people an effective method of expressing and enforcing their will if the sentiment and purpose is strong enough, and it would at one sweeping stroke relieve the present intolerable condition.

A very good illustration of what I propose is found in the recent history of the House of Lords of Great Britain. That body, as you know, constitutionally has a dual character. It is both a law-making body and a court. Our Supreme Court by usurping legislative powers has become somewhat like the British House of Lords. You will recall that several years ago the House of Lords refused to approve the budget adopted by the House of Commons, taxing landed estates for the promotion of a great program of social legislation. This veto so provoked the popular branch of the British Parliament that the next general election was fought out on the issue that thereafter if the House of Lords withheld approval of any measure of the House of Commons, the latter could by repassing the bill nullify the veto action of the Lords. The British people overwhelmingly supported the House of Commons in the election on that issue.

Even after this election, the Lords were still inclined to rebel against giving up their veto power, but through the influence of the Prime Minister the King was induced to threaten to pack the House of Lords with enough new members to bring about the passage of the law. The result was that the Lords yielded, and the British Government became to that extent more representative.

Can we not do as much in this country as the British did? Can we not reduce our Federal judiciary to its constitutional powers? If not, we can at

least arrest its further growth. We can prevent its further encroachment upon the law-making branch of the Government. The plan I propose will do this, and I believe will be accepted by the people in all parts of the country without regard to party, as the quickest means of restoring their government to the people.

We are confronted today with a situation wherein we must make a choice that will determine the destiny of this nation in all the generations to come. This choice is simple but fateful. Shall the people rule through their elected representatives or shall they be ruled by a judicial oligarchy? Shall we move forward in our development as a nation, carrying out the will of the people as expressed by their ballots, or shall all progress be checked by the arbitrary dictates of five judges until the situation becomes so desperate that it can no longer be endured?

I have no doubt what the choice of the American people will be when this issue is submitted for their decision. The American nation was founded upon the immortal principle that the will of the people shall be the law of the land. The courts have forgotten this, but the people have not. When they have an opportunity they will overwhelmingly declare that they will no longer tolerate a condition under which the wheels of progress may be blocked by the arbitrary dictates of a majority of nine judges, but that a way shall be opened whereby the nation may move forward in peace, in order and in harmony to achieve the great ideals of freedom, prosperity and happiness enshrined in the Declaration of Independence and in the preamble of the Constitution of the United States.

The Senator was applauded most enthusiastically both during and at the conclusion of his address.

Delegate Mabel McNulty offered a motion that the delegates and visitors assembled extend a rising vote of thanks to Senator LaFollette and that the address be printed in full in the proceedings of the convention. (Motion seconded.)

Delegate Max Hayes, Typographical Union, moved as an amendment, that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed, with the consent of Senator LaFollette, to print the address in pamphlet form for

circulation among the people of the nation. (Amendment seconded.)

Miss McNulty accepted the amendment as a part of her motion, which was unanimously adopted.

Previous to putting the motion President Gompers said: The chair desires to make just one observation, irrespective of the grandeur of that wonderful address, and to say that on June 14, 1855, there was given to the world the man who has delivered this tremendously important address to this convention—Senator LaFollette, whose sixty-seventh birthday occurs today.

Senator LaFollette: You wouldn't believe it, would you?

President Gompers: The delegates to this convention always believe the President of the American Federation of Labor. They may not always believe with him in his position, but in a statement of fact they do not differ from him. May I, in your name, extend felicitations of this convention to Senator LaFollette upon this, his birthday anniversary, and to express to him our hopes and wishes for a long and vigorous life, that he may serve not only the people of our country, the people of the world, but his own conscience and heart and ideals.

Delegate Woll, Photo Engravers: There is not a subject of greater importance coming to this convention than that so ably and masterfully laid before this convention by Senator LaFollette. The particular issue involved is referred to the committee of which I

am chairman. I realize the fact that several other decisions of the United States Supreme Court interwoven throughout this subject and inseparable from it have been referred to other committees, and I believe in the interests of expediency and efficiency, and that we may have the best and most intelligent consideration of this entire subject and the attitude and decisions and tendencies of our judiciary, all these subjects—that relating to the Coronado case, the Truax case, the Duplex Printing Company case and all these other decisions—should be referred to a special committee created by this convention.

I move you, therefore, that a special committee of the best minds of the convention, that is, the minds more experienced in legislative and judicial matters, be created and that these subjects be referred to that committee for consideration and report to this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

President Gompers announced that the child labor program would be continued at the afternoon session and that Miss Florence Kelley would be the first speaker. He suggested reconvening at 3 o'clock, due to the morning session having extended a half hour beyond adjournment time.

At 1 o'clock, at the request of the President, the entire assemblage arose in compliment to Senator LaFollette and adjournment was taken to 3 p. m. of the same day.

### THIRD DAY—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 3 o'clock p. m., President Gompers in the chair.

#### Absentees:

Mountford, Gillmore, Mullaney, Wahl, Glover, Reddick, Belair, Guinan, Bowen, Dobson, Shaughnessy, Price, Kasten, Tracy, Boyers, Quesse, A. O'Brien, Kelleher, Hyland, W. A. Campbell, Hohmann, Dee, E. E. Baker, Conway, Desepte, Coulter, Feeny, Lai-

bly, Brennan, Shalvoy, McSorley, Duty, Case, Larkin, G. W. Marshall, Lane, Hynes, R. Pattison, J. L. Lewis, P. H. Murray, Farrington, John Moore, T. Kennedy, J. N. Weber, D. A. Carey, C. A. Weaver, Winkler, M. H. Parker, E. I. Hannah, Bergstrom, Coefield, Chas. Anderson, Gunther, James Murphy, Britton, George Leary, Diehl, F. H. Hutchins, J. P. Burke, LaBelle, Freel, Thos. Sweeney, Keep, Canterbury, Walden, Doane, Koester, J.

Jones, J. H. Walker, Howat, Stephen Ely, Fenton, Iglesias, H. L. Franklin, H. W. Fox, Pascoe, Lorntsen, Clendinning, Hushing, Lennon, Doherty, Lehman, Thornsborough, J. E. Sullivan, Winans, R. E. Roberts, J. C. Taylor, Lochray, G. T. Johnson, R. Marshall, Ogg, E. W. O'Dell, Mullen, J. W. Ford, Argo, Guy Bennett, Downes, Sims, Muir, Kaiser, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Framp-ton, Ornburn, Coughlin, Tinney, McKin-non, Lynam, Meloon, Dunn, Herder, Bower, Morris Ryan, Conroy, Wobser, Hourigan, J. J. McAndrews, Wrenn, Rich, Whitcomb, McGovern, W. E. Col-man, Boulware, A. E. Allen, Sandy Col-man, Caporal, H. Bryan, Wm. Carter, McCoy, C. L. White, Tunnage, Stratton, S. P. Davis, A. Stewart, Milton, Fizer, Jas. Flynn, Latimore, Rincker, F. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstone, H. Smith.

Mr. Horton, Exalted Ruler of the local Lodge of Elks, appeared before the convention and extended an invita-tion to the delegates and visitors to at-tend the observance of Flag Day at Eden Park on Wednesday evening under the auspices of the Elks and the sur-rounding community. He further ex-tended an invitation to the delegates and visitors to avail themselves of the priv-ileges of the Cuvier Press Club, and to those delegates who are members of the B. P. O. E. to take advantage of the meetings while in the city.

Upon motion of Delegate James O'Connell, the invitations were accepted.

#### Changes in Committee Appointments.

The appointment of Delegate William Tracy, of the Brick and Clay Workers, on the Committee on Resolutions in place of George F. Hedrick, who was unable to attend the convention, was announced.

The appointment of Steve Sumner, of the Teamsters, was also announced as a member of the Committee on Report of Executive Council, replacing Dele-gate Andrew Furuseth, who was obliged to leave the convention to attend a seamen's conference in Europe.

President Gompers: Fellow dele-gates, as stated to you previously, and particularly this morning, this after-noon's session will be principally con-fined to the further discussion of the

question for which this day has been dedicated by the American Federation of Labor, and the first speaker this afternoon will be a lady who has given many years of earnest, intelligent thought and action in furtherance of the ideals for which the American labor movement stands. In her own right she is entitled to speak for childhood and for the cause for which this move-ment stands, and by inheritance, pos-sessing the characteristics of her won-derful father, Congressman Kelley, of Pennsylvania, who was not only the leader of the Congress in his time, but was known by the sobriquet, "Pig Iron" Kelley, the leader of the movement in this country that made for a policy con-ducive to the constructive methods of industry. I have the honor and the pleasure to present to you Miss Flor-ence Kelley.

#### ADDRESS OF MISS FLORENCE KELLEY

Mr. Chairman and Friends: Forty years ago this month, when this or-ganization was a toddling child of two years and Mr. Gompers and I were somewhat younger than we are now, I wrote as a student about to graduate from Cornell University a thesis on "The Child and the Law." At that time I found as material for this thesis child labor laws on the statute books of Massachusetts, New York, Pennsyl-vania, New Jersey and Ohio, and those five States had obtained those laws through forty years of effort preceding my humble thesis. It is a record of eighty years of effort, continuous ef-fort on the part of the wage-earning people, somewhat fragmentary down to 1886 on the part of the philanthropic bodies of men and women. The Na-tional Child Labor Committee alone has spent not less than literally hundreds of thousands of dollars in the effort to spread child labor legislation over every State in our Republic.

But so far we have all failed to give to the children of our nation that uni-form protection of the law which the Constitution promises to every citizen. This country does not give to its chil-dren the uniform protection of the law. That can never be done State by State. The uniform protection of the law is the most difficult thing in the world to achieve in a country so huge, so vast, so diverse as ours and quite impossible to achieve through forty-eight different State agencies. We have not done it, and we have realized since 1900, at

least tens of thousands of people who have been deeply concerned over the sacrifice of our native born children, as well as of the hundreds of thousands of immigrant children who have almost begun their careers on our soil by going into the dead end industries which neither pay them for the lost opportunities of education nor offer them help for the future—for more than twenty years the conscience of this great Republic has been deeply stirred, but it has not been effective.

There are now no industrial States without child labor laws. There are none in which they do not exist on paper, but they form a ludicrous, preposterous crazy quilt. Nothing could be further from uniformity than they are. And so back in 1906, as Senator LaFollette recalled today, in the year when his career began in the Senate, we began a new epoch in the effort to protect our children from exploitation by the introduction of a Federal child labor bill in Congress, and after ten years we had a really workable law. If that law had found sympathy among the officials charged with its enforcement and its advocates, our American children would have enjoyed from 1916 until now a higher standard of protection than the children of any other country in the world, but that law never enjoyed the sympathy of the Federal officials charged with its enforcement. In the first place, it required that a child below the age of 14 years engaged in manufacturing, in work in quarries, in work in mines must cease to work until the fourteenth birthday. Then it provided that between the fourteenth and sixteenth birthdays they must have trustworthy evidence of their age, and that was very carefully specified. It would not have been impossible to enforce those requirements.

It was the duty of the Children's Bureau to see to the certification of the children, but Congress gave the Children's Bureau so little money with which to enforce the law that we might almost say that the protection which it gave with one hand it took away with the other, and we were again very much in the same position in which we had been with regard to the forty-eight States and their more than forty different laws. If the local officials were interested, if there was an alert public opinion organized and incessantly watching, the children would have fared very much better, but in States like Mississippi, where industry is not highly developed, in some of the other States like Nevada and Wyoming, where there is almost no industry, of course, the

record was almost perfect; there was no temptation to have children working in violation of the law. But in my own State of New York, the most highly developed of all the industrial States, there was necessary almost an inspector for every cannery, an inspector for every tenement house, to enforce the law, either State or Federal.

And now both of the Federal laws have been wiped out of existence by decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. There is one very hopeful element in the situation. The manner of doing this, the manner of striking down the fruits of the efforts of so many years, the manner in which the Supreme Court of the United States has twice told Congress in the space of four years that Congress cannot legislate with regard to the children in any way which that court will respect, has filled the Congress with a zeal that none of us have ever seen equaled among the members and Senators, a zeal to amend the Constitution and put the children beyond the reach of the Supreme Court of the United States.

We are assured by men who have never before shown zeal, by men who have always had to be urged and enlightened and pushed and shoved and reminded by their most powerful constituencies at home that they were expected to act on the child labor bills—we are assured by them now that if there can be introduced promptly an amendment to the Constitution which is simply and clearly a child labor amendment, not a general uplift measure, not a measure for women as well as children, but, like the bills which have been abolished, a straight child labor amendment, they are convinced that it can be passed before next March.

As I listened to the glorious oration this morning, as I remembered the record of Senator LaFollette in the Senate and in the State of Wisconsin before he came to the Senate, I knew that efforts would be made such as had never been made before, so forceful and so honest, to carry out the program that he outlined in his speech, and I enlisted then and there as a high private in the army that will follow his banner.

But I am convinced that we need both the amendment—it will take an amendment—both the amendment which he outlined and simultaneously with it a special amendment for the children. Now there are hundreds of thousands of new voters among the women. It might be safe, perhaps, to say that there are millions among the new voters who are enlightened and informed about the children; who appre-

ciate perfectly the cruelty and the enormity of those great employing bodies; who, by their power and because of the economic weaknesses of the unorganized workers, give and do pay unskilled parents wages on which those parents, try as they may, cannot resist the temptation to have their younger children work at the earliest moment possible. The enormity of this hideous circle under which the parents need the children's earnings and the earnings of the children cut the earnings of the parents, and the vicious circle goes on from generation to generation—that, at least, that, at last, is clear to the minds of myriads of women. And we can count on these women to line up on the day on which a workable amendment is introduced into the Congress and to know no peace and no rest until it is passed. Through the long discipline of the struggle for suffrage, women have learned how to get legislation. We know; we are no longer alarmed when legislators tell us that that measure is impossible; that it cannot be considered at this session; that more important things block the way. We know now that one organization or three organizations may be compelled to listen to statements like that, but when you get ten or twelve great national organizations of women—Catholics, Protestants and Jews, Republicans, Democrats and Socialists—everybody agreeing that the children of this country must be made safe, then Congress may say what it pleases, but it very soon acts.

I can give you proof of that statement in an incident of the very recent past. When Jeannette Rankin was elected to Congress, in 1918, most of the women of this country had no votes. She was elected in Montana, where women did have the vote, but it was not until two years later that the rest of us got votes. In 1918 she introduced a bill to provide for an appropriation of Federal money to be matched by money from the States, to be spent by the State Board of Health for saving the lives of the quarter of a million children that were lost every year and the twenty-five to fifty thousand mothers who died from preventable causes, and all the most powerful men in Congress turned their backs upon us.

We could understand why they did it then, because the war was still going on, and no one knew whether we were to lose our soldiers by tens of thousands of by the millions—no one knew in July, 1918—and we could forgive the Senators and Representatives when they turned their backs upon us and devoted themselves exclusively to the war. They

did the same thing again in 1919 and they did it throughout the summer of 1920, and then all over the country women began to write to the Senators and Legislators and say, "Will you kindly answer one question? Will you write by return mail why you wish mothers and babies to continue to die?" and they did not answer those letters; there were virtually no answers received.

And then on the 6th of December, 1920, in Washington, the representatives of fourteen national organizations of women came together. They were organizations which in the past had never played together; they were the old-fashioned Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Young Women's Christian Association, the newly formed League of Women Voters, barely created before it called together all these other unacquainted women; the National Consumers' League, the National Women's Trade Union League, the Associated University of Women of the United States, the women of the National Catholic Welfare Council, the Jewish Federation of Women—even the ancient D. A. R. was there,—and we began to ask the Senators and the Representatives the same questions that we had asked separately before, and we began to get very long replies from the Senators and Representatives, saying that action would follow the moment the appropriation bills were out of the way. One after another the leaders of the House of Representatives to whom I went as a daughter of my father in making personal appeals to them, besides general appeals—one after another expressed great regret, but said that the day was past for the Federal Government and the States ever to make another appropriation on a fifty-fifty basis for any philanthropic purpose. We came together first on the 6th day of December, 1920, and inside of a year the President signed our bill, and all those gentlemen made explanations of their former conviction that nothing could be done in their present zeal for action.

Now, that is a perfectly new element in American political life. There were hundreds and thousands of women—the General Federation of Women's Clubs alone is as large as the American Federation of Labor; it counts its members by the millions. The others are smaller, but they are all disciplined in work with Congress. We shall be united again in some other way; we are permanently united, but we shall unite behind the children's bill again specially, making

it Bill No. 1 for all of us, as we did the bill for saving the lives of babies and their mothers.

Mr. Gompers, fittingly, as the dean of the labor movement in this country, led in the movement for the total abolition of child labor; following this inhuman decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, Mr. Gompers fittingly led in calling together all the organizations which have at any time been interested in the cause of our working children. An association of associations has been formed, a permanent conference for the abolition of the labor of children. I understand that we shall be called together before the end of the month, all the organizations that were represented in the first meeting at the building of the American Federation of Labor, to consider a draft for a Federal amendment covering the child labor question, and a bill for putting it into execution when enacted.

I want to beg every father of a family who is here, when he buys or gathers up in any souvenirs to take home to his family from this great gathering—and I know American fathers always take home souvenirs to the children—I want to beg every father of a family here to carry home as his gift to all his children 10 years of age or older a copy of the American Constitution. It is printed in all the almanacs—it is printed by the little leather corporation in a little book that any school boy can carry in his pocket—and I want to beg of you to call the attention of your children to the promise in the preamble of that Constitution and in certain of the old original articles. In the preamble and in one of those early articles there is assurance that the Congress has power to legislate for the general welfare. The Constitution is older than the Supreme Court—the Constitution creates the Supreme Court—but the Supreme Court has killed its creator's promise, and not only that promise, but others. It is among the early articles of the Constitution that that promise is found that no State and the Congress shall deprive citizens of the equal protection of the law.

My father was a printer. He went to work when he was 11 years old, and he worked until his death occurred, at the age of 76 years. When I was a little girl he taught me to read when I was 7 years of age in a little book about the children who worked in the brickyards in England. He was born in America in 1814; he went to work in 1825, when he was 11 years old. He didn't wait until I was 11 years old

before he began to teach me about the experiences of other children less cherished than myself, and when my mother and grandmother remonstrated with him because he was darkening the childhood of one so young he said: "This world will never be right for all the children until every cherished child knows in early childhood what is happening to the children of its own age."

The children of union men are cherished children. They grow up in higher traditions to unselfish citizenship; they grow up with the idea that the powerful must care for the weak. But they need knowledge; they need to know in early childhood the great danger that those who are not eternally vigilant will lose the blessings that we believe to have been intended by the founders of this Republic, and that we see dwindling before our eyes, except so far as the struggle is kept up continuously to maintain that which we have inherited and that which we should broaden and deepen and ennoble and hand on to the other children.

So I want to beg of you not to defer the day until your children are grown up, until they are in the high schools; not to depend upon the schools to do that which only thinking fathers can do for their children—plant the seed at the earliest day in the eager young minds that long for the companionship and the respect and the approval of older children. Stir your wives, stir your children to back this movement for the children and thus rebuke the inhuman decisions of the Supreme Court, which ought, of all people of the world, be the guardians of the young and the helpless, who so soon after these old men have gone to their fitting reward will be the Republic.

President Gompers: I am sure we all feel that the review given by Miss Kelley upon this subject as a result not only of her own observation but of her own experience covering several years, has been very beneficial to us all. I am sure at the time just a few years after her graduation from Cornell University, and by her own associations and friends, the study of this subject of child labor and of the various phases of the labor problem are all of them uppermost in her mind. Later she has given good and efficient and uninterrupted effort in trying to make the dreams of her girlhood come true.

At this time, and before we call upon others who have been invited to address the convention upon the subject under discussion, I will ask Secretary Morrison to read a letter from the Honorable

Jackson H. Ralston, who has given many years' study to all matters affecting labor. He has a suggestion to make it his letter which I think you will find exceedingly interesting.

Secretary Morrison read the following letter:

Evans Building, Washington, D. C.

June 8, 1922.

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

Referring to the matter of recent decision of the Supreme Court with reference to child labor, I have to say that with a view to the formulation of an act of Congress covering the matter which act might be considered constitutional by the court, there are two lines of study which have occurred to me.

In the first place, the Federal Government has complete control over the mail. It has a right to determine what matters are objectionable and may be refused transportation as mail matter. It may therefore be the case that in some well-considered way Congress may declare that particular advertisements of products of child labor passing through the mails should be regarded as fraudulent and nonadmissible. I mention this in a tentative way as a subject for study rather than as expressing any final opinion on my part.

In the same place, it is quite possible for Congress to forbid any agency of the Government from receiving any article as for instance cotton cloth, coal, etc., produced by child labor under any contract for Government supplies. There is no more reason for accepting for Government use articles so produced than there is for accepting articles produced in violation of the eight-hour rule. In this regard at least the control of Congress is beyond all question and if the Government were to prescribe the use of articles produced at the cost of human lives, the practice might become so general as to force a changed social condition as to children. No constitutional objection can be imagined against laws of this character.

Very truly yours,

(signed) JACKSON H. RALSTON.

President Gompers: If there be no objection the letter will be referred to the special committee to be selected as provided by the motion adopted this morning, and will be made a part of the record.

I shall now ask Delegate T. W. McCullough, of the International Typographical Union, to address the convention upon the subject before us.

#### ADDRESS OF T. W. McCULLOUGH.

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: I feel a little timid in approaching you this afternoon to say even a word upon a topic that has been so well covered by the speakers who have preceded me. In saying this trite and conventional thing I am sincere, because I won't say a word that would disturb any of the impressions that were made upon you by Senator LaFollette or anything that you must have gained by listening to Miss Kelley, two of the ablest and most competent in all our great citizenship to deal with this question.

Before I approach the main topic and while I am still thinking of Mr. LaFollette's words, I want to express my hearty agreement with his proposal, which is in a sense a disagreement with the suggestion of Mr. Ralston. I think if we are to approach this measure with any degree of success at all we must do it as the Senator recommended and lay the ax at the root. We can temporize and we can palliate, but we are not going to remedy the evil until we strike home and destroy the evil.

The proposal for the Congressional veto on the Supreme Court opinion is a practical thing, it is a workable thing. It is a thing that is not only attainable, but with much less of effort than might appear on the surface. The other thing that will make it possible to do this is not to try expediences, as we have in the past. The exclusion of the products of child labor from interstate commerce has failed, the effort to head off child labor by excise tax has failed, so why do we want to try another palliative? Let us take foremost the process of amending the Constitution and making it impossible to distribute the products of child labor in the United States. We can do that by a constitutional amendment, and I don't believe that the Supreme Court of the United States, in all its might and authority, would undertake to set aside an amendment that was formally adopted by the Congress of the United States, submitted to the people and ratified by three-fourths of the people of the United States—and that is possible.

Mankind has struggled up a long way out of the darkness towards the light. It has not as yet attained the full light, but it is reaching continuously

into more light. It is interesting at times to trace some of the steps, and particularly is it interesting in connection with child labor to note that among the barbaric, the savage people, the people that are regarded as being on a lower plane physically and morally, if not intellectually, the status of the child was never questioned. The child among the savage tribes was cherished, particularly if it was a male child, because it was an asset to the tribe, and every effort was made to preserve that child until he could come to maturity in the full possession of all his faculties of mind and body, that he might be of value to the tribe. The red Indian did it, the black negro does it today, and everywhere among these men and so on up through the scale until we finally come to civilized man, who has achieved the great triumph of making his offspring earn their own living. Civilization is the minotaur, the savage beast that eats its own offspring in this regard.

Miss Kelley has told you, and told you truly, and it is perhaps the saddest commentary we can make on our industrial organizations, that our wage rate is so low in many lines that the parents feel the necessity of having the children labor in order that they might be able to contribute even a little bit to the family fund, that they might be properly fed and clothed and housed. I am sure that our British friends are aware of it, and possibly some of you recall the case a few years ago in Australia when one of the Industrial Courts there rendered a decision in a case of a new industry that had started up. The new industry appealed the decision and said that it could not pay the wage rate and live, and the Court said, "Very well, then, go out of business; the industry that cannot pay a living wage is of no advantage to the commonwealth and we don't want you." That is the sort of law, that is the sort of decision we need in this country.

Now, on that wage proposition I am only going to take a minute on that point, but I am going to show you how it operates—and this is for the unorganized and unskilled workers, not the highly paid craftsmen. A few months ago there was a very bitter controversy and a bitter struggle going on in the great meat packing industry in this country, and the common laborers who were employed about these packing houses were beaten down, beaten down because the conditions were such that there was a great mass of unemployed. Men were hungry, it was in the winter time, and even the pittance that was

offered by the packers was not enough, until these men were put back to work and finally accepted 37 1-2 cents an hour and forty hours' work a week guaranteed, or \$14 a week. Some of you try to keep your family on \$14 a week; some of you try to pay house rent, street car fare, light and water bills, buy fuel and all the other things you have to buy, and then if you have a boy or girl in the house big enough to go into the packing house and paste on stamps or put labels on the cans or do any of the other uncounted and some unmentionable things that they require boys and girls to do in these packing houses, even for a pittance, see if you won't do it.

We have in my home State one of the best child labor laws in the United States, one of the best that were ever written; and we enforce it very carefully. The factory inspectors are busy there looking them up and taking them out. The law requires that no child under the age of 14 can be employed at any time, summer or winter; it provides that no child between the ages of 14 and 16 can be employed during the school year. They must have attended school until they are past 16 years of age, or until they can produce a certificate of graduation from the eighth grade, and yet in spite of that and in spite of the vigilance of the factory inspector, we find these boys and girls of tender years at work because their fathers and mothers tell us that they need the money that they earn, and they connive at the deception to put the little ones into the factories. That is where the wage rate comes in.

Civilization's great crime, as we stand facing it today, is that in the richest, most powerful and most magnificent republic that the world has ever known, wage conditions are such that children must of necessity work or go cold and hungry. It is not a pleasant thing to think of, but it is the unfortunate, inescapable truth.

The right to live is sacred. Life must be sustained by either your own effort or the effort of somebody else. Your best endeavor, your best employment is when you are supporting yourself and your family; you can't escape that. There is another phase. We here today know very directly of the continual improvement in processes. There isn't a man sitting here on the floor who does not realize how machinery has affected his business, how it has affected his craft; the changed processes have destroyed some and scrapped others, and these machines are being continually improved.



On the other hand, if you go out where I live you will hear them talking about how the operations on the farm are being continually improved and bettered by the introduction of machinery. There you have it—machinery in industry cutting off the call for human labor in industry and machinery in agriculture cutting off the call for human labor in agriculture; great masses of human labor being thrown out of employment by machinery. What are you going to do with them? Are you going to scrap them like an obsolete piece of machinery? You can't do it. They have a right to live, they will live, and there is only one place where they can properly and decently get that living, and that is out of some of the wealth created by the effort of those who are doing the work.

What is the purpose of civilization? Is it to produce wealth or is it to produce human happiness? Is the purpose of our great Republic, with all its manifold activities, all its wonderful achievements, all its inexpressible possibilities, merely to pile up tangible wealth that we can put our hands on or take it down to the bank and put it in as security for a loan; or is it to multiply happy homes, with well-fed, well-dressed, well-protected children playing around our dooryards and contented fathers and mothers sitting by the table with the lamp lighted in the evening? Which is the destiny of our nation? Which course are we going to take? We are practical men. I have been accused myself of being "hard-boiled," devoid of sentiment and lacking in emotion, and yet I know which road I want to take—I want to take the road leading to human happiness, and if that road to human happiness has a station along the way that means five days a week and thirty hours a week for the coal miner, with steady employment for all the men in the mines, I am willing to take it; and what I say about the coal miner applies to every other industry. If we can produce enough to live on in four or five hours there is no reason in God's providence why we should work eight or ten hours.

That is the question also involved in child labor. The man who has to toil long hours for a small wage, with a big family, is at a disadvantage because he is competing with the children, his own children and his neighbors children, and when we get a law, a constitutional amendment, a statutory enactment or any provision that is going to be effective; that will prevent the exploitation of the child;

that will turn the day's work over to the mature man, then the wage rate must correspondingly come up. It is not a question of return on capital. I don't begrudge the dollar its wage; the dollar must have its wage; unless the dollar has its wage it can't work; it must be well paid, the same as any man in any industry or any craft must be paid, because we must have a continuous stream of capital flowing into industry to keep industry alive. That is a fundamental fact and you can't escape it. The point will come always on the division of that stream of capital—which part shall be diverted into the boiler to make more steam and which part shall be diverted into the bucket for the working man to carry home to cook his food by.

Now I am stopping around here in a very general, sketchy sort of way, and I am doing it purposely, because I didn't expect to add anything to what has been said by Senator LaFollette—I could not if I would. I might stop here just long enough to tell you one little story about the relations between the Supreme Court of the United States and the Congress that might be of interest—and this is said not with any intention to criticize the Senator, but to show you that sometimes the rule works the other way. The first step at interpretation of the Constitution of the United States was made by John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, who rendered a decision which is said to have given life and vitality to the Constitution and made a living body out of what had been but a rigid form, and that decision was rendered in the consideration of the alien and sedition laws, in which the laws in effect were set aside at least in so far as they relate to the right of free speech and free publication. An editor in Pennsylvania had been sent to jail by a Federal Judge and he was actually in jail in pursuance to the enforcement of the alien and sedition law. John Marshall took him out of jail and set him free and limited the right of a Federal Judge to send anybody to jail. The one was a decision by the Supreme Court of the United States, the other was an enactment by the Congress of the United States, so you see some times it goes the other way.

Now, for yourselves, and this for each of us: There are certain fundamental laws that cover the course of

the human race. They were in the beginning, they are now and always will be, because they are the laws that are part of the great scheme of the Almighty Creator and the world. There are moral laws, there are economic laws and there are physical laws, and they operate continuously. You can interpose if you will a force to set aside or suspend one of those laws for a time, as, for example, I lift a handkerchief and hold in my hand a minute: I let go, and the law of gravity operates and down goes the handkerchief. The economic law and the moral law are just as certain in their operation as the physical law. You may think you are escaping them, but you are not, and you can't. You can't have anything at the expense of another and enjoy it, because sooner or later you will be overtaken in one way or another. You may be very sure that the general law of compensation operates and will touch you all. And as for your influence on the things about you, here is a thought: A few years ago before they succeeded in isolating and dividing the atom, the particle of hydrogen was the smallest known ponderable object that man had yet discovered, 125,000,000,000 of these particles in a cubic inch. In relation to known and explored space this world of which we are a part is a particle smaller in proportion than that particle of hydrogen. An astronomer on the nearest fixed star, equipped with an instrument no more powerful than our greatest achievement, the telescope at the Wilson Observatory, would be unable to detect our presence in space—we are that infinitesimal.

Another physical law is this—but before we get to that, think that this little speck of matter is part of the universe that is so mighty that it is beyond human comprehension. Go out in the cloudless night and look up at the stars and the heavens, realize that each one of those stars is in itself a world, some of them so far removed from our world that we can have no notion whatever of the distance that intervenes, the nearest fixed star found being what is known as thirty-five and a half light years, the light-year being the distance that the light traveling at the rate of 186,000 miles a second will traverse in a year. The light that we see

from Sirius tonight left that star thirty-five years ago.

Figure that this one law, the divine law, premeates all and controls all, and you will realize then, perhaps, what the psalmist meant when he said: "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?" But man so far as we know is the greatest of all created things, endowed with reason and capacity and faculty for understanding right from wrong and knowing what is just and what is unjust.

Now, then, another physical law is this: That you cannot disturb one particle of matter in all this wonderful incomprehensible, inconceivable universe without disturbing all other particles of matter, and that particle of matter once set in motion is never again brought entirely to rest. And if that law permeates—and it does permeate and influence all these insignificant particles of inanimate matter and is influential in producing all the phenomena of nature that we see around us—what is this triumph of creation, this man endowed with these faculties, created just a little below the angels; what is his influence for good or for evil on those about him?

You have your own opportunities, you have your own way, you have your own chance, but it is not altogether your own, no matter how much you may think it is, because no man can live for himself alone. You can't hide yourself away so far that what you do or want you omit doing has some influence and effect on the lives of others, and therefore you must at all times be careful and circumspect, courageous and firm when you feel you are right, prudent and cautious when you feel you are uncertain; but once having made up your mind, go forward until you come to the place where it is necessary to look up, but you will, if you are true to yourselves, always see the right and always be able to go forward to the right. And when you get that you will have what was said to us this morning—a great, glorious, magnificent people marching forward to a wonderful destiny; a harmonious, happy, free and enlightened nation.

Now, brothers, I don't know that I have added anything to the child labor question. I have expressed to you in a few words my own sentiments. I know, I think I know, almost as well as if the resolution had been presented here, what it will be,

and I can almost without question here pledge you my vote and the unanimous vote of this convention to the support of that committee's report, because I feel very well assured that it will outline a course that the American Federation of Labor can well afford to follow and that we will be glad to follow, and when it is all said and done this day's work will have been a great day's work for the American Federation of Labor, and because of the influence the American Federation of Labor has on the advancement of civilization it is going to be a great day's work for the race the world around.

I thank you.

#### ADDRESS OF

#### MR. WILLIAM GREEN

Secretary-Treasurer, United Mine Workers of America.

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Workers and Citizens:

The cause of child life and child labor has ever been dear to the heart and mind of the organized labor movement of our land; consequently I know I voice your sentiments when I say that we were greatly shocked when we read in the public press the full decision of the United States Supreme Court taking away from us the concrete result of years and years of effort and agitation.

When the decision of the Supreme Court was announced the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor was in session at Washington, and I suppose that you, like each member of the Executive Council, were stunned by the far-reaching scope of that decision. We were perplexed and dismayed, but not discouraged. We realized that now we were face to face with a new and difficult problem, and so we considered and so we thought, and at the suggestion of President Gompers it was decided to call a preliminary conference at Washington later on of representatives of the organized labor movement and other groups of citizens equally interested in the cause of child life and child labor. We also decided that this question should be made a special order to be considered by the convention of the American Federation of Labor on Wednesday, June 14th.

I was a little bit skeptical as to whether or not substantial results would come from the consideration

of this subject on this occasion. I knew that the preliminary conference that was held shortly after the decision was announced would consider the subject and perhaps devise some ways and means by which a constitutional amendment could be drafted and proposed, but I could not think or know what could be done on this occasion.

Now, my friends, I think I can truthfully say that we acted wisely, that our decision to hold this meeting on this occasion was a wise one, and that the results of this meeting today will be a distinct contribution toward the cause of child life and child labor. If there were no other contributions, either by thought or action, than the masterly address delivered by Senator LaFollette, then this occasion would have been well taken and our work well done.

I regard the address delivered by this distinguished citizen as both masterly and constructive. It will be read, I know, with interest by the workers of America and by all progressive, thinking people throughout the land—and I imagine it will be read with unusual interest by those who are opposed to child life and child labor legislation.

So, my friends, I am proud of today, I am proud of our accomplishments, I am proud of our work. I believe that, notwithstanding we are called upon to wrestle with a vital problem, we are making distinct progress in the solution of this very great problem. If men and women can be stirred to action; if men and women can be called upon to think; if they can be attracted to not only the benefits of government but to the evils as well; if they can be aroused by some inspiring address such as this delivered today, then, in my judgment, the problem we are called upon to meet is partially solved.

The organized labor movement of America has always stood in the forefront of agitation and advocacy of the protection of children and the prohibition of child labor in industry. We have been pioneers in the work. The groups of women, public-spirited people, those who have been progressive in their tendencies, their thoughts and their actions, have contributed equally toward the furtherance of this great humane purpose.

But, my friends, let me point out if I can—and I know it will be only refreshing your memory when I do—

that the organized labor movement has done much toward the protection of child life and child labor through its own efforts and without the enactment of statutory law. I can recall when even before the laws were enacted in our States governing this subject that it was intensely and earnestly considered by our national and international unions. I can speak from experience in our own organization, the United Mine Workers of America.

I can remember, and no doubt you can, when this country was interested deeply in that great economic movement in the anthracite coal regions in 1902, the time when President Theodore Roosevelt intervened for the purpose of ending that struggle. At that time there were employed in the breakers of the anthracite coal mines and inside the shafts and mines as well hundreds and hundreds of little boys less than 10 years of age. There was no statute to protect them; they were there through economic necessity, and public interest had not been aroused. And can you not recall the stories appearing in the press about the breaker boys working in the dusty, ill-ventilated breakers of the anthracite coal regions? As a result of that strike the miners of the anthracite region became identified with the United Mine Workers of America. So completely were they organized, so loyal were they to the cause that brought them freedom, liberty and a degree of happiness, that today in the anthracite coal region there isn't a single man working in the mines.

When our convention met in annual session following that great struggle, we incorporated in our fundamental law a section providing that children should not be allowed to work in and around the coal mines of America under 16 years of age. And we enforced that section of our international law. As a result of its influence, its operation, we took from the breakers the boys and placed them in the homes, the school-rooms and the playgrounds. If there is one distinct service that our organization has rendered to humanity, to the word and to the cause of human progress, it is that it took from the breakers and the mines the children of tender years and placed them in the schools, the homes and the playgrounds.

Another thing we do in order to encourage education—and I know that most of the international organizations represented here do the same—is to provide that when a member of the United Mineworkers of America attends school for the purpose of securing a higher education, if you please, he is exempted from the payment of dues and assessments to our union while attending school or college. He is carried as a member in good standing, entitled to all the rights and privileges of a member of our union. Why? For the purpose of encouraging members of the United Mineworkers and the children of members to attend school and acquire for themselves an education.

I refer to these things because there seems to be in some quarters a misunderstanding of the attitude of organized labor toward this great humane problem. As Dr. Freiberg said this morning, our influence in some quarters has been limited in the advocacy of this great movement because it was charged that we were inspired by selfish reasons; not by patriotic or altruistic purposes, but by purely economic, selfish reasons.

My friends, that is not true. We realize that children are placed in the mills, the mines and the factories very largely through economic necessity, the breadwinner, finding it difficult to care for his little flock, drafts, as it were, the older children to work in the mills and mines and factories. We are engaged in trying to correct that economic condition. We want to make the earning of the breadwinner sufficiently high so that it will not be necessary for the older children to go to work in order to help care for the younger ones. Is not that a praiseworthy purpose? Is it not one that should be commended by all lovers of humanity and those who contribute toward social progress?

We are just as desirous of protecting the children upon the farm, the children in the street or in any other walk of life as we are the children in the mills, the mines and the factories. We want to see that every child is given an opportunity to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We want, not only that our children may have the opportunity to do so, but we want to make it absolutely possible for all children to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In other words, my friends, we want to make this grand old world a place of happiness; we don't want it to be a great productive enterprise

that absorbs the youth of our land, their lives and destinies in industrial enterprise. We want to make it a playground for children, a place where they can live a normal life, where they can be reared in happiness, educated to become citizens of our great Republic, surrounded by those influences that make for noble lives. That is what our organized labor movement stands for.

I know, my friends, that Senator LaFollette could not have found a more sympathetic audience in the United States of America than this audience which he addressed this morning. We were in full accord with the sentiments he expressed and with the words he uttered. And I know it is not necessary for any speaker here to offer any argument in favor of the protection of child life and child labor legislation. All we are concerned in is the problem and its correct solution. We are converts to the cause, and not only converts, but pioneers in this great movement.

The problem now is how we are going to realize our hopes and our aspirations. For years and years groups of men and women in the organized labor movement agitated in favor of the protection of children. We thought we had gained a distinct success, that we had achieved at least part of our noble purpose when we secured the passage of this law imposing an excise tax upon the products of child labor; but along came an institution of government, an instrumentality through which equal and exact justice is presumed to be administered to rich and poor alike, and by a decision written by one man, concurred in by a few others, the fruits of our years of agitation and endeavor and earnest work have been taken away from us. What are we going to do about it?

Well, my friends, it is as well it happened now as at any other time, because if I read the signs of the times aright it is my opinion that the pendulum which swung so far in reaction following the war is now swinging back toward the side of freedom and liberty and human progress. I don't think I mistake the significance of the expression of the voters in Iowa, Pennsylvania, Indiana and other states. It is my opinion that when the primaries are held in North Dakota on the 28th of this month the people of that State will add by their action to the distinct victories that

have been achieved by progressive citizens in the States I have named. I am hopeful. I believe the voters of North Dakota will retire from the United States Senate Mr. McCumber a reactionary, and send a progressive in his stead.

To my mind the most significant indication of the trend of public thought in the swing of the pendulum back toward progress and human liberty was that wonderful, significant and outstanding victory of Mr. Brookhart in Iowa, a man who, I understand, is equally as progressive as the Senator who spoke to you here this morning. And it seems that if the decision of the Supreme Court taking from us the fruits of years and years of efforts was to come at all it had better come now than at any other time. We can gird our loins, marshal our sentiment and our forces and go forward with a determination that even the Supreme Court of the United States will not stop us from protecting children.

For a long time I have been a believer in the proposition that if there is any instrumentality of government more than another that denied to the workers and the masses of the people the full exercise of the constitutional rights and the liberties to which they are entitled, it was and is the Federal Judiciary of the United States. I don't know how many injunctions have been issued against myself and my associates—there are so many I can not keep them in mind. Judge Anderson has issued them, Judge McClintic has issued as many as five in a day, and every one of them forbade us doing the things we always knew we had a perfect right to do. These injunctions issued by the Federal Court at Indianapolis and by the Federal Court in West Virginia were so decidedly wrong, were in such contradiction of the Federal statutes and our fundamental rights, that even the Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago and later another Circuit Court of Appeals at Richmond, Va., decided that each of them must be modified and set aside.

In the Borderland case, wherein Judge Anderson even restrained those who were parties to an agreement from carrying out the provisions of the agreement, the Circuit Court of Appeals of Chicago set it aside, and in another injunction similar to this,

issued by Judge McClintic of West Virginia, the Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond the other day modified his injunction and thus said to the world these Judges have exceeded their legal rights.

Sometimes I think I am a rebel, because I know I could be arrested for the things I think about these Judges; and I am of the opinion that if liberty, if the exercise of our rights, if the enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness guaranteed to us by the Declaration of Independence are ever to be fully enjoyed by the masses of the people, then the power of these Federal judges must be limited and restrained; otherwise we are going to be tied up to a condition of semi-slavery and servitude.

For that reason I am thrilled by the logic and the address of Senator LaFollette. Here he has marshaled and arranged in consecutive and logical order expressions of eminent men, leaders in our government and Judges in our courts, containing more severe criticisms of the uses and processes and decisions of the courts than any labor man in this convention ever uttered.

I recall that here in the State of Ohio in 1912, when I happened to be a member of the law-making body of this State, a new constitution was presented to the voters of this Commonwealth. One section of that constitution provided that no law passed by the legislative body of the Commonwealth of Ohio could be set aside or declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the State unless the decision was concurred in by six out of seven Judges.

That was a great step forward in limiting the usurped power of the courts. The people of this Commonwealth would never have proposed such a constitutional amendment if they had not had cause for it and reason for it; and when it was submitted to the voters it was severely criticized by many because they charged that it was a criticism of the courts; that it was an invasion of sacred rights; that it was the product of Socialists and irresponsible men, and an appeal was made to the substantial citizens to vote it down. Notwithstanding that, the people of this Commonwealth adopted that by an overwhelming majority and it is now the organic law of our State. If the good people of Ohio saw fit to limit the usurped power of their Supreme Court, is there any reason

why the people of this great nation can not do the same thing with the Supreme Court of the United States?

My friends, your patience today has been truly wonderful; it must have been inspired only by the interest you take in this great subject. You have sat here this afternoon through the oppressive heat listening to us after you had listened with rapt attention to that magnetic and inspiring address this morning. I am not going to impose upon you longer. I have given utterance only to some things it seemed to me might contribute something toward this day and this cause.

I want to express my hope as a worker and member of organized labor that the full purposes of our forefathers may yet be realized either by this generation or the next to come. The children, those we love so dearly, those we love so well—must they be sacrificed upon the altar of greedy commercialism? Or shall we live true to our profession and show by our action that we love our little ones? We can not sacrifice them on the altar of commercial greed and then proclaim to the world that we love the little ones that God gave us. If there is anything that should be protected among the people of our nation and the people of the world, it is the child who is so helpless and so dear to us.

I want to assure you that, no matter in what walk of life I may be placed, no matter where I am, I shall give to the furtherance of this great cause the best that is in me toward the realization of our cherished hope and our desired ambition.

President Gompers: The next speaker upon this subject is a fraternal delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League. The lady was asked whether it might not be quite as appropriate to make her address upon this auspicious occasion as at any other time in our convention, and I have the great pleasure of presenting to you Mrs. Mary V. Halas.

**ADDRESS OF  
MRS. MARY V. HALAS,  
Fraternal Delegate, National Women's  
Trade Union League**

Mr. Chairman, Brothers and Sisters—As the fraternal delegate from the National Women's Trade Union League I will pause only to say this

in regard to the subject of child labor—that the National Women's Trade Union League, from its inception, has worked for everything that would uplift the child. The league has gone on record now to lend its full support to whatever can be worked out to counteract the terrible decision that has come down from the Supreme Court.

I would not venture to say anything more on this subject today, because you have been addressed by experts. You came into this audience with your minds quite made up on this subject so far as your sympathy for the child in industry is concerned. You have simply been strengthened and inspired to greater efforts by the stirring oratory you have been privileged to listen to today, so I think it is but seemly to confine my remarks to the purpose for which I was sent—that is, to extend to you the greetings from the National Women's Trade Union League.

Knowing there are always some in a body of this kind who are not aware of the purposes of an organization such as ours, I think it but fitting that I read to you the preamble of the constitution of the National Women's Trade Union League, for it gives very concisely just why this organization exists and why it is entitled to the co-operation it receives from the American Federation of Labor and the state, central and local central bodies of labor throughout the country.

**"PREAMBLE**—The purpose of the National Women's Trade Union League is to protect the women wage-earners of America from an inadequate wage and extreme working hours; to insure them a voice in the adjustment of industrial conditions by establishing self-government in the workshop through trade union organization; to create a public opinion which really understands the labor movement; to further the enactment of such legislation as will benefit the workers."

At our convention which adjourned on the last day of last week we reiterated our platform which stands for the organization of all workers into unions, for a forty-four-hour week and a minimum wage that will assure an American standard of living, and one day rest in seven. And so you see we are women workers, women trade unionists who have banded together in a league to co-operate, to help bring the women in industry

into the trade union movement with a fuller knowledge of that which trade unionism stands for. That we have been successful and that it has been so recognized by the trade unions, both national and international, throughout the country, I would like to point out to you in these facts from the reports of the different local leagues throughout the country.

In the printed reports telling of their activities we tell of the aid that has been given to organizing women and men and to the aid given nationals and internationals where there have been strikes, and invariably these reports in just listing the names of the organizations that have called upon us and have been helped have covered a full page. I would like to have you get the significance of that—that each one of the leagues throughout the country can cover a page of printed matter with a list of names of organizations they have assisted. I think it speaks eloquently of the fact that we have a right to exist and that that right has been recognized by the trade unions.

We feel that we women in the trade union movement can lend our full measure of value to the movement only by being fully educated and fully awake to what the movement stands for. We have found the women timid and afraid to come forward, and with that idea in mind there has been founded by the National Women's Trade Union League a school of training to which the various local unions throughout the country can send women who seem to possess material for leadership. We send those women and girls back to you trained, knowing how to picket, knowing how to pass out printed matter, how to reach the unorganized, how to participate as members of boards that are deciding hours and schedules of wages.

Some of the leaders among the women of the country have come to you as a result of this school. The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor had its inception in the National Women's Trade Union League. When the National League started talking about the bureau many thought it was but a dream. During the war, when it came into being as a war emergency, the National Women's Trade Union League stood back of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor and had something to say about who should

head it; and when the war was over the league was back of it to make it a permanent bureau. It was one of the few bureaus that grew out of the war that were made permanent.

We are aware of the attack that is being made upon the Department of Labor. We know that well-planned attacks are being made to prevent this bureau from functioning at all. It is proposed to put the Women's Bureau in a new department of welfare. We have gone on record to this effect in our convention—and I bring that message to you as a challenge to those who are contemplating such an attack—that the National Women's Trade Union League is standing behind the Department of Labor, and if an attempt is made to take its power away, we will arouse such a protest from the women's organizations that Congress will listen to us, because Congress is well aware of the fact that the women's voice when raised to its full extent must be listened to.

We can promise the American Federation of Labor that as a co-worker of yours we shall be with you in the support of the bureau, and that we shall raise a storm that will make even you, my brothers and sisters, take notice of what such an organization as the National Women's Trade Union League can do in the direction of securing favorable public opinion.

Our convention instructed its Executive Board to see to it that we shall have a representative in the legislative conferences that take place monthly under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor. We recommend participation by the league in similar conferences and in any suitable program for the accomplishment of this legislation to make possible the prevention of child labor by Federal authority.

There were fifty resolutions acted upon by our convention. I would not attempt to go into them, I would not tax your patience by covering them all, but I think you will understand fully what we stand for when I say these resolutions covered the evil of the injunction and that we pledged our support to the American Federation of Labor in combating that evil. There were resolutions that protested against the campaign for the open shop, and protested the shame of using the term, "American Plan," or the word "American" in connection with it, and we pledged our sup-

port in educating the public to a knowledge what the real campaign of the open shop means.

We passed a resolution opposed to the blanket amendments that call for equal rights for women and men in legislation; having got our opinions from the best legal talent of the country that the effect of the blanket amendment would be to void the legislation that now protects the women, the mother of the race. We pledge our support to oppose the enactment of those amendments, and we wish to extend our profound thanks for the deep understanding of your fearless leader, Mr. Samuel Gompers, and the readiness with which he saw the evil in these things and pledged his support to our opposition to this so-called blanket amendment. I might go on discussing these resolutions, but so many of the subjects will be covered by resolutions of your own that I will simply bring out the fact that we adopted them.

We are pledged to the same line of action that the American Federation of Labor is. We could not do less—we are members of the American Federation of Labor. Some of us are on our National and International Executive Boards. We are simply a league of the trade union women who are helping to get the message of trade unionism across to our sisters in the movement. You men have been in it so many, many years, and the women have come into it so gradually, that at times you have not had opportunity to realize in what numbers we have come into the movement, and if we did not have such a league as this we could not get to you many of the problems that as women we are affected by in industry.

May I repeat in closing that our purpose is to reach the women in the labor unions; to make more clear to them all what organized labor means; to find out the unorganized women; to place them in the trade unions already organized, and where there is no such trade union of a craft to help them to be put into a properly chartered union.

Help us to see that every woman worker can find a place in the trade union movement. Resolution No. 112 has been introduced at this convention to make that more possible. Lend us your support to put that resolution into effect, so that we need not go back to the women we inspired to join this movement and then have to say to them:



"Unfortunately, there is no place for you." Help us place every woman in the trade union movement where she belongs, because today she may be out in the world as a trade unionist, and a few years from now she may be rearing the man-child and the woman-child who will be the trade unionist of the next generation.

President Gompers: The excellent address to which we have just been pleased to listen, and benefit thereby, closes the addresses in a formal way. If there be time this afternoon we may have a few minutes' talk from some of the delegates who care to address us further today. So far as your Chairman is concerned, he does not wish to take advantage of you or tax your patience to listen to him for any length of time, so what I may have to say upon this tremendously important subject I shall reserve for the time when we shall be discussing the general proposition of the unwarrantable actions of the judiciary in cases affecting labor.

May I just make this observation—myself a victim of child labor? I know that I have been complimented and flattered by saying that probably the disadvantages which I have experienced in my child-life may have had an influence in the future of my life. Be that as it may, I have no complaint about it myself, but against a system that would permit the children of 6, 8 or 10 years of age to be employed for the profit of employers, or commercialism, and, though it may have had its indirect influence for good upon one or two or a dozen of these children, it has been a gross injustice and evil for the great mass of the children.

I could not help but be impressed by all that has been said, and with you join in acclaiming this day a most wonderful day in the history of the American labor movement. I took cognizance this morning of a remark regarding the fact there has been attributed to us a rather selfish purpose in advocating the abolition of child labor. Well, supposing we go to the confessional and say it is true, or partly true. How many people, how many groups of our people, do we find engaged in purely altruistic movements? That we had for our purpose the abolition of child labor in itself, if it was a contribution to the saving of a child's life, that was sufficient. What our other purposes may have been ought not to be open to question, particularly by those who are our friends. We are engaged

in the movement to prevent deterioration in the standards of the adult workers. It is true that primarily we are selfish, or that we have an enlightened self-interest in our own affairs: but there is nothing we can do in that direction to prevent reductions in wages and lowering of standards of life and work that does not find its reflex and influence upon all workers of our country.

When I heard that remark it reminded me of an incident that is rather apropos. Some years ago there was a convention of the cattle raisers of the United States, the men who own cattle ranches. At that convention a gentleman with tall hat and high collar, a collar that buttoned up the back, prayed and pleaded with these cattle raisers against the brutality of branding the hides of their cattle with the initial and number of the owner. He pleaded that it was cruelty to animals and ought to be abolished. It found favorable consideration on the part of the cattle raisers. An interrogation, however, was put to the gentleman who made the plea against the brutality exercised upon the cattle, and finally it was discovered that he was an agent of the tanneries, and because it spoiled the hides of the cattle and therefore was a loss he protested against the cruelty. But, be his purpose what it may be, he has a humane thought for the cattle as well as the profit for the tanneries.

This evil which exists in our country, the evil of child labor, that picture, horrible, gruesome and miserable, has been portrayed to you in colors and language and shades which I cannot hope to repeat, much less to present in my own words; but this I want to say, that it is a sad commentary upon our country and our people that the admitted evil of child labor, child degradation, child demoralization is beyond the power of our government to remedy. I cannot be brought to believe it. And there will be found a solution of this evil by which it is can be cleared from the proud banner of our Republic. I join in the effort, fully and absolutely, in whatever can be done to abolish this evil and to abolish for all time this invasion by our courts of the natural and rational rights of the people of our country.

A few weeks ago while upon the witness stand before the Lockwood Commission in New York I was questioned very closely because of my

criticism of the judicial arm of our government in their adverse and hostile attitude to the great masses of the workers, and finally in ejaculation I said, "God save labor from the courts!" And I now say to that prayer, Amen.

And as the voice of the people is always expressed as the voice of God, the people of this country, having their attention aroused to the great wrong which has been inflicted upon our people and upon our children, will find a way, as they have already manifested their resentment against the invasion of the popular government's right to express itself in the enacted law of our Congress.

As has been said by Senator La-Follette this morning, courts have been emboldened and aggressive in their usurpation of the rights of the Congress and the upsetting of the will of the people. If our courts believe that they have won a victory over the people, I say with that great military character of the world's history, "Another such victory and they will be done!"

The Chairman asked the wish of the convention with regard to the appointment of the special committee provided for by the motion of Delegate Woll adopted during the morning session.

Secretary Morrison requested permission to insert the following resolutions, which have been omitted through an oversight from the list of resolutions printed in Tuesday's proceedings:

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Anthony J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, It has come to the notice of the International Longshoremen's Association that it is contemplated the enactment into law in the State of Louisiana the following legislation:

**"AN ACT**

"Providing for the creation of arbitration to settle questions involving compensation, hours of employment and other disputes between employers and employees.

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana—that whenever wage earners in the State of Louisiana feel that the compensation for their services is inadequate,

or the hours of employment are oppressive, or where the employees have other grievances against their employer, over which a strike may be called, it shall be the duty of the officers of the organization contemplating calling the strike to notify, in writing, sixty days before the time fixed for the calling of the strike the Governor of the State of Louisiana of the nature of their grievance. Upon the receipt of said notice, or without it, if he believes the public interests so demand, the Governor shall appoint three disinterested arbitrators, who shall have power to summon witnesses to appear and testify before them, to inspect the books of the employer and to employ stenographers and other necessary help.

"Section 2. Be it further enacted by the General Assembly, etc., that the arbitrators so appointed shall have the power to administer oaths and to organize themselves to their best advantage.

"Section 3. Be it further enacted, etc., that the arbitrators so appointed shall receive twenty-five dollars per diem during their active participation in the investigation of, any proposed strike, which amount and the expense incurred during any investigation, shall be paid by the State Treasurer out of any funds not otherwise appropriated.

"Section 4. Be it further enacted, etc., that the Board of Arbitrators shall make a report of their investigation with their recommendation to the Governor, which report shall be published;" and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association is doing everything within its power to prevent the enactment into law this damnable piece of legislation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor do everything within its power to assist in preventing this contemplated legislation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Forty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor in session assembled condemn in no uncertain terms legislation of this character.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate T. N. Taylor:

WHEREAS, Labor is confronted with a condition at this time that

calls for closer affiliation of labor than at any other time in the past, owing to the attacks that are being made on the entire labor movement by the advocates of the "open shop;" and

WHEREAS, Closer affiliation, if effective, must start in the local unions and extend to the central bodies and state organizations; and

WHEREAS, Resolution No. 81, passed by the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor has proved to be ineffective; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Forty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, That the President be instructed to designate a representative of the American Federation of Labor to attend, in person, the convention of each National or International organization, requesting such convention to pass a resolution making it mandatory on the part of their local unions to affiliate with central bodies and state federations.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Vice President Woll obtained unanimous consent to introduce the following resolution:

Resolution No. 116—By Delegates of Allied Printing Trades Unions:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has persistently and consistently advocated the free text book system in all public schools; and

WHEREAS, In many states and independent school districts considerable success has been achieved in this direction; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, renews its declaration for free text books in all public schools and school districts; that renewed activities be displayed for the universal observance and enforcement of this system and that no effort be spared in any community to advance in a practical way the interests of the children and the teachers in the public schools; be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, through its Executive Council, be instructed, and that all affiliated national and international unions and their respective

local unions, as well as all city and central labor unions and all other trade unions and federations, be urged to aid in promoting the universal observance of the free text book system; that the allied printing trades unions be assisted in ever possible way to have the printing trades' union label placed on all books and other publications used in the public schools, and that every possible effort be exerted to have all books used in the public schools be produced in their entirety within the United States and under union conditions of employment.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Delegate Julia O'Connor obtained unanimous consent for the introduction of the following resolution:

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Julia S. O'Connor, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, The telephone operators of the nation are very largely unorganized; and

WHEREAS, This unorganized condition among these workers produces not only the deterioration of their own economic standards, but deprives the labor movement of the great moral strength which the organization of this vital industry would bring to the organized labor cause; and

WHEREAS, The telephone operators have shown themselves wherever afforded the opportunity susceptible to trade union organization, appreciative of its benefits and loyal to its traditions; and

WHEREAS, The efforts of the telephone operators to achieve the organization of their industry are handicapped by the power, influence and wealth of the telephone corporations, pursuing in the main a policy of trade union antagonism; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in its forty-second annual convention assembled recognizes the value and necessity of complete organization among the telephone operators, and pledges to that objective the fullest measure of its support.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

At 5:45 o'clock Wednesday, June 14, the convention was adjourned to Thursday, June 15, at 9:30 a.m.

## FOURTH DAY—Thursday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 15, 1922.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

### Absentees

Mountford, Beisel, Reddick, Boyers, Hyland, McCarthy, Perkins, Desepte, Coulter, Noonan, O'Connor, Feeney, Laibly, Brennan, Austen, Lewis, Murray, Farrington, Moore, Kennedy, Weaver, Winkle, M. H. Parker, Bergstrom, H. L. Franklin, Harry W. Fox, Lorntsen, Hushing, Lennon, Lehman, Thornsbrough, John E. Sullivan, Winans, R. E. Roberts, N. C. Franklin, Jacob C. Taylor, Lochray, Robert Marshall, Ogg, O'Dell, Ford, Clarence E. Kerns, Argo, Bennett, Downes, Sims, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Frampton, Tinney, Dunn, Bower, Wrenn, W. E. Colman, Boulware, A. E. Allen, Carter, McCoy, Tunnage, Stewart, Milton, Flynn, Latimore, Fred. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstone, Gunther, Hutchins, J. P. Burke, LaBelle, Suito, Thos. Sweeney, Canterbury, Doane, John H. Walker, Howat, Ely, J. P. Holland, Edgar Fen-ton.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Cook, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

We have examined the credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Central Trades and Labor Council, Zanesville, Ohio, Henry F. W. Steh-meyer, 1 vote.

Building Service Employees' International Union, Chicago, Ill., Ambrose O'Brien, to take the place of Claude F. Peters.

Yours fraternally,

THOS. F. FLAHERTY,

Chairman,

PETER McKILLOP,

HARRY H. COOK, Secretary,

Committee on Credentials.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

Delegate William P. Clarke, Flint Glass Workers, in the chair.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Mrs. Sarah Conboy, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

#### Unemployment

On this part of the Executive Council's report, page 106, your committee recommends that the American Federation of Labor continue its efforts to bring about a remedy and a relief for those out of employment. Although the bill introduced by Representative Nolan, of California, as a relief for unemployment, met with defeat, that should not deter us from trying again. In the labor movement we know it is only through continued and untiring effort, that we gain anything.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Work of Our Organizers

Your committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's report, page 145, and appreciates the work done by the organizers in preserving, fostering and advancing the labor movement whenever and wherever possible.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Observance of Contract and Cessation of Work

Your committee has given the subject matter under the caption, "Observance of Contract and Cessation of Work," in the Executive Council's report, pages 36, 37, and 38, most careful consideration.

We know that during the past year when unemployment was prevalent, employers took advantage of the workers at every opportunity.

We regret, however, to make it known that in many instances, employers went so far as to deliberately violate, break and cancel working agreements honestly entered into previously, at least the wage workers believed these agreements were honestly entered into, or else they would not have been a party to them.

We feel that all parties to an agreement or contract should scrupulously live up to, observe and abide by every provision, condition and term of said agreement or contract, if not they lose

confidence in one another and create distrust.

Once the pledge of labor is given it must be kept; it has been kept in the past, it will be kept in the future.

It is not fair, however, to pledge labor to certain things and allow the employer to do as he pleases.

When agreements are to be entered into, it must be with the distinct understanding that they are to be honestly observed and faithfully adhered to by all parties thereto.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Unemployment

Upon this part of the report of the Executive Council, pages 72 to 78 inclusive, your committee recommends the endorsement of the report of the Special Committee on Unemployment, authorized by the Denver convention last year, and the approval of the recommendations thereto, as suggested by the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### "Open Shop" Campaign.

Your committee is in entire accord with the sentiments expressed by the Executive Council in its report on the open shop campaign and urges the organized workers of the country to strenuously resist any and all efforts of our opponents to foist upon us open shop conditions. Open shoppers want to hire whom they please, work them as they please, pay them what they please and discharge them when they please, which, plainly speaking, means the non-union shop and the destruction of organized labor. The answer to all this is intensive organization. When the workers are one hundred per cent organized the open shop will be a thing of the past.

Organize, as never before, and there-by combat this insidious propaganda.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 9—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The fact that a major portion of the workers are from time to time compelled to change their occupation, thus changing the jurisdiction of their employment, compelling them in most cases, under present practice, to pay new initiation fees; and,

WHEREAS, This practice inflicts unnecessary hardship on the workers in

the extra expenses involved; causes many to divorce themselves from the labor movement, thus weakening our line of defense; and,

WHEREAS, We believe the interests of labor in any division will be adequately safeguarded from unnecessary invasion by the qualifications exacted both by the organization and employers as well as by the regulations that might be adopted covering any difference in initiation fees, where membership was of short duration; and,

WHEREAS, We believe the removal of the unnecessary restrictions imposed by the burden of new initiation fees would result in the building up of a better and greater labor movement, a vast increase in membership and an increase of interest; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we recommend to all affiliated national and international unions that they effect such changes in their constitutions as may be required to permit the acceptance of transfer, traveling or clearance cards from any other affiliated organization in lieu of an initiation fee as is now required; such acceptance to be contingent on the applicant's ability to perform the work covered by the organization in a manner to command the minimum wage provided for that class of work.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution, for the reason that each international union has complete autonomy over its own membership, and the admission of members to the various international organizations is a matter for them to deal with.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Grow, Machinists, in discussing the subject, said he felt sure that some good could be accomplished by referring the matter to the Executive Council or a special committee to work out in a manner that would meet with the approval of all organizations. He referred to the inconvenience to which the workers were put during the war period in going from one industry to another and in being required to pay very large initiation fees.

Delegate Sillinsky, Journeymen Tailors, opposed the report of the committee, and said that while he recognized the rights of the national and international unions in the matter, at the same time he felt that the Executive Council should recommend to those unions now operating in the same or kindred indus-

tries a means whereby the worker leaving one branch of the industry and being forced to seek employment in another shall not be deprived of the right to a livelihood by reason of being charged the large initiation fees prevailing in the union to which he transfers.

Delegate Lynam, Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly, stated that he had recently been employed as a building tradesman, due to unemployment in the mining industry, and that in transferring he was required to pay a \$25 initiation fee.

Delegate Williams, Carmen, opposed the report of the committee and favored the adoption of the resolution, because he felt that the time has arrived to bring the workers closer together, regardless of the industry in which they are engaged.

Vice-President Duffy, chairman of the committee, in supporting the committee's report, said: "I don't see how the committee can bring in a different report than this. Each national and international organization has been given full autonomy over its own affairs by the American Federation of Labor, with which the American Federation of Labor will not interfere.

"Now it seems, according to this resolution that that autonomy is to be taken away from the international organizations and that men should be permitted to transfer from one organization to another without having to pay further initiation fees; for instance, some international organization may have an initiation fee of one dollar; some other international organization may have an initiation fee of twenty-five dollars. A man goes over to the dollar organization, becomes a member and transfers over to the twenty-five-dollar organization, and we have to take him in free on his card, according to this resolution. Other organizations pay large benefits, especially the large organizations. Some of the smaller unions pay scarcely any benefits at all.

"The report of the committee does not prevent any two organizations, national or international, from entering into an agreement of this kind, but when it comes down to the American Federation of Labor taking action making it mandatory or compulsory on all organizations to do this, then the American Federation of Labor is going beyond its authority. That is the reason for our report."

Delegate Dobson, Bricklayers, said that his organization had entered into an agreement with the Operative Plas-

ters; the Stone Cutters and kindred organizations providing for an interchange of cards, and suggested that other organizations closely allied take the same course as a means of overcoming the difficulty described in the resolution.

Delegate Keep, Journeymen Tailors, stated that in his opinion there was no mandatory provision in the resolution; that it simply offered a recommendation to the national and international unions.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was defeated.

Upon motion by Delegate Greenstein, Jewelry Workers, Resolution No. 9 was adopted as read.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 29 and 30, which are identical and bear on the same subject. (Resolution No. 30 was introduced by Delegate Herman Defrem, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, and is found on page 190 of the second day's proceedings.)

Resolution No. 29 is as follows:

Resolution No. 29 — By Delegates E. H. Fitzgerald, A. C. Hay, H. B. Odell, Wade Shurtleff, Louie J. England, Mabel McNolty, of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees:

WHEREAS, The employers throughout the nation have solidly united, being bound together by a solidarity of interest and organization which leaves no room for divided action or desertions, and moreover, they are supported by the government, the courts and the press in any union-smashing undertaking they engage in; and,

WHEREAS, They are carrying on a vicious attack upon the labor movement, singling out various unions and forcing them to engage in a bitter struggle for self-preservation; and,

WHEREAS, These unions, because they are divided against themselves, along trade lines and are thus unable to make united resistance against the employers, constantly suffering defeat after defeat, with heavy losses in membership and serious lowering of the workers' standards of living and working conditions; and,

WHEREAS, The only solution for the situation is the development of a united front by the workers through the amalgamation of the various trades unions so that there will remain only

one union for each industry; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor take the necessary action toward bringing about the required solidarity within the ranks of organized labor, and that as a first step in this direction that the various international unions be called into conference for the purpose of arranging to amalgamate all the unions in the respective industries into single organizations, each of which shall cover any industry.

The subject matter contained in these resolutions is already in effect through the various departments of the American Federation of Labor, and for this reason your committee non-concurs in these resolutions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 32**—By Delegate Joseph N. Boulware, Boilermaker Helpers' Union No. 17430, Columbia, S. C.:

**WHEREAS**, There are boilermakers that bar colored boilermaker helpers from certain classes of work, such as cutting and swagging flues, and scaling boilers with air hammers, etc.; and,

**WHEREAS**, There are colored boilermaker helpers competent to do this class of work, but are not permitted on account of color; and,

**WHEREAS**, On account of this unjust discrimination colored boilermaker helpers are held out of their seniority rights and are thus compelled to continue their fight against these injustices, realizing the need and importance of a solid union against the enemies of organized labor; and,

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor does not discriminate against any worker on account of creed or color, but stands up for the right of every worker, and for a closer federation of the trade union movement, thus accomplishing great good along this line and is still exerting a powerful influence; and,

**WHEREAS**, The International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this forty-second annual convention, now assembled in the City of Cincinnati, will use every means in its power to have the word "white" before the word helpers stricken out in doing certain classes of boilermaker helpers' work, and thus bring about an

amicable adjustment of the trouble between the boilermakers and colored helpers; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor make some provision for the settlement of colored helpers' grievances and for their uniform organization.

The St. Paul and Atlantic City conventions of the American Federation of Labor dealt with this matter very plainly. It was decided at these conventions that if national and international unions refused to accept to membership colored workers the American Federation of Labor should organize and charter them direct.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

**Resolution No. 33**—By Delegate Jerome Jones, Georgia State Federation of Labor, Atlanta, Ga.:

**WHEREAS**, The best interests of organized labor demand that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (either directly or through their national or international organization) should by affiliation become members of their respective state federation of labor and central bodies and district councils; and,

**WHEREAS**, The machinery provided by the American Federation of Labor constitution seems to be, and is, inadequate to compel that solidarity so necessary to the success of the labor movement; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council shall, in a city where a national or international union is in session, the president of the American Federation of Labor shall direct the nearest resident organizer of the American Federation of Labor to appear before that convention and urge in the name of the American Federation of Labor that the section in the law of said international relating to delegates to central and state bodies be so amended making it compulsory on the local to affiliate with central and state bodies; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That such organizer, after performing the duty prescribed in this resolution, shall report to the president of this body what disposition was made of the request; and, further

**RESOLVED**, That the reports from such organizers appointed to perform this duty shall be read as other reports at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution for the reason that the results sought could be obtained by the President of the American Federation of Labor by correspondence at less expense than through the services of an organizer. The American Federation of Labor being a voluntary organization without police powers cannot very well use compulsory methods to gain its ends, nor can it ask affiliated organizations to do that which it cannot do itself.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Herman Defrem, of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646:

WHEREAS, There are, in this country, hundreds of unaffiliated labor unions, with a total membership of hundreds of thousands of workers; and,

WHEREAS, Many of these unaffiliated unions are in substantial accord with the American Federation of Labor; and,

WHEREAS, The existence of these labor organizations outside of the American Federation of Labor is a most serious detriment to the unity, to the solidarity and to the strength of the American labor movement; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president be instructed to appoint, within five months, a committee of five on Labor Unity. The functions of this committee to be:

1. To make a survey of the non-affiliated labor unions of the country in regard to their number, their membership, the industries in which they operate, and the reasons for their non-affiliation.

2. To find out the exact conditions on which affiliation or amalgamation with American Federation of Labor unions could be brought about.

3. To promote the movement toward greater labor unity by arranging conferences with the organizations concerned, and by making specific recommendations in each case.

4. To publish a report of its findings, its activities and its recommendations one month before the next convention.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution for the reason that the ends sought can be obtained by the President of the American Federation of Labor without incurring the expense of

a special committee. In fact, the President of the American Federation of Labor is and has been in close touch with the organizations outside of the American Federation of Labor and has at all times done his best to bring them within the fold.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 69—By Delegates Steve Kelleher, Ambrose O'Brien and William F. Quesse, of the Building Service International Union:

WHEREAS, The Building Service International Union, having jurisdiction over janitors, window washers, elevator conductors and starters and others engaged in the care of public and private buildings, theaters, etc., was chartered by this American Federation of Labor in April, 1921; and,

WHEREAS, This baby international union has during the first year of its existence, despite the adverse conditions confronting the general labor movement, managed to develop; and,

WHEREAS, There are as yet thousands of unorganized workers employed in public schools, theaters, apartment and office buildings as janitors, elevator men, window washers, etc., in the various cities where Central Labor Councils exist who could be organized by and with the assistance of the Central Labor bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor that in order to further develop Building Service Employees' International Union and bring about a decent standard of wages and working conditions, that we urge all City Central Labor Councils to render all possible assistance to have school, apartment, office building and theater janitors, elevator conductors and starters and window washers form local unions or join existing local unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all organizers of the American Federation of Labor are hereby instructed to co-operate to that end in every locality where such workers are employed.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and refers the same to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for compliance therewith, if the funds of the Federation permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.



Resolution No. 77—By Delegates Benjamin Schlessinger, Louis Langer, Max Amdur, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg and Louis Penkofsky of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, Manufacturers of women's wear, in an attempt to break down the union standards and terms of employment prevailing in the organized ladies' garment centers have been opening systematically factories in small towns, employing tens of thousands of women workers under oppressive and un-American conditions; and,

WHEREAS, In endeavoring to organize the workers in these smaller cities, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union finds itself opposed by the local authorities, the press and the organized manufacturers who are prejudicing the minds of the citizens in these towns against the legitimate trade union activities of our organization; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in Cincinnati assembled, that the Executive Council instruct its general organizers and also call upon all city and state central labor bodies to render all possible assistance to the organizing work conducted by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, so that not only the standards of the organized workers in the larger centers of the ladies' garment industry will be protected, but that the workers in the smaller towns may also achieve and enjoy the benefits of organization.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegates John S. Barry and James A. Legassie:

WHEREAS, There has been some organization work conducted in the States of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont; yet there remains many unorganized; and,

WHEREAS, The future must bring forth still greater efforts in the work of organization both for the sake of the organized and unorganized; and,

WHEREAS, It is imperative that every effort be put forth during the coming year for the strengthening of the labor movement in general; and,

WHEREAS, The more effective the work of organization of workers the

greater will be the results achieved; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled in Cincinnati, O., assign an organizer to the district of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, where there is a fertile field for organization.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and refers same to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for compliance therewith if the funds of the Federation permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 105 by striking out the following words in the last "Resolve": "that such organizer or organizers be appointed from among the ranks of the office workers and." The amended resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 105—By Delegates E. C. Scott, of the Stenographers, Type-writers, Bookkeepers and Assistants No. 11,773, Washington, D. C., and Herman Defrem, of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12,646:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has been petitioned several times during the past years to appoint organizers who shall work chiefly in the interests of the office workers; and,

WHEREAS, There exists today no better field for organization work than the office workers, there being over two million in the United States and Canada; and,

WHEREAS, This class of workers are now alive to the needs of organization since they have never received a wage commensurate with their skill and ability, and are now more than ever in need of organization, due to the general wage reductions being imposed on all organized and unorganized crafts; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention, desirous of organizing these workers, realizing the conditions under which they labor, extends to them the fullest support; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to appoint one or more organizers who shall devote their entire time to the organization of office workers in order that this craft may improve its conditions and establish

these workers in the position of labor which is justly theirs; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That all delegates to this convention carry back to their respective communities the necessity of assisting in all manner possible the organization of this craft.

Your committee concurs in this resolution as amended and refers the whole subject matter to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for compliance therewith if the funds of the Federation permit.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate T. N. Taylor:

**WHEREAS**, Labor is confronted with a condition at this time that calls for closer affiliation of labor than at any other time in the past, owing to the attacks that are being made on the entire labor movement by the advocates of the "open shop;" and,

**WHEREAS**, Closer affiliation, if effective, must start in the local unions and extend to the central bodies and State organizations; and,

**WHEREAS**, Resolution No. 81, passed by the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor has proved to be ineffective; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, that the president be instructed to designate a representative of the American Federation of Labor to attend, in person, the convention of each national or international organization, requesting such convention to pass a resolution making it mandatory on the part of their local unions to affiliate with central bodies and State federations.

Your committee reports that no action is necessary on this resolution, as the subject matter has already been acted upon under Resolution No. 33.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Julia S. O'Connor, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

**WHEREAS**, The telephone operators of the nation are very largely unorganized; and,

**WHEREAS**, This unorganized condition among these workers produces not only the deterioration of their own economic standards, but deprives the

labor movement of the great moral strength which the organization of this vital industry would bring to the organized labor cause; and,

**WHEREAS**, The telephone operators have shown themselves wherever afforded the opportunity susceptible to trade union organization, appreciative of its benefits and loyal to its traditions; and,

**WHEREAS**, The efforts of the telephone operators to achieve the organization of their industry are handicapped by the power, influence and wealth of the telephone corporation, pursuing in the main a policy of trade union antagonism; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor in its forty-second annual convention assembled recognizes the value and necessity of complete organization among the telephone operators, and pledges to that objective the fullest measure of its support.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

Delegate Greenstein, Jewelry Workers, discussed the question briefly, after which the report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Duffy: This completes all the matters which the Committee on Organization is prepared to report upon at this time.

#### COMMITTEE APPOINTMENT

President Gompers: Acting upon the authority conferred upon the President of the American Federation of Labor by this convention to select a committee to take under consideration the subject discussed yesterday, the chair is submitting the names of the delegates to this convention who have been selected to act on that committee, and the secretary will please read the names.

Secretary Morrison read the names as follows:

Special Committee—B. M. Jewell, James Duncan, William Green, Matthew Woll, G. W. Perkins, John P. Frey, W. D. Mahon, Frank Duffy, John Voll, James Wilson, Benjamin Schlessinger, T. F. Flaherty, William P. Clark, George L. Berry, and T. W. McCullough.

President Gompers: May I say this—I assume, and I know that the remark was made that would indicate that those who were not appointed upon that com-

mittee were not of the best minds. The chair would not care to have any such deduction made from the appointees on the committee which he has submitted to you. What has governed me in the selection of these names is this: that these men have had the largest experience in the various subjects we discussed yesterday and which are contained in the report of the Executive Council. I am therefore submitting these names to the convention. Is there objection?

No objection was interposed, and the appointment of the Special Committee as announced by the president was confirmed by the convention.

Delegate Coughlin, Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York, obtained the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce the following resolution:

Resolution No. 118—By Delegates A. J. Berres, Martin F. Ryan, C. F. Grow, Wm. Hannon, B. M. Jewell, Thos. J. Curtis, Edw. T. Hannah, Josh. Clarke, Jos. A. Mullaney, C. L. Rosemund, J. P. Coughlin, J. T. Carey, C. L. Shamp:

WHEREAS, There exists in the various States laws providing compensation to working people who become injured while in the course of their employment; and,

WHEREAS, The employers of labor in several industries have set up such standards of employment that are unfair and through physical examination and age limits of employment they have taken advantage of these laws to discriminate against certain classes of workers; and,

WHEREAS, There is a wide differential in the administration and scheduled benefits in the amount of compensation in the various State laws causing much inter-state controversy in industrial centers with inter-state jurisdiction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president of the American Federation of Labor be authorized by this forty-second convention to select a committee to study the question of workmen's compensation from a national aspect with a view to—

1. To standardize the provisions of workmen's compensation through co-

operation of the various State Federations of Labor.

2. To provide for a pension system for the infirm and handicapped who are unable on account of alleged extra hazard.

3. To extend the provisions of workmen compensation through federal amendment to all employees engaged in interstate commerce.

Referred to Committee on Report of Executive Council.

#### ADDRESS OF MISS ANNA FITZGERALD

Fraternal Delegate, Woman's International Union Label League

Mr. President and Delegates: It has been my pleasure to attend several conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and I have had an opportunity to present the work of our organization to you on several occasions, but I believe at no time has it been so opportune as at the present time. We listened yesterday with great interest and with a depressed feeling when we heard the conditions that confront the children of our country, and I believe at this time, possibly more than ever before, it is necessary that the work we have been doing shall be pushed forward and onward.

The work of our organization is mainly to educate the women in the homes to spend the union-earned wages for union-made goods and to pronzize organized labor in every way possible. I believe we can no longer be indifferent—those of us who have been—to this vital question. I believe the time has come, when, if we are going to combat the many forces that have organized in an effort to destroy union labor, we must enlist all our forces.

Many organizations have placed a great value on the union label, but it has never filled its proper place in this trade-union work. If union labor is ever to be what we hoped it would be we must turn on the current, the purchasing power of the women in the homes. This is our particular work, and by doing this we are able to assist in organization work. The union label, I think, is one of the greatest organizers the trade unions possess, and if we can interest the women of this country in our work many of the conditions that exist now will be modified to a very great extent.

Our organization will do everything possible to carry out the program laid down by the American Federation of Labor not only to enact new child labor

laws but to enforce the laws we already have in our various states. In the meantime we have that all-powerful weapon, the union label, and if we wield that power in an intelligent manner as we transact the other business of this great Federation of Labor we will be able to do a great deal with very little effort and little or no expense on our part.

We have organized in many of the cities of this country women who have the most altruistic motives in belonging to this organization, and if we have not enlisted more of them in the cause I believe labor itself is somewhat to blame. Speaking to this convention, I realize that it is the representatives of the local central bodies and state federations who can do most in the direction of organizing and co-operating with us in this work of educating women to the true value of the union label.

I can recall, many years ago, when it was not an uncommon thing to see sweatshops flourish in almost all our great cities. We were finally relieved of that condition and now it looks as though we are again going to face it if we do not use every effort to prevent it. While we are waiting for the enactment of laws to protect our children we can help by a consistent patronage of our union label. If the women in the homes can be brought to a full realization of what it means, not only to their husbands but to their children and to themselves, to patronize the label, we can assist in the advancement of organized labor.

I realize that when I am talking of the label in this convention I am talking to people who fully understand it and do not expect me to say anything new, but I make this appeal to you. When you leave the convention look into this matter, study the situation and ask yourselves if it is not worth while to interest the women in the homes in this great problem. We feel that men are recognizing women in every direction; they are seeking them in their political parties, and yet the trade-union movement has long been indifferent in taking this information into their homes.

In different cities we have been able to be helpful, and we are going to continue in our work, because we know it is a step in the right direction. When the American Federation adopts its program to enact legislation that will help save the children of our country, I want to say to them that our organization, with local branches in 150 cities in this country, will back them and do every-

thing in our power to advance such legislation.

Give this matter of the union label more consideration. The emblem may seem insignificant in itself, but it is a wonderful power in your hands if rightly used. Let us see if we cannot arouse the women of our country; let us show them that they, too, have a place in this movement, and that when they spend money for goods that do not bear the label they are slackers in the movement. It has been said that women are rather timid and that we must go after them and bring them into the movement. Not only the women in industry, but the women in the homes, can do a great deal and we will be glad to co-operate with them.

For years our organization has made it possible that I might be here to study the movement as the American Federation of Labor knows it, so that I might impart the knowledge I gain in the different directions in which we work. We are going to continue to do this. I hope the different organizations will give this matter serious thought. Don't think when you go home that this does not amount to anything. It amounts to a great deal, for our label, shop card and button can be made most powerful helps to organized labor.

I am glad of this opportunity to be with you and bring you the greeting of the International Women's Union Label League. We pledge our co-operation to the American Federation of Labor and ask your co-operation with us in our work.

President Gompers: Whenever any act can be done in furtherance of this great purpose of the union label, the shop card and union button, no one is more earnest than Miss Fitzgerald.

Delegate Cleland asked unanimous consent to introduce a resolution dealing with questions connected with the civil service. He explained that the resolution was sent by telegraphic message and had not been delivered to the delegates in time to present it Tuesday, June 13.

Delegate Nelson, Kansas City, objected to the introduction of the resolution, and under the law it could not be accepted.

President Gompers: The hour for adjournment has not arrived, and I suggest that we devote a little time to general discussion. The chair suggests that five minutes be devoted to discussion by each speaker. Is there objection? Hearing none I will ask Delegate Flaherty to address the convention for five minutes.

## ADDRESS OF THOMAS F.

## FLAHERTY

## President National Federation of Post Office Clerks

I find myself somewhat embarrassed by being limited to five minutes. I am in the same position as the schoolboy who was asked to write an essay on Patrick Henry, and who was embarrassed, as I am embarrassed, by being asked to eliminate all non-essentials and deal only with essentials. So he wrote: "Patrick Henry was a Virginian. He was a lawyer. He was married, and he said, 'Give me liberty or give me death!'"

Some of the delegates may have got the opinion through the objection voiced to the introduction of a resolution that the Government employes now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are not in entire accord in their program in this convention. I would not want an erroneous impression of that kind to prevail. For the most part federal employes agree on programs to be presented to this convention. We may differ in some details or in some non-essentials. You convinced the Government employes that we should have a direct contact with the American labor movement. We found there were so many economic ties that bound us together that a policy of isolation was impossible, and so today we find the postal employes and Government employes generally looking beyond the narrow confines of their own employment and reaching out into the wide, work-a-day world, joining with organized wage-earners in a constructive national program for social betterment.

Formerly the Government employee was somewhat provincial in his outlook, but that day has passed, happily, and that erroneous conception has been dissipated to a large extent. We find, as President Gainer has said, that there are nine affiliated organizations of Government employes that have representatives in this convention, and in their behalf perhaps I should say now that we owe a debt of gratitude to the organized labor movement for the support it has given us in enacting legislation beneficial to the Government employes, especially with respect to the retirement act. The underlying principle of this retirement act is that when a worker has rendered his best service for twenty-five, thirty, yes, even forty years, it behooves society, in his declining years, to step in and see that he shall not be scrapped in this great in-

dustrial maw; it behooves society to step in and say that he has earned the right to a modest competency in the form of a service annuity.

We also succeeded in getting enacted and placed on the statute books compensation for injury, a law which has brought relief to thousands of Government workers who were injured in the performance of their duty. We have not been able, despite our earnest efforts, to get the Government to take the lead in a great many needed reforms. We want the Government to operate and function as a large employer, and I think with the continued co-operation of you men and women of organized labor we can bring about that happy result.

Vice-President Mahon: I want to make a motion which I think will be of benefit to the workers that are now struggling, and will use some of this time we are trying to kill.

At the present time the United Mine Workers of America are engaged in both the anthracite and bituminous fields in what is said to be a life-and-death struggle. We all know the struggle these men are now putting up to maintain their organization and uphold the rights they have given years of effort to establish. We also know the attempts that are now being made to destroy the miners' organization and I feel that a word of cheer should go out from this convention.

I therefore move that by a rising vote this convention express our indorsement of the United Mine Workers of America in their struggle, extend our sympathy and hope that they will win the battle they are now engaged in.

The motion was seconded and adopted by unanimous rising vote.

President Gompers: I will ask Brother B. M. Jewell of the Railway Employees' Department to address the convention for five minutes.

## ADDRESS OF MR. B. M. JEWELL

## President, Railway Employees' Department, American Federation of Labor

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: I am sure that the Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor appreciates the opportunity that has been extended to me at this time to speak to the delegates here. However, I find myself in a position where this morning I cannot discuss the question that is naturally closest to the hearts of the railway employes, because the executives of the organizations affiliated to the Railway Employ-

ees' Department have not yet decided just what should be done. I can say that the decision as to what further action shall be taken by the Federated Shop Crafts, by the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, by those who are to be involved by further decisions to be rendered by the august Railroad Labor Board, will be permitted to decide for themselves by a proper and legal strike ballot what shall be done.

I think I may also say, Mr. Chairman, that the railway employees of this country are convinced that certain sinister interests have for some two and one-half years, if not longer, been endeavoring to maneuver the railroad employees, or at least certain of them, into a position where there might be a hope of crushing those organizations. It is the belief of the officers, as they interpret the desires and opinions of their membership prior to the casting of the strike vote that is now out, that this is the time for us to determine in the interest of the other fellow whether or not organized labor can be crushed without killing every individual member. We hold that it cannot be done. It is believed the membership are prepared to meet the test, and if they are and if they so decide, their decisions will be complied with.

#### ADDRESS OF MR. JAMES O'CONNELL

President, Metal Trades Department  
of the American Federation  
of Labor

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the convention of the American Federation of Labor decided some years ago, redecided and redecided, and this last year decided again, that we should enter into the political field for the purpose of rewarding our friends and cussing our enemies. The Executive Council, through their good judgment—indeed, I will say their exceptional wisdom—selected me as a member of the Executive Committee to conduct this campaign. Personally I want to compliment your Executive Council upon their selection because I feel they have demonstrated their ability—I am speaking for myself and not for President Gompers or Secretary Morrison, I have not consulted them. I think, however, they feel about it as I do.

There is no necessity on my part for calling your attention to the reactionary state of affairs in Washington, nor is there any necessity for calling your at-

tention to the conditions existing throughout the country; but through you, those you represent at home, or through your international organizations, there is a necessity to calling your attention to this campaign in which we are engaged.

We have had exceptional experience during the past year in dealing with Congress in an attempt to secure legislation in behalf of the toilers of our country, on the one hand, and on the other to prevent the enactment of laws opposing the interests of the toilers of the country. We have experienced, not only at the hands of Congress, but at the hands of those who are in charge of the affairs of industry, a severe snubbing, a severe setback and a severe criticism for our audacity in attempting to get for the toilers of our country a more liberal interpretation of their rights and interests than we believed they were securing. As a result of that we have appealed to the workers of the country to stand together in the election of men to Congress and to the Senate who are interested somewhat in the human uplift. If you are interested in that sort of thing we ask you to co-operate with us and assist us in every service possible to make this campaign a success.

It is astonishing that during the past few weeks men who have been pronounced in their opposition to labor have been intensely sympathetic almost over night. At least they appear to have become sympathetic. I don't know what has caused the apparent change of mind or heart, but undoubtedly it is that there is an evidence that labor is recognizing now more than ever before that there is a necessity for co-operating more closely together in this particular field in which they are interested.

The Executive Committee of this organization handling this work is attempting to send broadcast the necessity and the desire of our organizations to bring about the results we hope for. Already some evidence has demonstrated itself that there is beginning a change of heart. Some men in Congress who have been hostile in the extreme toward the interests of labor have already been officially invited to remain at home in the future. In the primaries held throughout the country some of the prominent members of Congress have been given their retiring orders. If we have the support of organized labor in this campaign this fall, I am sure that many of our opponents will have an order to remain at home hereafter so far as their public political career is concerned.

I think you can go home and get on the housetops, the treetops and any high spots and shout out loud, regardless of who you are, regardless of your political affiliations, regardless of your interest in any political party, that the American Federation of Labor and the associated organizations throughout the country interested in this subject have decided to make their position known and invite those who are interested in the uplift of mankind of the human rights of the human race in our country to join with us in this campaign to elect the men who have sympathy with human kind; not particularly organized labor, but the rights of labor, the rights of men to be free men, and, as was said to us yesterday so forcibly by Senator LaFollette, we will bring such pressure and such influence to bear that these men who have been absolutely and positively antagonistic to the rights of the working people of our country, if they do not broaden out and see things as they exist and help us free labor from the shackles from which it has been suffering, shackles the courts of our country are now trying to impose upon them, the people will rise up in their might and their power and secure such legislation.

#### ADDRESS OF MR. WILLIAM GREEN

Secretary-Treasurer, United Mine Workers of America

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates: Just a few minutes ago, while I was walking down this side of the convention hall, I heard my good friend and fellow official on the Executive Council, W. G. Mahon, present a resolution extending indorsement to the striking members of the organization which I have the honor to represent. I did not catch the full purport of the resolution until after it had been acted upon. In view of those facts, I am sure you will pardon me if I arise, even out of order, at this time for the purpose of officially expressing to this convention the appreciation of the United Mine Workers of America for the action you have taken.

You have always understood, I am sure, that the United Mine Workers of America are a fighting, militant organization, and they have never hesitated to fight when pressed against the wall or when an attempt was made to inflict upon them an indefensible wrong. And so now they are engaged in a mighty conflict, struggling for the recognition of a principle, demanding that an agreement entered into shall be religiously observed.

May I just state to you as a matter of information that about two years ago the coal operators of the central competitive field, representing a vast tonnage, agreed to meet with the representatives of the United Mine Workers, at the expiration of a contract that was then entered into, for the purpose of negotiating a new agreement. That contract was made under Government supervision and Government direction; the Government, in fact, was a party to the agreement; but when the contract expired and they were asked to comply with the agreement they had entered into the coal operators flatly refused and up to this time have steadfastly refused to live up to their agreement.

So the miners are fighting, first, for the recognition of contract rights, fighting to compel the coal operators to adhere to a contract they entered into. The struggle has gone on for more than ten weeks. The fight has been desperate from the beginning. In many non-union sections of the country and in some thoroughly organized sections as well, the coal operators have fought the miners by all the brutal, uncivilized methods that have heretofore characterized industrial conflicts in the mining fields. In the State of West Virginia injunction after injunction has been issued, men have been arrested for violating these injunctions, charged with the violation of these injunctions; men and their families have been thrown out of the miserable homes that belong to the operators, with their belongings, into the roads and highways and on the mountain sides; but, notwithstanding these brutal methods they have stood like soldiers with their backs against the wall, unflinching in their determination to win this fight.

I don't know whether or not you from other trades have observed a conflict where members of organized labor and their families have been deprived of their homes. Imagine, if you please, a family, a wife, a father and four or five children, some of them babies too young to understand the meaning of it all, thrown out on the highway with their belongings in the rain, the snow and the sunshine. Can you conceive of a more brutal method of industrial warfare than that? With no home in which to live, and the only home we can offer them is a tent into which our organization moves them for the purpose of protecting the family from the elements. That is the kind of warfare that has been engaged in.

Last week I addressed a meeting at Uniontown, Pa., with 10,000 United Mine Workers and many of their wives

and children present. I never observed on the faces on any body of men and women a more fixed determination to go through with the conflict, even though the fight may last all summer. As they told me the stories of brutality, of attacks that had been made upon them, my heart was touched; it thrilled me, because I didn't believe there were any employers in America that would be so inhuman and brutal as to pursue the policies that have been pursued there.

Now the struggle has reached a point where it is attracting the attention of the people. We have fought well and valiantly, and we propose to continue to fight and fight valiantly. Our purpose is to fight to win, but our organization feels that rather than meekly submit to indefensible reductions of wages or the imposition of unfair conditions of employment we would rather fight and lose than accept it without a protest. That is the spirit of our people.

In Ohio, within the confines of the State in which we are holding this convention, the district officers have been enjoined again and again; men have been arrested and haled before the courts charged with the violation of indefensible injunctions. The struggle is going on in all sections. The pressure is greater now than it has ever been. The spirit and morale of these men are wonderful, and I am sure you can appreciate, in view of the reductions in wages that have been imposed on members of organized labor since this march back to normalcy begun, that the United Mine Workers are not only making their own fight for their own women, their own children and their own American standards of living, but they are actually making the fight for the organized labor movement of America.

With these few remarks, spoken from an earnest heart, I want to again express to the delegates the appreciation of our organization for the unanimous vote you gave us. Perhaps if the struggle goes on it will be required of the representatives of our organization to come to sister unions who may be more fortunately situated than others and ask them for something more substantial than you have given us this morning. I am sure, my friends, that if it comes to that, we won't hesitate because we believe in you and we know you will do the best you can. I am sure we are not going to come and ask for your financial help unless we find it absolutely necessary to do so.

President Gompers: Supplementing what Brother Green has already said, I merely want to make a reference to

a situation which arose several months ago when one of the Federal Judges issued an injunction against the officers of the United Mine Workers of America, as far-reaching in the destruction of fundamental rights as any injunction which had theretofore been issued.

One of the features of the injunction was that the United Mine Workers of America were prohibited from sending money into West Virginia to buy food and clothing for the miners, their wives and their little ones. The Secretary of the United Mine Workers, William Green, in court, when this injunction was delivered, arose without the consent and without consultation with the attorneys of the miners, and asked whether that part of the injunction was to be in effect—that is, that if he would send money to the struggling miners and their families for support—whether that would render him liable for contempt for violating that term of the injunction. And he said in essence—I do not vouch for the verbal accuracy of his answer: "If I am called to evade the terms of the injunction and am forbidden to send money, to send the funds of the United Mine Workers to West Virginia to sustain the life of the men, women and children engaged in that struggle or go to jail, I will send the money to West Virginia."

It is pleasing to know that that judicial autocrat and tyrant, Judge Anderson, modified his injunction immediately. Because we have the men who dare stand for the right, I could not refrain from making this statement publicly to the delegates and visitors to this convention.

#### ADDRESS OF MR. FRANK MORRISON

Secretary, American Federation of Labor

Mr. President and Delegates: During the period that I have been an active officer of the American Federation of Labor there has been no time when conditions that must be faced by the representatives of organized labor were more critical than they are at the present time. I recall that during the war when labor was answering to the call, the newspapers, the magazines, the men in public life, the judges of courts, had only words of praise for the president of the American Federation of Labor for his splendid position and his loyalty to the government, but as soon as the war was over there was a change, not only in the attitude of the president, but in the attitude of the papers to the wage workers of the



country. Stories were circulated that union men were soldiering. One man who owns two newspapers and magazines said the wage workers were doing half the work and receiving double the pay; in fact, they were receiving four times as much as they should receive. He said, "Labor must be put back in its place."

I do not know where that man or any body of men received the right to say to the millions of wage workers, "You must be put back in your place." And so when any representative of Congress dares to raise his voice in favor of labor, dares to thunder his opposition against legislation by judicial decisions, the press representing that body of men who desire to put labor back in its place ridicule and distort the statement he makes for the purpose of discrediting him with the people.

And so I was not surprised, after the wonderful address yesterday by Senator La Follette, to read an editorial in the Cincinnati Enquirer, of which I will read part, so that you will understand the misrepresentation that is made when our friends come to our defense, and to urge upon the delegates that when labor is misrepresented, when your friends are misrepresented, that you go to their defense, explain the misrepresentation and support those who are trying to give assistance in this critical time.

This is the heading of the editorial criticizing Senator LaFollette: "Crush This Infamous Thing!" and then it goes on to say:

"Aimed at the very heart of the American form of representative government is the shaft of United States Senator Robert M. LaFollette, loosed in the presence of the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. Nor Lenine nor yet Trotzky could have devised a more perfect engine of destruction than he proposed.

"What he advocates is the overturning of the work of the fathers who wrote that greatest of all instruments—greater even than the Magna Charta—the Federal Constitution, which has stood, Gibraltar-like, against insidious nullification, armed treason and demagogic attack for a century and a half and today serves as a model for the brood of young republics just born of travail and war against kings."

The editorial eulogizes Judge Marshall, who usurped for the Supreme Court the right to declare laws enacted by the representatives of the people unconstitutional, and continues:

"Today there is rising a protest against the merging of the legislative

and executive departments, and President Harding sits in the White House largely on that account. The Wisconsin Senator now proposes that all three departments shall be forcibly united and power given to Congress to hold sway over life and property; that the judges shall sit below at the feet of the majority in the legislative halls and that the congressional roll-call shall take the place of substantive justice while the channel executive enforces its decrees."

My friends, I was taught that we have three co-equal branches of the government. One is the legislative branch, which enacts the laws the people are to obey; the next is the judiciary, which decides whether or not you have obeyed the law; and the third is the executive branch, which carries on the business of the government. They try in this editorial to make it appear that the proposition of Senator LaFollette is to hold in suppression the Supreme Court, while his proposition was that Congress should make the laws, and when the people had spoken those laws should stand until the people rescinded them.

The objection of the labor unions is to the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States has gone outside of its jurisdiction, and instead of rendering decisions according to the laws enacted by Congress they are legislating by their decisions. The Supreme Court, within a very few years, by decisions, has modified in the Duplex case the right of boycott; in the Granite City case it has limited the power of unions to picket; in the Truax case it has decided that patronage and business are property, so as to bring it under the constitution. The Supreme Court has decided that if a union through its members boycott an employer, by so doing they are taking away his business and his patronage without due process of law. Following that, in the recent decision of the Coronado case, the court has decided that unincorporated unions can be sued for the acts of their individual members.

The position taken by labor is that these three co-equal bodies should function in conformity with the limitations of their jurisdiction. The enactment of legislation comes under the jurisdiction of the legislative body. When laws are enacted it is the duty of the Supreme Court to decide the cases that come before it in accordance with the laws that are enacted, and it is not the province of the Supreme Court to legislate and extend the laws that have been enacted by the legislative body. That is the function of the legislative body of this

country. The aim of our enemies is manifest—they desire to secure the enactment of laws that will prevent strikes, which will hold the workers in submission to the will of the great financial interests owning the industries.

My friends, the one great power held by the workers of this country and other countries is the power to cease work until such time as the employers will meet with them around the conference table and enter into agreements to carry on their business, and I, for one, so long as I live, shall oppose any effort to take from the workers the right to cease work when conditions are unsatisfactory to them. I shall oppose with all my might the efforts of the courts to create legislation by judicial decisions, and, with the opening of Wednesday's addresses, and with the efforts put forth by this convention, I feel that the door is opening and that organized labor represented in this convention and the officers of the American Federation of Labor will pursue a course of action that eventually will result in rescinding all anti-strike legislation adopted by states and nation, and will hold our courts within their jurisdiction.

I thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunity to express these few thoughts and to say that I hope it will not be many years until the American Federation of Labor will emerge victorious all along the line from the tremendous fight that is being leveled at the efforts of the wage workers of our country to secure equal opportunity for themselves and for their children.

#### ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT GOMPERS

It may not be amiss for me to say a few words on this occasion as the general discussion has gone on. I read with keen interest the editorial which appears in this morning's issue of the Cincinnati Enquirer, the editorial from which Secretary Morrison in part just quoted. I don't know whether a number of the delegates who were in Cincinnati about a week ago when in that same publication there appeared an editorial admonishing the American Federation of Labor at its then forthcoming convention to be conservative, to be within its limits, and to be conservative, not only in a general way, but because we would be meeting in the city of Cincinnati, which that paper stated was a conservative community.

It is fair to assume that with such advice the American Federation of Labor in its convention, its men and its officers, would receive at least fair

treatment. I may say this to you, that on last Friday the president of the American Federation of Labor, upon the invitation of the City Club of Cincinnati, delivered an address to that conservative body. He had the undivided attention of the more than three hundred in attendance at that luncheon, and after the address numbers of men, members of the club, came to him and congratulated him upon the matter and the manner of the address. Every newspaper in Cincinnati, outside of the Cincinnati Enquirer, published a fairly good account of that address. Looking through the Cincinnati Enquirer, no one could tell that ever such a gathering was had or such an address was delivered; it was wholly suppressed. A newspaper which has let the fairness to present labor's side of labor's controversy cannot be regarded, as it claims to be, the leading newspaper of Cincinnati.

It does not matter much to me what the Cincinnati Enquirer and its sister publication, the Washington Post, may say respecting your humble servant. You know how fair and impartial they are. Let me say this in connection with this editorial this morning, that in principle it is predicated upon a false doctrine. I know that it is the general concept that the three branches of our government have equal rights; equal powers and equal jurisdiction. No such fallacy exists in the theory of our government. Let me point out briefly a few facts showing absolutely that under our constitution the legislative body, the Congress of the United States, is invested with greater power than either the judiciary or the executive. For instance, the power exists exclusively in the House of Representatives of our Congress to raise revenues and propose the means by which revenues may be derived. Neither the judiciary, the executive nor even the Senate has the right to initiate legislation of this character. Unless the House of Representatives initiate legislation for revenues to carry on the administration and the government of our country, the whole government is paralyzed.

It was one of the rights secured by the people of England that revenues and appropriations must find their initial step in the Commons, and it was wrung from an unwilling monarch, so that the representatives of the people directly representing the people shall hold the pursestrings of the government that the rights of the people may not be invaded.

Again there is within the power, and

within the power only of the House of Representatives, to bring the members of the judicial branch of the government, and has the same right to place the President of the United States, before the bar of the Congress of the United States, to impeach any or all of them from their positions. It is within the power of the House of Representatives—and it has the exclusive power—to prefer charges of impeachment against the President or the courts of our country and place them upon their defense before the Senate of the United States, which acts as a court for the trial of the charges pending preferred.

It is simply idle and sophistical and a perversion of the truth to say that the legislative branch of the government has no powers greater than the power of the judicial or the executive branches of our government. I think we know the purpose of these editorials, and I don't think that we are going, in this convention of the American Federation of Labor, to subject the decisions we desire to reach to the censorship of the Cincinnati Enquirer.

So far as the reference made to me by Secretary Morrison, I may make this observation: My conception of the labor movement from its earliest stages has been in the contest against all elements that seek to impose injustice and tyranny and serfdom or slavery upon the great mass of the people of our country. When the great war was on the American labor movement did not change its position; it simply found the opportunity to put the principles of the labor movement into action, and we took our proper place, the place of men who believe in justice, freedom, democracy in the balance as against autocracy, militarism or imperialism. We helped

in the good fight and the fight was won.

We have not changed our position. We fought against autocracy and militarism, and we are now eagerly engaged in the fight against industrial autocracy. We have not changed. They patted us on the back; we were valiant and self-sacrificing; the American Federation of Labor was lauded in most glowing terms, and the president of the American Federation of Labor was regarded as one of the best boys in America.

I think that it is true that if at that time I had retired from active service in the labor movement perhaps no man in our time would have received greater encomiums for his life work than were placed upon me; but I foresaw what was coming; I knew what the reaction would be and I determined that if ever I were of any service to my people and to my country and to the great cause of our allies after the war it was my duty to give that service to face the reaction, the hysterical antagonism, which would develop, and which has developed. That is the reason why the change has come among these people in their attitude toward our Federation and toward me.

Whether in office as president of the American Federation of Labor or in the ranks without official standing, as a citizen of this beloved country of ours, so long as life will remain with me I shall throw the weight of whatever little power and influence I may have on the side of the right, on the side for freedom, on the side for that democracy for which the Republic of the United States and of the democratic countries was instituted.

At 12:45 p. m. the convention was adjourned until 9:30 a. m., Friday, June 16th.

## FIFTH DAY—Friday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 16, 1922.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"Brownsville, Penn., June 12, 1922.

"Frank Morrison, Secretary, American Federation of Labor Convention, Cincinnati, Ohio:

"Gigantic move to break strike in coke region Fayette County, Penn. Wholesale evictions, water shut off, miners at Shoaf and Maxwell, Fayette County, Penn., by H. C. Frick Company. Health authorities appealed to, but to no avail. Serious epidemic sure to follow. Miners holding firm.

"WM. FEENEY,

"WM. HYNES,

"JOHN O'LEARY."

### Absentees

Mountford, Gilmore, Beisel, Boyers, Quesse, O'Brien, Kelleher, Hyland, Kelly, Perkins, Campbell, Hohman, Shurtleff, Dee, Baker, Conway, Desepte, Coulter, O'Connor, Joyce, Laibly, Brennan, Hogan, Lewis, Murray, Yarrow, Parker, Hannah, Bergstrom, Gunther, Hutchins, Burke, La Belle, Canterbury, Walker, Howat, Ely, Holland, Fenton, Grace, Franklin, Fox, Lornsten, Clendenning, Hushing, Lehman, Sullivan, Winans, Taylor, Lochrag, Ogg, O'Dell, Brown, Ford, Kerns, Argo, Nelson, Bennett, Downes, Sims, Muir, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nicholas, Ornburn, Meloon, Herder, Bowers, McAndrews, Wren, Rich, Trime, Whitcomb, Colman, Boulware, Allen, Crater, McCoy, White, Lunnage, Davis, Steward, Milton, Flynn, Wulff.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Cook, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 16, 1922.

To the Officers and Members of the Forty-Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials submits the following supplemental report:

We have examined the credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, Chas. MacGowan to take the place of M. J. McGuire.

International Fur Workers' Union of the United States and Canada, Morris Kaufman, 47 votes.

National Women's Trade Union League of America, Mary V. Halas, Fraternal Delegate.

Yours fraternally,

THOS. F. FLAHERTY,

Chairman,

PETER McKILLOP,

HARRY H. COOK, Secretary.

Committee on Credentials.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Delegate Williams, Railway Carmen, called attention to the proceedings of the fourth day wherein the report of the Committee on Organization on Resolution No. 9 was discussed. He stated that the position of the committee was given in full in the record, and it was his belief that the statements made by those who opposed the committee's report should have been given in more detail.

President Gompers stated that the rules provide that when any correction is to be made it should be brought to the attention of the secretary, and if it was in conformity with what seemed to be right and fair the necessary correction would be made.

President Gompers: The Chair desires to call your attention to the fact, or rather remind you that the American Legion, particularly after the first few months of its existence, maintained most friendly relations with the American Federation of Labor. Last year the American Legion honored us with the presence of Colonel Alvin M. Owsley, who delivered an address at our convention in Denver. Following that again the declarations from our Federation were the cultivation of the most

friendly relations. That has been carried out to the full, and in the year representatives of the Legion and representatives of the American Federation of Labor have exchanged visits in their respective and our respective local and national organizations, until I may say now that there is no question of the absolute cordial relations existing between the American Legion and the American organized labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

I could not now recount the services which the American Legion has rendered to the cause of labor and to the cause of freedom in our country in the past year or two, and we have been of some assistance in spreading the cause of the American Legion. At the last meeting of the Executive Council your President was authorized, and carried out that authorization, to invite the National Commander of the American Legion to address this convention. President George L. Berry, of the International Printing Pressmen's Union and First Vice-Commander of the American Legion, and John Gillespie, of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, I have appointed to meet Commander MacNider on his arrival at the station this morning, and they are to escort him to this convention where he will address you.

I merely make this announcement so we may have as full an attendance of our delegates and friends as is possible, for we know that there are a number of our committees in session and a number of delegates who are appearing before those committees. However, so far as we can, we shall keep the convention intact so that the Commander of the American Legion may find in your eyes and in your response the hearty welcome which should and will be his.

Secretary Morrison: We have with us this morning Mr. John R. Voris, Associate General Secretary of the Near East Relief. The Near East Relief has been supported to a great extent by representatives of organized labor throughout the country, and I move that Mr. Voris be requested to address the convention this morning.

The motion was adopted, and Mr. Voris was introduced to the convention and said, in part:

In my work in behalf of the Near East Relief during the past two or three years I have come in contact with the agricultural, fraternal, industrial, and church leaders, and I see mighty little

'difference between the leaders of these organizations. It may be that you feel yourselves very different from the church leaders in session at Indianapolis at the present time and they may feel very different from you, but I don't think there is very much difference between the executive leadership of the various organizations. As a matter of fact, around the table of our Board of Trustees, which as you know is under the direction of Congress, there sit not only some of the leading divines of the country and some of the leading business men whose names are known all over the country, but there sits also a representative of your organization, Mr. Frank Morrison, and at the Town Hall meeting held last year Mr. Morrison was the most eloquent speaker on the platform, although on that platform there were some people who are considered enemies of labor. There are those who are pitted against each other in the realm of capital and labor—God knows, I wish they were not—but even though that is true, there comes one place at least where all folks can come together, rich and poor, and that is in the interests of starving kiddies.

Since I spoke to your convention last year I had a very remarkable experience. I visited last summer the region of Constantinople and of Asia Minor, the region governed by the Turks. I was in Russian territory south of the Caucasus and in Georgia and Armenia and Central Russia. I was a member of the first commission to visit the famine section of Russia; I was in Moscow for a week; I met Tchitcherin and other leaders; Lenine was sick at the time. I came back to America conscious of great developments, conscious of great opportunities, after three months abroad, and never before in my life was I so conscious in my own love for our own country, its institutions, its government and its ideals. I have been regarded in my writings last year as being too radical, as favoring too much, but I personally believe that any man who thinks that over there in Central Russia there is something infinitely better than we have in America has gone nearer the realm of insanity than anything I know of. On the other hand, I want to say this: That for America to try to impose upon Russia or any other nation absolutely her own forms of government is likewise undemocratic; it is up to Russia to determine within her own boundaries the kind of government she will have.

What I want to say is this: I felt when I was over there that America has

a very, very great cause to lead in this world. There is no country so respected even in Turkey, and certainly in Armenia, as our own nation, and I had the conviction when I was over there that America cannot live for America alone, that America must help in the leadership of world problems, and I thank God that America is accepting that responsibility.

And so this morning I want to appeal to your hearts, not so much to your hearts as to your heads. I am coming to you as molders of a great section of Americanism today, and I want you to think whether the thing I am talking about is the kind of thing that you in turn should become an interpreter of and the apostle of among the working people of this country of ours.

I am not a pacifist, but when I saw the results of war on that visit last summer it caused me to say that again under God this world of ours must find a way out of war. I saw Red Cross ships loaded with victims; I visited one orphanage and saw two hundred boys who had been thrown out of their homes across the bay three weeks before in the middle of the night; I talked with young girls over there in our work who had seen many a massacre, and in the Trans-Caucasian lands I saw thirty-five hundred women and children who had been violated and bayoneted by the Turks as a war excuse; I saw these women and children in these countries almost naked, and what were the children crying for? Not for moving pictures, candies and luxuries such as our children cry for, but simply for bread.

I want to say to you that as long as little children are starving in this world of ours we can't call ourselves a civilized or Christian world, and we have to fight the fight clear down through that will bring justice and peace and lack of warfare.

On the other hand, we have to keep these folks alive, and no nation under the sun today can keep them alive but America. Greece can't do it, France won't do it, Great Britain has her hands full, Germany can't do it, Russia is starving—America alone can do it. We have no right to go on simply for ourselves alone. These people in the Near East are not Roman Catholics, they are not Protestants; they are the ancient Orthodox and Armenian and Georgian and Greek folks, they are honest and love their religion, and the Jews over there are standing for theirs. To let those children die is a victory for the Turks and the Mohammedans. You have

kept some of them alive; there are many of your labor unions that have adopted these orphans, and now if you grow weary and let these children die you have done infinitely worse than never to have fed them at all.

The Armenians were our allies just as the French were, just as the Belgians were, and we didn't forget France or Belgium as long as they needed our aid. Our duty first of all is to keep the children alive. We have 120,000 children who are learning agriculture and industry in those lands, how to work and how to sew and how to take care of themselves in the future as boys and girls. Instead of plowing with twelve oxen they now use a tractor, and what they did formerly in one hundred days they do now in one day. We are teaching them modern methods of self-support.

I don't believe in charity; I believe in justice, and all I want you to do is to give these folks justice. Last year you provided a wonderful resolution. It was prepared by the Advisory Committee of which Mr. Morrison is chairman, and on that Advisory Committee are Mr. McParland, Mr. Hutcheson, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Frayne and others. You passed that resolution unanimously, but this last year industrial conditions have been such that, except with two or three unions, we have made absolutely no appeal. I hope industrial conditions will be such this coming year that we will have more support than we had last year. I want to ask every local union in America, in accordance with your resolution last year, which I hope you will reaffirm, to take out of its treasury so that it does not rob you, five dollars a month and say to yourselves, "Here is one orphan that we will save over there." I think you can trust Mr. Morrison as a member of that Board of Trustees. I think you can depend upon your leaders knowing that this organization is economical and efficient. I hope every national union will take action on this, because not until the national unions take action can we get the local unions in line.

I believe that one of the greatest things you can do strategically for the cause of labor in this country in building its morale and in building the confidence of others in it is for the laboring people of this country to take their place in every great movement like this, because the laboring people, if any people, ought to know what poverty and suffering is and their hearts ought to be touched.

Therefore, I leave this cause with you, trusting that you will support your Advisory Committee and give reaffirmation to your action of last year, and then make good, because resolutions don't feed; it requires bread to feed. I regard you as comrades and co-operators in this work, and I hope you won't fail us.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS

C. J. Hayes, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

The committee amended Resolution No. 73 by striking out the words, "a fact" in the first line of the third "Whereas," and inserting in lieu thereof the word "alleged"; by striking out the word "disgracefully" in the seventh line of the third "Whereas." The resolution as amended reads as follows:

Resolution No. 73—By Delegates John P. Bleasius, of Holyoke Central Labor Union; Martin T. Joyce, of International Brotherhood Electrical Workers; Thomas H. Gerraughty, of Massachusetts State Branch American Federation of Labor, and George J. Schneider, of International Brotherhood of Paper Makers:

WHEREAS, It is the bounden obligation of all union men to purchase only union label goods, and to do all in their power to turn the patronage of others to union label goods; and,

WHEREAS, There is even greater need now of purchasing only union label articles, so that we may be certain that none of our money finds its way, directly or indirectly, into the coffers of employers of non-union labor, to be used in their fight against unionism and for the so-called "open shop"; and,

WHEREAS, It is alleged that many of the international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are using tremendous quantities of non-union paper for their journals, stationery, books of account, etc., etc., thus being inconsistent and helping finance the fight against labor; and,

WHEREAS, There is no legitimate nor justifiable excuse now possible for using non-union paper, as a choice can be had from large lines of really high-grade paper at prices that, union conditions considered, compare very favor-

able with prices for similar grades of non-union paper; and,

WHEREAS, No paper can be considered as union made unless it carries the union watermark of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, which is the same principle of unionism that applies to all other label trades; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By this, the forty-second annual convention, now in session in Cincinnati, that the president and secretary of the American Federation of Labor urge, by correspondence with the officers of the various international unions, the consistent 100 per cent use of union watermarked paper, and that they be requested to furnish the officers of the American Federation of Labor with information as to whether or not they are using union watermarked paper in their official journals, circulars, stationery and envelopes, books of account, etc., etc.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all trade unionists and friends of labor having printing or bookbinding done be urged to use only union watermarked paper.

The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Bleasius, Holyoke Central Labor Union, spoke briefly on the subject and explained that after many years of effort it had been possible to get for the paper makers of Holyoke an eight-hour day in all the branches of the industry, with the exception of two or three factories, and that the men in these union factories had the best conditions possible to obtain.

He pointed to the fact that much labor literature, including pamphlets, letterheads, official journals, etc., was printed on the non-union paper and pleaded for a greater degree of support to the union water-marked papers in the future.

Delegate Schneider, of the Paper Makers, spoke in favor of the resolution and said that certain interests unfavorable to organized labor which were very active in the open shop campaign were holding out to trade unionists and to consumers of paper prices far below the market price in their efforts to substitute non-union paper for union made paper. He stated that many of these companies in the different paper-making communities were allied for the sole purpose of eliminating the union water-marked paper from the market entirely, and for that reason he urged

the delegates to use their influence in behalf of the union-made product.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 10—**By Delegate Harry W. Fox, representing Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

BE IT RESOLVED by the delegates to the 42nd Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, That, in order that the labor movement may be known through its labels and house cards, by an insignia representative of all federated workers, that we indorse and accept the label design of the American Federation of Labor as one to be used by all organizations affiliated herewith and to be attached by them to all articles manufactured by their membership; that same be made a part of the display on all union house or shop cards, with such additional lettering in each case as will identify the particular jurisdiction of the organization. That we urge all affiliated national and international unions to take such steps as will be necessary to secure the adoption of this label, to the end that greater impetus may be given the sale of union made merchandise and the patronage of union establishments.

Inasmuch as the autonomy of all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor is guaranteed them by the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, this autonomy, including as it does, the ownership and control of union labels, shop or store cards, working buttons and other insignia to indicate that the commodity is made, sold, delivered or otherwise handled by union labor, your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 37—**By Delegate G. E. Mikel, Arkansas State Federation of Labor, Jenny Lind, Arkansas:

WHEREAS, Due to the many labels used by the various crafts there is a confusion as to what is the genuine label in the minds of many union men and women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED by this convention, That we suggest to the American Federation of Labor the advisability of issuing a universal label that can be used by all crafts.

Inasmuch as this resolution relates to the same subject matter as Resolu-

tion No. 10, we recommend non-concurrence in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Mikel, Arkansas State Federation of Labor, spoke in favor of the resolution and stated that the labor membership in his community, which is largely agricultural, felt that the farmers would come to know and understand easier and better a universal label.

President Gompers asked Delegate Mikel to enlighten him upon this point: In whose hands and under whose administration would the distribution of the universal label be placed?

Delegate Mikel replied that it was the purpose of the resolution that the American Federation of Labor should distribute the universal label, after it had first been indorsed by every international and national union.

Vice-President Woll, in discussing the question, pointed out several things that would make the scheme impossible of operation. "To say under what conditions these various organizations may use a union label of one design would place that vast magnitude of administrative power in the hands of the American Federation of Labor officials, and it would in effect destroy the very conception upon which the American Federation of Labor itself is founded.

"In addition to the question of revolutionizing the form of organization now prevailing in our American trade union movement, it would also necessitate a campaign of changing the union label laws in each and every State of the Union, because the union label laws of the various States will not permit or do not permit, with one or two exceptions, the registering of a label of federated organizations.

"Then, from the practical standpoint, no one has yet devised a design or label that could be used on the product of the various organizations and trades affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. The design used by the printing trades may be acceptable to other trades and may be practical in use, and yet in other industries it cannot be applied."

Delegate Manning, chairman of the committee, in discussing the matter said in part: "This matter was thrashed out at the Rochester convention of the Union Label Trades Department, resulting in the appointment of a committee of seven to investigate during that year and report at the Seattle convention. Among the evidence which that committee accumulated were the opinions of seven prominent and well-



known law firms; they were asked to give their views from the local point of view as to the establishment and distribution of a universal label. They were from different parts of the country, with no thought or chance of collusion in the rendering of their opinion, and it was unanimous in substance that the American Federation of Labor as such cannot issue a label to any organization except one directly affiliated and chartered by it and controlled by it absolutely. The broad sense was that in the sense of using a universal label the American Federation of Labor is not a labor union; it is a federation of labor unions, with no property right whatever in the label put on the goods produced by its affiliated membership for distribution."

The report of the committee was adopted.

During the past year a campaign having for its object the destruction of the trade union movement has been conducted throughout our country, but, despite the efforts of our opponents, and while membership has been lost to our movement, the fact is that we are now in a position to begin and successfully conduct an aggressive campaign of education which will not only rehabilitate all of our affiliated national and international unions, but if successfully conducted will place us farther in advance than we have ever been in our forward march.

The campaign conducted by our enemies was noteworthy for its deliberate and ruthless attempt to bring about the complete destruction of the trade union forces. At no time in our history has there been so much vindictiveness and the desire to destroy displayed by those hostile to the advance of the cause of humanity.

We believe that the time has come to alter our program from a defensive position, which many of our unions have been forced to adopt, to a campaign of aggression, having for its object the complete re-alignment of our forces and the restoration of those things for which our movement stands, and which many of our unions were forced to relinquish in part during this period. To do this successfully all our energies and facilities must be employed in a thorough and practical manner.

Education and information will be most helpful to the workers, and your committee believes that a campaign of publicity based upon these facts should be conducted by the American Federation of Labor and its several departments, national and international

unions, state and central bodies, particular attention being given to the great need of conserving our power of purchase whenever and wherever it will be advantageous to our cause.

The union label, shop card and working button, insignia of fair conditions can be made most helpful in educating our members to the great necessity of withholding their patronage from those who are hostile to us.

In the opinion of your committee, there is not much material difference, so far as results can be obtained; if any, our membership gives preference to non-union goods, and those who handle them, when making purchases, than if they contributed their money to a fund which the employers desired to use for our destruction. In either case, while one may be more indirect than the other, the result is the same, as in both instances money which was earned under union conditions is passed on to those who seek and hope for our destruction.

The fair employer is another factor in this great question, and it is the belief of your committee that when employers freely and willingly enter into contractual relations with their employees, through their accredited representatives, they are entitled to and should receive the support of all fair-minded citizens, this being especially true of trades unionists.

We should always be ready and willing to give practical demonstrations of our belief in the fundamentals of collective bargaining, and, in the minds of your committee, this can be done in no better way than in encouraging employers who now deal with us through accredited representatives, as this will have a tendency to induce other employers of labor to follow the same course.

On June 14th, this convention devoted its time exclusively to the consideration of child labor and methods whereby this great evil would not only be curtailed but eliminated from our country. While your committee agrees with all the sentiments expressed on this grave question by the convention, we cannot let this occasion pass without calling the attention of the delegates to this fact, that wherever a union label is used, a shop card displayed or a union button worn by a worker, you will find no labor performed by children, but on the contrary prohibition of this character of labor is always incorporated in the agreement made between the employer and the workers through their accredited representatives.

If the union label, shop card and

working button did nothing more than eliminate child labor in industries where they are used, the good they have done is so monumental in character that there should be no further need of urging upon our members the great necessity of refusing to spend their money for any commodities that do not bear the union label.

While distinctly different in character and application, an analogy may be drawn between the benefits accruing to those holding membership in a trade union and those who hold stock in corporations organized solely for financial profit. In the case of the corporations formed for financial gain, there is no consideration given to anything except the balance sheet at the end of the fiscal year, which indicates what dividends or profits have been made during the year, the success of the corporation or business venture being predicated wholly upon the showing made there.

In the case of the labor union how many of us ever stop to consider the enormous dividends we have received from the comparatively trivial investment which we have made? The shorter workday, improved sanitary conditions in workshops, safeguarding of dangerous machinery to protect the worker from injury, fire laws protecting from the danger of fire, scaffolding, and other safeguards in working places, etc.; protection of women in industry and the elimination of child labor are but a few of the dividends paid, not only to the workers who contribute their money to the organized labor movement, but these same benefits have been bestowed upon those who have continually refused to become a part of our movement.

Your committee, therefore, urges the delegates to this convention, all its affiliated national and international unions, state and central bodies, to give their co-operation in the union label field, to the end that we can all work together in such harmonious manner as will bring greater and even greater benefits to all the men and women who toil.

Let our slogan always be, "No money earned under union conditions for organizations hostile to organized labor" but at all times to give preference to goods bearing the union label, sold and delivered by members of organized labor. In fact, at no time to employ either directly or indirectly any but members of the American labor movement.

Talk union labels; buy none but union labeled goods from union clerks, and have them delivered by a member of organized labor.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN J. MANNING,  
Chairman,

R. S. SEXTON,  
THOMAS SWEENEY,  
MAX HAYES,  
WILL R. BOYER,  
H. S. MARSHALL,  
H. C. DIEHL,  
WILLIAM J. KELLY,  
JACOB GOLDSTONE,  
JOHN F. GECKLER,  
ANNA NEARY,  
WILLIAM SCHOENBERG,  
THOS. F. McMAHON,  
ROE H. BAKER,  
C. J. HAYES, Secretary.

The report of the Committee on Labels was adopted as a whole by unanimous vote.

Delegate Defrem, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646: At Thursday morning's session a number of committees urged the delegates interested in various subjects to appear before those committees. In response to that urgent request I left the floor and appeared before those committees. During my absence, by an unfortunate coincidence, two resolutions which I introduced came before the convention and I was unable to take part in the discussion. I would like to have it noted in the record that I would have voted in favor of the adoption of Resolutions Nos. 30 and 38.

Delegate John J. Manning, Union Label Trades Department: It has been customary in American Federation of Labor conventions in the past to pause for a moment or two at some time during the sessions that we might pay tribute to the memory of those who departed this life since the work of the preceding convention. My information is, and it particularly affects the department which I represent, that in the past year we have lost three of our leaders—President A. McAndrew, of the Tobacco Workers' International Union; President Frank Noschang, of the Barbers' International Union, and former President Butterworth, of the Brick Makers' Union.

I therefore move that we rise and stand in silence for one minute in tribute to the work and memory of these brothers and any other who may have passed to the Great Beyond during the past year.

The motion was unanimously adopted, and the delegates and visitors stood in silence for one minute.

Delegate Williams, Carmen: I believe it is very unfair that where committees are away from the convention hall doing work for the convention, they are being denied the right to participate in matters that concern them, therefore I say that if committees have to be doing anything for this convention, the convention should adjourn until the accredited delegates have the opportunity to be present and participate in all the proceedings.

Delegate Green, United Mine Workers: I ask the privilege of making a motion. This convention is held in Cincinnati, a city in the State of Ohio. The chairman of the Industrial Commission of Ohio, Honorable Thomas J. Duffy, was formerly president of the Operative Potters' organization. He is an expert upon workmen's compensation, a subject very dear to the hearts of the workers, and in honor of the Potters' organization and for the purpose of securing information I want to offer a motion—that Thomas J. Duffy be invited to address this convention on next Monday upon the question of workmen's compensation and the Ohio law. (Seconded and carried unanimously.)

President Gompers: A short while ago, during this morning's session, I took occasion to relate the kindly and the mutually harmonious relations which exist between the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor, and I advised you of the many acts of reciprocal help which had been extended to the cause of the men who did so much in uniform for America and the ideals of America and her allies and of the cause of labor which did so much in helping to win the war, both militarily, industrially and financially. I called to your attention the splendid relations existing not only between the rank and file of these two great American organizations, but also between the men entrusted with the official affairs of both organizations.

The Chair took the liberty of appointing Brother George L. Berry, president of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of America, and Brother John Gillespie, member of the Executive Board of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, as a delegation to receive and escort the commander of the American Legion to this convention. It is a great honor and a pleasure to know that it was possible for the commander to accept the invitation ex-

tended to him to be with us today. I know that he has gone to great inconvenience to be here with us. Without further ado I have the honor and the pleasure to present to you the man who represents the idealism of the American Legion, the Honorable Hanford MacNider, commonly known as "Jack" MacNider.

#### ADDRESS OF COLONEL MACNIDER

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I appreciate the opportunity of appearing before this convention and of meeting the men who hold the confidence and the esteem of that great and important part of the nation which is represented here. I am afraid that I bring you no great message, simply one of friendly greeting and purpose and it is just as well, because my ability as a speechmaker is, to say the least, very limited. When we were taking Marshal Foch around the nation on that great Legion trip it used to fall to my lot sometimes as many as fifteen or twenty times a day, to introduce the marshal; and because we were always in different places I always said the same thing. I said it so often that three French officers of the marshal's staff who had come to this country without a word of English at their command, the moment I was introduced used to stand up behind me and say my little piece for me, and I used to rush to the front of the platform and try to drown them out. I used to say it word for word, because I thought it was pretty good, and when we got out to Portland, perhaps because there were so many enthusiastic people gathered there to see the marshal, I got a little bit flustered and I inadvertently changed a word or phrase. The old marshal used to sit in his chair and doze while I made my little speech, waking up automatically at the end of it, but this time he shook himself around in his chair, and suddenly woke up with an awful start, and after it was over his personal physician came to and said: "If you have to say the same thing every time, all right, but please use the same word; the marshal is an old man and he can't stand a shock like that."

So I stuck to it word for word until we got down into the South, and down in Monroe, Louisiana, eight or ten of us said our little piece before eight or ten thousand people gathered out in the open. After it was over a very distinguished old Southerner in a tall silk hat, the chairman of the local reception

committee, rushed up to the platform and grasped the marshal by the hand and said: "What you have said tonight, sir, has written a bright page in the history of Louisiana." And they bowed back and forth and were very well pleased. He grabbed the next man and said: "Every word you have said here tonight is engraved on my heart and I shall take it to my grave." And then they bowed back and forth and were very happy. Then he got hold of me and said: "Sir, you have a remarkable speaking voice." And I think perhaps that illustrates what I want to tell you this morning.

I do want you to know that we appreciate how you and your international officers have stood behind us in our efforts to see that the returned service men are properly taken care of by our government. Your great president, Sam Gompers, has stood with us just as he stood with us while we were serving with the colors. Our respective legislative committees have worked in accord and co-operation on these measures in which we were mutually interested.

At our request your representatives came to us in conference early this year in Indianapolis, when we had two great questions to discuss. On one of them we were already agreed; on the other, when we investigated and heard your viewpoint, we understood. It was right, it was American, we guided ourselves accordingly.

All this, gentlemen, augurs well for our future relations. Thousands and thousands of your members are American Legion men. The first national vice-commander elected at our last convention was your own George Berry, president of one of your international unions. He is one of the ablest and most constructive Legion men in the whole United States and he has reflected credit upon both our organizations.

This Legion of ours forms the common ground for our whole generation. We were all thrown into this great maelstrom of war together, to work, to fight, and to ponder over it all. We got to understand the other fellow, to understand his viewpoint, we could listen to him and talk to him and we could understand because we talked the same language. This Legion of ours, the whole generation it represents, is a cross-section of the nation. One of our National Vice Commanders is George Berry, the president of one of your international unions; another is a lawyer out on the Pacific coast, another is an enlisted man in the United States,

another a doctor up in Vermont, another a hotel man in New England, and I am a small-town country banker from out in Iowa. That gives you an idea of this Legion. Night before last I went to a Legion banquet. The other speakers were Hogan, Cohen and Father Hoffman, and the post Commander who introduced us, his name was Clancy—and in addition to his other duties I found out during the evening that he was president of a local union. No generation of America, gentlemen, has ever had such an opportunity for understanding as we have before us. We must make of this common understanding, of this same language, all those of us who are in the service a great national asset.

You all know of the tremendous influence of the Grand Army of the Republic and the United Confederate Veterans, yet ten years after the Civil War the Grand Army of the Republic only had 20,000 members, and here we are in the Legion with the whole United States, only three years after our world war with over a million in membership. We cannot help through the coming years but wield a tremendous influence upon our national existence, and it must be our duty to see that this Legion of ours stays fair, tolerant, clean, straight and American—and that is our ambition for it.

The American Federation of Labor and the American Legion both have as common enemies those who seek to tear down the lawful integrity of our nation. There is a way provided by the Constitution of the United States to make such changes as we think are necessary—the ballot. Out in my own State the other day we shook ourselves rather forcibly and nominated for United States Senator by an overwhelming majority, Smith Brookhart, a member of the American Legion and a strong labor man, as you know, or as Shady Lewis, if he is here, the president of the Iowa Federation of Labor and a good friend of mine, can tell you. He can also tell you of the fine accord with which our organizations have worked together out there in the tall corn.

Don't misunderstand me, gentlemen, the American Legion has not, never has been, and I hope never will be in politics, but we are going to do this: we are going to see that this country stays as we worked and fought that it should stay—American. That is the big, basic purpose of this Legion of ours.

No real American denies the right of labor to organize for the betterment and protection of its members. That is exactly why the American Legion was organized—for the returned service men

—that, and for continued service to their country in peace as well as in war, and the first thing on our program is to see that these men who came back here blind, maimed, broken in health and body, and who have got to live through the war forever in the hospitals and homes, get a square deal from the country they fought for.

You have stood with us on that, and we appreciate it, and I want you to know that every bit of legislation now in effect for the disabled man was not only written and pushed, but put through Congress by the American Legion and the American Legion alone. If we had not organized ourselves with a membership that gave us power and prestige, that made them listen to us, we would still have the same disgraceful condition we had two years ago. You know of our battle for compensation for those men who served with the colors; you indorsed our stand in that battle and we appreciate that.

I am not going into the varied work that all our eleven thousand posts are trying to do. We believe our international organization of veterans will do more than all the international conferences for agreements to prevent war, but I do want you to have faith in these men that make up the American Legion. Those of us who had the privilege of serving overseas—and when I say that I bear no slight to the men who did not get over, for with us it is the spirit that put the man into his country's service that counts, and not the circumstances that followed his enlistment—but those of us who had the opportunity of seeing this average American boy of yours under battle pressure came home with a finer appreciation and a deeper feeling of what it meant to be an American citizen. Your neighbor's boy, those apprentices of yours, the men who work for you, the men you pass every day on the street without giving a second thought to them—they turned out under battle pressure and adversity to be as splendid heroes as the world has ever known. I could give you thousands of examples of their exploits, battle torn and shocked, with their faculties almost beyond use, and yet they would come staggering up trying to bring food and munitions to their buddies—men who would run out almost into the face of certain death, into machine gun fire to rescue men they never saw before in their lives, men wounded who would give their gas masks to men more seriously wounded than they, who would lie there and choke to death, trying to do their part.

The night that always comes back to

me is that night of July 17, when Foch was ready for his big offensive. Every road up to the front was choked with artillery, tanks, and cavalry, up to the road south of Soissons; it was pitch dark and raining, as it usually was in France, the infantry plunging along, with packs weighing hundreds of pounds, falling into shell holes, tearing themselves with barbed wire, but almost running for fear they would not get to the jump-off in time—screaming horses and dying men—and there in the dark of that wood we found four hundred replacements, men only five weeks in the uniform of this country, every one of them knowing down in their hearts that it was a fifty-fifty chance that they would never again see their homes, mothers and all that were dear to them, but every one of those men, as we slapped them on to the end of the column, was hanging on to the man in front of him for fear he would get lost and wouldn't get a chance to do his part.

That is your average American boy for you. Let me tell you it wasn't G. H. Q. nor the General Staff nor the officers—they did their part and did it well—but in great measure it was the high, fine, wonderful spirit of this average American kid, the buck private, that gave to America her share in the great victory.

And that, in the great majority, is the type that makes up the American Legion, and you can have faith in him. The individual membership perhaps of any one of us in any of our organizations may not seem to amount to much, but when it is multiplied many more times by all our membership it becomes a tremendous force in America.

We have an old story in the Legion of the little Second Lieutenant who was suddenly given command of a big, tough, hard-boiled looking company, and he stepped out scared to death and got ready to give a big command, and some buck in the rear ranks piped up and said, "And a little child shall lead them." And he said, "The man that said that will step forward two paces to the front." And the whole company stepped two paces to the front. And he tried it again and the same thing happened, and finally he wilted down and said, "Company dismissed." But fifteen minutes later there was posted on the bulletin board this notice: "This company will report under heavy marching orders at 3 p. m." and underneath that it said, "And a little child shall lead them," and underneath that it said, "On a damned big horse."

That is what we are on, gentlemen,

an awful big horse; our Legion is a big horse and we have got to keep it big and strong and fine and fair and tolerant, that it may carry all the service men's problems, the problems of the disabled man through the coming year and make each one of our posts an asset for good in your community. The Legion knows no sect, no creed, no class, no distinction of any kind except between constructive and destructive Americans.

There was a little incident that happened at our last convention in Kansas City that I wish I could have shown all of you. We had 150,000 men registered, and at the main hotel, the Baltimore, there were so many people in that lobby that if you came in one entrance the crowd would catch you and you would have to wait your chance to get to another door to get out. On the last day when the men were trying to pay their hotel bills they would hand their money in to the cashier and before they would get their change they would be twenty or thirty feet away, and so they got a big bulwark of policemen there to hold the crowd. On the last afternoon after the big parade, when everybody was in uniform again, in one entrance came this very little, disheveled buck private, his eyes were nearly closed, he had a little overseas cap over one eye and he was bound for somewhere, and right behind him was this great, big beautiful Colonel, with shiny boots and resplendent in new uniform, and he had his eye right on the back of this buck's neck he was marching behind. They ran up against this bulwark of policemen and after recoiling a couple of times, finally the buck private looked up and opened his eyes to see if his army was with him, and then he sounded off in a voice that you could have heard for blocks and said: "Make way for a buck and his orderly."

You can't beat an organization with a spirit like that. It is all for one, one for all, and all for the best in our country.

I thank you.

President Gompers: I find it difficult to respond adequately to the splendid address delivered to us just now by Commander MacNider of the American Legion. I shall employ a device which may be more fitting, after just saying a word or two. So long as American labor will hold to its high ideals of freedom and justice and progress and safety for the American Republic, and the American Legion will stand true to its traditions, its history and its declara-

tions under the leadership of a man of the character and type, and idealism, and practical understanding of Commander MacNider, there can be no division in our joint ranks.

I just want to say this—and within my heart and mind there are some other thoughts that I would like to express, but I feel that we can do better than that. There is in our American Federation of Labor a man who holds the unique position of great standing and influence in our labor movement and who at the same time holds a position of great influence as the first assistant to the commander whom we have just listened to with such great interest and pleasure, a man who occupies the dual position of labor leader and assistant to the leader of the American Legion.

I have reference to Brother George L. Berry, whom I can assure you on my honor had no information that I would pursue this course, but in behalf of the convention, if I may so say, at any rate in behalf of the president of the American Federation of Labor, I call upon the First Vice-Commander of the American Legion and the president of the Printing Pressmen's and Assistants' Union of America, to respond to the splendid address of our great commander in behalf of and in the name of the American Federation of Labor.

As Delegate Berry arose to address the convention the delegates arose and applauded him for some time.

#### ADDRESS OF DELEGATE GEORGE L. BERRY

##### President of International Union of Pressmen and Assistants

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen: Of course, it would be quite impossible for me to add to the very fine sentiments that have been expressed by President Gompers with regard to the splendid address of the Commander of the American Legion, Jack MacNider. But let me say this to you, that to me this is, if not the happiest moment of my life, one of the happy moments, to be able to have the commander of the American Legion address the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and I hope that at the next convention of the American Legion the president of the American Federation of Labor will be present to complete the tie between these two great American organizations.

There were 682,000 and some-odd men and women who carried trade union cards that participated in the World War. We want them in the American

Legion in order that the Legion may do the great and noble things that have been referred to by Commander MacNider. And, let me say in addition to what he has so well described to you as being the policies and purposes of the Legion, that the two great planks of the American Legion must appeal to every delegate to this convention. One of the planks has to do with the proposition of education. A day or two ago you heard something that unquestionably astounded you with regard to the condition of illiteracy in America.

There are thousands of men who fought to conserve the free institutions of the Republic that are today in rehabilitation camps learning for the first time to read and write. There were thousands of them who gave up their lives in France in order that the free institutions of this Republic might be saved who could not read or write the language of their country. The Legion has said that it has elected to co-ordinate its influence with every forward-looking American institution, including the American Federation of Labor, with the hope and purpose of eliminating illiteracy from the Republic and bringing to every man, woman and child the opportunity of education. In this great work there exists a community of interests that cannot be divided, and I am in hopes that these two great organizations, pursuing this uniform course of advancing education in America, will, within the very near future, be able to say that we have completed the eradication of illiteracy in this country.

There is a second plank, the plank of Americanism—not a plank of militarism, but a plank of Americanism—upon which every genuine American can stand. We propose that the Legion join with the Federation in that great campaign for Americanism, to take home to the hearts and minds of all the people of our Republic the truth with regard to America.

The difficulty is that there are many in public office, in the Congress of the United States and in the states of the Union, that really do not know what America stands for. It would be a mighty fine investment for both the American Legion and the American Federation of Labor if a great Americanization commission could be established at Washington right at this moment, and in the Capitol, if you please. We propose to arouse the people of this country to the truth and to the possibilities of America; and of course there is a community of interest between the Federation and the Legion

in the conduct of this constructive work.

My friends, I feel honored by being called upon by President Gompers to respond to the magnificent, statesman-like speech made by Hanford MacNider. There are few men in America that have proved their Americanism like Jack MacNider, who was not only shot up, but coming from a buck private to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy during the course of the war, but came back to America to serve, and he considers the service in which he is engaged as the commander of the Legion, in attempting to do the things I have referred to, of greater importance than the acceptance of a seat in the United States Senate tendered to him by the Governor of Iowa. And I say to you that when a man thus demonstrates his love for America, the Legion and its members—it matters not where they come from—one can well believe in the declarations of Jack MacNider.

Now, my friends, let this be said, that the Legion is made up of human beings, as is this Federation, and it follows that in the course of the conduct of this Legion, as in the course of the conduct of the Federation, somebody is going to break the rules. And I am saying as a Legionnaire and as a trade unionist that the American Legion as a national organization, the state departments of this country and the posts of this country, are going to adhere to the course so ably described by Commander MacNider.

The sympathy, naturally, of the Legion goes out to those who stand for the great educational things the Federation stands for. Because a Legionnaire may do the thing that sometimes members of organized labor do in contravention to the rules of the organization—that is no good reason why we should jump on the Legion, any more than we should jump on the American Federation of Labor. Our program, our purposes are sound, and we appeal to all of the men and women of the country to make the campaign of these two great American institutions a success. The bringing of Commander MacNider here today, I believe, will cement that relationship to such a degree that misunderstandings, many of which have occurred in the past, will be eliminated and we shall henceforth work in greater unison than we have in the past.

In behalf of the convention, Commander MacNider, and acting under the instructions of the president of the American Federation of Labor, I thank you for your attendance at this conven-

tion and for the splendid speech you have given us upon the purpose of the American Legion.

President Gompers: After the wonderful addresses to which we have listened, it is difficult for the president of the American Federation of Labor, presiding over this gathering now, to call the convention back to prosaic questions with which we will have to deal, and, as it is within a few minutes of the regular time for adjournment, I ask if we might not suspend the rules and adjourn until the afternoon session?

Delegate Williams, Carmen, obtained unanimous consent to introduce the following resolution:

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate John Williams, Railway Carmen:

WHEREAS, Having been entertained so royally yesterday at Hoeffe Park by

the officers and members of the Trades and Labor Assembly and members of local unions of Cincinnati and vicinity, they do, in my opinion, deserve from this delegation now in regular session a heartiest vote of thanks for the splendid manner in which they loyally entertained us; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we at this time extend to the officers and members of all local unions of Cincinnati and vicinity our heartiest vote of thanks for the magnificent manner in which we were entertained by them at Hoeffe Park, June 15, 1922.

Referred to Committee on Resolution.

At 12:25 p. m., the convention was adjourned until 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

## FIFTH DAY—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

### Absentees

Mountford, Gellmore, Beisel, Danenberg, MacGowan, Tracey, Ambrose O'Brien, Kelleher, Hyland, John Williams, Hutcheson, W. T. Allen, Campbell, M. B. Greene, O'Dell, Dee, Baker, H. J. Conway, W. G. Desepte, C. C. Coulter, McNulty, Julia O'Connor, Lailly, Kaufman, G. W. Marshall, S. C. Hogan, Chas. H. Moyer, P. H. Murray, Thos. Kennedy, J. F. Winkler, E. I. Hannah, Bergstrom, Gunther, George Leary, Hutchins, J. P. Burke, La Belle, McKillop, Thos. Malloy, J. B. Connors, Canterbury, Doane, Koester, Walker, Howat, T. N. Taylor, Ely, Holland, Fenton, Grace, H. L. Franklin, Lornsen, Clendenning, Hushing, J. B. Lennon, Lehman, Thornsborough, Roy C. Winans, R. E. Roberts, Lochray, Geo. T. Johnson, Robert Marshall, Ogg, O'Dell, Carl Mullen, B. F. Brown, Ford, Kerns, Argo, Guy Bennett, Downes, Sims, Muir, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Frampton, Birthright, Ornburn, McKinnon, Lynam, Meloon, C. M. Duma, Herder, Bower, McAndrews, Wrenn, Covert, Whitecomb, Stehmeyer, W. E. Colman, Boulware, A. E. Allen, Harte, Wm. Carter, McCoy, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, Stewart, Milton, Fryer, Flynn, Latimore, F. W. Ely, Wulff.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: I desire to offer a motion at this time that the report of the Committee on Laws be made a special order of business at ten o'clock Saturday morning, June 17. The committee will be prepared to report in full at that time.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate Jewell, Railroad Employees' Department: I desire to make two announcements. I am authorized, on behalf of the associated railroad organizations, to request through the delegates of the United Mine Workers that a conference be held between these two groups in this city upon the arrival of President Lewis, of the United Mine Workers of America, at a time agreeable to him to be announced later, the conference to be held in accordance with the provisions of the co-operative agreement between the United Mine Workers and the railroad organizations. There will be presented to the conference no matter, no subject other than those properly permissible under the provisions of that agreement.

Delegate Rickert, chairman of the Committee on Adjustment, announced that the committee would meet on Monday morning, June 19, at ten o'clock, in the committee room of the convention hall, and that the committee desired to have before it at that time the representatives of the Longshorem



and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks interested in Resolutions Nos. 23 and 24; the representatives of the Fire Fighters and the representatives of the Engineers interested in Resolution No. 41; those interested in Resolution No. 47, the delegates representing the Painters and the Railway Carmen; those interested in Resolution No. 80, the representatives of the Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and the Tunnel and Subway Constructors.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters, asked whether or not the rules of the convention prohibited the holding of a session on Saturday afternoon, and President Gompers replied that under the rules the convention was to adjourn at noon on the first Saturday. Delegate Tobin then suggested the advisability of continuing in afternoon session on Saturday if there were committees prepared to report, and President Gompers stated that the matter of suspending the rules was entirely up to the convention, and that it could be determined by the delegates on Saturday.

Delegate Lawrence F. Hart, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, stated that he had been recorded as absent in the proceedings of the first three days, and requested that it be made a matter of record that he was present at all sessions of the convention. The request was granted.

A similar correction was made by Delegate M. E. Steadman, Alexandria, La., Central Labor Union, who had been erroneously recorded absent.

#### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT No. 2

Supplementing our regular report, which was prepared before the Supreme Court had rendered its decision in the Coronado case, we submit this additional report upon the decision itself and its application to the workers and the working public.

As indicated in our previous reports, this case and the decision of the United States Supreme Court thereon have upset everything that had been commonly understood and accepted to be the law of the land prior to the decision.

While the case of the Coronado Coal Company was a case against a trade union, and while the decision therefore necessarily applies in this case to a trade union, it is inevitable that the results should affect not only trade unions but all voluntary associations not incorporated and not formed for profit. This will include the organizations of farmers formed exactly as trade unions are

formed, and it will affect a wide variety of other organizations as well. There seems to be no avenue of escape under this decision for any unincorporated association of individuals.

Under the doctrine, now for the first time in the history of our Republic laid down by the Supreme Court, every organized unit is liable as such for whatever acts may be performed by individual members or groups of members in violation of law.

It has been well said that the decision in this case might properly have been written in a half dozen lines absolving the United Mine Workers of America from guilt and releasing the funds placed in escrow by the treasury of that organization.

The point to be decided by the Supreme Court required only a negative statement absolving certain defendants from liability. It was therefore purely gratuitous on the part of Mr. Chief Justice Taft to go to the extent of writing a decision covering twenty-nine pages in which to lay down not merely a negative finding but what must be in effect positive ruling constituting a decision in anticipation of future cases.

Not content with the unwarranted act of rendering a decision in anticipation of a future case, the court went to the astounding extreme of deciding that anticipated case in a manner totally at variance with what has hitherto been the law, which does terrific injustice to the voluntary organization of labor, and which sets up a concept absolutely foreign to everything commonly understood to be contemplated, not only by the statute law of our land, but by the constitution itself.

The decision is essentially on a par with the decision in the famous Taff-Vale case in England, which is cited by Chief Justice Taft in the present decision. In fact, Chief Justice Taft seeks to draw support from the Taff-Vale decision for his own conclusions, for he quotes from Mr. Justice Farwell, who wrote the Taff-Vale decision, as follows:

"If the contention of the defendant Society were well founded, the legislature has authorized the creation of numerous bodies of men capable of owning great wealth and of action by agents with absolutely no responsibility for the wrongs that they may do to other persons by the use of that wealth and the employment of those agents."

Justice Taft says that Justice Farwell gave judgment against the union and that the judgment was affirmed by the House of Lords.

It is singular that Chief Justice Taft does not complete the story, the remainder of which is that the Taff-Vale decision became a great political issue in England and was ultimately reversed; and further, that the British Parliament as a direct result of the case passed the Trades Disputes Act which made such decisions forever impossible in the future.

The Taff-Vale decision, which Mr. Chief Justice Taft quotes with approval and which is entirely in harmony with his own views in the Coronado case, could not be rendered under English law today.

It is astounding that the court should have sought a precedent in ancient and outlawed British court findings, ignoring entirely the modern British law upon which all modern British court decisions have been founded.

It will be of interest to read the Industrial Disputes Act, the enactment of which was directly due to the Taff-Vale Decision cited by Chief Justice Taft. It is as follows:

#### British Trades-Dispute Act, 1906

"An act done in pursuance of an agreement or combination by two or more persons shall, if done in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, not be actionable unless the act if done without any such agreement or combination, would be actionable.

"It shall be lawful for one or more persons, acting on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union or of an individual employer or firm in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute, to attend at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on business or happens to be, if they so attend merely for the purpose of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working.

"An act done by a person in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute shall not be actionable on the ground only that it induces some other person to break a contract of employment or that it is an interference with the trade, business or employment of some other person or with the right of some other person to dispose of his capital or his labor as he wills.

"An action against a trade union, whether of workmen or masters, or against any members or officials thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the trade union in respect of any tortious act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the trade union, shall not be entertained by any court.

"Nothing in this section shall affect the liability of the trustees of a trade union to be sued in the events provided for by the trade-union act, 1871, section 9, except in respect of any tortious act committed by or on behalf of the union in contemplation or in furtherance of a trade dispute."

The following quotation from the Coronado decision shows how closely Mr. Taft follows the reasoning of the repealed British decision and how greatly he has depended upon the logic used in that repudiated document in now reversing the established law and practices of the United States:

"It would be unfortunate if an organization with as great power as this International Union has in the raising of large funds and in directing the conduct of four hundred thousand members in carrying on in a wide territory industrial controversies and strikes out of which unlawful injury to private rights is possible, could assemble its assets to be used therein free from liability for injuries by torts committed in course of such strikes."

It may as well be said here that even as the people of England found a way to correct and modernize their high courts and their House of Lords in the interest of humanity and progress, so will the people of the United States find a way to correct the Supreme Court of the United States in the interest of humanity and progress and to correct, also, whatever other institution may stand in the way of the attainment and the exercise of human rights.

Mr. Taft finds that trade unions have been recognized as lawful by the Clayton Act and by various other acts of Congress, and of state legislatures. As a matter of fact, no one had supposed that trade unions were not lawful, although there are some who have entertained the hope that some day some way might be found to declare them not lawful. For a great many years unions have been recognized as lawful organizations having a lawful right to exist, and that lawful existence has not rendered them liable as they are now held to be liable by the decision of Chief Justice Taft.

How foreign to the real spirit of the Clayton Act the present decision is may be judged by a reading of Sec. 6 of that act, which follows:

"Section 6.—That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nothing contained in the anti-trust laws shall be construed to forbid the existence and oper-

ation of labor, agricultural or horticultural organizations, instituted for the purposes of mutual help, and not having capital stock or conducted for profit, or to forbid or restrain individual members of such organizations from lawfully carrying out the legitimate objects thereof; nor shall such organizations, or the members thereof, be held or construed to be illegal combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade, under the anti-trust laws."

It will be noted by careful reading of this section that trade unions are considered associations of human beings and not organizations interested in the promoting of commodities or articles of commerce, and also that by this section they are not to be construed as combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade under the anti-trust laws. If it be true, and the language in this section permits no other construction, that trade unions are declared organizations not in restraint of trade, it is inconceivable how the Supreme Court could have ruled them to be liable, either under the Sherman or Clayton Acts, when as a matter of fact they have been specifically exempted from these laws. Justice Taft by his subtle interpretation and construction has directly charged that trade unions are combinations or conspiracies in restraint of trade, because it is only by this presumption and legal assumption that he can in any way justify the declaration that they are associations embraced in the terms of the Sherman and Clayton Acts.

In addition to the foregoing Section 6 of the Clayton Act was enacted into law to meet the situation that arose by the decision of the Supreme Court in the Danbury Hatters' case. In that case the members of the union were held by the Supreme Court to be liable as individuals and as a union. To correct this grievous error of the United States Supreme Court and immediately following this decision in the Danbury Hatters' case, the Congress of the United States enacted the Clayton Law which was specifically intended to correct what the courts had done in this case and that future decisions of the courts respect the rights of unions and of union members. Evidently, the United States Supreme Court does not intend to be bound by the legal enactments of Congress and feels itself superior to the judgment of the law-making body of the land.

The case which Chief Justice Taft quotes is the decision in the Taff-Vale case which was remedied by the enact-

ment of the Trades Dispute Act. The Supreme Court of the United States decided adversely to labor in the Danbury Hatters' Case. The Congress rectified that wrong by the enactment of the labor provisions of the Clayton Act, part of which has been quoted, but this does not seem to suffice the Supreme Court of the United States for it sweeps aside the act which Congress passed to rectify the wrong done by that court.

We may be sure that if trade unions were not lawful and had not a lawful right to exist and to function, it would have been found out a great many years ago. Of course, what every student knows is that in the beginning of the existence of trade unions every possible effort was made, not only by employers but by governments, to make their existence impossible and to prevent their growth.

Working people fought through many decades to establish the right of free and lawful existence for trade unions, and Mr. Taft is not giving the world any news in that portion of his decision wherein he finds that unions are lawful organizations.

Because there are certain laws on the statute books of the United States and of various individual states in which Mr. Taft finds the existence of trade unions recognized, he says in his decision:

"In this state of federal legislation, we think that such organizations are suable in the federal courts for their acts, and that funds accumulated to be expended in conducting strikes are subject to execution in suits for torts committed by such unions in strikes. The fact that the Supreme Court of Arkansas has since taken a different view in *Baskins vs. The United Mine Workers of America*, supra, cannot under the Conformity Act operate as a limitation on the federal procedure in this regard."

The decision seeks to find justification particularly in the Anti-Trust Law, usually known as the Sherman Law. We find Justice Taft in his decision using the following language in reference to that law:

"Our conclusion as to the suability of the defendants is confirmed in the case at bar by the words of sections 7 and 8 of the Anti-Trust Law. The persons who may be sued under Section 7 include 'corporations and associations existing under or authorized by the laws of either the United States, or the laws of any of the territories, the laws of any state or the laws of any foreign country. This language is very broad,

and the words given their natural signification certainly include labor unions like these. There are, as has been abundantly shown, associations existing under the laws of the United States, of the territories thereof, and of the States of the Union."

Of course, the Sherman Law was aimed at powerful corporations which were at that period engaging in a frenzy of speculation as well as combination, indulging in an exaggeration of a natural economic process to the great detriment of the masses of the people.

Concerning the intent of Congress in passing the Sherman Law, Chief Justice Taft says:

"Congress was passing drastic legislation to remedy a threatening danger to the public welfare, and did not intend that any person or combination of persons should escape its application. The thought was especially directed against business associations and combinations that were unincorporated to do the things forbidden by the act, but they used language broad enough to include all associations which might violate its provisions recognized by the statutes of the United States or the states or the territories, of foreign countries as lawfully existing and this, of course, includes labor unions, as the legislation referred to shows."

The full truth is that Congress did not have trade unions at all in mind and was so certain that trade unions would never be brought into court under that law that it felt it unnecessary to adopt an amendment specifically to exempt unions from its operation. Such an amendment was suggested and it was only for the reason that Congress felt the amendment unnecessary that it declined to adopt it as an addition to the Sherman Law.

The proposal of an amendment to exempt trade unions from the operation of the Sherman Law, and the debate on the question, will be found in the Congressional Record and in the American Federationist for July, 1900, pages 195 to 210.

Promises of that sort are, of course, of no avail when the Supreme Court enters the arena, because the Supreme Court has a liberty peculiarly its own and is not bound to take cognizance of pledges or interpretations given by others.

When the Lever Law was enacted during the war, specific pledges were given that the law would not be made to apply to labor; but in this case also, the pledges have meant nothing, for the

Lever Law has never been made to apply to anyone else.

And as a matter of fact, when the packers were being tried under the Lever Act, the Supreme Court of the United States found it convenient to hold the law unconstitutional and to permit the profit makers to escape its penalizing effects.

The importance of the present decision lies in what may be its future application. The Supreme Court expressed regret that the decision could not fall with full force upon the United Mine Workers, but it left little doubt as to what will be its application at the first opportunity. There is much in the following sentences from the decision:

"There is nothing to show that the International Board ever authorized it, took any part in preparation for it or in its maintenance. Nor did they or their organization ratify it by paying any of the expenses. It came exactly within the definition of a local strike in the Constitutions of both the National and the District organizations."

The only conclusion that can be drawn from these sentences is that in any strike sanctioned by national or international officials or supported by funds from the national treasury, no matter how justified the cause of the strike, the national organization as such may be held responsible in damages for whatever act may be held unlawful and which may be committed by individuals about whom the national may have no knowledge or of whose action the national may be entirely uninformed.

Many reasons have been advanced as to why the decision should be accepted as just, as to why it will not work injustice. For example, some suggest that inasmuch as unions expect protection against forgery of their labels and of their working cards and protection against theft of their funds, they should expect and accept the position in which they are now placed by the Supreme Court. The logic of the contention is not good. Unions expect punishment of those who commit crimes. Unions expect that those who forge their labels and their working cards and who steal their money will be punished. Unions do not expect, however, that a half million men will be punished for the unlawful acts of a half dozen. For the crimes of the half dozen there is adequate law and it should be used as it was intended to be used.

Unions expect protection against forgery and theft exactly as any other organization or person is protected against

similar crimes. They have never sought any extraordinary protection and never will seek any extraordinary protection. The unions have as much right to the protection of the law against forgery and theft as has any individual, and no more. There is no more comparison between this simple protection and the law now laid down by the Supreme Court than there is between any two extremes.

Corporations are organized under the law in order to limit their liabilities. An agent of a corporation committing a crime does not make its shareholders, or even the corporation itself, guilty of having committed that crime. We find almost invariably that what is known in law as the doctrine of ultra virus has been specifically designed to shield corporate entities, their share holders and security holders, against liability for the irresponsible and unauthorized acts of their agents or officers.

A trade union is an unincorporated association of individuals who band together voluntarily for mutual advancement, but not for profit. A member of such an association is not an agent of the association unless it is specifically provided by the association that he shall have the character of agent and the standing of an agent. For a national union of workers to be held responsible for the acts of some of its members or of a local union, no matter how remote, is an injustice, the enormity of which is difficult to comprehend.

The Supreme Court has not only rendered a decision which goes beyond any previous decision of that tribunal in its antagonism and opposition to labor, but it has rendered such a decision when under the law of the land and under the practices hitherto obtaining its decision should have been exactly the reverse.

The court has taken an occasion when a brief negative finding was required to issue a positive finding which was not required, which was purely gratuitous and which is of a most far-reaching and damaging character.

How eager the Supreme Court was to inflict injury upon labor is found in the sentence wherein Chief Justice Taft said that it was with "great regret that the Court finds itself unable to affirm the decision of the lower courts holding the United Mine Workers liable." Therein we find eagerness to the point of daring. The Supreme Court's regret that it could not hold the United Mine Workers as a national organization responsible for the alleged acts of a small group of members in a distant State, is comparable to the crocodile tears of the Court in regretting that it

was forced to declare the child labor law unconstitutional. Almost the Court regrets too much.

Apparently what the Court regrets is the fact that the United Mine Workers of America, as an international union, did not commit the act which Chief Justice Taft has held to be a tortious act, so that they might thereby be deprived of their funds at a time when those funds were most needed by the miners, and also to blacken the character of the United Mine Workers as a body of men who would commit criminal acts.

The Coronado decision does not stand alone as an indication of what the Supreme Court has in mind in relation to the organizations of the workers. Within a year the Court has handed down four decisions of major importance to the labor movement, and in each of these decisions it has delivered a blow at labor and at the normal, natural, constructive progress which the labor movement seeks to achieve within the law.

The seats of the mighty are made more secure and the paths of justice for the workers are made more and more impassable.

The trade union is an agency of public service. It is a fundamental necessity of an age of collective production. Without it modern industry could not be an ordered process; it would be a fantastic, gruesome jungle, imperfect and in constant danger of complete disintegration and anarchy.

Yet, despite this striking fact, so little understood by so many, trade unions are treated by the Supreme Court and by many employers as if they were impediments in the road to social progress, obstacles to human achievement.

The modern trade union movement has marched hand in hand with the development of machine and concentrated production. The roots of both are in the same soil, intertwined. The life of both is of equal length. One was made necessary by the other. Modern industrial life could not exist in any large sense without the organizations of labor. There could be only disorganized industry operated by slaves.

The labor movement has meant to the workers their only channel through which to find a living interest in production under modern conditions; their only means of dealing with the machine and therefore, their only means of saving some liberty from the grasp of the machine and of those who own the machine.

The Supreme Court cannot crush this

movement without endangering the foundations of society. The workers will not accept slavery, therefore, they will not accept that which makes slavery either likely or possible. They will find a way to preserve those liberties which they have and to gain more as time passes.

The Executive Council, in presenting the report on this subject, is extremely alive to the able and masterful presentation to the convention by Senator La-Follette of the attitude of the courts toward labor; and in view of the fact that a special committee has been created to deal, not only with questions raised in this decision, but also with the grave problems presented because of other decisions of the Supreme Court

against labor, deems it in the best interests of all not to suggest any specific remedies in this report, but to leave the special committee appointed for this purpose free to provide such procedures, remedies and methods as in its judgment seems proper, logical and practicable, viewing the entire situation as a whole, presenting one problem for solution.

No further committees were ready to report at this time, and upon motion by Delegate Bugniacet, Electrical Workers, the rules were suspended and the convention at 2:55 o'clock p. m. adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Saturday morning, June 17.

## SIXTH DAY—Saturday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 17, 1922.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

### Absentees

Mountford, Gillmore, Beisel, Goldstone, Tracy, Boyers, Hyland, Desepte, Coulter, Laibly, Bock, G. W. Marshall, Hogan, Murray, Kennedy, Burns, Hannah, Bergstrom, Gunther, Jas. Murphy, Hutchins, J. P. Burke, La Belle, Canterbury, Doane, Koester, Howat, S. Ely, Fenton, H. L. Franklin, Iglesias, Grace, Pascoe, Lorntsen, Clendenning, Lehman, Thornsborough, Winans, J. C. Taylor, Robt. Marshall, Ogg, O'Dell, B. F. Brown, Ford, Boulware, Allen, Kerns, Argo, Bennett, Downes, Sims, Kaiser, Nicholas, Meloon, Herder, Bower, Hourigan, McAndrews, Wrenn, Rich, Whitcomb, W. E. Colman, Harte, C. I. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, Stewart, Ambrose Harris, Milton, Fizer, Flynn, Latimore, F. W. Ely, Feinstein.

President Gompers: In this open convention I desire to acknowledge publicly the receipt of a letter from the Cincinnati Enquirer, calling attention to its publication of a part of the remarks which I made at the City Club luncheon. My attention has been called to it, and in so far as the one point to which the letter refers as having published that part of my address, it is true—I have seen it. It was not my intention to do an injustice to The Enquirer and I am not, as the letter to me indicates, nor have I always been antagonistic to The Enquirer. I am not antagonistic to any one or any agency that is simply fair. However, it is my duty to state to you what I did in respect to this fact.

Let me say in addition that The Cincinnati Enquirer, this morning, publishes a statement showing that it has a time clock upon the course and procedure of the President of the American Federation of Labor and publishes a statement that I was late in opening the convention yesterday morning.

I report now for The Enquirer that I am here just about the same time.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Cook, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 17, 1922.

Your Committee on Credentials submits the following supplemental report: Metal Polishers' International Union, Charles R. Atherton, to take the place of H. C. Diehl.

Railway Mail Association, L. C. Macomber, to take the place of Chester M. Harvey.

Office Employes' Association No. 12755, Chicago, Ill., Olive Sullivan as alternate delegate in the place of James Flynn.

We recommend that the delegates be seated in this convention.

THOS. F. FLAHERTY,  
Chairman.

PETER McKILLOP,  
HARRY H. COOK, Secretary.  
Committee on Credentials.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

Delegate Tighe, Iron and Steel Workers, obtained the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce the following resolution:

Resolution No. 120—By Delegates M. F. Tighe, Ben I. Davis, W. E. Brewster, John L. Williams, of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers of North America:

WHEREAS, One of the most drastic injunctions ever issued in a labor dispute was promulgated by Federal Judge Cochran in the city of Newport, Ky., against the employes of the Andrews Steel Co. and Newport Rolling Mills Co.; and,

WHEREAS, The aforesaid injunction forbids the membership of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers from peaceful picketing, and men and women are jailed for speaking of the strike, or of the strikebreakers imported to said city; and,

WHEREAS, The officers of said organization have been subjected to every possible persecution under said injunction and have been held under prohibi-

tive bond for exercising their ordinary duties; and,

**WHEREAS**, Many persons, both men and women, have been assaulted, beaten and shot by thugs in uniform, and for the first time in the history of America war tanks have been brought into play in industrial strife; and,

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly expressed opposition and condemnation to the use of injunctions in industrial disputes, and the curtailment of the constitutional rights of the workers and has used every effort to curb the injunction proceedings; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That this, the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, reaffirm its former action of injunctions and instruct the Executive Council to render every assistance to the A. A. & I. S. & T. W.; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the legal staff of the American Federation of Labor cooperate with the attorneys of said Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers to fight these injunction processes to successful conclusion.

Referred to Special Committee.

**Secretary Morrison:** Our attention has been called by the representative of the Fire Fighters to the fact that a resolution which he introduced within the specified time did not appear in the records. Investigation showed that he had introduced two resolutions, without duplicates, and it was referred to the Adjustment Committee, one going to the printer and the other to the committee. In that way one of the resolutions did not appear in the minutes. I therefore move that the other resolution be printed in today's proceedings.

No objection was offered, and the resolution, identified as Resolution No. 121, was introduced.

**Resolution No. 121** — By Delegates Fred. W. Baer and Jos. A. Kirby, of the International Association of Fire Fighters:

**WHEREAS**, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has not complied with the mandates of Resolution No. 112 passed at the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor in June, 1921; and,

**WHEREAS**, The instructions were as follows:

**"RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor recommend that the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers revoke charter of Local No. 577, and turn over to the International Association of Fire Fighters the Chicago Fire Fighters known as Local No. 577; and be it further

**"RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its declaration of Resolutions Nos. 17 and 106 at the Buffalo convention as regards jurisdiction of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

· **"Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.**

**"The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously"; and**

**WHEREAS**, The failure on the part of the Steam and Operating Engineers to comply with this resolution has worked to the detriment of the International Association of Fire Fighters and caused a loss of membership and general dissatisfaction, also retarding our efforts to organize new locals throughout the country due to the continuation of this dual organization; and,

**WHEREAS**, The International Association of Fire Fighters has made repeated efforts to have the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers carry out the intent of Resolution No. 112; and,

**WHEREAS**, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has not complied with Resolution No. 112; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor hereby suspend the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers until such time as they comply with the mandates of Resolution No. 112 unanimously adopted in convention, June 12-26, 1921, at Denver, Colo.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

**Secretary Morrison** read the following telegram:

"Baltimore, Md., June 17, 1922.

"Samuel Gompers, President, American Federation of Labor, Cincinnati, Ohio:

"Port Committee of the International Seamens' Union of America sends fraternal greetings to the convention. Trust coming year will be brighter than the one that has passed.

"CHRIS. RASMUSSEN, Chairman,  
"PATRICK KEANE, Secretary."



## REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LAW

Delegate Martin Joyce, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 85—By Delegate Herman, Defrem, Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12646, New York City:

WHEREAS, It is desirable that the delegates to the convention have time and opportunity to properly study the resolutions on which they are going to be called upon to act; and,

WHEREAS, It is fair and democratic that the delegates should have the right to have their resolutions come squarely before the convention without their being distorted or smothered by amendments and substitutes of committees; and,

WHEREAS, The convention should have the opportunity of voting a clear yes or no, instead of being compelled to vote contrariwise by a committee's motion "to non-concur;" therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the constitution be amended by the inclusion of the following:

Section 1. All resolutions must be in the hands of the secretary six weeks before the opening of the convention. They shall be printed and distributed to the affiliated organizations one month before the convention. After the date of printing no resolution may come before the convention except it deal with a situation which has arisen in the meantime.

Section 2. Where there are several resolutions dealing with the same subject it shall be the function of the committee to which they are referred to call a conference of the introducers in order to obtain agreement, if possible, on a joint substitute resolution. Such a substituted resolution shall be immediately printed and distributed.

Section 3. All resolutions shall come directly before the convention for action in the form in which they were introduced, or agreed to by the introducers.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Tobin, chairman of the committee, stated that after the committee had taken action on the resolution the

delegate who introduced it had requested permission at the hands of the convention to withdraw it.

Replying to President Gompers' question as to whether or not he wished to withdraw the resolution, Delegate Defrem stated that he did. Objection was interposed, however, and the resolution was not permitted to be withdrawn, and the report of the committee, which was to non-concur in Resolution No. 85, was adopted.

Delegate Williams, Carmen, again repeated the statement he had made at a previous session that he believed it was unfair to the delegates introducing resolutions not to have an opportunity to be present when the resolutions were acted upon, either because they were serving on committees or appearing before committees in session during the convention hours.

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate Chas. Hixson, Federal Labor Union No. 16707, New Albany, Ind.:

WHEREAS, On account of the fact that there are a large number of the members of the federal labor unions and the unskilled workers who are now and have been out of employment for a long time, and further that prospects are at this time not very encouraging; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By this convention in session, That the present rates for reinstatement be reduced to one (\$1.00) dollar; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That 25 cents of this amount be used for the reinstatement stamp; be it further

**RESOLVED**, That 25 cents of this amount be used for per capita tax; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the remaining 50 cents be left in the local treasury. Local 16707, of New Albany, is of the opinion that by the adoption of the foregoing resolution the way will be opened by the organization to reinstate a large number of the now willing but unable workers to encourage them to renewed effort re-establishing them in the good graces of the organized world and strengthening the organization to such a point that they will be able to defend their position in the great fight that they are now putting up to sustain

themselves as men and as American citizens should be sustained.

This resolution was referred by the Committee on State and Federated Bodies to the Committee on Law, and your committee non-concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### REPRESENTATION IN CENTRAL BODIES

In considering the graduated basis upon which the representation of delegates to central bodies should be predicated, the Executive Council examined all available data and as a result of its study recommends the following graduated basis of representation of local unions to central bodies:

Local unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates.

Local unions having 100 members or less, 3 delegates.

Local unions having 250 members or less, 4 delegates.

Local unions having 500 members or less, 5 delegates.

Local unions to be entitled to one delegate for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 119, your committee recommends concurrence in the recommendation of the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate James A. Legassie, Berlin Central Labor Union, Berlin, N. H.:

WHEREAS, Past experiences have proven conclusively that granting complete and absolute autonomy to affiliated national and international unions has been detrimental to the American labor movement, inasmuch as many national and international unions have disregarded the rights of others; and,

WHEREAS, National and international unions have been known to go so far as to allow their members to work for employers unfair to other crafts and where strikes existed, thus materially weakening the position and defense of the fighting organization; and,

WHEREAS, Such action is entirely foreign to the true principles of trades unionism, and constitutes an abrogation of the following part of Article 2, Section 4, of the American Federation of

Labor constitution, to wit, "An American Federation of all national and international trade unions, to aid and assist each other"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we respectfully request the American Federation of Labor to strike out the words "based upon the strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade" from Section 2 of Article 2, making Section 2 of Article 2 read "The establishment of national and international unions, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies."

Having carefully read the sections of the constitution as now in effect, and then inserting the clauses or lines mentioned in this resolution, the interpretation that your committee places upon this resolution is that it is intended to foster or permit the establishment of industrial organizations, taking away the autonomous rights of international unions as now obtaining under the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee therefore non-concurs in the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

That Section 2, Article 14, be amended by adding to the end of the present section, deleting the period: "and its regularly chartered central bodies and state federations of labor."

The object of this resolution is to delegate to central bodies the right, without the permission of the American Federation of Labor, to audit the books of local trade and federal labor unions.

In view of the fact that the American Federation of Labor has the same rights and exercises the same authority over local trade and federal labor unions as international unions have over their regularly chartered local unions, we believe that it would be inadvisable to take away or weaken that authority of the American Federation of Labor by delegating to central bodies or state federations of labor the right to go in and audit the books of local trade and federal labor unions whenever the desire so obtains in any central body or state federation of labor.

Your committee therefore non-concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates W. D. Mahon, of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America; John J. Hynes, of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Alliance; William Green, of the United Mine Workers of America; William L. Hutcheson, of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; Arthur M. Huddell, of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers; P. J. Morrin, of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association; A. J. Kugler, of the International Union of the United Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America; T. A. Rickert, of the United Garment Workers of America, and G. M. Bugniazet, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America:

RESOLVED, That Section 1, Article 3, of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be so amended as to read "the first Monday in October" in place of "the second Monday in June," so that Section 1, Article 3, as amended, shall go into effect in 1923, and read:

"The convention of the federation shall meet annually at 10 o'clock on the first Monday in October at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding convention."

Many of the delegates having signed the above resolution appeared before the committee and explained the necessity of changing the date for the holding of the convention.

Your committee gave the matter serious consideration, understanding that objections might obtain and realizing the fact there was considerable desire to get away from holding the conventions in the extremely warm weather usually obtaining in the month of June, and also that there would be some objection on the part of some of the delegates to any other month, but feeling that the most desirable time would be in the month of October, as specified in the resolution, your committee concurs in the resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employes, requested a roll-call vote, and the request was supported by

110 delegates, a sufficient number under the rules.

Vice-President Green in the chair.

The roll was called on the motion to adopt the report of the committee, and resulted as follows:

**Aye**—Mullaney, J. C. Shanessy, Jacob Fischer, Wahl, C. F. Foley, Roe H. Baker, Dannenberg, Kline, Powlesland, Glover, Martin, Reddick, Belair, Neary, Baine, James, Brennan, Guinan, Trainor, John Sullivan, Kugler, Obergfell, Hauser, Kasten, Wm. Tracey, Morrin, Edward Ryan, Cunnane, Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, Michaels, W. T. Allen, Weaver, Kelso, Kelly, McCarthy, Perkins, Gompers, Sexton, Campbell, Abrahams, E. H. Fitzgerald, Hay, Odell, McNulty, Shurtleff, England, Dee, E. E. Baker, Conway, Desepte, Coulter, J. E. Davis, Veder, Rosemund, Noonan, McNulty, Bugniazet, O'Connor, Barton, Joyce, Huddell, Evans, Posschl, Edgerton, Saddler, Woll, Schmal, Steward, Baer, Kirby, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Holtschult, Austin, Kaufman, Rickert, Larger, Doyle, Adamski, Houck, Schlessinger, Langer, Amdur, Antonini, Greenberg, Pinkofsky, Voll, Colin, Most, Wm. P. Clarke, Harry H. Cook, O'Brien, Lawlor, Hollander, Shalvoy, d'Alessandro, Moreschi, Marshall, Etchison, Cordell, Tighe, Ben I. Davis, Brewster, Greenstein, McSorley, Duty, Case, Bryan, Bock, Maitland, Wm. H. Johnston, Schoenberg, Grow, Larkin, Marshall, Hannon, Hewitt, C. J. Hayes, Lane, Gorman, Hynes, Hock, Dorsey, Pattison, Moyer, Crough, Lewis, Green, Murray, Farrington, Moore, Kennedy, Valentine, Frey, Burns, Regan, Weber, Carey, Taylor, Canavan, Weaver, Winkler, Stickle, Yarrow, James Wilson, McGovern, Donlin, Biehl, Rooney, Britton, Leary, Atherton, Wood, Farrell, Hutchins, Fallon, Berry, Geckler, Frater, Pepper, Stier, Suito, Mahon, Quinlan, Schulz, Rodgers, Conn, Harvey, Thompson, Cleland, Peter J. O'Brien, Furu-seth, Hanson, McKillop, Freel, Sumner, Cashen, Connors, Trost, Sweeney, Silinsky, Keep, Tobin, Hughes, Gillespie, McLaughlin, Rox, Steve C. Sumner, Manion, Ramsay, Perham, Williams, Smart, Roscoe H. Johnson, McMahon, Conboy, Garrity, J. R. White, Walden, Curtis, McParland, Morrison, Howard, Max S. Hayes, McCullough, Young, O'Connell, Lord, Manning, Hopkins, Zwalley, Coleman; Lawson, Fritz, Barry, Murphy, J. P. Holland, Roach, Hart, Geo. W. Fisher, Franklin, Steadman, Miller, Hushing, Bieretz, Legassie, Lennon, Doherty, Kolb, Snyder, Clay,

Niemeier, Brydon, McGahey, John L. Williams, Riley, N. C. Franklin, Feinauer, Ford, Andler, Frank H. Smith, Utterback, R. J. Fitzgerald, Frampton, Lowder, Hilfers, Coughlin, Weitzel, Gable, Covert, Miller, George B. McGovern, Dechend, Stehmeyer, Defrem, Burford, Bryan, Carter, Stratton, Butler, Harris, Smyth, Rincker, Owen W. Jones, Scott, Mocerf; representing 24,308 votes.

**Nay**—J. A. Franklin, C. Scott, MacGowan, Dohney, Bowen, Dobson, Shaughnessy, Price, Skinner, T. J. Murphy, M. F. Ryan, Ware, Buckley, Hyland, J. Williams, Hunt, Cunningham, Flaherty, Hohmann, M. B. Greene, Redfern, Siemer, Weil, Flore, J. L. Sullivan, Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Gainor, Cantwell, C. D. Duffy, Swartz, Mugavin, Chlopek, Angleton, Finan, J. J. Doyle, Thos. H. Mugavin, Madsen, N. F. Smith, J. T. Carey, Schneider, Parker, Helt, D. C. Cone, C. C. Shay, P. J. Ryan, Suarez, T. Malloy, M. W. Mitchell, Blasey, H. O. Cline, Mikel, T. N. Taylor, Hjort, Ohl, Oberting, J. G. Owens, P. Robbins, Kosten, C. Mullen, J. Hubbard, J. L. Anderson, F. Williams, C. B. Nelson, Lynam, G. T. Simmons, Wobser, J. Rogers, representing 5,740 votes.

**Not Voting**—Mountford, F. Gillmore, Myrup, Beisel, Goldstone, Boyer, A. O'Brien, S. Kelleher, F. Feeney, Laibly, J. Duncan, H. S. Marshall, G. T. Johnson, S. C. Hogan, E. I. Hannah, Bergstrom, J. Coefield, C. Anderson, Gunther, J. Murphy, J. P. Burke, LaBelle, Funder Burk, Stillman, Canterbury, W. Kohn, Jewell, Doane, Koester, J. Jones, J. H. Walker, A. Howat, Hulsbeck, Gerraughty, S. Ely, E. Fenton, Iglesias, Grace, D. Hanly, Fox, Pascoe, Troutman, Lorntsen, Glendenning, J. Clark, Lehman, Thornsborough, J. E. Sullivan, Winans, R. E. Roberts, J. C. Taylor, Lochray, G. T. Johnson, R. Marshall, Ogg, O'Dell, B. F. Brown, Witcomb, Holloway, W. E. Colman, Boulware, A. E. Allen, Harte, Mezzacapo, Hixson, S. Colman, Caporal, C. McCoy, C. L. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, A. Stewart, Bleasius, Kerns, Argo, McSpadden, G. Bennett, Downes, J. L. Sims, Muir, R. J. Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Birthright, Ornburn, Tinney, Plant, McKinnon, Meloon, Dunn, Herder, Bower, M. Ryan, J. B. Conroy, Hourigan, E. S. Mahan, J. J. McAndrews, Wrenn, C. W. Rich, Nicol, C. Trimmer, T. J. Milton, Fizer, M. Malone, O. Sullivan, Latimore, Hawkins, F. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstein, Poulton, H. Smith, E. Robinson, Vargas; representing 1,416 votes.

**Vice-President Green:** Two-thirds of the votes of the delegates are cast in favor of the report of the committee; therefore the report of the committee is adopted and the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor will be changed in accordance with the vote of the convention.

I am sure there are a great number of people here who are interested in the situation in San Francisco. Many inquiries have been made regarding it. In order that we may have known something about it, Delegate McCarthy, whom you all know, will address the convention for a few minutes.

After Delegate McCarthy explained the fact that copies of his report to the last convention of the State Building Trades Council of California were placed before the delegates this morning, and explained thoroughly the situation regarding the controversy in San Francisco, he said:

"The trouble with the various Chambers of Commerce throughout this country, and those of the Bay Counties of San Francisco are no exception, is that the paid secretaries and managers would find themselves out of a job if peace were allowed to maintain. The great majority of members of the various Chambers of Commerce in the Bay Counties of San Francisco are favorable to labor.

But, I repeat, the gentlemen who are employed by the managerial forces of those institutions must keep up the fight in order that they be at least important enough to draw their salaries. It may truthfully be said, however, that the great mass of the people in those communities are rapidly catching on to their style of doing business and in the interests of those communities are rising up against paid agents or trouble-makers of those bodies.

Secretary Joyce continued the report of the Committee on Laws, as follows:

Resolutions Nos. 5, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 34, 39, 42, 45 and 48, all deal with the same subject. They are as follows:

**Resolution No. 5**—By Delegate Geo. T. Simmons, Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The best interests of organized labor demand that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (either directly or through their national or international organizations) should by affiliation be-

come members of the central labor bodies of their vicinity; and,

WHEREAS, The machinery provided by the American Federation of Labor Constitution seems to be, and is, inadequate to compel that solidarity so necessary to the success of the labor movement; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be amended to contain the following principle: "That national and international organizations shall compel all local unions under their jurisdiction to affiliate with the central bodies of their vicinity; and where a local union persists in its refusal to so affiliate, the proper officers of the national or international organization having jurisdiction shall notify the offending local union that its charter is suspended until such time as the affiliation is consummated; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and Vicinity shall send a copy of this resolution to all central labor bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, requesting that this resolution be indorsed and that the delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention shall do his utmost to secure the passage of such legislation as it contemplated in this resolution.

Resolution No. 11—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

To amend Section 11, Article 9, to read as follows:

"Sec. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any national or international union without a positive and clear acceptance of the requirements regarding affiliation of all local unions subordinate to such national and international union with chartered local central labor bodies, departments and State federations of labor; nor shall such charter be granted to any national, international, trade or federal labor union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant," etc.

Resolution No. 12—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

The following is offered as a substitute for present Section 2, Article 11:

"Sec. 2. All national and international unions affiliated with the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor shall require that their subordinate local unions join and maintain active affiliation with the chartered central labor bodies, departments and State federations of labor in their vicinity where such exist. Failure on the part of any national or international union to comply with this section or to bring about such affiliation when any subordinate local or locals fail to carry out this provision shall subject them to suspension as provided in Section 12, Article 11. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all trade and federal labor unions under its jurisdiction."

Resolution No. 13—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

That Section 10, Article 11, be amended to read as follows: "Sec. 10. Local unions of national or international unions affiliated with the departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a local department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any local department unless they are connected with the chartered central body and State federation for their State, nor shall they be eligible for membership in such central body or State federation unless they are affiliated with the local department."

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

That Section 3, Article 14, be amended by adding after the words, "Central Labor Unions" the words "and State Federations of Labor."

The last sentence of the section to read, as amended: "Said local unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to central labor unions and State federations of labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor."

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Geo. W. Fisher, Texas State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The labor movement of America, on account of its magnitude, is fast coming to the point where the burden of the enforcement of its principles can not be placed on the backs of a few; and,

WHEREAS, The present laws of the American Federation of Labor are inadequate to compel the international unions to compel their subordinate locals to affiliate with city central bodies

and State federations, so necessary to the labor movement and to the enforcement of the principles thereof; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be so changed as to make it mandatory upon all national and international unions to compel all locals under their jurisdiction to affiliate with the various central bodies and State federations, and where a local union refuses to affiliate, its charter be suspended by their respective internationals, except where such national organization's membership wages are fixed by law; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That delegates from various affiliated locals of the central bodies be compelled by their international organizations to attend at least one-half of the meetings of central bodies of each calendar month, as it can readily be seen that dormant affiliation is of no use in these trying times of industrial autocracy.

**Resolution No. 34—By Delegate Thos. H. Gerraughty, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS**, The best interests of organized labor demand that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (either directly or through their national or international organization) should by affiliation become members of their respective State federation of labor and central bodies and district councils; and,

**WHEREAS**, The machinery provided by the American Federation of Labor Constitution seems to be, and is, inadequate to compel that solidarity so necessary to the success of the labor movement; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be amended to contain the following principle: "That national and international organizations shall compel all local unions under their jurisdiction to affiliate with their respective State federations of labor, central bodies, district councils, and where a local union persists in its refusal to so affiliate the proper officers of the national or international organization having jurisdiction shall notify the offending local union that its charter is suspended until such time as the affiliation is consummated.

**Resolution No. 39—By Delegates G. E. Mikel, Arkansas State Federation of**

**Labor, and W. C. Franklin, Central Labor Union, El Dorado, Ark.:**

**WHEREAS**, The best interests of organized labor demand that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, either directly or through their national or international organizations, should, by affiliation, become members of their respective State Federations of Labor; and,

**WHEREAS**, The machinery provided by the American Federation of Labor Constitution seems to be, and is, inadequate to compel that solidarity so necessary to the success of the labor movement; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be amended so as to contain the following principles: That national and international organizations shall compel all local unions under their jurisdiction to affiliate with their respective State Federations of Labor and local central bodies, and where a local union persists in its refusal to so affiliate, the proper officers of the national or international having jurisdiction shall notify the offending local that its charter is suspended until such time as the affiliation with the State Federation and central bodies is consummated.

**Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Ernest H. Swally, Louisiana State Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS**, The best interests of organized labor demand that all local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor (either directly or through their national or international organization), should by affiliation become members of their respective State Federations of Labor, Central Bodies and District Councils; and,

**WHEREAS**, The machinery provided by the American Federation of Labor constitution seems to be, and is inadequate to compel that solidarity so necessary to the success of the labor movement; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor shall be amended to contain the following principle: "That national and international organizations shall compel all local unions under their jurisdiction to affiliate with their respective State Federations of Labor, central bodies, and District Councils; and where a local union persists in its refusal to so affiliate, the proper officers of the national or international organization having jurisdiction shall notify the offending local

union that its charter be suspended until such time as the affiliation is consummated."

**Resolution No. 45—**By Alf. Hjort, of the Iowa State Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, Interests who are opposed to the aims and advancement of organized labor are creating and maintaining special influences and exercising their every effort to defeat the endeavors of organized workmen by maintaining paid emissaries both within and without the confines of the trade union movement, for the purpose of creating dissension and thereby contributing to the disruption and abandonment of true union principles; and,

**WHEREAS**, The best interests of the trade union movement can be most successfully served by the co-ordination and co-operation of such unions; and,

**WHEREAS**, Such co-operation is available only by actual affiliation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Iowa State Federation of Labor in convention assembled instruct its delegate to the next annual convention of the American Federation of Labor to use all honorable means to have changed the existing law, Article 11, Section 2, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, in the following manner: Substitute the clause "to require" for that of "to instruct" therein. Also add the following to the section:

"The penalty for non-compliance with this section shall be forfeiture of the charter of a local union in its international organization upon charges being brought and proven, as required by the Central Labor Union laws with which such local union is affiliated." The section will then read:

"Section 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to require their local unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federated Labor Unions under its jurisdiction. The penalty for non-compliance with this section shall be forfeiture of the charter of a local union in its international organization upon charges being brought and proven, as required by the Central Labor Union laws with which such local union is affiliated."

Adopted by the Iowa State Federation of Labor Convention at Daven-

port, Iowa, May 19, 1922, and recommended to the American Federation of Labor convention.

**Resolution No. 48—**By Delegate James A. Legassie, of Central Labor Union, Berlin, N. H.:

**WHEREAS**, The Berlin Central Labor Union cannot reach its highest degree of efficiency and effectiveness in its functioning in the best interests of the organized workers of Berlin unless all organizations in the city whose national and international unions are affiliated with the American Federation of Labor affiliate with the said Berlin Central Labor Union; and,

**WHEREAS**, Article 11, Section 2, of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor states that "It shall be the duty of all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their local unions to join chartered central labor bodies, department and State federations in their vicinity where such exist, similar instructions shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all trade and federal unions under its jurisdiction"; and,

**WHEREAS**, The Berlin Central Labor Union has done everything within its power to get the bricklayers to affiliate with this central body, even to the extent of taking the matter up with the American Federation of Labor, without success; and,

**WHEREAS**, There are many other central bodies, departments and State Federations that are having the same trouble with local unions of various national and international unions; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, instruct the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor to use their best efforts to have Article 11, Section 2, of the constitution enforced, to the end that our central bodies, State federations, etc., will be better fortified to protect the interests of their affiliated local unions.

For the purpose of expediting matters, your committee has decided to merge the resolutions and desires to offer the following report:

In view of the fact that this subject has been before many preceding conventions and decisions have been rendered on same, your committee believes that, while we are heartily in sympathy with the spirit of the resolutions—that is, while we believe it is

the duty of all international unions to see to it that all local unions are affiliated with central bodies and State bodies, so that the labor movement, both in the cities and States, can be strengthened—we feel it would be inadvisable for the Federation to go any farther than what has been done at present.

The law requires at present that all international unions see to it that the local unions coming under their jurisdiction shall instruct local unions to affiliate with State and central bodies. To go any further, we would have to make it compulsory and mandatory. We believe that this would not be in the best interests of the movement in general.

Splendid results are now being obtained by the method adopted by the Federation, which is that whenever complaint is made by a central body or State branch to the president or secretary of the American Federation of Labor, they immediately correspond with the international unions and request that the said international union immediately ask their local unions to affiliate, as per the complaint. This policy is being so successful each year that to change it at this time would be in our judgment inadvisable.

We therefore recommend non-concurrence in the resolutions.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

The question was discussed at some length, and Delegates Simmons, Philadelphia Central Labor Union; Franklin, El Dorado (Ark.) Central Labor Union; Max Hayes, Typographical Union; Hart, Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, and Nelson, Kansas City (Mo.) Central Labor Union, spoke in favor of the adoption of some measure that would bring about a closer unity between the different crafts in the various cities. In their arguments they pointed to the fact that the non-affiliated local unions enjoy the benefits of the central and State bodies without assuming their share of the burden, financial and otherwise.

Delegate Tobin, chairman of the committee, spoke in support of their report along the lines set forth in the committee's recommendations, pointing out that a system of compulsion in the matter of affiliation would only serve to

widen the gap in the case of unions which are not now affiliated with their respective city central and State bodies.

He stated that his organization, the Brotherhood of Teamsters, had in the past and was continuing to do all in its power to prevail upon its local unions to take their place in these bodies, and with good results, and that he could safely make the same kind of a statement for the other international unions.

Delegate d'Alessandro, Hod Carriers, stated that in the laws of his organization there was a compulsory requirement such as the resolutions before the convention suggested, but it had not been found possible to enforce it with any degree of success, and that he favored the report of the committee.

Upon motion debate was closed, and the report of the committee was adopted by a vote of 171 to 55.

**Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Luther E. Stewart, of the National Federation of Federal Employees:**

**WHEREAS, Women are now a permanent factor in industry; and,**

**WHEREAS, As unorganized workers they are a menace to the organized labor movement; and,**

**WHEREAS, There are still some international unions which refuse to admit women to membership, despite the fact that such action is in direct opposition to the best interests of the whole movement; and,**

**WHEREAS, While these international unions have the right to determine whom they will accept as members, if they will not take women workers in their trades, some other place must be provided within the labor movement for such women; therefore, be it**

**RESOLVED, That this convention authorize and instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to issue charters direct to groups of women in any given occupation if the national or international union of that trade declines to admit them to membership.**

This subject having come before the Committee on Laws at the Denver convention, the convention having discussed the matter at considerable length, and action having been taken, we desire to reiterate the declaration then made by the Committee on Laws and adopted by the convention, which is as follows:



"In reference to the subject matter contained in the above resolution, the committee desires to offer the following statement:

"The American Federation of Labor, since its inception, has done everything in its power to organize the women workers of the country and to obtain for them equal rights, political as well as economical. We, therefore, now reiterate all the many previous declarations of the Federation that we stand for equal rights for women in industry, as well as for equal rights of women in the political and industrial life of our nation. A large percentage of the international unions now admit to membership women workers of their trade or calling. There are, however, a few international unions that have not yet decided to admit to membership women workers, due largely to the nature of their work. Considerable progress is being continually made to reach a better understanding with international unions on this particular subject."

"We, therefore, offer the following substitute: That those international and national organizations that do not admit women workers to membership give early consideration for such admission."

In addition to reiterating and reaffirming the action taken by the Denver convention, the Committee on Laws desire to offer this further recommendation as a substitute for the resolution:

That where women workers are refused admission to international unions having jurisdiction over the industry in which they are employed, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take up the subject with the international unions involved and endeavor to reach an understanding as to the issuance of federal charters.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Joyce: This completes the report of the committee.

Signed,

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Chairman,  
MARTIN T. JOYCE, Secretary,  
FRANK FARRINGTON,  
WM. L. HUTCHESON,  
JAMES O'CONNELL,  
A. J. KUGLER,  
BENJ. SCHLESSINGER,  
JAMES P. HOLLAND,  
W. H. JOHNSTON,  
CHAS. ANDERSON,  
WM. DOBSON,  
A. C. HAYS,  
WM. QUINLAN,  
DENNIS LANE,  
E. E. BAKER,

Committee on Laws.

Secretary Joyce moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole. The motion was seconded and adopted by unanimous vote.

President Gompers in the chair.

Chairman Tobin: I move that the executive officers of the Federation—that is, the president and secretary—be instructed by the convention to make the necessary changes in the constitution, that is, changing the dates in accordance with the action this morning.

President Gompers: That is, with regard to the financial year and when the terms of office expire.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Delegate J. L. Lewis, United Mine Workers: I desire, Mr. President, in behalf of the representatives of the United Mine Workers, to accept the invitation extended by Delegate B. M. Jewell, in behalf of the Railway Employes' Department of the American Federation of Labor and its associated organizations to attend a meeting of those organizations to discuss the industrial situation affecting the strike of the organized mine workers in the mining industry and the outrageous action of the United States Railroad Labor Board imposing unwarrantable and unjustifiable reductions upon the railway employes.

A meeting has been arranged to take place in this city at the Palace Hotel on next Tuesday night, and at that meeting consideration will be given by the representatives of both industries to those matters which should properly be considered at that time.

I may say in passing that in accepting this invitation the organized mine workers of the country, through their representatives, prescribed the following course of action which will seek to afford that essential degree of justice which is necessary to the men working in those two industries, and at the same time give every proper consideration to the welfare of the organized working men and women of the country.

President Gompers: The fraternal

delegate of the Mexican Federation of Labor will address the convention. Brother Vargas is the Spanish-speaking secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor. He comes with a special message from the Mexican Federation of Labor to this convention.

As fraternal delegate Vargas came to the platform the entire audience arose and applauded.

#### ADDRESS OF MR. CANUTE A. VARGAS

##### Fraternal Delegate, Mexican Federation of Labor

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I assure you that I appreciate very much the invitation to address this convention. I may say, however, that some of you are going to be disappointed if you think you are going to hear a speech. One reason for that is that I never could make one, and then, again, after the wonderful speeches you have heard during this convention, I doubt very much the wisdom of even attempting to make one.

I consider it an honor and a privilege to be allowed to say a few words to this forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor, and it is an honor and a privilege, not only because I consider this convention of far more importance and of greater significance than any of your previous conventions, but because I am here at this time as the fraternal delegate of the Mexican Federation of Labor, and in that capacity extend to you the fraternal and most cordial greetings of that country south of the Rio Grande, the Republic of Mexico.

I have read with very much interest the report of your Executive Council, and I have also read with much interest the numerous resolutions that have been introduced by the delegates. From them it can be seen what influence this convention will exert on the lives of the toiling men and women of the United States.

There was one subject discussed that, to my mind, will mark an epoch in the history of the labor movement, the subject discussed last Wednesday. It matters not that you will simply have to fight anew for those things that have been taken from you by the judicial pen; it matters not that you will have to retrace your steps, for the determination you have shown under adversity is something the historian of the future

will have to take notice of. The future historian will have to devote a special chapter to the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is this determination that has brought to my mind with great force the meaning of that momentous struggle that has been going on in the Republic of Mexico for the last twelve years, a struggle for the political and industrial freedom of the Mexican people. It has brought to my mind the meaning of the struggle today of the organized labor movement of Mexico to put a stop to the wrongs of the Mexican people from which they have suffered since the Spaniards set foot on their shore more than four hundred years ago.

It is not my purpose to relate the history of that long period of exploitation which the Mexican people have suffered; I am here to bring you the fraternal greetings of the Mexican Federation of Labor and to tell you some of the things it is fighting for. The Mexican Republic has been torn asunder by eight almost-continuous years of revolution, a revolution against the rule of one man who held unbroken sway over their country for thirty-four long years. During those years Mexico was a paradise for the industrial and the feudal lords, and for the Mexican people it was the worst thing you can think of.

But those eight years, turbulent years of revolution, my friends, brought to the Mexican people a taste of that liberty which they had set out in 1910 to acquire. With this taste of freedom there came the realization, however, that what had been gained by that movement might be imperiled and perhaps lost if the workers of that country did not set up an organization to protect the people from the attacks of the forces of reaction which would be sure in the course of time to dispute every bit of ground they had won.

In 1918 there met in the city of Saltillo, in the State of Coahuila, representatives of the various local unions that had sprung up almost at the same time as the revolution of 1910. They found it necessary to get together and organize into a national movement. They saw the necessity of organizing, not only to protect what little they had gained, but to make further gains in the future. As a result of that revolution there is today incorporated in the political constitution of that country certain labor laws, and it was necessary to have an organization to see that they were enforced. They may enact all the labor laws they want to, but they

may not be worth more than the paper on which they are written unless we have a fighting, militant organization to see that these laws are enforced.

In a country, my friends, where the employers were accustomed to lay down their own terms of employment and say to the workers: "Accept them or starve"; in a country where the right of association and freedom of speech were denied to the people; in a country where going out on strike meant no less than the hospital or the jail—if the workers were fortunate enough to escape the graveyard, as happened in the year 1906, during the miners' strike in the city of Cananea, in the State of Conora, and in 1907, in the city of Orizaba, in the State of Vera Cruz, where the textile workers went out on a strike, though unorganized—in a country where slavery was forbidden only in name, it was in the natural course of events, my friends, that there should follow a series of conflicts between capital and labor immediately after the political changes brought about by the revolution of 1910. The wonder to me is that the conflicts were not more serious in a country where the exploitation of the workers has reached almost perfection; that the pendulum did not swing from one extreme to the other.

It will ever be to the credit of the organized workers of Mexico, regardless of the opinions of our enemies, that soon after the heat and passion of the revolutionary period were over and labor laws were incorporated in the constitution, they sat down to the orderly business of building up their organization to see to it that those laws were enforced. Today those laws are far from being enforced, and the reason is that the constitution itself provides that the Congress shall enact appropriate legislation intended to procure the enforcement of these labor laws.

Congress up to this time has done no such thing, and it is for that reason that the organized workers are going to take part in the political elections this year. They are not going to take part as a party or as a group; they are following exactly the same non-partisan lines the organized workers of the United States will follow next November. We have in the Republic of Mexico several parties, among them the Liberal Party, which should change its name, because it is not a liberal party. On the other hand, we have four or five different parties that have sprung up in the last five years. Political lines are not very well defined as yet in Mexico, and these four or five political organiza-

tions that have been organized during the last five years are going to join in the fight against the Liberal Party and send men to Congress who will protect the people. They are going to send to Congress men who will see to it that legislation enacted to protect the people will be observed. They are going to throw their full force for men they are reasonably sure will do that.

This country will be bound to hear the usual stories told about Mexico when things happen there that do not suit the financial and industrial interests; but I say to you about the political actions the workers are going to take, so that you may be on your guard in this country and not be surprised when they tell you the organized workers of Mexico have organized a party, that it is not true. They are not organized by themselves, but they are organizing their forces in order to elect men regardless of the party they belong to, who will at least make it sure that the constitution is not evaded by the industrial lords and the financial interests.

In Mexico the organized labor movement is a baby compared with the American Federation of Labor. The Mexican movement is only a little over four years old. We may differ somewhat in method. You can see very well why such a difference exists, but as time goes on we may be able to benefit by your experience and benefit by our own mistakes also. It can hardly be expected that an organization scarcely five years old will not make mistakes. We have tried to learn from your experiences and also from your mistakes. This is the reason why the Mexican Federation of Labor is anxious to establish the closest relations with the American Federation of Labor.

The Mexican Federation had not been organized a year when the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor extended an invitation to them to send representatives to an international conference for the purpose of establishing closer relations between the two movements. You are all acquainted with the fact that in November, 1918, there met in Laredo, Texas, the representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the representatives of the Mexican Federation of Labor. The purpose of that Federation was to establish a means of communication between the two movements, and thus it came about that the Pan-American Federation of Labor came into existence.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor was intended by its founders to include all the labor movements of the

American continent. In the past four years we can truthfully say that, taking into account all the obstacles we have had to meet, among which not the least is the difference of language, the Pan-American Federation of Labor has progressed as much as it could be expected to progress.

We should not, I think, let such a thing as a difference in our language, a difference in our customs, a difference in our race origin impede the work of amalgamating as closely as possible the labor movements of all the twenty-one American republics. I have been very happy to note that in this respect we have met with the heartiest co-operation from the members of your Executive Council, as we have met with the same co-operation from the officers and Executive Councils of some of the other labor movements.

Returning again to my original subject, that of the organized workers of Mexico. You all know that we have been misrepresented by the enemies of labor. We have been accused of almost every crime under the sun. We have

been accused of being Bolsheviks, but that term has been misused and abused so much—you will pardon me if I use a slang phrase—that it has lost its punch. I noticed the other day that a certain Mr. Trago, of New York City, was speaking before the Credit Men's Association in Cleveland, and in referring to the remarks of President Gompers on the decisions of the Supreme Court, is reported to have said: "The safety of America is threatened by barbarians." When our actions do not suit the industrial barons they cannot find language in the dictionary strong enough to say what they think of us.

The Mexican workers in their fight for industrial freedom went into a national organization nearly five years ago and they are going to stay in this struggle; that means we are aiming to make this world what God intended it to be and not what the financial interests and industrial lords want it to be.

At 12:30 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 a. m. Monday, June 19th.

## SEVENTH DAY—Monday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 19, 1922.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 a. m. by President Gompers.

### Absentees

Mountford, Gillmore, Beisel, Campbell, Desepte, Tracey, Ambrose O'Brien, Kelleher, Coulter, Laibly, Hogan, Pattison, Murray, Kennedy, Yarrow, Gunther, Jas. Murphy, La Belle, Harvey, Canterbury, Doane, Koester, Howat, Stephen Ely, Fenton, Grace, H. I. Franklin, Fox, Pascoe, Troutman, Lorntsen, Clendenning, Hushing, Bieritz, Lehman, Thornsborough, Winans, J. C. Taylor, Lochray, Robt. Marshall, Ogg, O'Dell, Brown, Kerns, Argo, Bennett, Downes, Sims, Kaiser, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Ornburn, Meloon, Dunn, Herder, Bower, Hourigan, McAndrews, Wrenn, Rich, Whitcomb, W. E. Colman, Boulware, A. E. Allen, G. H. Harte, Hixson, Sandy Colmon, McCoy, Hubbard, C. I. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, A. Stewart, T. J. Milton, Fizer, Flynn, Latimore, Rincker, Ely, Wulf, Feinstone.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"Officers and Delegates San Francisco Labor Council send fraternal greetings, and offer the hope that concord and wisdom may attend your sessions for the defeat of labor's enemies and the advance of our movement.

"GEORGE S. HOLLIS, President,  
"JOHN A. O'CONNELL, Secretary."

President Gompers: In the early part of our convention a motion was unanimously passed inviting Labor Commissioner Thomas J. Duffy to address the convention upon the subject of workmen's compensation. Mr. Duffy is present, and I take great pleasure in presenting him to you at this time.

### ADDRESS OF MR. THOMAS J. DUFFY,

Chairman Ohio Industrial Commission

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates: It is a great pleasure to me to address this convention of the American Federation of Labor. It is ten years since I last had the honor and pleasure of being

a delegate to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, and I only left the position which entitled me to be a delegate to this body to take up the work I have been engaged in ever since that time.

The subject of workmen's compensation, with which you are all familiar, has been discussed and considered during these ten years in almost every State in the Union. You, no doubt, in the various States, have had very much the same experience we have had in Ohio.

Before passing our first law over ten years ago we had an investigation that covered a period of five years in the largest industrial centers of our State. As a result of that investigation by a committee appointed by the Governor, representing labor and the employers, it was ascertained that 80 per cent of those injured or the dependents of those killed in the course of their employment, were paid no compensation or damages whatever. Among the 20 per cent that did recover damages, \$832 was the average amount recovered in death cases. Out of this they had to pay from 25 to 50 per cent for lawyer fees, besides going through a period of litigation which took months and in many cases years. There was one famous case in our State that went through the courts for a period of 21 years, and when the final decision was given by the Supreme Court of the State all the claimants, including their heirs, were dead; there was no one living to whom the award of the court could be paid.

This illustrates the injustice that obtained under the old system, and therefore from our standpoint, in behalf of the laboring people, we sought a system that would give to each and every worker injured in the course of employment, and to his dependents in case of death, a certain specific amount of compensation. And we wanted a system whereby these unfortunate victims of industrial accidents could get that compensation without having to engage lawyers or wait for months or years to have their rights decided by a court of law.

Hence, we adopted this workmen's compensation system, and you can get an idea of the vital importance of this matter when I say that in the State of Ohio alone the awards of compensation

made last year will amount of \$13,000,000. You can realize how much it means to the laboring people of the United States when in one State alone it means \$13,000,000 going into the homes of the unfortunates who have been robbed of the bread-winners because of industrial accidents.

Since the chief distinction of the Ohio law, compared with most of the other laws, is the State insurance feature, I take it for granted that you want me to emphasize or dwell on that feature today more than any other feature, because in other States as well as Ohio the general principles of a workmen's compensation law, in so far as it provides for compensation for injured workers and protection for those who come under the law, are very much the same. There may be differences in the amounts of compensation allowed, but not differences in the general principle, and so I am going to emphasize that particular feature.

We started ten years ago on the 1st of March. The only plan provided under our law at that time was the State insurance feature. The employers were given the privilege of paying into this State insurance fund, and were exempted from law suits, because their employees would be entitled to compensation in case of injury or death. For the first two years the law was optional, and we were given the duty of creating that fund. The State Legislature had not seen fit to provide one dollar as working capital whereby there would be a nucleus in the fund as an inducement to employers to pay in their premium, knowing that there was going to be a solvent fund.

We were up against the proposition of starting with an empty treasury. We went out over the State and laid our proposition before the employers. We appealed to them from a business standpoint and from a humanitarian standpoint. We waited for two or three days, when we received a check for \$200, which we thought was a very good beginning. We went along from day to day looking for the checks to come in. At the end of the first year we had received probably \$100,000, or a little more.

All during this time we were fighting with the insurance companies. The insurance companies had laid everything in our way; they had done all in their power by using their 6,000 agents in the State and using all the means at their command to make this plan a failure. When the next session of the Legislature convened the line of battle was

drawn. The State Federation of Labor had gone on record for a compulsory law. The people of the State, in the meantime, had adopted a constitutional amendment to permit that to be done. When we met before the State Legislature the insurance companies were on one side and some employers were lined up with them; the State Federation of Labor was on one side, with some of the employers lined up with them. We thrashed this matter out and succeeded in defeating the insurance companies and the law was compulsory.

Since that time we have collected into this State insurance fund \$77,000,000. At the present time we have in this fund \$40,000,000. I must explain that \$40,000,000 in this way: If we were called upon today to pay off all our obligations for compensation in cases that have already been decided, it would take \$36,000,000 of that \$40,000,000. We have a net surplus of over \$4,000,000. We can understand why we must carry this big balance. A death claim is not paid out for eight years, except in rare cases, where we allow a lump sum award. A total disability claim continues for life. Our plan is to collect enough each year to take care of the industrial accidents occurring in that year, even though some of them will not be paid out for eight, ten, or perhaps twenty years. We feel that is the only sound actuarial system to conduct a fund of that kind.

Our cost of administration, which is paid out of the general tax fund of the State, has been the equivalent of 3 per cent of the earned premiums collected. I mention that for a comparison with the insurance companies, who in the various states where they operate have a cost of administration of 37½ per cent. This explains why 95 per cent of the employers of Ohio today stand shoulder to shoulder with the State Federation of Labor in support of this State Insurance fund against the insurance companies.

One side issue I might mention to you to show you an advantage we have from this fund. During the past two or three years since the war, there has been great difficulty in some parts of this State in getting money to finance public improvements. That happened to occur during the time when thousands of our people were out of employment. During that period when we were investing this surplus, we gave preference to the purchase of road bonds and school bonds, where the money was to be used for the building of roads and the building of schoolhouses. In that way we made it possible to go ahead with the

public improvements of the State, and at the same time we helped to provide employment for some of our needy unemployed workers. If we had not had this fund, these millions of dollars would have been paid to the insurance companies and would have been sent to New York, New Haven and some of it to Europe; we would not have had this opportunity to take care of the public needs of the State of Ohio.

I want to now take up the arguments of the opposition, because I feel if I can be of any service to you in giving you an understanding of the principles involved it is by meeting the arguments of the other side and giving you our side of it.

First. Why did we change from the old system to this new system, known as workmen's compensation? We wanted to eliminate the waste that was paid out for lawyers' fees and for a kind of insurance that did not provide anything for the injured worker. We wanted to eliminate the protracted litigation that meant something to the victims. If in the process of eliminating that waste there is any good reason why we should stop at the point where it interferes with the insurance companies' profits, there is equally as good a reason why we should stop at the point where it interferes with the lawyers' fees. And if we are not going to interfere with the profits of the insurance companies or with the lawyers' fees, I can not see how we are going to make much progress in the elimination of that waste.

What do they say against this? They say: "Why, this is a monopoly, and a monopoly is an odious thing; that it doesn't make any difference whether it is a public or a private monopoly, it should be abolished." Well what do you understand by a monopoly in its odious sense? Isn't it a combination or a privilege which permits those who control that combination and that privilege to exact exorbitant prices from consumers in order to make excessive profit for themselves?

Now, what is the object of the State of Ohio in taking over this insurance business as a monopoly? It is for the purpose of preventing any individual or any corporation from making profits out of the broken bones, amputated limbs or crushed-out lives of the laboring people of Ohio. To any man who says to me that he doesn't see any difference in these two so-called monopolies, I say there is something wrong either with his mind or with his conscience.

Then, again, they say, as they said eleven years ago, ten years ago, and

every year our Legislature has been in session ever since: "Why, this is Socialism, State ownership, and if you business men in Ohio are going to help take over our insurance business this year, then next year or some succeeding year the State will take over your shoe business, your steel business and every other kind of business." They have used that in every way they possibly could as propaganda as a means of defeating or injuring this proposition.

Here is our argument on that: Why does a manufacturing business or an agricultural business exist? What brings it into existence? Is it not because the natural needs of mankind demand these agricultural and manufactured products? If there never was any legislation on these subjects, we would still have these natural needs for these products. Wherever workmen's compensation insurance exists, or even fire insurance or general accident insurance, why does such a business exist? With workmen's compensation insurance it is brought into existence as a business, because the proper legislative tribunal has passed a law imposing a new legal obligation upon the employer and conferring new legal rights upon the victims of industrial accidents.

When the State passes such a law it is done as a matter of public policy, to meet some social or public need. If, then, the State as a matter of public policy brings into existence a business for the purpose of meeting a public need, how can it be said logically and consistently that that business should be left to private enterprise rather than to public control? I say it is not reasonable and it is not logical.

Then they say you can not succeed without competition, and use that old argument that competition is the life of trade. I was down in Missouri a couple of years ago talking to the Legislature, and some very able lawyer—who, no doubt, got a good fee for his speech—dwelt on this phase of it and said: "It is impossible to succeed in any business without competition." Well, the best argument we have to use today is that we have succeeded. There is the proof, the solvency of the State insurance fund, the general satisfaction given the laboring people and the employers of the State.

Do you think competition is necessary? I say, as I said to this lawyer in Missouri: "Come to our office any day in the city of Columbus, come unannounced, and when you get off the elevator you will find there lined up along the corridor a number of people, some

of them on crutches, some with a patch on the eye, others with an arm in a sling, awaiting a medical examination by one of our medical staff. And when you get through looking over that line, walk into our hearing room and you will find there some widow waiting for the Commission to decide whether or not she is to get an award of compensation because of her husband's death. Or perhaps she will find some other widow there to whom an award of compensation has already been made, who is asking the Commission to give her a lump-sum award to pay off the mortgage on the home or to buy a home for herself and her family. Or perhaps you will see there some young man injured and crippled for life, asking for a lump sum award in order that he might go into some little business that would give him a chance to become a self-supporting and self-respecting citizen.

"After you see these things, if it is not enough to make you do the best there is in your heart and mind, then the Almighty God has made you of different stuff than he has me, and I do not need any competition on this job outside of that."

I know the thought is natural in your minds: "Well, what difference does it make to that laboring man where this money comes from? As long as he gets his compensation, why should he care whether it comes from a State fund, an insurance fund, or the employer himself?" Perhaps from the standpoint of dollars and cents in any individual case it might not make any difference, but my ten years of experience justifies me in making this statement: That with all the influences that are at work to help the injured worker to get his rights under the workmen's compensation law, there is too large a percentage of the workers who are too timid to insist upon their rights. Many times the question of four weeks' compensation is something which might mean to the workman's family the giving up of some of the comforts of life, but that workman might be surrounded by some conditions that intimidate him from prosecuting that claim for compensation. The result is that many times he thinks it is better to let those four weeks go by and make no complaint than take a chance on losing his job.

When he has to deal with an insurance company that is in the business for profit the employer turns over that part of his business to the insurance company, and it is one of the terms of their contract, invariably, that the employer must let the insurance company

adjust the matter according to its own methods. There is the factor of a medium for profit that discourages the timid worker from prosecuting his rights.

On the other hand, take it under our State fund feature. The injured worker applies to the State Department for his compensation. He makes out his own claim. The employer is asked to verify the facts. If the employer verifies the facts it practically settles that case. If he will not verify the facts, then the Commission will make an investigation to find out whether or not the employer is justified in refusing to sign the application. In every case the State Department is brought into touch with the individual worker in order to see that he gets his compensation. You will perhaps inquire if that is not a cumbersome system. I know of no simpler system.

More than 99 per cent of the claims for compensation under this State insurance feature are settled by the filing of the application made out by the injured worker and signed by the employer. There is not 1 per cent of the cases in which there is a contest between employer or employe or in which anybody appears before the Commission. Take our proceedings in Columbus today. There will probably be five hundred cases of compensation decided, and I know positively that there will not be more than three of those cases in which either side will be represented. After ten years of this procedure, you can understand that if it was not working satisfactorily I would not dare make this statement in the presence of officials of the State Federation of Labor whom I know will back up every word I say in this respect. I don't think you can find that condition under any other system of law in the United States.

Another reason why in Ohio we do not want the insurance companies in on it is that it will bring in another factor from a political standpoint that will tamper with the legislation and tamper with the administration of law. The insurance companies try to get the law amended to suit their purposes, and we have to meet them in every session of the Legislature to forestall that; and all through the year they are dickering with the people who administer the law and holding out the opportunity for a better job. Unfortunately, there are a number of men in this State who, after a few years' administration of the compensation law, have gone over to the insurance companies at much higher



salaries—and some of them were the representatives of labor on these industrial boards. It behooves us to eliminate that factor so the people can concentrate their minds upon the duties that devolve upon them without any influence constantly tampering with them and offering them better jobs.

I say to you, not as a boast, but to let you know the facts, that a year ago they offered me a \$25,000 job. I know I am not worth \$25,000 to anybody for a good purpose, but it would have been worth perhaps \$25,000 or \$50,000 to them to get me out of this fight. But God forbid that I should ever sell the principles of the laboring people for any job or any amount of money.

As I said before, 95 per cent of the employers of Ohio support this fund. Why is that? Because we have given a real, practical demonstration of the elimination of waste. No doubt many of you men read the report made by Herbert Hoover's committee of engineers who took up the study of elimination of waste in industry. That was not a committee of agitators—as they refer to us, who are simply indulging in some bolshevist expression, as they try to label our utterances from time to time—that was a committee of expert engineers, and after giving some time to the study of this subject they reported about a year ago that the waste in industry in this country ran into billions of dollars a year. They said in that report that 50 per cent of the waste was due to inefficient management, about 25 per cent to inefficient labor and about 25 per cent to sickness, unemployment and excessive overhead expenses.

I am not going to analyze the apportionment of that waste, but I want to show you one thing we have done in that direction. We have given the employers of this State workmen's compensation insurance at a much less figure than the insurance companies can do it. In 1917 we made a comparison. We took the same list of employers and the same pay-roll exposure that we had collected premium on in Ohio for that year, took the insurance companies' manual for New York and figured out what we would have collected from the employers of Ohio for that year if we had been charging the same rate as the insurance companies charged for New York.

There was only 1 per cent difference at that time between the benefits of the Ohio law and the New York law. That tabulation showed that if we had charged the same rate as the insurance

companies we would have collected from the employers of Ohio of that year \$6,700,000 more than we did collect—almost \$7,000,000. Mr. Carl Hookstadt, of the Labor Commissioner's Department, Washington, investigated this subject from various States and about a year ago made a report, which is contained in one of the bulletins of the Labor Department, in which he said that if other States had had this State insurance feature, a monopoly, as Ohio has it, it would have meant a saving of \$30,000,000 annually to the industries of the nation.

Now, here is the point: This is a real lesson, a practical one, in the elimination of waste, and if in Ohio we have \$7,000,000 we do not need, or if in this nation we have \$30,000,000 we do not need, it will do us more good, it will do the employers more good, it will do the general public more good if we let that stay in the pockets of the consumers or put it in the pay envelopes of the employees rather than put it in the coffers of an insurance company for an unnecessary overhead expense.

There are many other features I cannot touch upon today. I will be glad to answer any questions you may wish to ask, but I know your time is precious and I am going to conclude by saying the point I have just made of the elimination of waste is worthy of consideration from this standpoint: I believe the industrial problem in all its phases means more to the American people than does the solution of any political problem that now confronts us. If we can by eliminating waste give more stability to employment in industry, if we can by this harmonious relationship we have established so far as this workmen's compensation law is concerned, if we can extend that and make the employers realize and recognize that if we get together with a spirit of fairness, we can do more to bring peace and harmony and comfort to all classes in this land through that joint negotiation than can be done through any legislative enactments or through any other influences.

You perhaps recall reading in history that during the period of the Revolutionary war the British had made headway down the Hudson and had established a fort known as Stony Point. That fort was thought to be impregnable. The colonists thought their case was lost and the British thought victory was certain. George Washington, with the foresight and good judgment God had blessed him with, saw that the time had come when he must strike some

blow to encourage his own followers and discourage the British.

It was then that General Washington sent for Anthony Wayne and said: "Wayne, will you storm Stony Point?" Those standing near thought it was something impossible, but Wayne, due to the confidence he had in Washington, looked at him and said: "General, I will storm hell itself if you will make the plans." And Washington made the plans and Wayne executed them. Because of the confidence they had in each other and the confidence the army had in both of them, Stony Point fell and the cause of American liberty and freedom went marching on to victory.

I say to you today that the Stony Point before America is the Stony Point of special interests that are using their influence and their power to prevent the average man in this nation from getting that equal opportunity which the fathers of this nation fought for and thought they had secured for us. Let us, then, arouse ourselves; get together with all classes of this nation and strike the blow that will down the Stony Point that confronts us today, so that the real cause of America shall go marching on to victory.

Delegate Curtis: May I ask Brother Duffy a question? I saw an article in the newspapers the other day claiming that a large number of employers were getting out of the State fund because they found they were not getting the protection they should. There is also an agitation in the State of New York by the insurance companies to the effect that the working men of the State of Ohio do not desire the workmen's compensation to be administered as a State fund.

Mr. Duffy: I can say positively that this propaganda put out by the insurance companies is not true. The laboring people of the State, speaking through the State Federation of Labor, will fight any move that is made to permit the insurance companies to participate. If the insurance companies last year had been writing this insurance in Ohio it would have meant \$25,000,000 to them in one year. They have an organization known as the Workmen's Compensation League of Ohio. In the last session of the Legislature they tried to put over a measure, but failed, because the State Federation of Labor and the Manufacturers' Association of Ohio appeared there officially and opposed that move. They are keeping up the fight. They have here in Cincinnati a so-called Impartial Committee of the Chamber of Commerce.

The gentlemen engaged in that are no doubt honest and think they are serving a good purpose, but they don't know they are the victims of the insurance companies. They are being led around into the various States to pick up what complaints they can.

They went down to Portsmouth ten days ago and asked for a meeting of the employers. The employers refused to meet them because they said they knew the influences back of the committee. They came up to Columbus, and there wasn't a representative employer that saw fit to come. They went up to Cleveland and got a few. A majority of those who appeared there said they were satisfied with the present law. They went to Toledo and got a few to make complaints, but a majority said they did not want the law disturbed.

There is this one thing they have in Ohio. It is not a part of the Workmen's Compensation Law, but it is a part of the Constitution. Our Constitution provides that when an injury or death is caused by a willful act or because the employer fails to live up to safety requirements the injured worker may elect to sue the employer for damages. If he does that he waives his right to compensation, and if he loses in court he has lost everything. He can have either one of those things, but not both.

The insurance employers go among the employers and say: "You haven't protection; you don't know when you pay this premium that you are not going to be confronted with a lawsuit." In order to have such a lawsuit the employer will have to be a violator of the law. We have handled 1,200,000 claims of compensation since we started and such lawsuits have not averaged one per 100,000 claims of compensation.

Vice-President Green: I move, Mr. Chairman, that the very inspiring and instructive address of Brother T. J. Duffy be ordered printed in full in the daily proceedings for the benefit of the delegates. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate Jewell, Railway Department, as a partial report for the Special Committee, said: "Several suggestions were offered with respect to giving consideration to the situation confronting the members of an organization that have been on strike in the city of Newport, Ky., for some time. The committee has requested, and Delegate Tighe and the local of his organization have arranged for a mass meeting to be held in the city of Newport, Wednesday evening at 8:00 o'clock. They have requested the president of the Amer-

ican Federation of Labor to address that meeting and he has advised that he will do so. In behalf of the Special Committee I request that Brother Tighe be given the floor for a few minutes to discuss the situation confronting his organization."

Delegate Tighe, Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, in discussing the situation in Newport, Ky., where members of his organization are on strike, said in part: "This is not a struggle for wages; this is not a struggle for working conditions; it is far more than that. It is a struggle for the inalienable right that is guaranteed to every American citizen, the right to organize for self-protection and advancement. It is the open-shop question in its entirety. Every possible effort has been made by the officials of the organization to have the privilege of being heard and of bringing about a solution and an honorable adjustment of the question at issue, but all to no avail.

"For the first time, I believe, in the history of America implements of war were placed in the streets of a Commonwealth of our country when seven war tanks were placed on the corners of the streets in Newport, Ky., as a menace to those who were engaged in that struggle. This was done to terrorize people who dared to stand up for human rights and human privileges; to subjugate, and, if necessary, destroy the lives of men, women and children in that chartered Commonwealth.

"Through judicial ukase and military autocracy the citizens of Newport were compelled to live in actual servitude, afraid to utter a single word in favor of or to assist the members of our organization who were engaged in that struggle. Those people had sympathizers in all walks of life. The merchants gave them all the assistance possible under the conditions with which they were confronted. There has never been in all my experience such a marked expression of sympathy from those outside the ranks of organized labor as was given to those men who have been making a fight for the life of their organization.

"A meeting will be held in Newport, Wednesday night for the purpose of giving encouragement not only to our members and other members of organized labor and their sympathizers, but to demonstrate to the citizens of Newport who have given their unselfish support to this great cause of human advancement that we are loyal to the cause we are engaged in; that we desire to give

expression to our loyalty and our fealty to that cause by meeting there and demonstrating to them that they have our approval in the position they have taken in trying to help our unfortunate brothers in their great struggle against the open shop.

"I have been in the labor movement of this country for many years, and in all the contests we have been engaged in I have never witnessed greater solidarity on the part of the workers or greater solidarity in the ranks of the employers. This company had met with us in general conference and agreed to all the provisions of our general scale. Those provisions made possible taking up what we term our local scale for three organizations. When they came back they repudiated that agreement and declared for the open shop. That is the issue. They were willing to agree to the skilled workers' scale, but they emphatically refused to deal with the men in the other part of the industry. That is what brought on this great struggle; that is what brought the military into Newport. The military autocracy, severe as it has been in the mining districts, has never been more severe than in Newport.

"I visited the city of Newport in order to see these monsters of war. At the corner of Brighton and Ninth Streets I was halted and asked what I wanted. I said I wanted to go down the street to see those war tanks. I was asked for a pass. I told them that no American citizen should need a pass to traverse the streets of any city in this great country. I was told if I hadn't a pass I would have to move on. They tried to make our people run to their places of employment. One man who was crippled was booted because he could not run. Our people have been prohibited from even talking to the men they have imported from different parts of the country to take the places of our people. For a time they were driven from Newport into Cincinnati to hold their meetings.

"I now move you that the delegates to the American Federation of Labor convention morally obligate themselves to attend that meeting Wednesday night."

The motion was adopted unanimously.

Delegate Cochran, New York City: Page 300 of the sixth day's proceedings, under the caption, "Representation in Central Bodies," is set down a line of representation, and I would like to have the Chair inform me if this representa-

tion will be mandatory on central bodies, or is it optional for them to accept it?

President Gompers: The Chair holds that the representation in central bodies be adopted in this convention is the maximum, not the minimum.

#### REPORT OF SHORTER WORKDAY COMMITTEE

Delegate Gainer, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Committee on Shorter Workday had but two resolutions referred to it, upon which I now, as secretary, beg leave to submit a report.

The committee amended Resolution No. 74 by adding to the last paragraph the following words, "during this great struggle." The resolution was amended later by adding the words, "unorganized workers and society as a whole," after the words, "organized workers" in the last line of the second paragraph. The amended resolution reads as follows:

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates John L. Barry, president New Hampshire State Federation of Labor, and Lawrence A. Grace, secretary Rhode Island State Branch, American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has consistently fought for and maintained the eight-hour day with not more than forty-eight hours per week; and,

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America have, despite tremendous obstacles, succeeded in maintaining the eight-hour day in the textile industry of New England, which action has been of great value to the organized workers, unorganized workers and society as a whole; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates to the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, congratulate the officers and members of the United Textile Workers of America for their wonderful energy and fortitude, and we request all those interested in maintaining the eight-hour day to give to the officers and members of the United Textile Workers of America their full moral and financial support during this great struggle.

The committee further recommends and urges that the delegates to this convention carry out the purpose and

the intent of this resolution to the best of their ability.

President Gompers: Before the motion is put the Chair desires to avail himself as a delegate of the privilege of making a suggestion if not an amendment. In the preamble reference is made to the shorter workday being to the best interest and advantage of the organized textile workers. The Chair suggests that the words, "and unorganized" be added after the word "organized."

Secretary Gainer suggested that it be amended to read, "organized workers, unorganized workers and society as a whole."

The committee accepted the amendments, and the report of the committee, as amended, was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 104 by striking out the words, "the international printing trades unions in whatever additional way those organizations may deem helpful to their cause," at the end of the last paragraph, and inserting in lieu thereof, "in every possible and practicable manner when called upon to do so," the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 104—By Delegates of Allied Printing Trades Unions:

WHEREAS, An agreement was approved and entered into May 1, 1921, between the International Printing Trades Unions and the associations of printing trades employers identified with the Printing Trades Industrial Council and in behalf of all employers associated with these employers' organizations providing for the observance of the forty-four-hour working week throughout the printing industry on May 1, 1921; and,

WHEREAS, All agreements entered into between the International Printing Trades Unions and all employers during the interim between the approval of that agreement and the time for its observance were predicated upon the implied and expressed conditions that the forty-four-hour working week would be observed on May 1st, 1921; and,

WHEREAS, Large financial and industrial interests within and without of the printing trades determined to weaken, if not destroy, the international

printing trades unions, undertook to interfere with this national agreement between employers and employees and did compel (by the use of trade opportunities, banking and credit facilities) employing printers to violate and to disregard the terms of this national agreement; and,

**WHEREAS,** The International Printing Trades Unions are as determined to require employers to observe agreements that they had entered into with trade unions as they have been insistent that local unions observe agreements entered into with employers; and,

**WHEREAS,** This demand that employers shall fulfill their contractual obligations like any other law abiding citizen has resulted in large numbers of printing tradesmen giving up their employment; and,

**WHEREAS,** This contest, now raging in the printing industry not only contemplates the observance of the forty-four-hour work week in the printing industry, but also embraces the important question of requiring employers to observe contracts; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this, the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, emphatically denounces the dishonorable, unwarranted and destructive attitude and action manifested by the printing trades employers and their associations in treating contracts entered into as mere scraps of paper; that it pledges to the International Printing Trades Unions all the moral and all other helpful support at its command and to this end calls upon all trades unions and labor organizations, all trades unionists and their friends to favor and to purchase only such printed matter produced under union conditions and by employers who honor their word and observe agreements that they have entered into; that the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to aid and assist in every possible and practicable manner when called upon so to do.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Hayes (M. S.), Typographical Union, in discussing the question, said in part: "The main point we are concerned in is that of securing action on the part of this convention, and to make that action as effective as possible through affiliated and subordinate unions. We are required to call upon you—which is our duty and our right—

because we are confronted by a condition over which we have no control. If it had been simply a stand-up and square fight between the Typographical Union or any other allied craft and their employers this contest would have ended months ago instead of going along for a period of over fourteen months. It has cost our International Union in real money in excess of \$8,000,000, although less than 20,000 members were involved. We are paying strike benefits ranging from \$18 to \$25 a week, and in some instances higher.

"We are forced to do this because of the ruthless repudiation of a contract solemnly entered into by three associations in the employing industry two years prior to the inauguration of the forty-four hour week. For a period of nine months our members paid 10 per cent on every dollar they earned into a strike fund to defend our people, and we are now paying 5 per cent of all our wages into a fund to finance this contest.

"We have before us a clear-cut illustration of the violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law in this contest. I am not prepared to say what the future policy is to be. It may be necessary, it may come about that we may yet be compelled, to enter the courts and learn whether these anti-trust laws are enacted for the purpose of destroying unions, and whether the unions have any redress against the employers when they violate the law in contests of this character; whether the law can be enforced against these combinations, against conspiracies such as this has been and is within our nation, yes, covering the entire North American continent.

"The United States Chamber of Commerce, the so-called "American Plan" Association, the National Association of Manufacturers and various trade associations of employers have, directly and indirectly, collectively and individually, brought pressure to bear upon the owners and proprietors of printing offices to such an extent that these concerns were deliberately threatened with ruin if they made peace with the Typographical Union and granted the forty-four hour week."

After urging the delegates from central bodies to do everything in their power to induce those bodies to assist the men in the printing trades where they are on strike, Delegate Hayes concluded by saying: "To my actual knowledge, from being in touch with the members of our organization, we do not intend to yield a single jot so far as the forty-four hour principle is concerned. If it is necessary we will spend

\$8,000,000 more to defeat the conspiring employers and if possible disrupt their organizations in turn. Once the Typographical Union goes into a fight we never give up—we never have in the past and we never will in the future.”

The report of the committee, as amended, was adopted unanimously.

Chairman Green: This completes the partial report of the Committee on Shorter Workday. Later on we will submit to you a final and complete report.

Vice-President Mahon announced that the Cincinnati central body had invited the delegates and visitors to attend a dinner to be given for them at Chester Park at 6:30 p. m. He stated that cars would be waiting at the Armory at 5:30 p. m., and moved that the delegates be prepared, either by adjournment or by meeting at the Armory, to take the cars at that hour. The motion was adopted.

President Gompers: It affords me great pleasure to present to you the woman who has done more than any other one individual to secure amnesty for the political prisoners.

#### ADDRESS OF MRS. LUCY ROBBINS

President Gompers and Delegates: This is the third time I have had the great honor and pleasure and privilege of addressing the convention of the American Federation of Labor. I want to assure you as strongly as I can that I have personally done all I could to prove by deeds my deep appreciation of that honor; but that does not mean that I will take advantage of you to bore you with a lengthy report of what we have done in the amnesty movement to free the political prisoners. You will find in the proceedings of three years of the American Federation of Labor conventions a history of the amnesty movement engraved in those proceedings, particularly in the proceedings of the Denver convention, on pages 272 to 277.

In addition to that, there is a final and conclusive report in the Executive Council's report, page 121. The Central Labor Bodies' Conference, better known among trade unionists as the Amnesty Committee of the American Federation of Labor, has published a complete report of its activities in a book of

about 450 pages. In it you will find a vivid description of all the hardships, of all the struggles, of all the pains and of all the failures and the efforts to effect the release of the political prisoners. It also contains a list of a large number of freed prisoners and a complete financial statement of the Central Labor Bodies' Conference, which was prepared by an Auditing Committee of the labor movement and a public accountant. It is very important that every organization should know where we got the money to carry on the movement and how it was spent.

My purpose here this morning is to thank you and to express the appreciation of the members of the Executive Board of the Central Labor Bodies' Conference to the delegates of the convention of the American Federation of Labor, to all international officers, to the officers of State and central bodies and to the members of every local union, and particularly to the president of the American Federation of Labor, who has given his personal time and his time as president of the American Federation of Labor, without whose guidance and leadership we could never have been received anywhere in conference by Government officials or Government departments with the respect and dignity we were received. Nor could we have accomplished the results we have but for the aid of Mr. Gompers. We felt we would not be doing our duty if we did not express our deep appreciation to every man in the labor movement for co-operating in this tremendous undertaking in the cause of liberty. It is for that purpose I am before you.

I feel, friends, aside from being the official executive secretary of that organization, that I owe you much for the confidence that each and every one of you has placed in me personally, and I am sure that words cannot express that appreciation. In January, 1922, the Central Labor Bodies' Conference had its last meeting, and we felt justified in disbanding.

In 1920, when former Attorney General Palmer appeared before the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, at a hearing we brought about for amnesty and the pardon of political prisoners, he brought to the Senate the record of every political prisoner under the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts. At that time there were still incarcerated about 130 political prisoners. After that a large group of political prisoners was freed by former President Wilson.

When the campaign for the presidential election was started, because of

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our activities for general amnesty of political prisoners Mr. Harding was hampered at every mass meeting with inquiries as to whether or not he would free the political prisoners. He said in a public statement that he would not free any political prisoner, and particularly Eugene V. Debs. We had organized to free all political prisoners, and we did not pick out any particular person, because it was a fight for a principle, the principle of free speech. Mr. Harding then declared he would rather free yeggmen and murderers than to free political prisoners. It was at that time we were forced to single out Debs along with the other political prisoners because we felt that once Debs was freed by President Harding the Chinese wall would be shattered and all the others would be released.

At Christmas, 1921, Eugene V. Debs, with a large group of political prisoners, were released. From our records and various Government documents we found that 45 political prisoners were still in the prisons. We were given to understand that the others would be freed very shortly, provided we ceased noisy demonstrations or any other kind of demonstrations, because the entire press was reminding President Harding of his statement during election time and his subsequent action in freeing a large number of the political prisoners.

The Central Labor Bodies' Conference, at its last meeting, felt that we had no right to keep up an organization that had been formed for one purpose, to free the political prisoners; that we were at the eleventh hour of success; that we had accomplished our purpose and there was no reason for keeping up the work. We decided to turn over what remained to be done for the release of the remaining political prisoners to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

President Gompers is kind enough to remind me that I should inform you of the fact that during the time we were working for the release of political prisoners there were freed all the conscientious objectors, about six hundred in number, and about 14,000 of the military offenders. Both these classes were under the jurisdiction of the War Department. There they have really declared an amnesty, because they let them all out on Thanksgiving Day, 1920. Of those that were convicted under the Espionage Law, under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice, over 1,000 were freed, and last January only about 45 were in prison. We were informed that about 13 of these were to be released within the past two weeks.

My purpose in coming before you today is to express the deep appreciation we feel for the confidence the American Federation of Labor placed in our conference. We have never abused the confidence that was placed in us. We never participated in any other movement but the movement to release political prisoners in accordance with the resolution adopted by the American Federation of Labor. We feel that if you will co-operate in every fight you wage for liberty as you co-operated in this movement for the release of political prisoners you will always accomplish your object.

I have always been told that actions speak louder than words. I hope our actions have proved that to every member of the American Federation of Labor. I therefore thank you and express the hope that in such movements you will always co-operate as you have co-operated with us.

At 12:15, upon motion of Vice-President Green the rules were suspended and a recess taken until 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

## SEVENTH DAY—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

### Absentees

Glover, Skinner, Ambrose O'Brien, Kelleher, M. B. Greene, Desepte, Coulter, Rosemund, Laibly, W. J. Brennan, W. Hannon, P. E. Gorman, Pattison, Kennedy, Canavan, M. H. Parker, Jas. Murphy, La Belle, Blasey, Canterbury, Doane, Howat, Fritz, Stephen Ely,

Fenton, Grace, H. L. Franklin, Fox, Pascoe, Troutman, Lornstsen, Clendenning, Hushing, Lehman, Thornsborough, Winans, N. C. Franklin, J. C. Taylor, Lochray, Robt. Marshall, Ogg, E. W. O'Dell, Mullen, Brown, Kerns, Argo, C. B. Nelson, Hollaway, Guy Bennett, Downes, Sims, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Frampton, Birthright, Meloon, Dunn, Herder, Bower, Maurice Ryan, McAndrews, Wrenn, Whitcomb, Dechend, W. E. Colman, Boul-

ware, A. E. Allen, Hartji, Hixson, Sandy Colman, Wm. Carter, McCoy, Hubbard, C. I. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, Stewart, Milton Fizer, Flynn, Latimore, Rincker, F. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstein.

Delegate Sweeney, Journeymen Tailors, asked what disposition had been made of the protest of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America concerning the seating of the delegate of the United Garment Workers in the Central Body of St. Louis.

President Gompers: The situation is that the St. Louis Trades and Labor Assembly complied with the decision and award rendered by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and the Central Body seated the delegates from the local union of the United Garment Workers of America. Notice was given by the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America that an appeal would be made to this convention from the decision which was rendered.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 21—By Delegate D. C. Smart, Order of Railroad Telegraphers:

WHEREAS, The Russian Railway Service Corps was organized under the authority of the President of the United States during the World War, and the officers thereof were commissioned with ranks of second lieutenant to colonel by the President of the United States, attested to by the Adjutant General of the War Department; and,

WHEREAS, It was the understanding of the officers of said corps that they were being commissioned as such in the regular army of the United States; and,

WHEREAS, It subsequently developed that their status was uncertain, with the result that they have been denied the benefits of the War Risk Insurance Act and have been denied forms of discharge from the United States Army; and,

WHEREAS, The said Russian Railway Service Corps was made up largely of Brotherhood and union men, consist-

ing of conductors, engineers, trainmen, firemen, train dispatchers, operators and mechanics; and,

WHEREAS, The Senate of the United States has passed Senate Bill No. 28, which provides for granting honorable discharges to former members of the said Russian Railway Service Corps, which said bill is now pending before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, this 19th day of June, 1922, does strongly endorse the passage of said Senate Bill No. 28, as a meritorious measure and an act of common justice, and respectfully petitions the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives to act promptly and favorably on said bill; be it further

RESOLVED, That a certified copy of this resolution be forwarded to each member of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives and to all members of Congress.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Smart, the introducer of the resolution, made a statement at some length in support of the resolution, expressing the hope that the vote of the convention on adopting the report of the committee would be unanimous.

Delegate Keep, Journeymen Tailors, offered an amendment to the report providing that the purport of the resolution be telegraphed to the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs of the House, because the hearing on the subject matter was scheduled to take place on Tuesday, June 20th. The amendment was seconded and carried, and the report of the committee as amended was adopted.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Delegate Flaherty, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

##### Coolie Labor for Hawaii

Your committee considered and acted upon Resolution No. 3 in connection with that part of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Coolie Labor for Hawaii," pp. 95-97. Resolution No. 3 is as follows:



Resolution No. 3—By Delegate Jas. E. Hopkins, California State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Public opinion in the United States on the subject of foreign immigration is now well crystallized and demands a positive, constructive policy on the part of the Federal Government, under which our future citizens and permanent residents of foreign birth shall be selected with due regard for the present and future welfare of the nation; and,

WHEREAS, The present three per cent restriction law, recently continued in effect for two years up to June, 1924, was enacted because it offered a temporary plan for reducing to a fraction a threatened flood of undesirables; but it has failed to improve the general average of the quotas admitted because the present law, in fact, recognizes officially a plan which perpetuates in kind, though not in degree, our mistakes of the past; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, at Cincinnati, Ohio, That we urge Congress to hereafter deny admission, as immigrants and permanent residents, to all aliens who are ineligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and commends the officers of the American Federation of Labor for their efforts in combating an influx of Chinese coolie labor into Hawaii, and further recommends a continuation of said efforts, which are in accord with the policy of the American Federation of Labor on the immigration exclusion question.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The committee amended Resolution No. 43, by adding after the words "Federal Government" in the first "Whereas" the words "in mechanical occupations in navy yards and arsenals." The amended resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Several attempts have been and are being made under the guise of "reclassification" and "efficiency systems" to fix wages by statute or by executive order for those in the employ of the Federal Government

in mechanical occupations in navy yards and arsenals; and,

WHEREAS, Such efforts are directly at variance with the principles of collective bargaining; and,

WHEREAS, The subject of wages is of too vital importance to permit the same to be subjected to legislative action which would make it necessary to secure action by Congress to meet changing conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor is opposed to any method or form of fixing wages by legislation for Federal Employees which is intended to, or which operates in any manner to prevent or interfere with the adjustment, settlement and agreement upon terms of employment between Federal Employees acting through their duly authorized representatives, and the administrative head of Departments or their representative; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor communicate with the Senators, Congressmen and others contemplating the enactment of such legislation or orders, clearly defining the views of the Department in the premises.

Your committee heard a number of interested delegates on this resolution. It is apparent there is a diversity of views as to the desirability of the policy proposed in the resolution if applied to all groups of Government employes. We recommend that the resolution as amended be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to call into conference the representatives of the organizations affected.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Keep, Journeymen Tailors, asked whether or not the report of the committee intended to cover the employes of the mechanical departments of the Panama Canal, and Secretary Flaherty replied that these employes would be included, since they are employes of the Federal Government, and that the resolution was broad enough in its aspect to cover all.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 59—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Mark B. Greene, William P. Hohmann and Charles W. Redfern, of National Federation of

Post Office Clerks; Edwin J. Gainer, Ed J. Cantwell, L. E. Swartz, Charles D. Duffy and John T. Mugavin, of National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, of National Federation of Federal Employees; B. E. Thompson, C. M. Harvey and J. P. Cleland, of Railway Mail Association.

WHEREAS, The present Federal Compensation for Injury Act, which the American Federation of Labor was largely instrumental in having placed on the statutes in September, 1916, is not wholly satisfactory because of the inadequacies of the compensation rates; and,

WHEREAS, The Compensation Commission in charge of the administration of this humane act is endeavoring by a most liberal interpretation of its provisions to grant to all beneficiaries the maximum benefits and thus partially overcome the law's defects; and,

WHEREAS, The Compensation Commission has repeatedly requested Congress to liberalize the original law by increasing the compensation rates; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Committee to co-operate with the representatives of the affiliated organizations of Government employes with the view of getting the Congress to enact legislation increasing the compensation paid to beneficiaries under the Compensation for Injury Act.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Extending Retirement Law

Your committee considered that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the above caption, p. 110, in connection with Resolution No. 67, which is as follows:

Resolution No. 67—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Mark B. Greene, Wm. P. Hohmann and Chas. W. Redfern, National Federation of P. O. Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, Ed. J. Cantwell, L. E. Swartz, Chas. D. Duffy and John T. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Em-

ployees; B. E. Thompson, C. M. Harvey and J. P. Cleland, Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, After continued agitation on the part of organized government employees, supplemented by the effective co-operation of the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of the United States enacted legislation establishing a federal retirement system under which aged employes are retired on service annuities; and,

WHEREAS, While this federal civil service retirement system has had a stabilizing effect on government employes and has brought relief to many superannuated government employes, it is evident from a close observance of the operations of the law that it would be greatly improved if promptly amended in at least two respects: viz: the annuities should be increased above the present inadequate rates; and, secondly, eligibility for retirement should be based on length of service and not on the employe's age; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Forty-second Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct the Executive Council to continue to give its assistance to the affiliated government employes in securing from Congress the remedial legislation required to correct these inadequacies in the present federal retirement system.

Your committee concurs in the resolution and commends the past efforts of the officers of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of legislation liberalizing the Retirement Act.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 81 by inserting the word "alleged" before the word "agency" in the eighth line of the first "Whereas," and by correcting a typographical error in the second "Whereas," changing the word "employes" to "employers." The resolution as amended reads:

Resolution No. 81—By Delegates William Green, United Mine Workers of America; John G. Owens, Cleveland Federation of Labor; William F. Clarke, American Flint Glass Workers; John A. Voll, Glass Bottle Blowers' Union, and Thomas S. Farrell, Hotel and Restaurant Employees.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at the annual conventions in 1920 and 1921, unanimously en-

dorsed the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law and requested each affiliated State Federations to seek similar legislation; and,

WHEREAS, The liability insurance companies, through the expenditure of enormous sums of money and insidious lying campaigns, have been successful in preventing the adoption of this beneficial legislation in other States, and are attempting at present, through the alleged agency of a Committee of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce, supposed to represent the employers coming under the law, to weaken the Workmen's Compensation Law in Ohio—a law which has the approval and active support of every trade unionist in Ohio and more than 95 per cent of the employers of Ohio; and,

WHEREAS, The action of the American Federation of Labor has been misinterpreted by interested parties to some State Federations of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, re-indorses the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law and we urge the officers of all international unions; the editors of official labor journals; the officers and members of all State branches; the officers and delegates of all central bodies, and the officers and members of each local union to petition for and actively work for the adoption of the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law in other States, other than Ohio, and for the preservation of the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Law in Ohio, which excludes liability insurance companies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the officers of all international unions, State federations and central bodies at the close of this convention with a request that they cooperate in carrying into effect these resolutions.

Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 26—By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Wm. P. Hohmann, Mark B. Greene and Chas. W. Redfern, of the National Federation of Postal Clerks; B. E. Thompson, of the Railway Mail Association; John T. Muga-vin, Ed. J. Cantwell, E. J. Gainor, L. E. Swartz, and C. D. Duffy, of the National Association of Letter Carriers;

A. J. Fallon, International Plate Printers and Die Stammers' Union; Frank J. Coleman, Maryland and D. C. Federation; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees:

WHEREAS, The Postal Savings System is not being utilized to its fullest possibilities; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor favors an increase in the rate of interest to at least three per cent, same to be paid quarterly on balances.

RESOLVED, That accounts should be with the United States Post Office Department, this allowing deposits and withdrawals anywhere.

RESOLVED, That joint accounts, where either of survivors may draw; accounts for minors of any age by parents of guardians, and accounts for organizations should be arranged for; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take appropriate steps to secure the necessary legislation to thus improve the Postal Savings system.

This resolution was first referred to the Committee on Executive Council's Report and later referred to the Committee on Legislation. Your committee concurs in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### United States Employment Service

Referring to that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption "United States Employment Service," page 107, your committee approves the efforts made by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to secure sufficient funds to enable this important Government bureau to function properly.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Sales Tax

We commend the officers of the American Federation of Labor for their success in carrying out the declaration of the Denver convention against the sales tax. Persistent efforts have been made during the past year to drive a sales tax through Congress. Each time this effort has been frustrated by the vigilance of the spokesmen for labor. The danger is by no means past. It is expected that reactionary representatives

of the large financial interests will endeavor to incorporate sales tax legislation into the soldier bonus bill now awaiting Senate action. Consequently the never-ceasing vigil of the representatives of the American Federation of Labor must be continued to be exercised to prevent this objectionable tax system from being foisted upon the American people.

It is fitting in connection with the fight in the House of Representatives against the sales tax to make mention of the activities of Representative James M. Frear, of Wisconsin, a majority member of the Ways and Means Committee, who time and again presented labor's views in opposition to the sales tax. His influence in preventing favorable House action on the sales tax was of immeasurable value to organized labor.

We indorse, as your committee, the declaration of the Executive Council against the sales tax and recommend that the fight in opposition to it be continued with unabated force.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Federal Budget System

It is unfortunate that the incompetent administration of the budget system has reacted unfavorably against this unworthy innovation intended to improve Governmental methods of transacting business. Budget administrators have prostituted the high purpose of the budget system by using it for political propaganda. They have been overzealous in curtailing expenditures for the Department of Labor and other activities of the Government in which labor is vitally interested.

Your committee recommends that we reaffirm the position of the American Federation of Labor in favor of a satisfactory budget system and instruct the Executive Council to use its earnest efforts to correct the glaring administrative defects which are operating to the disadvantage of the present budget system.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Report on Labor Legislation

Upon that portion of the Report of the Executive Council, pages 92 and 93, under the caption "Report on Labor Legislation" your committee notes with approval that seventeen laws beneficial to labor have been enacted by the Sixty-seventh Congress up to May 1, 1922, while four laws hostile to labor, out of

a total of eighteen now pending, have already been defeated. Prospects for the defeat of some of the remainder of these hostile bills are exceedingly bright.

Considering the reactionary attitude of the present Congress, your committee congratulates the officers of the American Federation of Labor and the members of the Legislative Committee in Washington for the excellent showing made. The offensive and defensive legislative activities of the American Federation of Labor during the past year have been carried on with extraordinary ability and unusual vigor.

Your committee has given careful consideration to all those portions of the Report of the Executive Council which were referred to it. We find that many of these references are statements of fact showing the steps taken by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to secure the enactment of favorable legislation and the defeat of hostile measures. We do not deem it necessary for the purpose of this report to repeat in detail these references. We shall enumerate the captions in the Executive Council's Report where they may be found:

- Convict Labor.
- Workmen's Compensation.
- Reclamation.
- Federal Trade Commission.
- Federal "Blue Sky" Law.
- Navy Yard Employees.
- Physical Education.
- Making Railroad Travel Safe.
- Incorporation of Porto Rico.
- Aid for Famine Stricken Russia.
- Department of Highways.
- Department of Health.
- Department of Education.
- Maternity and Infancy.
- Home Ownership.
- Overtime for Postal Employees.
- Railroad Unions Endangered.
- "Blue Laws" in Washington.
- Stop Watch and Bonus System.
- Department of Agriculture.
- Fixing Coal Prices.
- Garnishment Bill.
- Rural Letter Carriers Endangered.
- Meat Packing Monopoly.
- Lobbying.
- Simplifying Amending Federal Constitution.

The foregoing citations cover many activities of the officers of the American Federation of Labor in presenting the views of the organized wage-earners to committees of Congress and administrative officials of our Government. It has been necessary at times to vigorously oppose measures inimical to the interests of the workers; at other times

it has been necessary to arouse the trade unionists to support remedial measures.

We commend the manner in which the officers of the American Federation of Labor have handled the various legislative questions involved in the above-mentioned captions, and we recommend that efforts be continued to effectuate fully the policy of the labor movement in those instances where satisfactory results have not already been achieved.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Postal Employees' Legislation

Referring to that portion of the Executive Council Report under the caption, "Postal Employees' Legislation," it is encouraging to note that since the writing of the report the two remedial amendments mentioned have been enacted into law.

The officers of the American Federation of Labor should be commended, in the view of your committee, for having so effectively aided the affiliated postal workers in improving postal employment conditions, and we so recommend.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Surveillance for Aliens

Your committee heartily approves the views of the Executive Council in denouncing this legislative absurdity which carries espionage and spying to a point that is repugnant to Americans because it does violence to our cherished ideals of freedom and liberty and equality before the law.

We recommend that the Executive Council continue its fight to prevent passage of this legislation which is so objectionable from every standpoint.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Legalized Judicial Kidnaping

It is gratifying to note that the protests against this unjustifiable legislation by the officers of the American Federation of Labor have seemingly been heeded by legislative leaders in the House of Representatives.

Commending the officers for past vigilance, we confidently look for its continuance until the proponents of the bill are completely routed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Sedition

Due to the vigilance of the officers of the American Federation of Labor the proponents of the so-called sedition bill have not been able to make any progress in furthering this vicious legislation.

We commend the successful past efforts to block this attack on the liberties of the people and direct continued watchfulness on the part of the American Federation of Labor officials.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Rewarding the Profiteer

It is significant to note that Senator Elkins' bill, which is highly objectionable from every standpoint, contains no provision for reimbursing the United Mine Workers for the money spent in defending court actions under the Lever Act. A tentative suggestion that this be done seems to have had the happy result of postponing indefinitely all attempts to pass this bill.

We urge the officers of the American Federation of Labor to continue to oppose every effort exerted in behalf of this legislative monstrosity.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Ship Subsidy

The position of this convention on the ship subsidy question was made clear on the second day, when Resolution No. 1, covering thoroughly this subject, was adopted by a unanimous vote.

Delegate Furuseth, of the Seamen's Union, in his masterful and illuminating speech on Resolution No. 1, set forth, with logic unanswerable, the reasons why organized labor has always opposed ship subsidies in general, and this present subsidy in particular.

We recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor continue to give their active support to defeat ship subsidy legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### "Making Drowning Easier"

The particular attention of the delegates is called to this attack on the Seamen's Law. The objectionable Scott bill is now awaiting Senate action. The officers of the American Federation of Labor are directed to continue their best efforts to prevent its passage, and delegates to this convention are re-

quested to respond promptly to any appeal that may be sent from Washington for home pressure against this pernicious legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Nolan Minimum Wage Bill

Referring to that portion of the Executive Council's Report, page 114, under the caption, "Nolan Minimum Wage Bill," we offer an amendment after the word "those" in the last sentence reading, "in private employment," so that it will read: "This should be a warning to all of those in private employment who advocate the fixing of wages and hours of employment or working conditions by law."

While it is regrettable that successive Congresses have failed to pass the Nolan \$3 Minimum Wage Bill, despite the aggressive fight for it by its author and the American Federation of Labor, the fact remains that its principle has found acceptance by the Congress in the pending reclassification bill, and the minimum rates of pay, in most instances, are above the minimum fixed in the Nolan bill.

It is appropriate to mention to the convention the splendid work that has been done and is being done in Congress by Representative John I. Nolan, of California, who, as a member of the Executive Board of the Molders' International Union, still retains a direct labor contact.

Brother John I. Nolan is Chairman of the House Labor Committee. He is the recognized spokesman on the majority side for organized labor in the House. Only those familiar with the operations of Congress fully appreciate his great contributions in the way of service to our legislative progress.

We recommend that the president of the American Federation of Labor stand instructed to convey in writing to Congressman Nolan of California, the sincere appreciation of this convention, speaking for the organized wage-earners of the country, for his services in Congress in behalf of labor legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Department of Labor

Under the caption, "Department of Labor," pages 99-100, Executive Council's Report, your committee notes with satisfaction that thus far the attempts of the forces of reaction to scrap the Department of Labor have been frus-

trated by the vigilant and aggressive efforts of the members of the American Federation of Labor.

It was at the instance of the organized wage-earners that the Department of Labor was first established. All of its varied activities have a direct bearing upon the lives and the welfare of the working people. Its enemies would crush it or emasculate it by dividing its important functions, because they resent the growing recognition by the people of the great contribution to public service by this department of our Government, established primarily to meet the needs of the workers.

We recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor continue their protests against the demolition of the Department of Labor and utilize every necessary power to prevent this threatened calamity.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Immigration

Under the caption, "Immigration," Executive Council's Report, your committee notes with approval the successful efforts of the officers of the American Federation of Labor to strengthen through Senate amendments the so-called Three Per Cent Immigration Law, and their insistence that it be properly administered.

We recommend that the officers of the American Federation of Labor continue to watch closely all immigration developments with a view of properly meeting the situation at the expiration of the tenure of the present law on June 30, 1924.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Amdur, Garment Workers, opposed the restriction of immigration in any measure whatsoever, and stated that in his own organization, which was composed very largely of those who had come from European countries, its members had become good American citizens and had succeeded in maintaining a high standard of wages and working conditions in the organization.

Delegate Greenstein, Jewelers, took a similar position on the question. He stated it was his opinion that the unemployment situation in the United States could not be remedied by keeping out of the country those who desired to come here and become good American citizens, and in this connection called attention to a strike which had occurred in his trade, where the em-

ployers went to the European cities and established non-union shops there, the product of which was sent to America with disastrous results for the members of his organization.

Delegate Baine, chairman of the committee, and Delegate Flaherty, secretary of the committee, in defending their report, called attention to the fact that Congress had passed legislation continuing the Three Per Cent Immigration Law until June 30, 1924; that therefore the question of immigration, restricted or unrestricted, as a policy was not directly before the convention; that it would be unwise to attempt a policy of unlimited restriction now with three to four million unemployed wage earners in the United States; that the strongest advocates of unrestricted immigration in this country are the employing classes, and for that reason it is quite natural that the American Federation of Labor would be in favor of restricted immigration at least to the point that would prevent the possibility of defeat of organized labor's efforts to secure better wages and working conditions for the workers of the United States.

Delegate Hilfers, Essex Trades Council, (Newark, N. J.), favored the report of the committee for the reasons expressed by the chairman and secretary of the committee.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Farmer Legislation

Under the caption "Farmer Legislation," page 112, Executive Council's Report, your committee notes with approval the course of the officers of the American Federation of Labor in aiding representatives of the organized farmers in securing the enactment of remedial legislation for farmers. The drawing together of the farmers and the organized wage-earners, these two large groups with so many political and economic contacts, is a portent of larger legislative accomplishments in the future.

We recommend a continuance of this policy of co-operating with representatives of the farmers in behalf of legislative measures of mutual interest.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Flaherty: This completes the partial report of the Committee on Legislation.

Vice-President Valentine in the chair.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BOYCOTTS

Delegate Mahon, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate Albert Wobser, of Central Labor Union, of Sandusky, Ohio:

WHEREAS, The G. A. Broeckling Resort Co., has in the years past negotiated working agreements and wage scales with the building crafts of the City of Sandusky, Ohio; and,

WHEREAS, This Resort Co. has seen fit to ignore the building crafts during recent attempts to negotiate working rules and wage scales; and,

WHEREAS, They have declared themselves for the "open shop," "American Plan," with a declaration that their management was through with organized labor insofar as working rules and wage scales were concerned; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That due to the fact that the G. A. Boeckling Resort Co. has declared themselves for the "open shop" or "American Plan," we, the officers and delegates of the Central Labor Union of Sandusky, Ohio, unanimously go on record as placing the G. A. Boeckling Resort Co. on the unfair list; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we make every effort to secure the co-operation of all local, State, international and national unions and all fraternal organizations in an effort to bring about a satisfactory settlement with this unfair Resort Co.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the officers and delegates of the Central Labor Union urgently request that the delegates to the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor adopt this resolution and urge their Executive Board to do all in their power to secure the moral support of the trade union movement in behalf of the Building Trades Crafts in the city of Sandusky, Ohio.

In the opinion of your committee this resolution is one that should have gone before the Building Trades Department and we would recommend that it be referred to the Executive Council of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and such action as that Department deems advisable to take.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 56—By Delegates W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary and H. C. Diehl, of the Metal Polishers' Union.

WHEREAS, The Crescent Tool Company of Jamestown, New York, manufacturers of wrenches, pliers, etc., has been endeavoring to disrupt the trades union movement in all its departments, and as a consequence the men were forced to strike in an endeavor to maintain their conditions and a living wage; this strike occurring May 26, 1919; and,

WHEREAS, This firm at that time made large reductions in wages, declared for the open shop, discharging all active members of all trades unions there employed, and they are continuing, up to the present time, to try and operate their factory with strikebreakers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor, declare the actions of the Crescent Tool Company antagonistic to organized labor and the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be directed to notify all labor organizations in the cities wherein their goods are handled and distributed.

Your committee recommends this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to make an investigation and an effort to bring about a satisfactory settlement between the Metal Polishers' Union and the Crescent Tool Company, and in the case of failure the Executive Council be instructed to comply with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 57—By Delegates W. W. Britton, Geo. Leary and H. C. Diehl, of Metal Polishers' International Union:

WHEREAS, The H. P. Snyder Company of Little Falls, New York, manufacturers of bicycles and tricycles heretofore recognized as a union shop, did, during the month of January, 1922, discharge the officers and shop stewards of the Metal Polishers' Union, also made a sweeping reduction in wages in all departments, and all efforts to obtain a settlement, as far as the Metal Polishers' and the Painters' Unions are concerned, have been unsuccessful; and,

WHEREAS, The General Manager of the concern made the statement, when asked for his reasons concerning the discharge of the Metal Polishers' Union officials, that they would call it discrimination if they so desired; and

WHEREAS, Since that time this firm has been hiring strike-breakers in the departments where union metal polishers and union painters were previously employed, and are doing all possible within their power to destroy the trades union movement of the two organizations above named. This concern manufactures bicycles by the following names: Savage, Cavalier, Man-O-War, Clinton, New Era, American Flier, Pilgrim, Peerless, Speedmore, Pagone, Liberty, Pershing, Sunbeam, Gold Medal, Newport, Velvet, Hawthorne, Princeton, Winchester, Roamer, Puritan, Vim Delux, Pacific Flier, Royal, Excelsior, Toledo Blade, Reading Flier, Packard, Cadillac, Stratford, Devon, Marshall-Wells, Zenith, Shapleigh Special, Shapleigh Wonder, Delux Flier, Red Injin, Onondaga, Rollfast, South Land; and, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor, declare the actions of the H. P. Snyder Company antagonistic to organized labor and the secretary of the American Federation of Labor be directed to notify all labor organizations in the cities wherein their goods are handled and distributed.

We recommend that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to make an effort to bring about a satisfactory understanding between the organization and the company involved, and in case of failure to comply with the resolution and notify the various trades of same.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate Henry F. Hilfers, Essex Trades Council:

WHEREAS, The Whitehead-Hoag Company, manufacturers of badges, buttons and novelties, of Newark, N. J., has reduced wages as follows: June, 1921, 10 per cent; March, 1922, 5 per cent; April, 1922, demanded that their employees take another reduction of 5 per cent, making a total of 20 per cent in ten months; and,

WHEREAS, After every effort was made by the central body and representatives of the different unions involved to get the firm to recede from its position of insisting on the last 5 per cent reduction; and,

WHEREAS, The firm steadfastly refused, and informed some of the committees that they were going to run an open shop, and are now employing strikebreakers; and,



WHEREAS, This firm has constantly advertised themselves as a union concern, stating in some of their circular letters that they had agreements with nineteen different unions; and,

WHEREAS, The facts are that the only agreement this firm has is with the Allied Printing Trades, with which it has an agreement until October next, but has no agreement with any individual union; and,

WHEREAS, This firm repeatedly has refused to permit the girls in their employ to be organized, either under a charter from the American Federation of Labor or the Jewelry Workers' Union; and,

WHEREAS, This firm is now sending out to the trade, letters claiming that they are still a union concern, for the reason that they are entitled to the use of the Allied Printing Trades label; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor declare this firm as antagonistic to organized labor, and that all national and international unions, state branches, city centrals, local trade and federal unions be so notified.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter of this resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions that as soon as possible they make an investigation and attempt to bring about a satisfactory settlement between the various trades and the Whitehead-Hoag Company, and in case of failure to so notify the affiliated organizations, as the resolution requests.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Hilferts, Essex Trades Council (Newark, N. J.), made a brief statement amplifying the information contained in the resolution and emphasizing the fact that, aside from the Allied Printing Trades, the company mentioned in the resolution was employing no union men at the present time.

Delegate Woll stated, on behalf of the printing trades unions, that they approved of the committee's report and that they wished to assure the aggrieved organizations and the Executive Council that they would be glad to co-operate with them in trying to adjust exist-

ing grievances or taking such action as might bring the situation to a right conclusion.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegates Allied Printing Trades Unions:

WHEREAS, The United Brethren Church in Christ is one of the thirty churches comprising the Federated Council of the Churches of Christ in America; and,

WHEREAS, The Federated Council of Churches subscribe to the Social Ideals adopted at the Cleveland (Ohio) meeting of May 6-8, 1919; and,

WHEREAS, The United Brethren Church in Christ at the general conference held in Indianapolis, in May, 1921, adopted said ideals in their Church Discipline; and,

WHEREAS, Sections 12 and 14 of said Social Service read as follows:

12. For the right of employees and employers alike to organize for adequate means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

14. For the gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.

WHEREAS, The Publishing House of the United Brethren Church, located in Dayton, Ohio, was one of the few commercial printing plants employing union compositors refusing to grant the 44-hour week to its employees, or to co-operate in any manner with their efforts to add a few years to their lives; and,

WHEREAS, The composing room of the publishing plant owned and operated by the United Brethren Church now employs none but scabs and strike-breakers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual convention assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, condemns the action of the United Brethren Publishing House as being un-Christian and unfair in its attitude toward organized labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to this convention are hereby instructed to report back to their respective unions the action of this institution and take such steps as will influence the officials and members of the United Brethren Church to take such action as will compel the observance of the

church's Social Creed in the operation of the publishing plant, and thus relieve the church of any charge of gross materialism or utter disregard for the rights of humanity which attaches to the employment of scabs and professional strikebreakers.

Your committee recommends the indorsement of this resolution, with instructions to the Executive Council to make every effort to bring about a satisfactory understanding with the United Brethren Church Publishing Company and the Printing Trades organizations.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 92—By Delegates Allied Printing Trades Unions:

WHEREAS, By systematical elimination the Donaldson Lithographing Company, Incorporated, of Cincinnati, Ohio, and Newport, Kentucky, has eliminated from its plant at Newport, Kentucky, all members of the printing trades unions; and,

WHEREAS, After repeated efforts to secure conference with the Donaldson Lithographing Company, Incorporated, looking to the conciliation of existing differences, all of which have failed due to the refusal of the Donaldson Lithographing Company, Incorporated, to either conciliate or arbitrate the differences between the printing trades unions and the Donaldson Lithographing Company, Incorporated; and,

WHEREAS, The said Donaldson Lithographing Company, Incorporated, is engaged largely in the production of theatrical, circus, carnival and fair display printing and lithographing, which printing and lithographing is now being produced under conditions that are in contravention to American standards as fostered by the printing trades unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, through its President and Secretary, be instructed to advise all international, national and federation unions, state and central bodies, of the status of the Donaldson Lithographing Company as herein recited, and to call upon all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to make known the facts to the respective local organizations and individual members

and to those who are purchasers of the Donaldson product; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be directed, through the president and secretary of the federation, to bring this matter to the attention of theatrical organization, circus companies and such others with whom it is possible to make contact.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council to make an effort to bring about a satisfactory understanding between the Printing Trades and the Donaldson Lithographing Company and in case of failure to comply with the request of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 93—By Delegation of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America:

WHEREAS, In violation of a contract with the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America the United States Printing and Playing Card Companies of Norwood, O., refused to arbitrate the issue raised by said United States Printing and Playing Card Companies of Norwood, O., with regard to the subject of reducing wages and increasing hours, notwithstanding a specific provision of said contract which required that arbitration should apply to all matters, including the renewal of an agreement; and,

WHEREAS, On the first day of September, 1921, the United States Printing and Playing Card Companies of Norwood, O., arbitrarily, and in violation of an existing contract, reduced the wages of the pressroom workers in said company an amount approximating \$6 per week and increased the work week from forty-four to forty-eight hours and thereby forced the members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America upon the streets; and,

WHEREAS, The product of the United States Printing and Playing Card Companies is largely purchased by the working masses of the United States and Canada, and in that said product is now being produced under non-union conditions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, through its President and Secre-

tary, be directed to bring the facts as herein cited to the attention of all international and national organizations, state and central bodies and federation unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to the end that members of the trades union movement as well as the general public may know of the arbitrary action taken by the United States Printing and Playing Card Companies in violating its agreement and in reducing wages and increasing hours and thereby forcing members of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America upon the streets by lock-out.

Your committee recommends the indorsement of this resolution and that the Executive Council be instructed to use its good offices to try to re-establish agreement relations between the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the United States Printing and Playing Card Companies.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Mahon: This completes the report of the Committee on Boycotts, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

W. D. MAHON, Chairman,  
 W. W. BRITTON,  
 W. L. FUNDER BURK,  
 J. T. MORIARITY,  
 CHAS. W. GLOVER,  
 W. T. ALLEN,  
 MOLLY GUINAN,  
 J. W. BUCKLEY,  
 ROSE S. SULLIVAN,  
 LEONARD HOLTSCHULT,  
 WADE SHURTLEFF,  
 GEO. H. WAHL,  
 J. M. SIEMER,  
 JAMES B. CONNORS,  
 Secretary.

The report of the Committee on Boycotts was adopted as a whole.

President Gompers in the chair.

Reports of other committees were called for, but none was ready to report at this time.

Upon motion of Delegate Connors, Switchmen, the rules were suspended and the convention adjourned at 4:55 p. m. to 9:30 o'clock Tuesday morning, June 20th.

## EIGHTH DAY—Tuesday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 20, 1922.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

### Absentees

Ambrose O'Brien, Kelleher, Desepte, Coulter, Rosemund, Laibly, Kirby, W. J. Brennan, Pattison, Thos. Kennedy, C. A. Weaver, Parker, Hutchins, Blasey, Canterbury, Spencer, Doane, Koester, Howat, Stephen Ely, Fenton, Grace, H. L. Franklin, Fox, Troutman, Lorntsen, Clendenning, Hushing, Lehman, Oberting, Thornsborough, Winans, J. C. Taylor, Lochray, Robert Marshall, Ogg, O'Dell, B. F. Brown, Kerns, Argo, Bennett, Downes, Sims, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Meloon, Dunn, Herder, McAndrews, Wrenn, Wulff, Dechend, Holloway, Boulware, A. E. Allen, Harte, Hixson, Sandy Colnon, McCoy, C. I. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, A. Stewart, Milton, Fizer, Latimore, Rincker, F. W. Ely, Feinstone.

Delegate Johnson, Laundry Workers, obtained the unanimous consent of the convention to introduce a resolution. The resolution was identified as Resolution No. 122 and is as follows:

**WHEREAS**, A special circular letter issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor requesting the salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor to pay particular attention to organizing the workers in the laundry industry; and,

**WHEREAS**, This circular letter was productive of very good results; and,

**WHEREAS**, The Laundry Workers' Union is not in a financial condition to be able to carry on active organizing work in the many and various sections of the United States; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to issue during the coming year a special circular letter to all salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor, calling their attention to the fact that the laundry industry is to a great extent unorganized at the present time and requesting them to do their utmost to organize the laundry workers, as many

thousands of women employed in the laundry industry at this time are now receiving far less than a living wage.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Secretary Morrison read two telegrams soliciting the 1923 convention for Houston, Texas, one from the Houston Chamber of Commerce, the other from Daniel E. Garrett, Congressman from the Eighth District, Texas.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate McKillop, for the committee, reported as follows:

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 20, 1922.

Your Committee on Credentials has the following supplemental report to submit:

International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, John B. Haggerty to take the place of Felix J. Belair, San Francisco Labor Council, Michael Casey, 1 vote.

We recommend that the delegate be seated in the convention.

**THOS. F. FLAHERTY**, Chairman,  
**PETER MCKILLOP**,  
**HARRY H. COOK**, Secretary,  
Committee on Credentials.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

### ADDRESS OF MR. JEFF DAVIS

Mr. Jeff Davis, President of the Itinerant Workers' Union of America, was introduced and addressed the convention, in part, as follows:

It is quite an honor for me to address you all again. The first big convention I attended was in Seattle in 1913, and I said then that if the American Federation of Labor would go on record to help the hoboes of America, if the time ever came that we could be of assistance to organized labor we would do it.

I wanted to get to your big convention in Denver, last year, but at that time I was assisting the miners at Providence, Ky., who were up against it, and I am pleased to tell you that the miners' trouble there was settled.

Just a short time ago I was with Brother Sexton, organizer for the Cigar Makers' International Union, and assisted him in the fight they are making against non-union cigar factories in Lima, Ohio, and elsewhere.

I have been in Mingo and Logan, W. Va.; I have been through all these battles, through Cabin Creek and Big Sandy, and I have been with the steel workers at Newport; I have been in some of the scraps there. I have tried to do the best I could for organized labor, and that is why I hold life membership in several of your unions. I prize my life membership with the Barbers, with the Painters and with other organizations.

We today have thirty organizers in the Hoboes of America, incorporated under the laws of Indiana. So far we have 5,818 members, who have taken the hobo oath never to scab on organized labor and to work for the betterment of organized labor.

I have been in most of the big battles and I have seen your private detective agencies at work. Not long ago we had a conference that had for its purpose disarming and demobilizing the big armies, and I am waiting for the day when they will disarm and demobilize these private detective agencies. I have made five tours around this world, and there isn't a country in the world that tolerates private detective agencies except the United States.

I hope our organization will always be a strong sort of help to organized labor, so that some day we may have peace in America; and the only peace you will ever have in America is when it is made in America with the union label on it.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, presented the following report:

Among the subjects referred to the Committee on Resolutions were those portions of the Executive Council's report under the titles and sub-titles.

Shall Courts Protect Labor in Preference to Property?

Class-Biased Decisions of Our Courts: Judge Anderson's Injunction Against the United Mine Workers.

Judge McClintic's Injunction Against the Miners.

American Steel Foundries vs. Tri-City Central Trades Council of Granite City, Ill.

Truax vs. Corrigan.

Use of Injunction by Labor a Snare and Delusion.

Constitutional Rights and Liberties Must Be Safeguarded at All Hazards.

Legislative Attacks on Trade Unions: Compulsory Incorporation of Trade Unions.

Kansas Industrial Law.

Duell-Miller Bill.

Colorado Industrial Commission Law.

President Harding's Proposal to Regulate Trade Unions.

The Coronado Case.

Supreme Court Injunctions.

The subjects referred to under these titles and sub-titles were referred by the action of the convention to a Special Committee, and this report is submitted so that the records of this convention may indicate the conditions under which these subjects were referred from your Committee on Resolutions to the Special Committee.

Your committee further recommends that Resolution No. 55 be referred to the Special Committee, as it covers one of the subjects which that committee was appointed to consider.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote, and Resolution No. 55 was referred to the Special Committee.

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate Alf Hjort, of the Iowa State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, the International Union of the United Mine Workers of America are at the present time engaged in a titanic struggle for the right of collective bargaining and for the maintenance of wages that will assure them of an American standard of living; and,

WHEREAS, This struggle was precipitated by the arbitrary attitude of certain great and powerful combinations of coal operators, by refusing to comply with previous contract provisions providing for joint wage conferences before the expiration of the 1920-1922 contract; and,

WHEREAS, The International Union of United Mine Workers of America have through their officers done all that they honorably could do to avert the struggle, and since its inception to bring it to an end, by at all times standing ready to meet the coal operators in joint conference on a just and equitable basis; and,

WHEREAS, This struggle of the United Mine Workers of America is of necessity a struggle that will affect all

organized labor in its consequences; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the stand taken by the United Mine Workers of America and pledge them our moral and financial support to the fullest extent possible; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we recommend to all affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor to extend their endorsement and financial assistance to the United Mine Workers of America in this great struggle.

Inasmuch as the convention has already acted upon the subject matter, your committee recommends that no further action is required.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Resolution No. 95**—By Delegates Joe Lynam, Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly, and J. W. Ford, Herrin (Ill.) Trades Council;

**WHEREAS**, Alexander Howat and August Dorchy, respectively President and Vice President of the Kansas District of the United Mine Workers of America, have been imprisoned by the authorities of the State of Kansas for refusing to acquiesce in the establishment of slavery in that State; and,

**WHEREAS**, Defeat of the effort to enact so-called Industrial Relations Court laws in the States of New York, Illinois, Oklahoma, Colorado, Alabama, Montana, Iowa and Texas has been largely the result of the example furnished by the fight of the Kansas miners, led by Howat and Dorchy; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, representing the working people of the United States, that we congratulate Alexander Howat and August Dorchy for their courageous and steadfast determination to uphold the fundamental law of the nation by opposing the illegal and unconstitutional orders of the unlawful court which is now endeavoring to enforce group slavery in the State of Kansas.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the United Mine Workers of America.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lynam, Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly, opposed the recom-

mendation of the committee, and in so doing his remarks led into a general discussion of the internal affairs of the United Mine Workers of America.

Delegate Lewis, United Mine Workers, arose to a point of order, stating that the recommendation of the committee was to refer the resolution to the United Mine Workers of America, and that under that recommendation the merits of the resolution and the incidents relating thereto were not the property of this convention; that aside from these points the resolution had to do with the internal affairs of the United Mine Workers of America.

President Gompers ruled that the point of order was well taken and requested Delegate Lynam to limit his argument to the question of referring the resolution to the United Mine Workers.

The recommendation of the committee was opposed also by Delegates Silinsky, Tailors; Madsen, Painters, and Mikel, Arkansas State Federation of Labor.

During the discussion, Delegate Lewis again protested that the discussion of the internal affairs of any organization was entirely out of order.

Delegate Green, United Mine Workers, stated that in his opinion the committee, in reporting as it did, had conformed to all the traditional policies of the American Federation of Labor. Continuing, he said: "The Mine Workers are dealing with the question which really is involved in this resolution, and in recommending that it be referred to our own organization you are doing only that which should be granted to every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We are grappling with our own problems, with our own difficulties; and I am sure there is not an organization affiliated with this American Federation of Labor but that has within it in some more or less aggravated form its own big internal problems. We will do that which is just and right in the matter, but this resolution does not belong here, and I can honestly and conscientiously ask the delegates to support the committee in its action."

During the statement made by Delegate Mikel, Delegate Lewis repeated the point of order that he had previously raised, namely, that the delegate was discussing matters entirely aside from the recommendation of the committee, and that the question of whether the Kansas law was right or wrong was not involved in the resolution at all.

President Gompers ruled the point of order well taken and insisted that

the delegates confine their discussion to the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Duncan, chairman of the committee, stated that discussion occasioned by the report had emphasized the wisdom of the committee's action in referring to the United Mine Workers of America a matter which was purely a question of their internal affairs, and not a proper subject for the convention to act upon.

Upon motion debate was closed.

Delegate Lynal requested a roll-call vote on the adoption of the report of the committee, but the request was supported by only ten delegates, an insufficient number under the rules.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Discarded Ideas Revamped

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Discarded Ideas Revamped," your committee believes it advisable to direct your attention to certain facts relative to the trade union movement. In one respect it differs from all other movements of men organized for the purpose of righting their wrongs, securing their rights, protecting their welfare and advancing their interests.

The trade union movement was not founded as a result of any definite, preconceived industrial, economic, social or political theory. It was born of sheer necessity and developed through the lessons it was compelled to learn in the stern school of practical affairs. Its policies and methods were forged white hot upon the unyielding anvil of experience. Its development has been directed by applying the principles and the methods of democracy.

The American Federation of Labor from the beginning has held that each group of organized wage-earners should be left free and unhampered to develop and apply that form of organization which was most advantageous to them in working out their own problems. From the beginning it has favored amalgamation between organizations when the majority of these organizations believed such amalgamation to be advantageous. The American Federation of Labor has on many occasions given its kindly assistance in bringing about such amalgamations. Firmly in accord with the principles and methods of democracy, the American Federation of Labor has opposed the spirit or methods of dictatorship, within or without the trade union movement.

We believe that only through voluntary association, through voluntary cooperation and federation, can the American workingmen successfully and effectively work out their industrial problems.

Twenty-one years ago the policy of the American Federation of Labor toward its affiliated organizations, their jurisdiction, their right to self-government, their freedom to develop and apply such form of organization as seemed most advantageous to them was adopted. It is most advisable that every trade unionist and every friend of our movement should be thoroughly familiar with this policy, and with this purpose in mind your committee now submits for reaffirmation and endorsement the decision relative to the rights of affiliated organizations adopted by the Scranton convention of 1901, which reads as follows:

"Scranton, Pa., December 14, 1901.

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

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

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

"1. As the magnificent growth of the American Federation of Labor is conceded by all students of economic thought to be the result of organization on trade lines, and believing it neither necessary nor expedient to make any radical departure from this fundamental principle, we declare that, as a general proposition, the interests of the workers will be best conserved by adhering as closely to that doctrine as the recent

great changes in methods of production and employment make practicable. However, owing to the isolation of some few industries from thickly populated centers, where the overwhelming number follow one branch thereof, and owing to the fact that in some industries comparatively few workers are engaged over whom separate organizations claim jurisdiction, we believe that jurisdiction in such industries by the paramount organization would yield the best results to the workers therein, at least until the development of organization of each branch has reached a stage wherein these may be placed, without material injury to all parties in interest, in affiliation with their national trade unions. Nothing contained in this declaration is intended or shall be construed to mean a reversal of any decision rendered by former Executive Councils or previous conventions on questions of jurisdiction.

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

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

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

#### Currency, Credits and Banking

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "Currency, Credits and Banking," your committee recommends concurrence, and to emphasize the importance of the subject desires to read the last paragraph of the report for the particular information of the delegates:

"The wide scope and effectiveness of this recommendation is fully understood but the choice is not of our making. Every international and local trade union is urged, therefore, to direct the attention of the American Federation of Labor to any instance or to any banking institution that uses or is influenced to use its banking facilities to

oppose, weaken or destroy the trade union movement or to interpose its power and influence into industrial relations affairs so that the Executive Council may investigate each complaint and if no adjustment is reached, then to publish the facts ascertained in its investigation and to call upon all trade unions, wage-earners, their friends and sympathizers to place their deposits with banking institutions that will not venture into trades disputes and that will serve all the people in an impartial and just manner. It is particularly recommended that because of the vast consequences involved in this proposal the power and authority involved shall be exercised solely by the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council and by no other division or branch of the American labor movement."

In connection with this portion of the report, your committee took up for consideration Resolution No. 8, which is as follows:

Resolution No. 8—By Delegate Harry W. Fox, Wyoming State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, Investigations of those influences that are waging a war of destruction on organized labor, through their advocacy and promotion of the so-called "American Plan," open shop movement, develop the fact that they are being financed by banking institutions, many of which have been and are still the depositories of the funds of the workers and farmers individually and of their national and international treasuries; and,

WHEREAS, The Machinists and Locomotive Engineers have pioneered the work of establishing banks financed by and operated in the interests of the workers and have made successes of their ventures, thus proving that the field of banking is not closed to the workers; and,

WHEREAS, The national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, the Railway Brotherhoods, other than the Engineers, and other unaffiliated organizations have reserves totaling many millions of dollars, much of which lies in the banks and the power of which is being utilized to crush labor in its legitimate aspirations and to defate the farmers from their hard-earned dollars; be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in 42nd Annual Convention assembled, that we empower



the Executive Council to take such steps as they deem necessary to secure the co-operation of all national and international unions, railway brotherhoods and other organizations of working people and farmers in the establishment of a central bank at Washington, D. C., together with such branch banks as occasion may demand or opportunity afford, to the end that the workers in all lines of productive effort may, by their deposits, take part in the building of financial institutions, that may act as a safeguard to organized labor and those sympathetic with its program.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council, with instructions to make a study of the matter and report to the next convention.

The matter was discussed briefly by Delegate McGovern, Yonkers Central Body, and Delegate Grow, Machinists, after which the report of the committee was adopted.

#### **Protection For Unlawful Banking**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "Protection for Unlawful Banking," your committee recommends concurrence. Your attention is called to the fact that H. R. 11217 and H. R. 296 contain provisions which would operate to restrict freedom of speech and freedom of press, the free expression of opinion concerning public officials and public institutions.

The attitude of the American Federation of Labor upon these questions is so thoroughly expressed in the records of the Federation that an additional statement of policy is unnecessary at this time. We recommend that the Executive Council be instructed to use its fullest energy in preventing the enactment of any legislation which would in any way hamper, interfere with or limit the fullest and unrestricted freedom of expression.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Fixing Wages By Commission**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "Fixing Wages by Commission," your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue its efforts to prevent the enactment of such legislation.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Anti-Picketing Bill**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's report, under the caption, "Anti-Picketing Bill," your committee recommends approval, and in addition congratulates the Executive Council upon its success in killing this vicious measure, which has been introduced in Congress for the purpose of denying wage-earners their just rights.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Railroads**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "Railroads," and which deals in a large measure with the Esch-Cummins law, your committee recommends approval, and furthermore recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue to give its full assistance to the Railway Men's organization in securing the repeal of this law, and in addition, that the Executive Council cooperate in every way possible in assisting the Railway Employes to secure necessary legislation.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Personnel Research Foundation**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "Personnel Research Foundation," your committee recommends concurrence with the report and further recommends that the Executive Council continue the affiliation of the American Federation of Labor with this Foundation, in order that it may help to guide its policy and have a direct voice in its research working, investigations and gathering of information.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Stabilizing the Unit of Money**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "Stabilizing the Unit of Money," your committee recommends concurrence, coupled with the adoption of the Executive Council's recommendation.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **More Idleness For Judges**

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "More Idleness For Judges," your com-

mittee approves of the report and recommends that it be accepted as valuable information.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Compulsory Labor

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "Compulsory Labor," your committee recommends concurrence and approval of the sentiments expressed, and further recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its opposition to the Kenyon bill.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Proposed Commission on Coal Industry

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "Proposed Commission on Coal Industry," your committee is of the opinion that the public are entitled to adequate and accurate information which will include all the items connected with the labor costs of mining coal, including the coal operators' overhead expenses, the freight costs, the costs added by the middleman acting between the operator and the retailer, the cost to the retailer and the prices charged by these dealers.

Your committee recommends that this convention most heartily endorses the action of the United Mine Workers of America in their effort to secure a thorough investigation of the coal industry, an investigation to which the public as well as the coal miners are entitled.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Anti-Trust Act

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "Anti-Trust Act," your committee recommends concurrence and calls especial attention to the last paragraph because of the expressions of opinions and policy which it contains.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Anti-Strike Legislation

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "Anti-Strike Legislation," your committee recommends concurrence.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Railroads

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "Railroads," your committee recommends concurrence, and further recommends that the Executive Council lend its full assistance in an effort to secure the enactment of H. R. 8958 and H. R. 10798.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Political Prisoners

Secretary Frey: In connection with that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the caption, "Political Prisoners," your committee considered Resolutions 76 and 98, as follows:

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Benjamin Schlesinger, Louis Langer, Max Amdur, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg and Louis Pinkofsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, There are still a number of men and women confined in Federal and State prisons for political offenses committed by written or spoken word during the recent war; and,

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, together with all international bodies affiliated with it, has aided vigorously and wholeheartedly in the general amnesty campaign; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor recommends the continuance of efforts to secure amnesty for those still imprisoned and whose offenses consisted in alleged unlawful use of the written or spoken word during the period of the war, and that our government be urged to speedily release such prisoners,

Resolution No. 98—By Delegates William H. Johnston, William Hannon, Fred Hewitt, C. F. Grow, W. Larkin and William Schoenberg, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, There are still held in the Federal prisons in Atlanta, Leavenworth and McNeil's Island a number of men convicted under the Espionage Act and other war-time laws for their political and economic opinions, many of them serving sentences of ten and twenty years; and,

WHEREAS, Eugene V. Debs and several hundred other such political

prisoners have already been freed by the Federal Government, whose cases are no different in principle from the men still in prison; and,

**WHEREAS,** The wives and children of a number of these men are now in Washington petitioning the Government for their release; and,

**WHEREAS,** The American Federation of Labor has unanimously and repeatedly urged upon the Federal Government a general amnesty of all such prisoners regardless of their political or economic views or activities, with many of which we wholly disagree; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, urges upon the President of the United States the wisdom and justice of freeing without further unnecessary delay the remaining political prisoners whose imprisonment no longer serves any useful public purpose in time of peace.

**Secretary Frey:** Your committee recommends concurrence with the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "Political Prisoners," and further recommends that the Executive Council continue to give its efforts to be of practical assistance.

I move that we adopt the report of the committee as covering the entire subject matter. (Seconded and carried unanimously.)

**Secretary Frey:** The committee considered Resolutions 53 and 54 together, because their purpose is the same. The resolutions are as follows:

**Resolution No. 53 — By Delegates Wm. J. Doherty and Henry Abrahams, of the Boston Central Labor Union, and John P. Frey:**

**WHEREAS,** Only one person "identified" Vanzetti at the scene of the crime, and only four persons "identified" Sacco. While to offset this twenty-two persons who saw the faces of one or more of the participants in the crime testified that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti were the men that they saw; and,

**WHEREAS,** The one witness who made the "identification" of Vanzetti had stated previously, according to the testimony of four witnesses, that he could not make an "identification" and of the four witnesses who made an

"identification" of Sacco, two of them had stated previously, each of them, according to the testimony of four witnesses, that they could not make an "identification." While the other two who had testified a few weeks after the crime occurred that they were not positive of the identity of the accused, became positive when they took the witness stand a year later; and,

**WHEREAS,** No attempt had been made to impeach any of the twenty-two witnesses who were certain that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti were the men they had seen at the moment that the crime was committed; and,

**WHEREAS,** Nine persons testified on behalf of Sacco that he was in Boston, thirteen miles from the scene of the crime, and of these, three based their testimony on documentary evidence. Eleven persons testified on behalf of Vanzetti that he was in Plymouth, twenty-five miles from the scene of the crime. Not a single effort was made to impeach the testimony of any one of the twenty persons who testified to the alibis of Sacco and Vanzetti; and,

**WHEREAS,** Further evidence has been placed in the hands of the State in support of these men's innocence, such evidence requiring that a new trial be had in order that the same may be properly presented; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, favor a new trial for these men toward the end that justice may be done.

**Resolution No. 54 — By Delegate Luigi Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:**

**WHEREAS,** Sacco and Vanzetti have been convicted of murder in the first degree by a biased jury under the instructions of prejudiced judge in the State of Massachusetts; and,

**WHEREAS,** It is the opinion of millions of workers throughout the United States and the world over, emphatically expressed in thousands of mass meetings, demonstrations and resolutions that these two men are innocent of the heinous crime ascribed to them; and,

**WHEREAS,** They are in immediate danger of their lives unless the prompt intervention of an enlightened public opinion prevents this ghastly miscarriage of justice; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor in its forty-second annual convention assembled in Cincin-

nati, Ohio, hereby demands a new trial for these defenseless victims of race and national prejudice and class hatred to the end that the honor and fairness of the American people may be preserved untarnished before the eyes of the civilized world; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the Governor of Massachusetts, the President of the United States and the press.

Your committee, after giving these two resolutions their careful consideration, recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 53, as expressing the attitude of this convention upon the subject matter referred to by both resolutions.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Delegate Antonini: I want to thank

the convention in the name of the Italian workers for their action in this respect.

Delegate Farrell: The press has carried the statement that the State organization of Eagles is meeting at Cedar Point this afternoon and they have a proposal before them that they make it their permanent meeting place. I therefore move that the officers of this organization be instructed to wire the convention of the State organization of Eagles, asking them to withhold action on that proposal until the case now pending by the Central Labor Council and the amusement resort is adjusted. (Seconded and carried.)

At 12:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

## EIGHTH DAY—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:40 p. m., by President Gompers.

### Absentees

Mountford, Ambrose O'Brien, Kelleher, Campbell, Desepte, Coulter, Rosemund, Laibly, Kennedy, Weaver, J. T. Carey, Parker, James Murphy, Hutchins, La Belle, Canterbury, Doane, Koester, Howat, Stephen Ely, Fenton, Grace, Fox, Troutman, Lorntsen, Clendenning, Hushing, Legassie, Lehman, Thornsborough, Winans, J. S. Taylor, Lochray, Marshall, Ogg, O'Dell, Brown, Kerns, Argo, Nelson, Bennett, Downes, Utterbach, Sims, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Frampton, Lynam, Meloon, Dunn, Bower, Maurice Ryan, Hourigan, Wrenn, Whitcomb, Dechend, Holloway, W. E. Colman, Boulware, A. E. Allen, Harte, Hixson, Sandy Colmon, R. E. Burford, McCoy, C. I. White, Tunnage, Stratton, S. P. Davis, J. I. Anderson, A. Stewart, Melton, Fizer, Flynn, Latimore, Rucker, F. W. Ely, Wulff.

A telegram was received from Mr. George H. Slater, president of the Texas State Federation of Labor, inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its forty-third convention in Houston, Texas, in 1923.

Secretary Cook, for the Committee

on Credentials, made the following supplemental report:

President J. W. Kline, of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, requests that Roy Horn be seated in place of C. H. Glover, who, on account of illness, was obliged to return to his home.

The committee recommends the seating of Delegate Horn.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, continued the report as follows:

The committee amended Resolution No. 60 by striking out the words "if always" in the first paragraph and substituting the words "has frequently been;" also amended the third paragraph by striking out the words "disarmament and for abolition of" and substituting "reduction of armaments and of," and also amended the fourth paragraph by striking out the words "of disarmament and abolition" and inserting in their place "of reduction of armament and." The amended resolution will read:

Resolution No. 60—By Delegate C. F. Foley, of Barbers' International Union:

WHEREAS, One of the chief obstacles to the progress of labor in its fight for better conditions has been military force, which has frequently been at the beck and call of the oppressors of the workers; and,

WHEREAS, Next to the Cossack mounted state constabulary, the most ruthless of the military organizations is the State Militia, officered by civilians, usually chosen from the ranks of business men who, when called out to suppress strikes, are actuated by the desire to return to their business associates with the added prestige, from their point of view, of having defeated struggling wage-earners; and,

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has, at previous conventions, declared for reduction of armament and of military forces and equipment; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor demands that the principle of reduction of armament and of military force be applied, not only to nations, to prevent their warring on each other, but even more stringently to such forms of military organization as are most frequently used against the toilers of our country, namely, the State Constabulary and the State Militia.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

The question was discussed briefly by Delegate Foley, of the Barbers, and Chairman Duncan, of the committee.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the committee was carried.

The committee amended Resolution No. 61 by striking out the words "and their patrons" in the last paragraph, the amended resolution to read:

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Claude O. Taylor, American Federation of Musicians:

WHEREAS, There appears a decided effort on the part of certain interests to disrupt organized labor, and one of the methods used is that of the so-called "industrial private detectives;" and,

WHEREAS, Publicity is perhaps the greatest means to defeat the efforts of these "private detectives;" therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as opposed to this type of business being used in industrial problems; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge the passage of legislation—national, state and municipal—to the end that this business shall be licensed and regulated, if not prohibited entirely in industrial problems, and that the operatives of the companies be listed and open to public inspection.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

Delegate Coughlin, New York Central Trades Council: May I ask if in the resolution we do not admit that ought to exist? I am inclined to believe that we agree with the substance of the resolution where you say and license people to do ordinary police work which belongs to the municipality or the State. You are giving the private agencies a right the labor movement does not admit exists. I believe those words calling for the licensing of private agencies should be stricken out. We stand for the elimination of private agencies doing police duty.

Secretary Frey: The resolution calls for the prohibition of these private detective agencies, and, if this cannot be secured, the licensing of these agencies, the listing of their operators and the making public of these lists, so that any one is at liberty to discover who the operators of one of these detective agencies may be. The ground the delegate raised is covered in the committee's report.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate James A. Legassie, of the Berlin Central Labor Union, Berlin, N. H.:

WHEREAS, Articles have appeared from time to time in all of the leading labor papers of this country in regard to an organization known as the Ku-Klux Klan, characterizing said Ku-Klux Klan as un-American and tending to

create discord among the working people of the country; and,

**WHEREAS**, These articles indicate a usurpation of power by the said Ku-Klux Klan and relate tales of many outrageous crimes by said Ku-Klux Klan on leaders of labor all over the country as well as other exponents of free speech and liberty for the people as guaranteed by our Federal Constitution; and,

**WHEREAS**, The rather abrupt ending of the investigation of the Klan's activities, started by the Government last fall, seems to prove quite conclusively that the said Klan is opposed to the interests of the working people; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That we, the delegates assembled in the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, believe this said organization (Ku-Klux Klan) to be detrimental to the best interests of the working people of this country and directly opposed to the Constitution of the United States of America; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States and to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee favors the following as a substitute for Resolution No. 71:

Your committee is of the opinion that the American Federation of Labor should not assume to endorse or condemn any organization, fraternity or association of American citizens unless the purpose of such organization is to organize for the purpose of interfering with the rights, opportunities and liberties of wage-earners.

Your committee is firmly of the opinion that the administration of the law is vested solely and entirely in the duly elected or appointed officers of the law, and that those who as members of any secret organization assume to usurp the functions properly belonging to legal authorities, invite mob rule and create in men's minds a disrespect for and disregard of duly constituted authority.

Your committee is also of the opinion that it is not conducive to government by law and the maintenance of peaceful and safe conditions in the community to have members of any organization parade the streets so disguised that their identity cannot be discovered, when such disguises are adopted for the purpose of inspiring the thought or belief that the disguised

individuals represent an invisible government.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Resolution No. 83**—By G. W. Perkins, of Cigar Makers' International Union of America:

**WHEREAS**, Efforts have recently been made to secure the passage of a bill by Congress to make Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday within the District of Columbia, the seat of our National Government, where he rendered his greatest service, suffered his greatest agony and finally sacrificed his life for his country; and,

**WHEREAS**, A majority of the States have made his birthday a legal holiday, and it would therefore seem to be particularly fitting that in the Capital of the Nation, where Congress has exclusive jurisdiction, his name should be coupled with that of Washington, the one the father and the other the savior of a great nation; and,

**WHEREAS**, In this movement labor must inevitably have a particular interest inasmuch as the Great Emancipator was of the common people and a staunch advocate and defender of their rights, interests and welfare; and,

**WHEREAS**, We find among the great truths to which he gave utterance the following which we believe it fitting to quote at this time:

"Capital is the fruit of labor and could not exist if labor had not first existed. Labor, therefore, deserves much the higher consideration."

"Thank God, we have a system of labor where there can be a strike. Whatever the pressure, there is a point where the workingman may stop."

"The strongest bond of human sympathy outside the family relation should be one uniting all working people of all nations, tongues and kindreds."

"We will speak for freedom and against slavery as long as the Constitution guarantees free speech; until everywhere on this wide land the sun shall shine, and the rain shall fall, and the wind shall blow upon no man who goes forth to unrequited toil."

"No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which if surrendered will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as

they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost;" and,

**WHEREAS**, Of particular interest to this convention at the present time are the following quotations from addresses delivered by Lincoln in the City of Cincinnati:

"The people of these United States are the masters of both Congresses and Courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution." (Speech at Cincinnati, September 17, 1859.)

"In regard to the Homestead Law, I say that in so far as the Government lands can be disposed of, I am in favor of cutting up the wild land into parcels so that every poor man may have a home." (Speech at Cincinnati, Ohio, February 12, 1861); and,

**WHEREAS**, Our Representatives in Congress have seen fit to delay the action which would make Lincoln Day a legal holiday in the Capital of our Nation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor disapproves most heartily of the tactics that have been employed to retard the enactment of this most fitting legislative measure as a means of providing inspiration in perpetuity to the youth and to all the people of our land and implanting more firmly than ever the great lessons of freedom and noble human conduct so eloquently spoken and lived by our great martyr; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we instruct our officers and our Executive Council to use every proper influence to secure the enactment of the desired legislation by the Congress in order that this fitting memorial day may be established, not only for America, but as a reminder to the world of the simple, yet powerful lessons in human freedom and progress taught by the lonely figure who befriended and championed people and who fought injustice and oppression.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 96 by striking out the word "invariably" in paragraph 4 and inserting in its place the words "In the overwhelming majority of decisions." The amended resolution will read:

**Resolution No. 96—By Delegates of the Railroad Labor Organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor:**

**WHEREAS**, The Railroad Industry of the United States, upon which the progress and prosperity of the nation so largely depends, is waging a campaign to break down organizations of employees and reduce wages below the subsistence level, through the United States Railroad Labor Board, a tribunal created by the Cummins-Esch bill, known as the Transportation Act of 1920, which act was passed by Congress over the strong protest of the American Federation of Labor and the sixteen standard railroad labor organizations; and,

**WHEREAS**, After more than two years of operation under this act there is recorded not a single deliberate violation of the law by employees, while continued flagrant and cunningly devised violations have been publicly known and are now chargeable to railroad management, and said managements continue to defy the law, thus creating a situation inimical to the public peace and stability of the industry; and,

**WHEREAS**, Recent decisions of the Railroad Labor Board, charged with the duty and responsibility of establishing "just and reasonable" wage schedules, have made effective on July 1 standards of wages for certain classes of employees which will not permit of the purchase of the barest essentials of a normal living, a wage which, measured in food, clothing, housing, etc., will place hundreds of thousands of American workers below the level which now obtains in the poverty-stricken regions of Europe; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, By the American Federation of Labor, in forty-second annual convention assembled, that we again affirm our opposition to the iniquitous Cummins-Esch law and call upon Congress for its repeal, and hereby declare that the Railroad Labor Board has in the overwhelming majority of decisions functioned in the interest of railroad management and against the employees; that it has placed the dollar sign over and above the human needs of the workers, serving as an instrument to shackle and coerce 2,000,000 wage workers in the industry, a policy which is hurtful not alone to the railroads but to every branch of American industry; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we accept this opportunity to commend the three mem-

bers of the labor group on the board who have consistently stood for a wage that might be truly defined as "just and reasonable," as exemplified in their courageous dissenting opinions, which stand out in clear-cut contrast with the total inability of majority members to justify their acts to the public.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Franklin, Boiler Makers, in discussing the question, said in part: I think the activities of the Railroad Labor Board created under the Esch-Cummins Law, commonly known as the Transportation Act, affects the great group of employes engaged in the railroad service. They are practically the only employes that have a Wage Board to regulate their wages and conditions; in other words, they are practically tied to their jobs by law. The decisions handed down by this board in almost every instance have in some form or other operated to take away from the employes either conditions of employment they have enjoyed or rates of pay.

In order that you may understand something of what the Railroad Labor Board has done, let me say that almost its first act was to take from the railway employes an agreement which had been given to them by the Railroad Administration, or rather had been negotiated with these railroad employes by representatives of the Railroad Administration, and applied to all the railroads and covered practically all the various classes of employes.

Prior to the time the Railroad Labor Board annulled the so-called national agreement, the President of the United States called a representative of one of the largest groups to Washington, and without giving him an opportunity to say one word to the president as to the merits of that agreement or explain the contents of that agreement, he said: "Jewell, your national agreement has got to go." Now, we do not believe the President of the United States knew what that national agreement contained; we do not believe he knew whether it was fair and equitable to both sides, but the statement was made without qualification that the agreement must go.

Subsequently we were called before the Railroad Labor Board to defend that agreement. We were called in

because the railroad managers of the country had demanded the cancellation of that agreement. After an exhaustive hearing given the management of the railroads, in their criticism of the representatives of the employes, they had not proceeded beyond the third rule of the agreement until a mandatory decision was handed down by the Railroad Labor Board setting aside the agreement in its entirety. The conditions of this agreement had been negotiated with the private managements, many of them as far back as twenty and twenty-five years before this decision of the Railroad Labor Board was handed down, and many of those conditions were given voluntarily to the employes by the management. All of them were set aside. The railroad managers who have direct supervision over the men are not responsible for this decision, but the invisible government that controls the policy of the railroads is responsible for it.

Rates of pay and conditions that had been established were set aside. It is true they gave an increase in pay to the employes. That increase did not measure up to the expectation of the employes in a way that would enable them to maintain an American standard of living, but they did get an increase.

They had no more than put that increase into effect before the machinery was started in motion to take away piece-meal, not only the wages, but all conditions the men had established after years and years of effort and the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Now the Railroad Labor Board has handed down another decision, which becomes effective July 1st, which covers about 1,200,000 railroad men. The common laborer—the section man—has been told that he must maintain himself and his family on \$563 a year. They not only said he must live on that and support his family—and I don't dwell upon the possibility of any man supporting his family in decency on that sum—but they handed down some fatherly advice along with the decision. They said: "You must curb extravagance, you must practice economy, you must do all these things and then you won't feel the hardship because of this magnificent sum of twenty-three cents an hour."

Think of it! And then we are told by the powers that be that we must accept the decision of the Railroad Labor Board. We may grumble and growl and kick and complain, but we must not go beyond that.



This Transportation Act was passed over the protest of the American Federation of Labor and the labor movement of the country—those affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and those on the outside. We realized what it would mean to us, but we gave it a trial. They have made it almost impossible under the conditions of this act to adjust any grievances that arise. They denied us the right to use our economic power until grievances have been presented to the Railroad Labor Board and they have passed upon them. Thousands of grievances have been sent to the Railroad Labor Board—the board is absolutely swamped with them—but the railroads do not want any opportunity for the grievances of those employes to be adjusted, because dissatisfaction and complaints on the part of the employes have a tendency to weaken the power of the organizations and drive the members away from them.

These employes are taking a strike vote; they are going to decide for themselves whether or not they will accept the decision. The indications are that they will reject the decisions of the board. I don't believe that any body of nine men, a tri-party board composed of three representatives of the railroads, three representatives of the employes and three men supposed to represent the public, are properly constituted to render fair and equitable decisions. Just how faithful they have been to their trust you can judge for yourselves. The employes will decide whether the decision is fair and whether or not they will accept it. Their will and their decision will govern any action to be taken.

I hope this resolution will be adopted by unanimous vote. These men, from the lowest-paid men to the highest skilled mechanic in the railroad industry, are affected, and therefore it is a common cause. Their interest lies in a solid front. There are so many angles to this thing that it would take me hours to tell of the actual injustice imposed upon the workers, but if I am any judge, this is the time for the employes to say "For once we will not accept your decision."

Delegate M. S. Hayes, Typographical Union: I concur in all that is stated in the resolution and favor the report of the committee as far as it goes—which isn't very far. I am going to try to get somewhere. The resolution explains the situation, and the interesting address made by Brother Franklin has informed myself and the other dele-

gates on the question. In the resolve we "affirm our opposition to the iniquitous Cummins-Esch Law and call upon Congress for its repeal, and hereby declare the Railroad Labor Board as functioned in the interests of the railroad management and against the employes." We favor the repeal of the Esch-Cummins Law, but what are we going to substitute for it? I want to offer as an amendment the following:

"Be it further resolved, that this convention reaffirms its declaration of the Montreal convention demanding Government ownership and operation of the railways as the only practical and immediate means to make a satisfactory adjustment of the controversies in the railway industry." (Seconded.)

President Gompers: Will you suspend your remarks for a few minutes, Delegate Hayes, until the Chairman can make some remarks relative to the subject of your amendment? The representatives of all the organizations in the Railway Employes' Department of the American Federation of Labor have asked that the American Federation of Labor at this time make no declaration of the kind to which Delegate Hayes has referred in his amendment.

Delegate Hayes, in discussing the question, said in part: If they feel as a matter of tactics or policy that it would be unwise to press this amendment, I would be willing to defer to their judgment; but I do not like the idea of this convention taking action upon so vital a problem that confronts the people, not merely the railroad workers, but the people of the country as a whole, and particularly the agricultural interests that have been so splendidly deflated by the gentlemen who are in control of the financial powers of the nation, and I would not like to be charged with having been a representative to this body that ignored our plain duty.

Take action upon this question, which must be an issue in the not very distant future, in order to adjust these difficulties which the railway workers now find themselves face to face with. We are on record for government ownership of railways, and, as far as I am concerned, preferably through the Plumb Plan. While there has been criticism leveled at the Plumb Plan by the political gentlemen in control and by the hired editorial writers of the great newspapers of the country, I have not up to this time found a single instance where the Plumb Plan was vitally affected by any argument brought against it.

I don't like the idea of simply condemning something; I want to see something constructive offered as a substitute. I want to make my protest, and I want that protest to go farther somewhat toward a solution of this problem. I am perfectly willing to defer to the wishes of the railway men, and if they think I ought to withdraw the amendment I will do so; if not, it stands.

President Gompers: I made the statement I did upon the authority of the officers of the organizations affiliated with the Railway Employees' Department. The resolution under consideration was drafted and introduced by the representatives of the railway organizations affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. They knew what they wanted. At this time they are faced with a possible controversy and they have introduced a resolution expressive of their position.

President Gompers referred to the strikes in which the United Mine Workers, the Textile Workers and the Typographical Union are engaged, and asked if the American Federation of Labor would adopt a resolution governing those strikes without the approval, or endorsement, or at the request of the officers of those organizations.

Continuing, President Gompers said: Everyone who is closely associated with this matter knows that the sympathy of organized labor and the efforts of the American Federation of Labor has been with the railway employees in the fight made against the enactment of the Esch-Cummins Law. In my judgment a mistake was made in the beginning, and I so advised the men with whom I came in contact, when that law was passed against the protest of the men involved and the organizations particularly in interest, and it provided that this jug-handle Railroad Labor Board would be appointed, which would be six to three. My advice was that the labor organizations should refuse to appoint their own representatives to that board and make it impossible for the board to function. They believed, however, that it ought to be given a trial. It has been given a trial and we know the result.

Delegate Franklin, discussing the proposed amendment, said in part: The railway employees, embracing not only those affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but those represented by the organizations usually designated as the Brotherhoods, gave the best possible thought of which they were capable to this question. It was not because we have wavered in our purpose,

in our ideas or in our desires to have the resolution carried into effect that was adopted at the Montreal convention and reaffirmed at Denver. It was not thought necessary to reaffirm the resolution or the declaration at this convention upon the question that had previously been adopted by two conventions. We did not feel it even necessary to reintroduce the resolution. We are not opposed to it; we stand for it first, last and all the time, but we are awaiting the opportune time to push the measure.

Vice-President Duncan, chairman of the committee: Delegate Hayes started out by conveying the information that he did not believe the Executive Council had carried out the will of the convention held at Montreal in so far as the question of government ownership is concerned.

Chairman Duncan at this point read the reports of the Executive Council to both the Montreal and Denver conventions, and, continuing, said:

Still following up the action of the Montreal convention and the further action of the Denver convention on the same thing, the Executive Council continues its services to co-operate with the railway organizations and reports to this convention on page 61 as follows:

"As evidence of the appreciation of the Railway Employees Department, we quote from a letter from President Jewell under date of February 24th the following: 'They direct me to advise that the department sincerely appreciates the support and co-operation which they have received from the American Federation of Labor and its officers during the past year in connection with the controversies which have affected the organizations representing railroad employees.'"

The Council therefore acted in strict conformity with the action of the Montreal convention and the further action of the Denver convention, and following that comes a resolution, No. 96, drawn up by railway organizations themselves, presented to this convention, discussed before our committee, and our report, with a slight change made, is in strict accord with their views, and that they will have the further co-operation of the American Federation of Labor in their legislation.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists, in discussing the question, said in part: "I desire to speak on the resolution, and incidentally to supplement what President Gompers said in connection with the attitude of the railroad organizations. While we suggest and coun-

sel that the legislative program for government ownership and democratic management be not read, we do not intend to infer that we have abandoned it, and we do not want anyone to have the impression that we have done so. Not for a single moment have we abandoned this program of public ownership and democratic management. I was just a little afraid that the impression might be got from what has been said that we have grown lukewarm or indifferent in this most important matter. It is because it is recognized that we have a most unfriendly and unsympathetic administration that we feel it would be inadvisable to press the matter at this time.

"In writing the resolution we felt, if we injected the question in the resolution the enemies of labor would say, in the event a strike occurred in the very near future, that it was to force government ownership. If the strike comes—I believe with all my heart and soul that it is inevitable; it must come, there is no other way out—we want that issue to be clean-cut. The issue is the accumulation of wrong and perfidy by this Railroad Labor Board created under the Transportation Act. As Brother Franklin said, it was enacted at the behest of the railroads. Labor protested against its enactment. It contained many vicious, un-American principles. The principle of guaranteeing a fixed return to a private corporation is, in my judgment, altogether un-American and has no precedent in the history of American industry. They guaranteed a fixed return the first six months of private operation, with the further provision that the Interstate Commerce Commission would regulate the passenger and freight rates so as to bring the return to as near as possible 6 per cent—the first time in the history of the Government have we gone on record guaranteeing to private enterprise a fixed return.

"What does it mean? It gives a premium on dishonesty and inefficiency. The trouble with the railroads is largely due to maladministration, to crooked manipulations among those who control the financial policy. In order to arrive at some definite or approximate figures as to what the passenger and freight rates should be, the Interstate Commerce Commission approximated the value of the railroad property. They took approximately the figures the railroad managements said the railroads were worth. The figure set was \$18,900,000,000 as the total value of the railroad property of the United States.

"Now, for several years they have

been investigating the value of the railroads. A few months they concluded their investigations on 26 Class 1 roads. The other roads are in process of investigation and valuation. The investigation discloses that the capital stock of those railroads that have been valued is practically worthless; that the bonded indebtedness in most cases is more than the total real value of the property. I make the assertion that the railroads could be built today at present prices of labor and material for one-half the valuation set by the railroads and the Interstate Commerce Commission. We are asked to pay interest on a value that does not exist and is purely water.

"Brother Franklin referred to the establishment by the public members of the Railroad Labor Board of a minimum wage of twenty-three cents an hour for common labor, or \$563 a year. The men who are to receive twenty-three cents an hour do not work the entire year, but because of the nature of their work they are often compelled to lay off in the middle of the day or the middle of the forenoon after working an hour or two. They work on an average of 250 days a year, and earn only \$460 a year. How a public board, created to protect the interests of the public, of society, can justify in this enlightened age the establishment of a wage that will bring labor below the Chinese coolie standard; how they can look their own families in the face; how they can look their fellows in the face after decreeing and dooming men, women and children to a state of starvation, is more than I can understand.

"We are unalterably opposed to the Transportation Act; we believe it should be repealed. We wish that labor had the intelligence to have elected their own kind of men, men who really are interested in the people rather than in the interests of corporations. If that had been done we would have had this legislation enacted long before this.

"I have no objections to the amendment of Delegate Hayes and I say to you we only refrained from doing what he recommends in order that we would not be accused of trying to force the issue through a strike."

Delegate Hayes, with the consent of the seconder, withdrew the amendment.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Your committee recommends that the third and seventh whereas in Resolution No. 7 be stricken out in their entirety and that words "President of the United States and Congress" be stricken out of the last resolve and the

words "Congress of the United States" be inserted in their place, so that the amended portion of the resolve will read: "that the Executive Council use all haste possible in bringing pressure to bear on the Congress of the United States to secure favorable action at the present session on the Ford contract to develop Muscle Shoals."

The amended resolution will read as follows:

**Resolution No. 7—**By Delegate H. O. Cline, of the Alabama State Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, The rank and file and the leaders of the labor movement in the United States, know no North, no South, no East, and no West, but wish the development of the great natural resources of the national wherever located; and,

**WHEREAS**, At this time a fight is on in Congress between the friends and enemies of the well-known plans for the development of the water power of Muscle Shoals, on the Tennessee River, in Alabama; and,

**WHEREAS**, Our natural allies, the farmers, will greatly benefit by the development of Muscle Shoals according to the plans of Henry Ford, of Detroit, as set forth in his unmatched offer made over a year ago; and,

**WHEREAS**, The recent convention of the Alabama Federation of Labor has gone on record as favoring the Ford bid; and,

**WHEREAS**, All the labor unions of Florence, Tusculumbia, Sheffield, Albany and Decatur, Alabama, cities located near the Muscle Shoals, have unanimously endorsed the Ford offer to lease the Shoals property; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this, the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, sides with the farmers in their controversy as to the acceptance of the Ford bid, and that this convention instruct its Executive Council to use all means in its power to secure favorable action on the final offer of Mr. Ford to lease Muscle Shoals, and in view of the deterioration of the property at Muscle Shoals and the immediate and very urgent need of the farmers for more fertilizer, that the Executive Council use all haste possible in bringing pressure to bear on the Congress of the United States to secure favorable action at the present session on the Ford contract to develop Muscle Shoals.

The resolution as amended by the committee was adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 110 by substituting "standards of employment" for the term "employment standards" in the last paragraph, and inserting the words, "or a shorter work week" after the word "establishments" in the same paragraph.

The amended resolution will read as follows:

**Resolution No. 110—**By Delegates Thos. F. Flaherty, Chas. W. Redfern, Wm. P. Hohmann and Mark B. Greene, National Federation of Postoffice Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Edward J. Cantwell, Chas. E. Duffy, L. E. Swartz and J. H. Mugavin, National Association of Letter Carriers; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employees; B. E. Thompson and C. E. Harvey, Railway Mail Association:

**WHEREAS**, The Saturday half holiday observance, which wage-earners in many industries have brought about through the intelligent exercise of their organized power, has proved to be a sound economic policy of mutual benefit to employees and employers; and,

**WHEREAS**, This beneficial policy of extending the weekly periods of rest and recreation for workers is becoming more general in its application in private industrial pursuits and in State and municipal governments; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor, mindful of the importance of the United States Government establishing and maintaining advanced standards of employment, instructs the Executive Council to co-operate with the representatives of the affiliated Government employees for the purpose of having the Saturday half holiday observance in Government establishments or a shorter work week extended to benefit every possible worker.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Your committee recommends that the two resolves in Resolution No. 27 be amended so as to read:

**RESOLVED**, That this convention recommend that the Executive Council work in conjunction with the national legislative representatives of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and other organizations interested, with a view of having a similar bill introduced in Congress as was passed in 1914, covering railway mail cars; and, further be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council endeavor to secure the assistance of some member of Congress, in presenting and assisting in the passage of this legislation.

The amended resolution will read as follows:

**Resolution No. 27**—By Delegates E. H. Fitzgerald, A. C. Hay, H. B. Odell, Wade Shurtleff, Louie J. England, Mabel McNolty, of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees:

**WHEREAS**, Many of the railroads throughout this country still have in active use baggage and express cars that are constructed entirely of wood; and,

**WHEREAS**, Many of these wooden cars in active service are old and dilapidated, unsanitary; and,

**WHEREAS**, Many of these wooden baggage and express cars are placed between cars of steel construction in trains, thereby in case of accidents, wrecks, etc., being the cars to suffer the greatest damage; and,

**WHEREAS**, Due to this fact the lives of the baggagemen and express messengers and helpers are jeopardized to a greater extent on account of these facts; and,

**WHEREAS**, Congress did, in 1914, pass a law requiring every railroad in the country to place in the railway mail service either cars of all steel or cars with steel underframe construction, and said bill also provided for the equipment of said cars with modern, sanitary conveniences for safety and comfort of railway postal employees; and,

**WHEREAS**, Baggage and express cars are not included within the scope of this legislation; and,

**WHEREAS**, The express employees, members of this Brotherhood, working in train service, feel that our lives are as valuable to us and as precious to our families as those of any other class of railroad employees; and,

**WHEREAS**, A bill was introduced in the last Congress by Senator Robinson,

of Arkansas, to protect the lives of express employes; and,

**WHEREAS**, This bill died with the adjournment of the last Congress; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention recommend that the Executive Council work in conjunction with the national legislative representatives of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and other organizations interested, with a view of having a similar bill introduced in Congress as was passed in 1914, covering railway mail cars; and, further be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council endeavor to secure the assistance of some member of Congress, in presenting and assisting in the passage of this legislation.

The committee recommended the adoption of the resolution as amended. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 20 and 51:

**Resolution No. 20**—By Delegate John G. Clay, Chicago Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, The Mooney case is a standing disgrace and a constant source of discontent due to the fact that Tom Mooney and Warren Billings are still in prison, after all the witnesses against them have confessed that their testimony was perjured; and,

**WHEREAS**, All legal process has been tested in an endeavor to remedy this crying miscarriage of justice and has completely failed to grant relief; and,

**WHEREAS**, An appeal for pardon, which is the only legal process available according to high authority, is now pending before Governor Stephens, of California, with the personal endorsement of District Attorney Brady; therefore be it.

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor hereby affirms that a complete and unconditional pardon should be granted to Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, as the only means of remedying this disgraceful condition; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor hereby send a telegram to this effect to Governor Stephens, Sacramento, Calif., demanding that he grant partial and belated act of reparation to the victims of this shameful frame-up.

Resolution No. 51—By Delegates Joseph F. Valentine, John P. Frey, Dan Regan, Arthur Burns:

WHEREAS, The conventions of the American Federation of Labor have time and again urged upon the authorities of the State of California to act upon the mass of information which has been gathered and which proves collusion between the Prosecutor's office and witnesses to introduce perjury in connection with the trial of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings; and,

WHEREAS, The present Prosecutor of San Francisco, the Hon. Matthew Brady, has forwarded a letter to Governor Stephens, presenting the legal reasons which make it a matter of justice that the Governor should immediately pardon Mooney and Billings, accompanied by the statement that if they were given a retrial there was no evidence which could secure their conviction; and,

WHEREAS, Governor Stephens has not yet acted upon the recommendation of Prosecutor Brady; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor respectfully and unanimously request Governor Stephens to immediately issue a pardon to Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings and right the great wrong which has been done to these two men; and be it further

RESOLVED, That each affiliated national and international union, all State Federations of Labor, Central Labor Bodies and Federal and directly affiliated local labor unions be requested to forward communications to Governor Stephens requesting immediate pardon of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings and that the affiliated national and international unions be requested to communicate the action of this convention to their local unions and request them to forward communications to Governor Stephens of California, requesting pardon for Mooney and Billings; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and it is hereby requested to forward a communication to all local unions in California to assist the American Federation of Labor by forwarding communications requesting pardon to the Governor of their State; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention respectfully request the labor press to give the widest possible publicity to the action taken by this convention.

Your committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 51 as the action of this convention upon the subject matter of Resolutions Nos. 20 and 51.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

The committee amended Resolution No. 63 by striking out all after the words "based on merit" in the last "Resolve," and adding the words "promotion to higher positions, among other elements, to include promotion from the ranks, this to be determined within practical bounds by fitness, temperament and seniority." The amended resolution is as follows:

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, Mark B. Greene, William P. Hohmann and Charles W. Redfern of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks; Edward J. Gainor, Ed. J. Cantwell, L. E. Swartz, J. T. Mugavin and Charles D. Duffy, National Association of Letter Carriers; Andrew J. Fallon, International Plate Printers and Die Stampers; Frank J. Coleman, Maryland State and District of Columbia Federation of Labor; Luther C. Steward, National Federation of Federal Employes, and Charles B. Stillman, American Federation of Teachers:

WHEREAS, It is recognized that the Federal Civil Service Law, during the forty years since its enactment, has been of immeasurable benefit to the public service, despite its inadequacies and the continuous opposition of those hostile to a real merit system; and,

WHEREAS, The primary purpose of the civil law was to divorce employment under the Federal Government from political influence, and although substantial progress has been made in fulfillment of this purpose, it is a regrettable fact nevertheless that influences of spoilsmen are still too much in evidence; and,

WHEREAS, Such pernicious and destructive influences have very generally determined promotions and assignments to preferred positions, with consequent demoralization of the personnel; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in forty-second con-

vention assembled, hereby reaffirms its position in advocacy of an effective Civil Service System as a sound public policy; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we stand for a real merit system in public service, entrance to be determined by practical tests, tenure of place to be based on merit, promotion to higher positions among other elements to include promotion from the ranks, this to be determined within practical bounds by fitness, temperament and seniority.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution as amended.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Macomber, Railway Mail Association: I would like to amend the committee's report by adding the following:

**BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED**, That we oppose any effort on the part of the Civil Service Reform League or any other organization that will disrupt the principles of the Civil Service by perpetuating in office any official who has not received his promotion in accordance with the rules of Civil Service, but through political affiliation. (Amendment seconded.)

Delegate Macomber spoke briefly in support of his amendment.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers, requested some explanation from the committee as to the reason for their amending the resolution.

In answering the request Delegate Frey, secretary of the committee, said in part:

"Those who signed the resolution appeared before the committee, and an effort was made to understand just exactly what was meant by those who used the language which is contained in the resolution. The committee was unable to learn exactly how that language might be construed by others and in the language which it used the committee endeavored to make possible not only that which is desired—promotion from the ranks—but that when these promotions take place other elements, other factors besides seniority would influence promotion, so that if a man was temperamentally disqualified from acting as a supervisor or director over labor, seniority alone would not govern when he was unfitted.

"The question of fitness also means this: That the man is qualified tech-

nically, qualified because of his knowledge of the work to be done in a department; that is also an element that should enter into promotion to higher positions in the Civil Service, because a man entitled to promotion based on the rule of seniority alone might be wholly unqualified, because of his lack of practical knowledge, to secure that promotion. What the committee endeavored to do was to make more definite and to clarify the purpose of those who drafted the original resolution."

Delegate Steward, Federal Employees, opposed the amendment and favored the report of the committee, as did also Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers.

Delegate Frey spoke briefly in opposition to the amendment, first of all because the Federal employees who introduced the original resolution did not favor the amendment, as expressed by two of their number, Delegates Steward and Gainor, and, secondly, because the matter had been given a thorough hearing and the committee had agreed upon the language as contained in their report so that there could be no question whatever in regard to its meaning.

The amendment offered by Delegate Macomber was defeated, and the report of the committee was adopted as read.

President Gompers in the chair.

Delegate Fitzgerald, Railway Clerks: I rise to a question of personal privilege at this time, without wishing to interrupt the report of the committee. I want to contradict a statement made in an editorial paragraph of the Chicago Tribune this morning, Tuesday, June 20, wherein it is said that the Chief Executive of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks says that that class of railroad men, namely, the railway clerks, steamship clerks, freight handlers and express employees, will not be allowed to strike. I want every delegate in this room and I want every newspaper man in this room this afternoon to understand without question that the strike ballots for every railroad in the United States are signed with my signature and lying on my desk here in Cincinnati, and I want that lie branded in this convention; I want the record to show that we are trying to represent men and women who won't go along with such decisions as have been promulgated by the United States Railway Labor Board.

Delegate Frey continued the report of the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

### Postal Savings Banks

Upon that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption, "Postal Savings Banks," your committee, in addition to recommending its approval, further recommends that the Executive Council give its assistance to all measures introduced in Congress which will in any manner make the Postal Savings Banks of greater service and value to the people.

In connection with this portion of the report your committee considered Resolution No. 26, which was acted upon by the convention on the seventh day, when considering the report of the Committee on Legislation. The committee prepared this report, not knowing that the convention had already acted favorably upon Resolution No. 26, and inasmuch as our recommendation upon the Executive Council's Report under the caption, "Postal Savings Banks," covers the substance of Resolution No. 26, we recommend no separate action upon it.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Delegate Duncan, chairman of the committee, announced that this practically completed the report of the Committee on Resolutions, with the possible exception of several others that would be reported upon toward the close of the convention.

Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers: I desire to move that the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report be heard as a special order of business on Thursday morning, June 22, at 10 o'clock. (Motion seconded and carried.)

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Stillman, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

#### Investigation of Wage Theories

Upon that portion of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption your committee regrets that lack of funds has so seriously handicapped the investigation of wage theories, and commends the work which has been done despite that handicap. A sound basis for the determination of wages is fundamental not only to labor, but to society as a whole. In the earnest hope that nothing will be permitted to cripple the necessary research, the committee recommends that the Executive Council, through the President, be instructed to continue the investiga-

tion and to release from time to time such findings as may be determined.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Information and Publicity

The committee considered together the material on Information and Publicity in the Executive Council's Report, under the subheads, "American Federationist," "Weekly News Letter," "Legislative Committee's Report," "Speakers' Bureau," "Information and Publicity Service," "History," "Encyclopedia," "Reference Book and Index," "American Federationist Index," "Material for Debates," and the "Labor Press." The extension and the increased effectiveness of the work in this field evidenced in the Executive Council's Report is to be commended. The committee has noted with gratification the increasing influence of the official organ of the American Federation of Labor as shown by the growing tendency toward quotation and editorial comment on the part of the daily and periodical press. The American Federation of Labor Weekly News Service, the wider distribution of the monthly reports of the Legislative Committee; the establishment of the Information and Publicity Service, the supplying on a large scale of data and literature for debates, the supplementing of the American Federation of Labor History, Encyclopedia and Reference Book to bring it up to date, the preparation of an analytical index of the American Federationist to enhance its usefulness, the endorsement of the Labor Press as "sentinels on guard throughout the country for the cause of mankind," are all to be heartily commended. The most discouraging financial obstacles have not destroyed the usefulness of the old agencies, or prevented first steps in the establishment of new. But we should be careful to consider these first steps only as beginnings, and should realize that in so vital a matter as the Speakers' Bureau not even a beginning could be made.

The labor movement has always suffered, and is now suffering grievously, from the lack of research facilities, and of an adequate information gathering and disseminating agency. Particularly in the period through which we are now passing, the American Federation of Labor must have an effective agency to secure facts and to impart those facts to the public.

In response to the earnest appeal of the Executive Council that "the convention take such action as will make



it possible to place the American Federation of Labor Information and Publicity Service on a stable, permanent basis," and in response to its own sense of the imperative need for immediate action, your committee makes the following recommendations:

First, that the convention provide adequate funds for the maintenance and development of the American Federation of Labor Information and Publicity Service, through authorizing the Executive Council to levy an assessment of one-half cent per capita, when in its judgment conditions make it feasible, and in the meantime through a vigorous campaign for voluntary contributions.

Second, that because of the danger of duplication and waste in a multiplicity of unco-ordinated efforts, all publicity activities be unified in one department under the direction of the President of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Establishment of Newspapers** (Executive Council's Report)

Your committee is in agreement with the results of the investigation of the Executive Council into the practicability of the establishment by the American Federation of Labor of a paper or chain of papers. Sound business judgment dictates the opinion "that a daily newspaper or a chain of daily newspapers for the labor movement must come as the result of evolutionary growth, and that it is not a venture upon which to embark at this time." The investigation showed, however, that the publication of a weekly newspaper might be feasible at a not distant date, and the committee concurs in the recommendation that the convention authorize the Executive Council to make such arrangement as it may find practical for the publication of a weekly newspaper at such time as its success will be reasonably assured, and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Education**

##### **(Executive Council's Report)**

Your committee considered the report of the permanent Committee on Education under four subheads which will be taken up in order. But at the outset your committee desires to express its keen sense of the importance of the work of the permanent Committee on

Education, and to concur in the recommendation of the Executive Council that it be continued.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Investigation of Text Books**

The committee is exceedingly glad to report the completion of the survey of text books and social studies under the direction of the permanent Committee on Education and the Executive Council by O. S. Beyer, Jr. This significant piece of work is now in the hands of that committee. Its scope is indicated by the title, "Social Studies in the Public Schools."

The report is divided into six sections and a supplement, as follows:

##### **Part I—Influences at Work in Public Education:**

1. The Threat to Public Education.
2. Who is Responsible?
3. Safeguards and Remedies.

##### **Part II—Nature and Extent of Instruction in Social Studies:**

1. Importance of the Social Studies.
2. Content of the Course.
3. Extent to Which They are Being Taught.

##### **Part III—Survey of Social Science Text Books:**

1. The Importance of the Text Books.
2. Growth of the Social Studies.
3. Nature of the Tests Applied to the Text Books.
4. Summary of the Findings.
5. Chief Criticisms of Text Books.
6. Text Books in Use.
7. The Selection of Text Books.
8. Subjects of Investigation Outside of Classroom.
9. Topics Discussed in Current Events.
10. The Inclusion of the Labor Movement in Courses of Study.

##### **Part IV—Conclusions.**

##### **Part V—Recommendations:**

1. With Regard to This Report.
2. With Regard to Future Action.

##### **Part VI—Appendices:**

- A. The Number of Schools Using Each Specified Text in Civics.
- B. The Number of Schools Using Each Specified Text in Economics.
- C. The Number of Schools Using Each Specified Text in Sociology.
- D. Observation, Investigation, etc., Carried on Outside the School for Economics Course by Number of Schools.

- E. Observations, Investigations, etc., Carried on Outside of School for Civics Course by Number of Schools.
- F. Typical Subjects Discussed in Current Events by Number of Schools.

Supplementing —Evaluating of Specific Text Books in History, Civics, Economics and Sociology:

1. Type of Book.
2. General Consideration.
3. Specific Considerations.
4. Detail Evaluation of Text Books—
  - a. Civics.
  - b. History.
  - c. Economics.
  - d. Sociology.

Part I of the report reveals that a serious threat is menacing our public education system, which, however, is not working itself out so much against the means of education, such as the courses of study and the text books used, as against the human part of our educational system, namely, the great body of teachers. Responsibility for this threat devolves mainly upon a group of extra-educational associations, such as the National Association of Manufacturers, National Industrial Conference Board, "America First" Publicity Association, and others. Their influence, however, is being partially counteracted by public-spirited, progressive educational organizations. Safeguards and remedies are at the disposal of the organized labor movement individually and in co-operation with the progressive educational associations to reform the situation. This section concludes with a description of the many organizations active in the field of public education endeavoring to exert an influence upon it.

Part II brings out the true significance of the social studies in relation to the history, achievements, aims and ideals of the labor movement. It emphasizes, based upon scientific data, the place of the labor movement in the social sciences. Its great significance in modern society is thus clearly established. The opinions and judgments of our most eminent progressive educators are cited in support of these findings, having been secured by special inquiry. This section also reveals that the extent to which these studies which properly deal with the labor movement are being taught is entirely inadequate. Progress, however, has been made in recent years in the extension of the social sciences in our public schools. Nevertheless, very much still must be done. In fact, the whole public educa-

tional system, if the ideals of humanity as expressed by the labor movement are to receive adequate consideration in public education, will require reconstruction around the social studies.

Part III deals with the importance of the text book in teaching the social studies. It describes the basis upon which the tests were formulated by means of which the text books covered in this report were evaluated. The summary of these evaluations are then presented, together with a resume of the chief criticisms of the texts scrutinized. In all, 123 text books—47 histories, 47 civics, 25 economics, and 4 sociologies—were evaluated. The tests bring out that one-half of the books (55 per cent) are of the newer type, dealing with the broader aspects of government and the social and industrial life of the people, rather than with forms of organization, military events and abstract theories. Still, a larger proportion (60 per cent) recognized to a greater or less degree the power for growth in our institutions; are dynamic, rather than static in their methods of treatment. In dealing with questions of particular interest to labor there is a great divergence in concept as well as in method of treatment. The older formal texts either omit these subjects entirely or treat them so unsatisfactorily that for all practical purposes they might just as well be omitted. Some of the more modern ones deal with them briefly and perfunctorily, but on the whole the newer type of text does attempt to give the labor movement in the problem of industry adequate and just consideration. Failure to do so is apparently due to ignorance of the author or to a hesitancy to deal with this difficult subject, rather than to a deliberate attempt to keep the facts of industry out of the schools. Although numerous cases of error, misleading statements, misplaced emphasis, discrimination against unions, and use of obsolete material, may be pointed out, the survey finds no evidence that text books are being used for propaganda purposes. The publishers, the report considers, are undoubtedly deserving of a great deal of credit for keeping school-books free from propaganda, and to this spirit of fair-play and desire for truth it considers that the organized labor movement may look for help in the correction of erroneous, misleading or unfair statements which mar the pages of otherwise excellent texts.

Concerning the text books in use, the report points out that not only is an increasing supply of the better books

becoming available, but there is also a steadily increasing demand for them. The investigation made also reveals the fact that, especially in civics and history, the modern or more approved text is being used to a larger extent than the less satisfactory. Subjects discussed or investigated in supplementary courses of study such as Current Events, the report indicates, pay a great deal of attention to problems and matters of special interest to labor.

The report closes with a valuable summary of conclusions and with specific recommendations. Your committee recommends that the convention authorize the permanent Committee on Education and the Executive Council to make such use of the report, and to take such action, as in their judgment will most effectively contribute to educational progress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Declarations on Education (Executive Council's Report)**

In accordance with instructions of previous conventions, the permanent Committee on Education prepared a compilation of the official declarations of the labor movement upon education, "in order to make easily available labor's position on education, and to add to the effectiveness of labor's contribution to educational progress." That compilation has been issued as a pamphlet entitled, "Education for All," and will be revised to include declarations of this convention. Your committee heartily commends the pamphlet to the attention of the Committees on Education of all State and local central bodies, and to educators and public-spirited citizens.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lennon, Journeymen Tailors, in discussing the question, said, in part: My observation has taught me, during the last two years, living in the Western part of the United States and watching as well I have been able, the conditions that prevail among the workers, as well as those that cover the schools and colleges, that the one thing that fathers and mothers can do to extend to their children the best possible opportunities when they become men and women is to see that they have a practical education. I have found, wherever I have approached public school men, professors that have charge of a certain number of classes and the teachers as well, that they are not generally

unfriendly to the kind of education that we want added to that which now exists. I am sure, because I am quite well acquainted in a number of smaller colleges of Illinois and surrounding States, that very little difficulty will be found in getting the kind of books we want and the kind of teaching we want if we will only show an interest in our own children. I believe this document is well put together and that it can and will mean further progress, and that we may secure for our children the very best possible education they can have.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Commission on Correlation of Secondary and Collegiate Education**

The committee believes that the co-operation of the American Federation of Labor with other progressive organizations in educational and civic matters represents sound policy and should be encouraged. The committee is particularly glad to endorse the co-operation recorded under the above caption on pages 66 and 67 of the Executive Council's Report. Special attention is called to the facts there given showing the lamentable inadequacy of the preparation for social living which the schools now afford the great mass of our prospective citizens. Since we have treated the importance of social studies at some length in connection with the survey on that subject, no additional comment will be made here.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### **Workers' Education (Executive Council's Report)**

With the vast increase in the size and power of organized labor, the education of the adult workers has become one of the fundamental demands of the labor movement. Constant progress is achieved through the increasing intelligence of the rank and file of the membership. The worker must know the relation of the industry in which he works, not only to the labor movement, but also to the structure of our modern society. He must be conscious of the spiritual forces which direct and shape the course of the labor movement and inspire the willingness to stand by the movement. Workers' education is the very basis of a permanent and responsible workers' organization; it must be co-ordinated with the labor movement and therefore should be regarded as an integral part of the trade union itself.

To develop this sense of relationship on the part of the individual worker and quicken this feeling of responsibility on the part of the trade union, is part of the function of adult workers' education.

In addition, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the character of American democracy depends upon the wisdom and understanding of the adult citizens, and that adult education is not to be regarded as a privilege for a few, nor the concern for a short period of early manhood and womanhood, but is an indispensable part of democratic citizenship and should be universal and lifelong. Adult workers' education gives emphatic support to this principle of democratic government. Indeed, as President Gompers has said, "It may very well be that organized labor, which took such an active part in the establishment of popular education in the United States, will now take the lead in another movement of vital significance to the cultural development of this country."

During the past year the Educational Committee of the American Federation of Labor, with the sanction and approval of the Executive Council, entered into a co-operative relationship with the Workers' Education Bureau of America for the promotion of workers' education in the trade union movement in this country. The value of that co-operation was undoubted, but it was felt that closer unity should exist in order to give greater strength and added support to this movement. Accordingly, negotiations were entered into looking to closer affiliation. While these negotiations are still pending, it is confidently expected that within a short

period of time the arrangements will be completed whereby this vital service can be placed at the disposal of the American labor movement as an organic part of it.

Your committee recommends that this Forty-second Annual Convention commend the Executive Council and the permanent Educational Committee for the progress of the negotiations with the Workers' Education Bureau of America, and instruct them to continue those negotiations in the interests of the promotion of a comprehensive scheme of adult workers' education. Your committee further recommends that this convention again urge upon all International and National Unions, all State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions the appointment of Educational Committees, one of the fundamental functions of these committees to be the furthering of such a program of adult workers' education.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Gompers: The Chair desires to announce that tomorrow, June 21, has been set aside, not exclusively, for the discussion of decisions rendered by the courts in reference to the normal activities of the organized workers of America. It is hardly probable that the Special Committee will have concluded its consideration of the various subjects before it at that time. However, we will meet tomorrow morning, and when that special order is reached we can then determine our course.

At 5:30 o'clock the convention was adjourned to 9:30 Wednesday morning, June 21.

## NINTH DAY—Wednesday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 21, 1922.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, Vice-President Green in the chair.

### Absentees

Mountford, Kelleher, Desepte, Coulter, Rosemond, Laibly, Kirby, Kennedy, Farrow, J. T. Carey, Parker, Bergstrom, Hutchins, La Belle, Blasey, Canterbury, Doane, Koester, Howat, Ely, Fenton, Fox, Troutman, Lorntsen, Cleudening, Hushing, Legassie, Lehman, Thornbrough, Winans, J. C. Taylor, Lochray, Robert Marshall, Ogg, O'Dell, Brown, Kerns, Argo, Bennett, Downes, Sims, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorhus, Nickolaus, Frampton, Birthright, Simmons, Meloon, Dunn, Bower, McAndrews, Wrenn, Whitcomb, Dechend, Holloway, Wm. E. Colman, Boulware, A. E. Allen, Harte, Hixson, Sandy Colman, McCoy, White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, Stewart, Milton, Fizer, Flynn, Latimore, Rincker, F. Ely, Wulff, Feinstein.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Harry Cook, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 21, 1922.

Your Committee on Credentials has the following supplemental report to submit:

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Edward J. Evans.

West Virginia Federation of Labor, Fred Mooney, 1 vote.

Trades and Labor Council, Nashville, Tenn., James P. Ogletree, to take the place of W. C. Birthright.

We recommend that the delegates be seated in the convention.

Yours fraternally,

THOS. F. FLAHERTY,

Chairman,

PETER McKILLOP,

HARRY H. COOK, Secretary,  
Committee on Credentials.

The report of the committee was adopted and the delegates seated.

A telegram from the Texas Allied Printing Trades Council, urging the holding of the 1923 convention in Houston, Texas, was received.

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

Delegate Stillman, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

#### American Federation of Labor Bureau of Co-operative Societies (Executive Council's Report)

Your committee commends to the delegates a careful reading of the report of the Bureau of Co-operative Societies. Substantial progress has been made. Through education and the efforts of the workers, the genuine co-operative movement should ultimately function as effectively in American life as it does in many other countries. The committee feels that emphasis should still be placed on consumers' co-operation under the Rochdale plan, and that it is not yet the time for the American Federation of Labor to make detailed recommendations concerning the methods of producers' co-operation. The committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council that this bureau be continued as a permanent committee under the direction of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Monthly Labor Review

##### (Executive Council's Report)

Your committee calls the attention of the convention to the threat against the usefulness of the Department of Labor contained in the provision in the Sundry Civil Appropriations Bill to abolish all publications of Government departments after December 1, unless specifically continued by Congress. H. B. 9726, introduced by Mr. Johnson, of Washington, carries the additional threat of a strict censorship. The committee recommends that the Executive Council vigorously continue its so far successful efforts to defeat these measures.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Farmers' Co-operative Marketing Law

##### (Executive Council's Report)

The committee commends the Executive Council for its effective assistance in securing the passage of the Farmers'

Co-operative Marketing Law authorizing farmers to organize for collective marketing with immunity from prosecution under the Sherman Act.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### American Legion

##### (Executive Council's Report)

Your committee has read with pleasure the report of the Executive Council, pages 137 and 138, concerning the friendly relationship between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion, and noted with gratification the harmonious co-operation on such legislative measures as the Coolie Bill and the Sales Tax, and the recognition afforded President George Berry by the Legion in his election as a Vice-Commander. Surely these two great American organizations, having so large a membership in common, should be friendly forces, co-operating for the enrichment of the common life, and the development of a high quality of enlightened citizenship, characterized by breadth of view, public spirit and tolerance. The committee shares the belief "that there should be conferences from time to time between the organizations of labor and the American Legion in every city in which there are Legion posts established, for the purpose of removing any misunderstandings that might arise." Where the policies of the two organizations are at variance, as is the case in certain important aspects of the educational field, such conferences, local and national, may bring adjustment through better mutual understanding.

The convention has unmistakably expressed its appreciation of the sympathetic understanding which inspired Commander MacNider's address to this convention. In the interest of the further cementing of friendly relationship, the committee recommends that the convention authorize and direct President Gompers to attend the next convention of the American Legion in New Orleans next October.

The report of the committee was adopted.

#### Motion Pictures—Censorship over Motion Pictures, the Stake and the Press

##### (Executive Council's Report)

#### Motion Pictures

##### (Executive Council's Report)

Your committee concurs in the judgment of the Executive Council after thorough investigation that the produc-

tion of motion picture films "is not a field of activity into which the American Federation of Labor can enter profitably either from a financial or practical viewpoint," and that the establishment of a chain of motion picture theaters by international and local unions would likewise be impracticable at this time.

The Executive Council is to be commended for its strong restatement of labor's uncompromising position against censorship. Censorship in any field of expression constitutes an insidious threat to freedom of expression through all mediums. Recognition of this common and grave danger has impelled the Author's League of America, the Actors' Equity Society, the American Dramatists, the Screen Writers' Guild, the Stage Mechanics' and Motion Pictures Union, the Cinema Camera Club, the Motion Picture Directors' Association, the American Federation of Musicians and the International Printing Trades Unions to co-operate on a program to "inculcate in all those persons engaged in the production and promotion of pictures, plays and writings a higher ethical standard; to bring into a closer and more harmonious relationship all branches of the professions and trades having to do with the expression and communication of the thoughts, activities and relations of man, and to oppose all forms of political and bureaucratic censorship boards and commissions as an unwarranted and extremely dangerous infringement upon the freedom of expression and freedom of the press."

The committee recommends that the convention endorse this voluntary and constructive co-operative program.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Old-Age Pensions

##### (Executive Council's Report)

The committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council with regard to the revival of the Old-Age Pension System advocated by the Toronto convention (The Old-Age Home Guard Measure). Since the whole question of constitutional checks on progressive legislation is one of the main issues to which the labor movement must devote itself, it may be deemed advisable to concentrate on the removal of such checks.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Labor Day, Labor's Sunday and Labor's Memorial Day

#### (Executive Council's Report)

The committee concurs in the recommendation of the Executive Council that in accordance with the action of the 1907 convention, the fourth Sunday in May be observed as Labor's Memorial Day through "appropriate ceremonies in tribute to the memory of those whose lives have been given to the struggle for progress and freedom." The committee also joins with the Executive Council in urging organized labor everywhere to make effective use of Labor Day and Labor Sunday, especially in view of the situation now confronting labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, William P. Hohmann, Charles W. Redfern and Mark B. Green, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks; B. E. Thompson, C. M. Harvey and J. P. Cleland, of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, For a number of years the American Federation of Labor has affiliated postal organizations to bring relief to the thousands of postal workers who are employed at night; and,

WHEREAS, It is heartening to note that at least the U. S. Senate has appreciated the importance of this question of postal night work by authorizing an investigation of it by the postoffice committee of the Senate, with a view of recommending appropriate legislative action; and,

WHEREAS, It is the view of the representatives of the affiliated postal workers that this legislative relief should take the form of shorter working hours, as the most satisfactory offset for night work hardship; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its previous declarations in favor of a time differential of fifteen minutes in every hour between 6:00 p. m. and 6:00 a. m. for postal workers and instruct the Executive Council to continue its helpful co-operation to have enacted by the Congress as speedily as possible the necessary remedial legislation reducing the night working hours for postal employes.

The committee concurs in Resolution

No. 58 and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates Chester M. Harvey, B. E. Thompson and J. P. Cleland, of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, The Postoffice Department is and has been operating under a deficit; and,

WHEREAS, Any material reduction in rates of postage at the present time will seriously curtail the revenues of the Government at a time when the country is called upon to exercise the most rigid economy in order to meet the necessary financial demands upon the Treasury; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, go on record as opposed to any material reduction of postal rates; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of the convention that a thorough investigation of the prevailing parcel post rates should be conducted by the Postoffice Department for the purpose of determining a fair and reasonable rate of postage, commensurate with the cost of the service.

The committee is unwilling, in advance of investigation, to assume any inflexible position regarding postal rates in general, but since it recognizes the need for an investigation, particularly of parcel post rates, it recommends as a substitute for Resolution No. 66 that the convention instruct the Executive Council to endeavor to secure a Congressional investigation of parcel post rates for the purpose of determining a fair and reasonable rate of postage, commensurate with the cost of service.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 75 by inserting the words "which is said to be" after the word "action" in the sixth line of the last "resolve." The amended resolution reads:

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates Matthew Woll, Benjamin Schlessinger and James Doherty of Boston Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, It has been stated in the public press that Harvard College contemplates placing a restriction upon ad-

mission based on religious and racial grounds, which would lend strength to the all too prevalent forces of racial and religious bigotry, and especially to anti-Semitism; and,

WHEREAS, Harvard College, by reason both of its recognition in the constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and of its own repented self-dedication to the better understanding and humanistic interpretation of large public problems, is affected with a public interest; and,

WHEREAS, Organized labor has constantly condemned any sanction of racial or religious discrimination because of its tendency to undermine the solidarity of labor, and hence of the nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor expresses its unqualified disapproval of any departure from true liberal tradition, and condemns as utterly un-American any policy which may deny to any racial or religious groups equal opportunities for education and advancement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby authorized and directed to investigate or cause to be investigated the alleged discriminatory action which is said to be contemplated by Harvard University, and if found to be true, that the Executive Council take such action as it may deem feasible to remove the discrimination contemplated and assure to all, regardless of race and religious affiliation, equal opportunities.

The committee concurs in the resolution as amended and recommends its adoption by the convention.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 78—By Delegates Benjamin Schlessinger, Louis Langer, Max Amdur, Luigi Antonini, Harry Greenberg and Louis Pinkofsky, of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union:

WHEREAS, The work for labor adult education is proving to be a factor of importance in developing the intellect of an ever-increasing number of men and women in our labor unions; and,

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at former conventions has gone on record as approving this move-

ment for labor education and has made special investigation into its scope and possibilities of development; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor give its further and full sanction to the workers' educational campaign carried on now by a number of international unions and central bodies of the American Federation of Labor and urge upon all other affiliated unions the need of labor education and to organize wherever possible throughout the country labor courses and labor colleges under trade union auspices.

The committee concurs in Resolution No. 78 and recommends its adoption by the convention.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Harry Greenberg, Ladies' Garment Workers, spoke briefly in support of the resolution and stated that the International Ladies' Garment Workers was one of the first organizations to enter into a campaign for education of adults. He stated that their organization had spent thousands of dollars in its educational work, and expressed the hope that the message contained in the resolution and the committee's report would be carried back by every delegate.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Gompers in the chair.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates Matthew Woll, B. E. Woodmansee, Thomas F. McMahon, B. F. Brown, E. F. Dunn, Ben I. Davis, Jere L. Sullivan, Harry Dechend, Claude O. Taylor, William Tracy, C. L. Baine, A. Greenstein and E. S. Mahan:

WHEREAS, There is in existence an organization styled "The Federated Press," claiming to furnish news to labor publications, which, it is alleged by reputable labor editors, persistently pursues a policy of attacking and undermining the trade union movement and which, reputable editors maintain, is consistently canvassing the labor movement for funds with which to continue its work of spreading misinformation and distrust of our movement and its policies and which, it is alleged, has



raised \$50,000 by sale of bonds to labor unions and individuals and from many not connected with the labor movement; and,

WHEREAS, It is of utmost importance to our movement and to the bona fide labor press to know where this money comes from and where it goes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized and instructed to make or cause to be made a searching and immediate investigation of the Federated Press and its financial and editorial methods and purposes and to communicate its findings to all branches and groups of the labor movement.

As a substitute for Resolution No. 82, the committee recommends that the Executive Council be authorized to have an investigation made of the reportorial and news policy of the Federated Press, with the purpose of reporting to the movement its findings regarding the accuracy and fairness of the Federated Press in its presentation of labor news.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Lynam, Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly, took the position that the matter had no place in the convention, since the American Federation of Labor had done nothing to assist the Federated Press and had never endorsed it. In making his statement Delegate Lynam took occasion to criticize the official journals of national and international organizations, as well as officials of these organizations and of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Woll, chairman of the committee, in discussing the matter, said in part: The committee recommends that an investigation be made of the reportorial and news policies of the Federated Press, as to its accuracy and fairness, and to report its findings to the labor movement in general.

It has been stated that it is none of the affairs of the American Federation of Labor to inquire into the policies of the Federated Press, in so far as its reportorial and news policies are concerned. As a matter of fact, the Federated Press is supported by its solicitation and financial support of the trade union movement and pretends to represent the expressions, the hopes and the attitudes of the American trade union movement. That being the presumption upon which it is organized, we feel that it is a perfectly rightful function of the American Federation of Labor to investigate whether its pretensions and its professions are accurate or not.

The committee's report merely contemplates an investigation of the reportorial and news policies, and it strikes me that if I were interested in the Federated Press I would welcome a resolution or a report of the kind, rather than criticize or find fault with it.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists, stated that his organization owned some of the Federated Press bonds and that they were therefore very much interested in the subject matter. He expressed the hope that when the investigation was made, representatives of organizations which had financial interests in the Federated Press be included in the investigating committee.

Chairman Woll stated that the committee's report merely provided that the Executive Council make an investigation, leaving the personnel of the Investigating Committee entirely to the Executive Council.

Delegate Sillinsky, Tailors, repeated the hope expressed by Delegate Johnston, of the Machinists, that the Investigating Committee be made up of men who had financial interests in the Federated Press.

During his discussion Delegate Sillinsky made statements to the effect that among the signers of Resolution No. 82 were those who were contributors to the capitalistic press, receiving pay for their contributions. He was reminded by President Gompers that a personal attack upon any individual, officer or member of the trade union movement would not be tolerated in the convention, and that if the delegate had a grievance against any person it should be presented to the convention in the proper form, and not by innuendo or indirect charges.

Delegate Baine, Boot and Shoe Workers, and Delegate Greenstein, Jewelry Workers, took exception in a most emphatic manner to the insinuations made by certain of the delegates who spoke in defense of the Federated Press.

Delegate Grow, Machinists, favored the selection of an impartial committee, preferably by the convention itself, to make the investigation called for in the report of the committee. Delegate Baine made the point that since the Federated Press attempts to speak for labor and derives the major part of its financial support from appeals made to the bona fide labor movement, it was not only the right, but the duty, of the American Federation of Labor to make an investigation of its policies.

Replying to a question put by Delegate McGovern as to whether the report of the committee did not constitute

ensorship of the press, Delegate Woll stated that it did not.

Upon motion, debate was closed.

The report of the committee was adopted by a very large majority.

The report of the committee was deferred at this time to give opportunity for the presentation of souvenirs to the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. Handsomely engraved gold watches and chains, bearing the names of the delegates, their official positions and the date of presentation, were presented to Mr. Herbert Smith and Mr. Edward L. Poulton, of the British Trades Union Congress, and to Mr. Ernest Robinson, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

In presenting the gifts, President Gompers said, in part: The American Federation of Labor always greets our visiting fraternal delegates from the labor movement of the countries from which they come with a fervor founded in the recognition that our economic interests run on parallel lines; that our view and vision of the social justice to which the human heart and human mind are aspiring, the attainment of the high ideals and the highest developed movement of the toiling masses of the world, whether we are associated in action or find that our minds lie in the same direction, run pretty much the same.

So you are welcome in our convention and in our country and on our continent. We know that in Great Britain and in many of the other European countries the men of labor have taken their position in defense of the rights of the masses, whether organized or unorganized; we know of the great struggles through which the British people passed in making the way for freedom and democracy and we know the sacrifices which have been made in that great course. The British trade unions are the legal heirs of the great men who have gone before; that newer concept among the British people and the British Government that is recognized the world over. The time when Britain was regarded as the perfidious Albion—thanks to the democratic movement of organized labor in Great Britain—has been changed until there is a willingness to do right by all of the peoples of the world.

As the representatives of that great movement, your fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress are thrice welcome among us.

Mr. Herbert Smith, in acknowledging the gift presented to him, said that he

had been impressed during the proceedings of the convention with the similarity of the problems affecting labor in Great Britain and in the United States. The discussion on the question of child labor, on the decisions of the Supreme Court, on co-operative societies, on workmen's compensation, on unemployment, and others were all very much alike in both countries, he said, and he had been vitally interested in the American method of meeting these problems.

In closing he expressed his sincere appreciation of the gift and stated that it would be handed down to his sons as a cherished remembrance.

Similar sentiments were expressed by his co-delegate, Mr. Edward L. Poulton, who took occasion also to express the hope that the labor movements of the various countries of the world would unite in a movement for universal peace, or a movement to prevent wars in the future.

Mr. Robinson, in acknowledging his gift, related an incident of his earlier days concerning the education which was given him by his father, and in this connection said:

"We have accomplished great things since those days; we haven't so many children going to work at the tender age of 7 and 8 years, but we have a menacing amount of child labor, as was told us the other day by the speakers on this platform, and while ever we have a boy or girl going to work at a tender age to help eke out an existence for the family, the work of this convention and the movement which it represents will not have been accomplished."

President Gompers: I am going to ask the indulgence of this convention to have a man talk to us for a few minutes, and at the conclusion of his remarks I am sure you will feel gratification and pleasure at having heard the gentleman. I have reference to Mr. Wood F. Axton, of Louisville, Kentucky, an employer.

#### ADDRESS OF MR. WOOD F. AXTON

Delegates to the Convention, Ladies and Gentlemen: To be asked to speak to this convention is an honor that comes to but few employers of labor. The other day I received a letter from one of our paid secretaries; he is the secretary, I believe, of the League for Industrial Rights—so-called. I suppose that he is getting a reasonably fair salary, and he is one of the real labor agitators between labor and capital, and I am going to ask your indulgence to read his letter to me and my reply to him. I will not take up very much more

of your time, because this letter is along the lines of the propoganda that is being sent out over the country, and I am going to make it public.

This letter was addressed to my firm, for the attention of its President:

**"LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL RIGHTS**

"42 Broadway, New York

Axton-Fisher Tobacco Co., Louisville, Ky.:

"Gentleman:

"Attention of the President

"Mr. S. C. Markley, president of the Comas Cigarette Machine Company, of Salem, Va., a member of the League, suggests that you should be interested in our work.

"The inclosed booklet outlines the objects and accomplishments of the League for Industrial Rights, during twenty years of its existence. I know you will find it of interest and recognize that the protection which American industry enjoys today is largely due to the work of this organization.

"The plan of organized labor to wipe out legal and constitutional obstacles and to force the closed shop upon the country has been frustrated by our opposition to radical legislation and by the court decisions obtained by us for our members at our expense.

"Our work has been carried on by a comparatively small number of employers scattered throughout the country, who are actuated by a public-spirited desire to sustain the law and the Constitution against those who defy them and would make them impotent for the protection of rights in industrial disputes. This upholding of the law and the Constitution has made this a country of industrial freedom, where the open shop is grounded on legal and legislative foundation.

"Our members believe that this work which they have maintained for the benefit of all makes every employer a debtor to the League and they feel that you should now join with them and share in the expenses of its activities in order that its work may be effectually perpetuated.

"The renewed effort of organized labor to obtain immunity and nullify the results of our work makes further support essential.

"Will you not help? An application blank is enclosed and the cost of membership is small.

"Faithfully yours,

"LAWRENCE F. SHERMAN,  
"Executive Secretary."

"LFS—F—

"Enc. herewith:

"Aims and accomplishments."

"AXTON-FISHER TOBACCO CO.  
"Incorporated

"Louisville, Ky., June 17, 1922.

"Lawrence F. Sherman, Executive Secretary, League for Industrial Rights, 42 Broadway, New York, N. Y.:

"Dear Sir:

"Your favor of the 2nd inst., handed me on my return to the city with the inclosed booklet outlining the objects and accomplishments of the League for Industrial Rights during twenty years of its existence. Your letter is indeed interesting.

"In the third paragraph of your letter you say:

"The plan of organized labor to wipe out legal and constitutional obstacles and to force the closed shop upon the country has been frustrated by our opposition to radical legislation and by the court decisions obtained by us for our members at our expense."

"This paragraph is indeed astounding, especially the declaration that decisions of the court have been obtained by you at your expense. Did it ever occur to you that the tampering with the decision of the court is the real incubator in this country of the wildest kind of radicalism?

"We have here in our own city a few small-minded men who have gone to seed on the subject of labor, who devote the greater part of their time in stirring up discontent between honest employers and honest labor, and they have their secretary, who thinks he is the hero of the industries by misrepresenting the facts regarding Organized Labor, and as you say, frustrating legislation offered in favor of humanity in general.

"We hardly believe that any of our courts here have been corrupted by the men of this ilk and we would deplore the day when such a thing would happen. I am very gratified indeed to have you say that your work is being carried on by a very small number of employers scattered throughout the country, because I am glad that very few men of this country want to engage in corrupting our courts of justice.

"I have a great deal of faith in the great number of employers who are engaged in business that are making headway by keeping on friendly terms with their employees and have not joined that class of busybodies who have but little ability to conduct their own business, but who would tell other men how to conduct their business.

"I do not believe that any honest employer would feel himself a debtor of your league, if your league stands for what your letter indicates it stands for.

"We have done some business with the Comas Machine Company and we do not know of anything in that transaction that would cause Mr. Markley to believe that we would want to joint a league such as you represent your league to be.

"We feel that the best thing for this country is for our legislators to be unbribed, for our courts to be uncorrupted, and that employers understand better the needs of their co-workers and to stop as far as possible the discontent that is coming out of such organizations as you represent.

"We at least do not feel under any obligation to you or your kind and certainly will not be a contributor to the league.

"Very respectfully,  
"WOOD F. AXTON,  
"President."

Now, my friends, all of you people have a great deal to accomplish for the men you represent, far above any selfish purpose that you may have. Every man's interests ought to be the interests of the people who have delegated him here. You have plenty of fights on hand now.

No longer ago than yesterday I had a man to call on me on account of this letter, trying to persuade me that I was wrong; that I ought to join with them, and if they were wrong to correct them. I am not trying to handle a cyclone with a windmill, and I told them that we had to take a stand somewhere in this life, and that my stand was on the side of organized labor.

I know that organized labor has made some mistakes; I know that many local unions and many men engaged in the organized labor movement make mistakes, and I know that I make mistakes in my own business; I know, too, that every other man makes mistakes in his business. All societies, and even churches, sometimes, have men who don't live just according to the rules. So I am on the side of the man that

is fighting for humanity in general, and I believe that the American Federation of Labor has done more for humanity since its beginning than any other force in the world.

For that reason it gives me great pleasure to be allowed to address this convention. I thank you for the privilege.

Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers: I move that the remarks of Mr. Axton be incorporated in full in the proceedings of this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

President Gompers: I think you will agree with me that in availing myself of your confidence to have the courtesy of addressing the convention extended to Mr. Axton it was a contribution worth while.

Delegate Woll, Photo Engravers: In behalf of the Special Committee having to do with the decisions of the United States Supreme Court and the legislative attacks being made upon the trade union movement, I wish to announce that the committee will be ready to make a partial report at 2:30 o'clock today and to move that that report be heard as a special order of business at that hour. (Motion seconded and carried.)

Delegate Stillman, secretary of the committee, continued the report of the Committee on Education as follows:

#### The Menace to Public Education

While we have passed the crest of the wave of reaction which made possible such manifestations of stupidity and bigotry as the enactment of the infamous Lusk Laws in New York, and the agitation elsewhere for the singling out of teachers for subjection to insulting requirements of oaths of loyalty and the processes of secret tribunals; while that wave is receding, conditions in many localities are still so intolerable and the situation is so fraught with danger to public education that your committee feels under obligation to lay the matter before the convention. This can be done in no better way than by quoting the Report on Social Studies, which has previously been outlined. The section under the heading, "The Threat to Public Education," follows:

#### The Threat to Public Education

In recent years there have been well-authenticated reports that selfish interests are seeking to use the public schools for propaganda purposes, are attempting to censor the utterances of teachers and are undermining the digni-

ty and independence of the teaching profession. Such activities, if the reports are true, strike at the very heart of successful democracy, and tend to tear down the usefulness of the structure of public education which the members of organized labor, in common with other public-spirited citizens, have striven to build up.

The trade union movement in the United States has always taken a vital interest in public education and has in many instances throughout the past century been responsible for the extension and strengthening of the educational systems of the country. Prof. F. T. Carlton declares ("Economic Influences upon Educational Progress in the United States, 1820-50," Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin—Vol. IV, 1908): "The vitality of the movement for tax-supported schools was derived not from the humanitarian leaders, but from the growing class of wage-earners." Not, therefore, chiefly because the reactionary propaganda in question may tend to injure the immediate interests of working men and women, but rather because organized labor is proud of its record as one of the original sponsors of universal public education, and sees the importance to the nation of keeping the wells of truth undefiled, it was found necessary to investigate the truth of these reports, the extent of the damage done, and to inquire in what ways the trade unions may cooperate in the effort to give the youth of the country free and unfettered education which will enable them to cope with the problems of the future.

An obvious and unmistakable danger is that of legislation such as was embodied in the so-called "Lusk Laws" of New York, and is being sought elsewhere. Such legislation, ostensibly directed against "radicalism," requires teachers to take a special oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and of the State in question, and specifies that a teacher may be dismissed for deficiencies in character or for "disloyalty." "Loyalty tests" are in some cases provided, and espionage is encouraged so that "disloyal" teachers may be reported to the educational authorities. The trade-union movement does not expect any teacher to be disloyal to the principle of constitutional government, and it does not believe there is the slightest danger that public school teachers will preach treason or incite to riot, or in any other way abet the forcible overturn of democratic government. To suppose that special laws, not applying to other citi-

zens, are needed to restrain them from doing so is an insult to the teaching profession, and is, in fact, so absurd that we cannot but believe the instigators of such legislation had other objects in mind than their announced purpose. And, in fact, the practical result of such laws is to endanger the independence of teachers in dealing with social problems. Exactly what is "disloyalty" and who is to be the judge? Is it "disloyal" to discuss possible constitutional changes in our form of government? Many narrow-minded politicians would call it so. Is it "disloyal" to tell the truth about vested interests in industry, or to explain the justification of a strike? Many Chambers of Commerce would call it so. Such laws are not needed to prevent the encouragement of violent revolution, but they do make it possible to prohibit any discussion which does not sanctify the status quo. They open the door to all reactionary powers, which can use them to introduce fear and compulsion into public school teaching, to encourage petty administrative tyranny and espionage and to discourage any form of instruction which might offend the temporarily ruling political machine or commercial interest.

Another manifestation of the attempt to restrict public school teaching, which is both menacing and undeniable, is the array of scattered cases throughout the country where teachers or other educational authorities have actually been dismissed or suspended for holding views distasteful to Chambers of Commerce, Security Leagues and the like, or even for joining Teachers' Unions. There are numerous such cases, which we have canvassed, but which we cannot review here in any detail.

But, after all, comparatively few States have as yet passed the so-called "loyalty" educational laws, and the number of teachers who have been dismissed or threatened with dismissal on account of their views is small in comparison with the total number. These are important only as extreme symptoms of what is going on elsewhere, in a more unnoticeable and subtle, but nevertheless pervasive and dangerous, way. "These suppressive tendencies," Prof. John Dewey, the noted educational authority, was recently quoted as saying in a public address, "work in a more refined way than laws. The great body of teachers are unaware of their existence. They are felt only through little hints about 'safety,' 'sanity' and 'sobriety,' coming from influential sources. . . . The Lusk Laws in-

dicating what can be found all over the country—an attempt to exercise by subtle, at times unconscious, movements a restrictive influence upon the teaching body. It is something more than academic freedom that is being menaced. It is moral freedom, the right to think, to imagine. It involves, when it is crushed, a crushing of all that is best in the way of inspiration and ideals for a better order. Our schools are thus facing the greatest crisis they ever faced. Unless they come through it safely, it will be hard, impossible, to get the desired high-minded teachers into the schools. It is not safe to put the education of the young into the hands of a body of officials with coercive powers. They will attempt to shape the minds in conformity with their beliefs. . . . The teachers can prepare the minds for considering the problems of our day so that a better society may be attained only through an awakening of the public."

Your committee believes that the American Federation of Labor should reaffirm its traditional position, and recommends that organized labor make every effort to secure the repeal of measures of the type of the "Lusk Laws" wherever they have been enacted, and further recommends the renewed adoption of the following declaration of the Atlantic City convention, which has only been given added point during the last three years:

"It is unquestionable that teachers have no right to impose their personal views on pupils. But it is necessary in some quarters to emphasize that neither do school authorities have that right. And it is further necessary to ask this convention to endorse with all its power the principle that men and women in becoming teachers do not thereby surrender their rights as American citizens, and that inquisitions by school authorities into the personal, religious, political and economic views of teachers is intolerable in a free country, strikes at the very basis of our public school system and can result only in the development of mental and moral servility, and the stultification of teachers and pupils alike."

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### Organization of Teachers

In a situation threatening the integrity of the public schools, the alert watchfulness of organized labor and other progressive groups is essential, but after all, the crux of the matter lies with the teachers themselves. With

out steadfastness and tenacious idealism on the part of the teachers there would scarcely be a rallying point for liberal support; once the enemy succeeds in crushing them out there will be little left to salvage. The only adequate protection for the spiritual and professional independence of the teachers is effective organization. Primarily in the interests of the schools and of the community, your committee recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and all State and local central bodies give every assistance to the American Federation of Teachers in the organization of the teachers and the improvement of the schools.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Educational Platform

Your committee recommends the endorsement of Labor's Educational Platform adopted by preceding conventions, and the inclusion of the following additional plank:

The course of study throughout the public schools should be re-organized around social studies, in order that our prospective citizenship may receive adequate preparation for social living.

The committee further recommends that the full influence of the American Federation of Labor, both nationally and through State and local Committees on Education, be exerted in support of labor's constructive educational program.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Vocational Rehabilitation

In the report of the Committee on Education to the Denver convention in 1921, attention was called to the great work of the Federal Board for Vocational Education in the rehabilitation of the soldiers, sailors, and marines disabled in the World War. At this time the committee deems it advisable and necessary that the delegates to this, the 42d convention, be further advised as to the progress of the work of rehabilitating the disabled veterans of the World War as now being administered by the United States Veterans' Bureau, consolidation of all activities of the Government on behalf of the veterans of the World War having been placed in the hands of the Veterans' Bureau on August 9, 1921.

Mr. Charles H. Taylor, Assistant Chief, Employment Service, United States Veterans' Bureau, Washington,

D. C., appeared before the committee and presented a great deal of interesting and useful information.

The Vocational Rehabilitation Act became law on June 17, 1918, being one of the great humanitarian pieces of legislation placed on the statute books of the country, the American Federation of Labor taking a leading part in securing its passage by Congress. The records of the Veterans' Bureau to date indicate that the registration for service under the law, and the numbers being served under the law, are as follows:

April 1, 1922—

|   |         |
|---|---------|
| Net registration .....                  | 552,366 |
| Entered training .....                  | 150,536 |
| Now in training .....                   | 109,805 |
| Number rehabilitated and employed ..... | 11,205  |

It is indicated, therefore, that more than 100,000 disabled veterans are now in active training, covering a range of 495 different occupations, about 40 per cent of them receiving training in trade and industrial lines. This distribution is proof positive that there is absolutely no danger of overcrowding any single occupation. The number of disabled veterans who have been "rehabilitated and employed" is approximately 12,000. This is a large increase over the rehabilitations recorded a year ago, and is a most concrete indication of progress.

Each of these handicapped men will require special consideration in the light of their particular disability; therefore, they will in a good many cases require a special character of training, and should wherever possible be admitted to shops, mills and factories for such training as they require, where the trade standard will not be endangered. It is expected and demanded, however, that all such trainees observe the rules and regulations of the shop or factory where they may be in training.

Employment is the supreme test of "training." In this connection the Veterans' Bureau has created an "Employment Service" charged with the duties:

First—Securing employment opportunities for the rehabilitated disabled veterans.

Second—To follow him up on the job to see that he is capable of carrying on.

Third—To promote the good will of the public toward the rehabilitated veteran in order that he may not be "crippled" through adverse public opinion.

As regards this feature of the work of the Veterans' Bureau, the committee

recommends that all delegates take the steps necessary to have their several organizations appoint committees to cooperate with the local offices of the Veterans' Bureau, 140 in number, in the "training" and "employment" of the disabled ex-service men.

The Veterans' Bureau is now issuing, as provided by law, a "Certificate of Graduation" to every rehabilitated veteran who successfully completes the course of training prescribed for him.

The committee recommends, wherever misunderstandings occur as to the work of the Rehabilitation Division of the Veterans' Bureau, that the specific question or case be referred directly to the Assistant Director, Rehabilitation Division, Washington, D. C., through the national or international officers of the organization concerned.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McGovern, Yonkers Central Body, spoke briefly on the subject matter of the report, stating that he had made the question of rehabilitation one of special study for the past twenty years. He requested that a section be inserted in the Yearbook of the American Federation of Labor on the activities of the Federation in the interests of rehabilitation of soldiers, sailors and marines, as well as those injured in industrial pursuits.

President Gompers requested the delegate to send to the office of the President of the American Federation of Labor any contribution he might have on the subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Stillman: This completes the report of the Committee on Education, which is respectfully submitted and signed:

MATTHEW WOLL,  
Chairman,  
MABEL McNOLTY,  
W. LARKIN,  
JOHN SUAREZ,  
JAMES LORD,  
FRANK GILLMORE,  
JOS. N. WEBER,  
JOHN WALKER,  
JOHN B. LENNON,  
IRA M. ORNBURN,  
WM. M. MICHAELS,  
HARRY H. COOK,  
LOUIS COLIN,  
CHESTER M. HARVEY,  
CHAS. B. STILLMAN,  
Secretary.

The report of the committee was adopted as a whole.

Delegate Woll stated that the delegates representing the Jewelry Workers and the Machinists had presented a resolution to him, but the resolution, not having gone through the convention in proper form, the committee could not report upon it. He asked unanimous consent of the convention to introduce the resolution at this time, on behalf of those interested in it. Consent was granted, and the resolution was introduced, identified as Resolution No. 123:

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates A. Greenstein, George Leary and Wm. Johnston, of the Jewelry Workers' International Union, Metal Polishers' International Union and Machinists' International Association:

WHEREAS, An investigation instituted by the United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, brought to light that at least 7.6 per cent of the total child population in Rhode Island aged 5 to 15 are engaged as workers in cottage industries, with a compensation for work completed, less than 1 cent to 5 cents per hour; and,

WHEREAS, Of 153 firms in 21 industries of Providence, Rhode Island, practising exploitation of child labor, the Governmental investigation found 91 to be jewelry establishments; and,

WHEREAS, The task to remove the evil of child labor in Rhode Island and its consequences, is too complex to be handled by the International Jewelry Workers' Union alone; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates, in forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled, authorize and request the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to delegate a special organizer to Providence, R. I., and vi-

city within 90 days after the adjournment of this convention, for the purpose of assisting the International Jewelry Workers' Union in its efforts to eliminate evils emanating from exploitation of minor-aged children.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists: I have just received a telegram from the National Council for the Limitation of Armament and the Promotion of Peace, and I would like to introduce it and have the subject matter referred to the Executive Council for such action as it may deem advisable. I offer that as a motion.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the telegram was made a matter of record and referred to the Executive Council. It is as follows:

"Washington, D. C., June 16, 1922.

"William H. Johnston, President International Association of Machinists, Hotel Metropole, Cincinnati, Ohio:

"Can your convention endorse co-operation with ten European countries in observing July 29th as "No More War Day" this year? We suggest demonstrations and resolutions, telegrams and letters to President Harding, indicating America's readiness for next step toward permanent peace. National Council offers one hundred thousand posters bearing slogan "No More War" to appear simultaneously everywhere morning, July 29th. Letter follows.

"FREDERICK J. LIBBY."

At 12:35 p. m. the convention was adjourned to 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

## NINTH DAY—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

### Absentees

Glover, Kelleher, Desepte, Coulter, Rosemund, Laibly, Kirby, Greenstein, J. T. Carey, Parker, Jas. Murphy, Hutchins, Pepper, La Belle, Blasey, Canterbury, Doane, Koester, Howat, Stephen Ely, Fenton, Grace, Franklin, Fox, Troutman, Lorntsen, Clendenning, Clark, Hushing, Legassie, Lehman, Sul-

livan, Thornsborough, Winans, J. C. Taylor, Lochray, Marshall, O'Dell, Brown, Kerns, Argo, Nelson, Bennett, Downes, Sims, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Birbright, Mebon, Dunn, Herder, Bower, Maurice Ryan, Wrenn, Trimmer, Whitcomb, Dechend, Holloway, Wm. E. Colman, Boulware, A. E. Allen, Harte, Hixson, Sandy Colman, McCoy, C. I. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, A. Stewart, Milton, Rogers, Fizer, Latimore, Rincker, F. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstone.



President Gompers: The hour for the special order to consider the subject of court decisions and laws affecting labor is now at hand, and the Special Committee appointed by order of this convention to deal with and report upon these various subjects is ready to report.

#### REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Your Special Committee begs leave to report upon the following subjects referred to it:

Shall Courts Protect Labor in Preference to Property?

Class-Biased Decisions of our Courts (pages 40 to 47, Executive Council's Report), embracing Judge Anderson's Injunction Against the United Mine Workers, Judge McClintic's Injunction Against the Miners, the Tri-City Case, Truax vs. Corrigan, The Coronado Case (page 58, Executive Council's Report).

Use of Injunction by Labor a Snare and Delusion, (page 58, Executive Council's Report).

National Child Labor Law Held Unconstitutional, (pages 33 and 34, Executive Council's Report).

Constitutional Rights and Liberties Must Be Safeguarded At All Hazards, pp. 48 to 51.

Supreme Court Decisions, page 106.

In presenting the report of the Special Committee created to consider the several proposals relating to recent decisions by the United States Supreme Court affecting labor and rights of labor, as well as child labor, the committee begs leave to express its keen appreciation of the valuable services contributed by a number of eminent attorneys from various parts of the country. Your committee feels itself deeply indebted for this service to Messrs. Charles Hartman, of Detroit; Henry Warrum, of Indianapolis; Mr. Grant, of Indianapolis; Morris Hillquit, of New York City, and Mr. Donald R. Richberg, of Chicago.

We also desire to express thanks for the helpful suggestions received from several other attorneys and persons vitally interested in the causes represented by organized labor.

Your committee, in addition, desires to emphasize the invaluable service

rendered to the committee by President Samuel Gompers.

Your committee also recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to call conferences of persons and associations interested in any or all of the above specified recommendations, for the purpose of obtaining advice, assistance and co-operation in the preparation of the proposed laws and constitutional amendments, and in the education of public opinion for their support and adoption; and that the Executive Council be authorized to approve, in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, the laws and constitutional amendments so prepared, and to take such further action as may be deemed advisable to promote their enactment.

The American people are facing a critical situation. Their very existence as a democracy and a government of law is at stake. A judicial oligarchy is threatening to set itself up above the elected Legislatures, above the people themselves.

Profiting by the unsettled industrial conditions of the country and the political apathy of the people, which have followed upon the conclusion of the World War, the forces of privilege and reaction have embarked upon a concerted and determined campaign to deprive the citizens of their constitutional liberties, to break down the standards of life which the American workers have laboriously built up in generations of suffering and struggle, and to emasculate or destroy their most effective weapon of resistance and defense—the labor unions.

Side by side with the implacable anti-union drive conducted by powerful organizations of employers throughout the country, who exercise their own unquestioned right to organize and yet brazenly deny their employees the same right, the unblushing subservience of many public officials to the dictates of big business and their undisguised contempt for the interests of the workers, the courts of the country, and particularly the Supreme Court of the United States, have within recent years undertaken to deprive American labor of fundamental rights and liberties which heretofore have been accepted as deeply and organically ingrained in our system of jurisprudence.

Over a century ago Thomas Jefferson said:

"It has long been my opinion, and I have never shrunk from its expression, that the germ of dissolution of our Federal Government is in the

judiciary—the irresponsible body working like gravity, by day and by night, gaining a little today and gaining a little tomorrow, and advancing its noiseless step like a thief over the field of jurisdiction until all shall be usurped.”

The prophetic warning of the great champion of American democracy threatens to come true.

What confronts the workers of America is not one or several casual court decisions favoring the interests of property as against the human rights of labor, but a series of adjudications of the highest tribunal of the land, successively destroying a basic right or cherished acquisition of organized labor, each forming a link in a fateful chain consciously designed to enslave the workers of America.

Five years ago a severe blow was dealt by the Supreme Court decision in the notorious case of *The Hitchman Coal and Coke Company vs. Mitchell*, which seriously limited the right of organized labor to unionize establishments. The decision did not receive the condemnation it justly deserved because public attention was almost exclusively centered on the World War.

On January 3, 1921, the Supreme Court in the case of *Duplex Printing Press Company vs. Deering* practically nullified the portions of the Clayton Act which were intended to safeguard the rights of labor in industrial disputes and to limit the power of the courts to decide such disputes by summary injunctions, thus striking down with one fell stroke the result of unceasing agitation of organized labor which had extended over twenty years, and was designed to equalize before the law the position of workers and employers.

In December, 1921, the Supreme Court, by its decision in the case of *Truax vs. Corrigan* set aside as unconstitutional a State law which limited the power of the courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes, thus frustrating the efforts of labor in all industrial States to secure relief from the arrogated authority of the courts.

In the same month the court in the case of *American Steel Foundries vs. Tri-City Central Trades Council* virtually abolished the right of striking workers to picket, no matter how peaceably; authorized the courts arbitrarily to regulate the conduct of strikes, and set up a rule limiting strikers to the stationing of one “missionary” in front of each entrance to the struck establishment—one striking “missionary” to persuade hundreds or even thousands of strike-breakers of the iniquity of

their course. What a mockery upon the acknowledged rights of workers on strike to win over would-be strike-breakers by pleading and persuasion!

On May 15, 1922, the Supreme Court set aside as unconstitutional the Child Labor Law, which had been enacted after years of agitation on the part of the most forward-looking and humane elements of our citizenship.

On June 5, 1922, the Supreme Court handed down a unanimous opinion in the case of *United Mine Workers of America vs. Coronado Coal Co.*, which in effect opens the way for a general raid upon union funds, by holding that labor unions are suable as such and liable for damages to employers if caused by unlawful acts on the part of any of their striking members, whether such acts are authorized or not, so long as the strike is sanctioned by the union.

Thus by six decisions the United States Supreme Court, composed of nine men without direct mandate from the people and without responsibility to the people, has set aside a congressional enactment which clearly expressed the will of the vast majority of the people, and all but outlawed the activities of organized labor, which alone can protect the workers from the oppression and aggression of the greedy and cruel interests.

This despotic exercise of a usurped power by nine men, or a bare majority of them, over the lives and liberties of millions of men, women and children, is intolerable. With the immortal Lincoln we believe that

“The people of these United States are the masters of both Congress and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution.” (Speech at Cincinnati, Sept. 17, 1859.)

We are determined to preserve our rights as workers, citizens and freemen, and we call upon all fair-minded and liberty-loving citizens to unite with us in a determined effort to deprive the courts of the despotic powers which they have assumed, and to make our Government in full measure a government of the people, for the people and by the people. To this end your committee recommends that the convention record itself in favor of, and promote the adoption of, amendments to the Constitution of the United States for the following purposes:

1. An amendment prohibiting the labor of children under the age of 16 years in any mine, mill, factory, workshop or other industrial or mercantile establishment, and conferring upon

Congress the power to raise the minimum age below which children shall not be permitted to work, and to enforce the provisions of the proposed amendment by appropriate legislation.

2. An amendment prohibiting the enactment of any law or the making of any judicial determination which would deny the right of the workers of the United States and its territories and dependencies to organize for the betterment of their conditions; to deal collectively with employers; to collectively withhold their labor and patronage and induce others to do so.

3. An amendment providing that if the United States Supreme Court decides that an act of Congress is unconstitutional, or by interpretation asserts a public policy at variance with the statutory declaration of Congress, then if Congress by a two-thirds majority re-passes the law, it shall become the law of the land.

Your committee further recommends:

4. In order to make the Constitution of the United States more flexible to meet the needs of the people, an amendment providing for easier amendments of the same.

Your committee further recommends that in conjunction with the campaign for the adoption of the suggested constitutional amendments, Congress be urged to enact:

a. A Child Labor Law which will overcome the objections raised by the United States Supreme Court to the laws heretofore passed by Congress and nullified by the court;

b. A law which will make more definite and effective the intention of Congress in enacting Sections 6, 19 and 20 of the Clayton Act, which was manifestly ignored or overridden by the Court;

c. An act repealing the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, which was intended by Congress to prevent illegal combinations in restraint of trade, commonly known as "trusts," but through judicial misinterpretation and perversion has been repeatedly and mainly invoked to deprive the toiling masses of their natural and normal rights.

Delegate Woll: I move the adoption of the committee's report. (Motion seconded.)

#### DELEGATE WILLIAM GREEN

United Mine Workers of America

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates and Fellow Citizens: I regard this as an epoch-making occasion; a time when our hearts are serious and our minds are in earnest, endeavoring to meet and grapple with the problem that comes to

us through a series of court decisions affecting the very well-being, happiness and prosperity of the masses of our people. We have set this day apart to give special consideration to this great problem, and I can appreciate that not only you here within the sound of my voice, but that great mass of workers whom you have the honor to represent, are most earnestly centering their attention upon this new problem that so seriously confronts the workers of America.

We will consider this problem not only as wage-earners, but as American citizens. So, my friends, in approaching consideration of this question we want to first assert to the world at large that not only as wage-earners do we realize the menace to our liberties wrapped up in the decisions of the courts in the cases referred to in the committee's report, but we feel that the menace is to the very liberty and happiness of the citizens of our Republic.

It is not my purpose on this occasion to impose upon your patience by attempting to discuss all of the report of the committee. I shall endeavor in my humble way to attract your attention to but one phase of the committee's report, and in speaking upon that phase of the report I shall assume to speak for the delegation representing that grand organization with which I am identified—the United Mine Workers of America.

Primarily the United Mine Workers of America was affected by the decision of the Supreme Court in the Coronado case, but even though specifically and primarily it affected the United Mine Workers of America in a broader and more comprehensive sense, it affects the entire labor movement of America. There is a strange process that has been taking place in the development of judicial decisions, and that is that as organizations have grown in influence, in numbers and in power, if you please, the courts of our land have found a way to meet each successive step in the development and growth of that organization.

I am of the opinion, my friends, that, startling as this decision known as the Coronado Coal Company case decision is to every worker in America; that as the organizations grow, as they develop, the courts are going to find a new way, as new problems and new questions are presented to them, of affecting organizations of labor, curbing and limiting and perhaps destroying the very existence and power and influence of the labor organizations of the country. The tendency of the courts is in that direction

—toward the limitation of the normal activities of the trade unions. I know I can truthfully say that if, a few years ago when the United Mine Workers of America was a struggling union striving for recognition, struggling in its infancy to help the men and the women and the children in the mining communities of our nation—if we had been told then that the time would come when a court would decide that the United Mine Workers of America would be held, as an organization, legally responsible for the acts of an individual in some remote mining section of this country, such a statement would have been laughed at and ridiculed, but in the development of our judicial decisions and judicial processes, we find now in the year 1922, about thirty years after our Union was born, a decision which holds that the International Union of the United Mine Workers of America is responsible for the act of an individual member of the United Mine Workers of America in a remote section of Washington or in the southern section of Alabama or Tennessee. That is a new doctrine, a new theory, and we can see in the establishment and acceptance of such a doctrine the processes that will ultimately destroy not only the United Mine Workers of America, but practically every labor organization in the land.

I want to address myself for a few moments to a consideration of the Coronado case decision. There are other able speakers who will devote their time to discussing some other phases of the problems that now confront us. May I not, in order to refresh your memory, just read a paragraph from the decision of the Supreme Court, Chief Justice Taft, regarding the Coronado case? Chief Justice Taft submitted the following:

"There are five principal questions pressed by the plaintiffs in error here, the defendants below. The first is that there was a misjoinder of parties plaintiff. The second is that the United Mine Workers of America, District No. 21, United Mine Workers of America and the local unions made defendants are unincorporated associations and not subject to suit and therefore should have been dismissed from the case on motions seasonably made. The third is that there is no evidence to show any agency by the United Mine Workers of America in the conspiracy charged or in the actual destruction of the property, and no liability therefor. The fourth is that there is no evidence to show that the conspiracy alleged against District No. 21 and the other defendants, was a conspiracy to restrain

or monopolize interstate commerce. The fifth is that the court erred in a supplemental charge to the jury, which so stated the court's view of the evidence as to amount to a mandatory direction coercing the jury into finding the verdict which was recorded."

I am not going to read more from the decision. It seemed to me that the court set forth in a simple, original, consecutive way the points involved in this noted case.

May I, with your permission, just give a brief review of the case from its origin until it reached the Supreme Court of the United States. District No. 21 of the United Mine Workers of America is composed of the States of Oklahoma, Arkansas and part of Texas. Under our form of organization, districts are given district autonomy in the management and control of the district organizations, so District No. 21, like other districts, exercised jurisdiction and control over the territory covered by the confines of that district. In Arkansas a coal company owned and operated some mines. These mines had been unionized, but the coal companies decided that they were going to operate non-union, so they brought in labor, imported labor; they brought in machine guns, they brought in Baldwin-Feltz detectives, if you please—gunmen—all the things that go with a brutal attempt to non-unionize an establishment. They terrorized the community, they drove the men and women from their homes, and, of course, naturally it started much agitation and trouble in that particular section. Men driven from their homes resisted the eviction proceedings as best they could, and there were occasions when clashes took place between the gunmen employed by the coal companies and members of our union.

As a result of it all, damage was sustained; tipples were burned, not by direction of District 21, United Mine Workers of America, not by the local unions having jurisdiction over the mines nor by direction and authority of the International Union of the United Mine Workers of America, but it occurred because of the clash that followed the attacks of the gunmen upon the men, women and children living peaceably in these mining communities.

So the coal company based their action upon damages sustained. The case was heard in the Federal Court having jurisdiction in Arkansas; it was tried by a jury, and for hours and hours the jury deliberated, but failed to agree. Finally they came into court and reported that they were unable to agree.

The court ordered them to return, and during the discussion he had with the jury he told the jury that in his judgment the United Mine Workers of America were guilty and that it was their duty to return to the jury room and bring in a verdict against the miners. He further intimated, according to my information, that he would have them returned to the jury room and keep them there until they returned a verdict in that noted case.

Now, my friends, the charge of the judge's statement to the jury was made one of the bases for an appeal. It was set forth as an error on the part of the judge in unduly influencing the jury. After the jury was thus instructed, after the statements were made by the court to which I have referred, the jury then brought in a verdict holding the United Mine Workers of America as guilty and fixing the damages at \$200,000, which, under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-trust Law, was trebled—that made \$600,000 damages decided against us.

Immediately we prepared an appeal to the Circuit Court. Before we could perfect that appeal we were compelled to give bond in an amount sufficient to cover the entire verdict rendered by the court, and, in addition, the estimated cost of all the proceedings, so we were penalized to this extent: That we had to secure \$800,000 in Liberty bonds, place them in a deposit box as collateral guaranteeing the payment of these damages rendered against us, in order to perfect our appeal to the Circuit Court of the United States and finally to the Supreme Court of the nation.

The Circuit Court heard the case in due time, and I wish those of you who are interested might secure a copy of the dissenting opinion of one of the judges of the Circuit Court regarding this case. The dissenting opinion of one of the judges is illuminating, instructive and interesting from the labor point of view. The case was sustained by the Circuit Court by a vote of two to one. Immediately we appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States, and there it was pending for more than one year.

Now, in connection with that case, may I point out to you not only the seriousness of the decision as finally rendered, but the great inconvenience and expense to which our organization was put in defending ourselves against this charge. I am unable to give you the figures, cost of attorneys' fees, court expenses, and incidental expenses which we were called upon to pay in

hiring attorneys to defend our organization in the courts, but I am confident that it will run into hundreds of thousands of dollars. In addition to that, for all these years we have tied up in these legal proceedings almost a million of dollars taken out of our treasury, unavailable for use, held as collateral guaranteeing the payment of this damage claim in case the higher courts decided against us, and to this day we have been unable to have released one single dollar of this collateral, notwithstanding the fact that the mine workers all over this country have been struggling for twelve weeks, suffering and starving, needing this money badly to feed the hungry men, women and children. It is impossible for us to have one single penny of this collateral.

That, in my opinion, is one of the serious incidents—the litigation that we have been called upon to meet in this celebrated and noted case. How long can unions stand such financial strain? Not only the decision itself, but the gradual, insidious, never-ceasing demand upon our financial resources. Only an organization that is large in numbers and that can raise the money could stand it. But, my friends, we have suffered, we can't live and continue to meet these financial demands made upon our organization. If they don't crush us through the decision itself ultimately by holding us responsible for the act of some maddened, riotous man in some local union of this country, they will succeed in their efforts by depriving us of the use of the money that we receive in per capita tax from the members of our organization. Consequently this is a very serious phase of the whole matter—the cost of litigation, tying up of our funds, the giving of bond, the paying of attorneys and court costs and court proceedings in such a drain upon an organization that it is impossible for them to stand it.

Passing from that to the decision itself. We, the United Mine Workers of America, saved our money only because they could not prove or did not prove that the International Union, United Mine Workers of America, had ordered the strike in District 21, had supported it or had directed and conducted the struggle. If we had primarily ordered the strike, if we had had our men in charge, if we had sanctioned it, if the records of our board had shown that we had approved it, that it was a strike of the International Union, United Mine Workers of America, then not only would we have had this infamous de-

cision, but we would have lost our money as well.

But it is the principle established in this case that has attracted our attention, for upon this second point—that the United Mine Workers of America, District 21, and the local unions made defendants are unincorporated associations and not subject to suit and therefore should have been dismissed from the case on motions seasonably made—it is upon that point that the court held against the United Mine Workers of America specifically and against organized labor generally. We have always assumed that voluntary organizations organized for the purpose of promoting the economic and social welfare of their membership, organizations not incorporated, could not be sued and held responsible for the acts of individual members of the organization. We were laboring under the impression; that was our belief. It seems to me that the Clayton Act, or certain sections of it, made it plain and clear that as voluntary organizations we were not subject to be sued because of the acts of individual members, but we find from this decision of the court that they have taken a new and advanced view. What does it mean? It means first, that in this present strike—and I think I can illustrate it better by referring to the present strike of the miners—we think it means this: That if in Maryland, West Virginia or Michigan some individual members of the United Mine Workers of America became controlled by passion and committed an unlawful act which results in damage to the property of the coal operators, then the United Mine Workers of America may be held responsible for the acts of that individual, provided it may be shown that this unlawful act committed by an individual or group of individuals in a remote mining section of this country was caused in connection with this strike and in connection with a strike ordered and endorsed and sanctioned by the United Mine Workers of America.

My friends, is it possible for this great union of ours, organized upon a lawful basis, having a legal and lawful standing in America, committed to lawful purposes, aims and motives—how is it possible for this great organization to control the acts of some individual or individuals in some remote section of this country? There is the danger of this proposition. I know that so far as we can we will, so far as we can have every man obey the law, we will have him do so. So far as he achieves

and we achieve our purposes and our aims and our hopes by lawful methods, we will have it done, but, on the other hand, our great union will do all that is within its power to prevent lawlessness of any kind, the commission of an unlawful act by an individual member of our union; and I say to you that I protest, as I know you protest, against this new doctrine that sets me up, as Secretary-Treasurer of our union in Indianapolis, as the keeper of my brother in Michigan or West Virginia.

I am illustrating this in a personal sort of way in an instance that seems to me to drive home the very simple thing involved in this decision, but enlarging upon it just a little bit more, may I say to you, my friends—you, and you, and you, the representatives of international unions—don't think for a moment that you can isolate and separate yourselves from this infamous decision, because it applies to you as it applies to me.

Another phase of it is this, as I understand it, as eminent attorneys have explained it to me. After a contract is made and an agreement is signed between employers and the representatives of an organization, and that contract provides that a certain, specific, definite obligation is assumed by both parties to the contract, if some individual or group of individuals, parties to that contract violate it by the commission of unlawful acts over which you nor the representatives of the organization have no control, and as a result of the commission of these unlawful acts there is a violation of the agreement or contract entered into, then the national union itself, of which these groups are parts, may be sued and the funds of the international union held for the payment of any damages that may be levied against us, and under the provisions of the Sherman Antitrust Law these damages are trebled. Thus if it is found that the damages are \$100,000, immediately that is trebled to \$300,000. And I want to tell you, as the paymaster of our union, the man who has been paying the bills, that once you get into litigation of this kind and you employ eminent attorneys—mark what I say—eminent attorneys—and you bear other expenses, court costs in the preparation of the case and in the conduct of the case, I want to assure you that you will be surprised at the amount of money you will be called upon to pay in defending yourselves.

We can't get back the money we paid out in this Coronado case to the attorneys, the investigators, the witnesses,

costs of witnesses and court costs, Sheriff's fees, bailiff costs, attorneys' fees—we will never get that money back; it is gone forever. Some day, perhaps, we will get back the money we have put up in bonds and which has been held in escrow for years, but the money we paid in defending ourselves will never be returned. Aye, if I could, I would emphasize to you the great injury inflicted upon organized labor by being consistently called upon to defend themselves against these attacks of the courts.

May I call your attention to the report of the committee in which it develops in logical and consecutive order the tendency of the courts from the Hitchman decision down through to the Truax case, the Tri-Cities case, and now the Coronado case—every one of them step by step an encroachment upon the rights and liberties of the normal activities of the labor unions of this country. We were all shocked when the Hitchman decision was rendered—that famous decision that made it wellnigh impossible for us to organize the non-union workers of the country. We were shocked when the Duplex Printing Company decision was rendered because it took away from us our other weapon—the right to boycott. We were again shocked when, in the Truax case, we were told that a State court, a State legislature could not pass a law prohibiting the courts from the right to issue injunctions in labor disputes. Now we are shocked because of this further development in this new legal doctrine laid down in the decision in this Coronado case.

Where is it all going to end? Gradual it has been, step by step, development by development, here a little and there a little encroaching upon the rights of labor, until we are almost stripped of every power, economic and social, that we now possess. Take from us the right to picket, the right to boycott, the right to confer our patronage upon those with whom we want to deal or to withhold it from those with whom we do not want to deal, take away from us the right to unionize non-union men—then after all those rights are taken away from us through these infamous court decisions, as a final blow they tell you that if you commit any lawful act, if you inflict damage upon an employer, then the funds of your organization may be taken in order to pay the alleged damages inflicted.

Where is it going to end? Where are we going to stop and when? So far as I am concerned I feel like saying

that thus far and no farther will we consent for the courts to go. We have reached the limit of endurance, we protest as American citizens against these decisions of the courts that take away from us our lives and our liberties.

There are three co-ordinate branches of government—the executive, the judicial and the legislative. According to our fundamental law and the Declaration of Independence, each of these three co-ordinate branches may function in certain realms. None of them must transgress upon the power and the rights of the others. It was held by the fathers, as Senator LaFollette so well and convincingly stated the other day, that this government should be a government of the people, by the people and for the people and that the will of the people should be the law of the land; but in the development of our judiciary, in the exercise of usurped power they have transgressed upon not only the liberties and rights of our people, but they have transgressed upon the legislative arm of our government. Not only have they assumed to interpret the law, not only have they, in the discharge of their functions, interpreted the law, but in addition to that they have assumed to legislate and nullify legislatures as well, and it is against this usurpation of power that we protest, that this day the representatives of the workers of America in this Armory building in the city of Cincinnati, in the name of the workers of America, protest against these infamous decisions of the courts of our land.

Now, my friends, in order to again demonstrate our loyalty as American citizens, our devotion to the principles upon which our government is founded, our devotion to our institutions, we propose in this committee's report to correct these evils, these wrongs, this usurpation of power, through orderly and legal processes. We propose in order to protect child life and child labor that a constitutional amendment shall be submitted, granting to Congress the right to legislate in the interests of child life and child labor. We propose further that a statute be passed freeing labor from the bondage in which it finds itself as a result of these decisions. We go first to the processes laid down by the fathers in attempting to amend our organic law.

Secondly, we go to the people's tribunal, the Congress of the United States, and ask them to give us relief from these decisions. Then we ask again that the whole labor movement unite in one common effort to arouse public

interest, to direct attention to the wrongs under which we suffer, and we invite all groups of citizens in sympathy with our purposes and our aspirations to join with us in an effort to make us free and to restore the government back to the people.

I don't underestimate the task. The fathers made it mighty difficult to amend the fundamental law of our Republic. They threw around it such safeguards that we find that it took fifteen to twenty years for an aroused public to amend certain sections of our Constitution. We are not fit to be workers if we become discouraged by the task ahead of us, nor are we fit to speak for labor if we are timid and fearful. We must put our hand to the plow and never look back, but go forward until we achieve our purpose. We will find opposition, tremendous opposition; we will be charged with attacking the courts of our land, we will be charged as invaders of the sacred precincts of the judiciary, just as Jefferson was charged and Lincoln was charged and other men famous in American history were charged, but strong-hearted and full of courage we must meet these attacks, educating the people and appealing to them until ultimately, I hope, we will succeed in our praiseworthy purpose.

I have talked longer than I should. I know that I have not handled all phases of this question as they should be handled. My friends, the earnestness of my soul and of my life is wrapped up in the solution of this problem. I want to see every lover of liberty, every worker of America, united in a common purpose to wipe out these wrongs, correct these evils, and give to us our liberties and our rights. I know that despite these persecutions and sufferings I can say for all of you, as well as myself, that we are American citizens. We are devoted to our country and its institutions, we expect to correct these things through orderly processes, but we want to see this country a country where liberty and freedom is exercised and enjoyed by every man, woman and child; we want this government to be what the forefathers said it should be, and taking warning from the prophesy uttered by Jefferson years ago, we propose to do all that is in our power to curb the encroachments of the courts upon our rights and our liberties. I thank you.

### DELEGATE JOHN P. FREY International Molders' Union

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: It is my desire to confine myself to but one portion of the committee's report, that which deals with the subject of injunctions. Before examining that question I think it would be well to state, in view of the circumstances, what our position as trade unionists is upon the question of government by law. We have reached one of the most critical periods of our history as trades unionists; a new turning point has come in the road along which we must travel, and very much depends upon concentrating our energies upon one general question, that we shall not only understand the question thoroughly, but that the great American public should also understand that the motives which are moving us in this effort spring fundamentally from our devotion as American citizens to the constitution of our country, and a desire to give obedience and recognition to duly constituted authority.

I know of no other way by which we as trade unionists can work out our trade union problems except by obedience to the laws which we make for our own self-government. If I did not believe in observing the law of the International Molders' Union—whether I am in agreement with it or not—I could not be a conscientious member of that union or a worthy member. As trades unionists we agree that our course must be mapped out and our co-operation together regulated by law; and as American citizens we know that the only hope which we have of enjoying the blessings of life and the liberties and rights which we are entitled to is observance of the law and government by law; for unless we are governed by law we are either the subjects of a tyranny on the one hand or living in a country where anarchy prevails upon the other, and with the despot on the one hand and the anarchist on the other.

Neither do we as American citizens or trade unionists hesitate to say that we believe in government by law, and government by law only. And it is only because our courts of equity have become something entirely aside and something which defies government by law that your committee has given some consideration to this question in its report.

I would like to direct your attention to the distinction there is between the courts of law, for which we should have the greatest respect as an institution, an absolutely essential institution,



and the courts of equity as they have operated in connection with industrial disputes.

A court of law is a judicial body established by a constitution. Its functions are regulated by the law. Those charged with violation of the law are brought into court, guaranteed the protection of a trial by jury. The crime or the action which is charged against them has been one clearly defined by the law; the punishment for the guilt, if it exists, is defined by the law; the judge, acting under the law, can neither give a minimum sentence lower than that provided by the law, nor can he give a sentence greater than the maximum provided by the law; so that judges sitting in a law court are governed by the law. And the judges do not make the law; the people's representatives make the law for the government of the court.

When we come to courts of equity we come to courts which had their origin because there was no law to cover the cases which came before them, so that a court of equity is not governed by law. A court of equity, instead of being governed by law, is governed by its conscience; so that instead of government by law, as we have it in the courts of law, we encounter government by judicial conscience when we are before an equity court.

Now, with this distinction in your mind, I want to give you if I can something concerning the origin of courts of equity, so that you may better understand the excuses offered by our courts of equity for some of the things they do.

The common law of the United States is the common law which we inherited from Great Britain without change. The equity practice which we have in our State and federal courts is likewise copied, wholly and without change, from the equity practice existing in England at the time our Federal Constitution was adopted in 1787.

When we can trace the origin of a problem it enables us to understand it a little better, and, inasmuch as the British people had as great problems connected with their courts of equity as we have at the present time, it is of additional value for a moment to understand what occurred as the court of equity, or, as it is called in England, the court of chancery, was born and had its development in the beginning.

Away back during the period of the Saxon kings, Englishmen tried to govern themselves by law, but the law could not cover every situation which arose, and when an individual believed that his rights—and particularly his prop-

erty rights—were being menaced by someone else and he had no recourse in the courts or under the law, and had to depend upon the strength of his right arm or the support of the king, he went to the king, and the king, governed by his conscience, decided what should be done. If the king, in his opinion, thought he was justified, he issued an order restraining citizens from doing certain things.

Then the king, being a busy man, eventually appointed an individual known as the Lord Chancellor. The Lord Chancellor had two functions. One was to be the keeper of the Great Seal which was affixed to all the king's documents, and the other was to be the legal keeper of the king's conscience. And from the beginning of the appointment of Lord Chancellors in England, the Lord Chancellor was also known as the keeper of the king's conscience.

As the keeper of the king's conscience he also issued injunctions, and the functions of the Lord Chancellor had begun to operate when there was a conflict between the courts of England and the chancellor, because the chancellor was interfering with cases which came before the law courts. Originally the Lord Chancellors of England were practically all high ecclesiastics of the church and they were governed in their views largely by the Roman law; whereas, the courts of England were governed by the common law. And so the conflict went on until meetings were held in England—as they are held today—but the theory of the court of chancery in ancient England was that it was to be used to protect the weak, and I think it may be advisable to let you know what the functions of the parent of our equity court really were.

Lord Chancellor Ellsmere, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, was called upon to state what he understood the functions of his court to be, and this is his statement:

"It is the refuge of the poor and afflicted. It is the altar and sanctuary for such as against the might of rich men and the countenance of great men cannot maintain the goodness of their cause and the truth of their title."

So that in the beginning these courts of equity existed for the purpose of protecting the poor and weak against the greed of the rich and the powerful. And not only that, they also existed for the purpose of preventing a too rigorous application of the common law to those who were sentenced in law courts. How greatly courts of equity have changed since that day!

I said that the Englishmen had the

same problem with courts of equity which we have, and it may interest you to know that great cardinal under Henry VIII, who was also Lord Chancellor, Cardinal Lord Chancellor Wolsey, was indicted by the British people for treason, and the twenty-sixth item of that indictment was because of his abuse of the writ of injunction. Let us see what that twenty-sixth item is;

"Also when matters have been near a judgment by progress of your common law the same Lord Cardinal hath not only given a set injunction to the parties, but also sent for your judges and expressly by threats commanded them to defer judgment to the evident subversion of your laws if the judges would have ceased."

In other words, as those who were rich and powerful found the value of the court of chancery they did exactly what the great employers of this country have done when they found that the courts of equity could be used to strangle us, deny us from all our constitutional rights—shackle our hands while a dispute was in progress while leaving our opponents free.

It became the practice in England—and I am remaining in England for a little while so that several points will be emphasized in your minds—when cases were going through the courts of law for some cunning attorney to discover a point where equity might apply, secure an injunction from the Lord Chancellor, taking the case out of the law courts and putting the entire case in chancery, exactly as the injunction today takes away cases that would otherwise be cases for the courts of law, and hale men before them charged with contempt instead of crime, the judge alone determining the degree of guilt and the degree of punishment.

Because I have great interest in this question of judgment I would like, before I pass from England, to call your attention to what some of the great English jurists have had to say on this question.

John Sheldon, who during his life was considered the Blackstone of his day, in 1644 made a statement concerning the courts of equity which I think we can adopt with every propriety at the present time.

"Equity in law," he said, "is what the spirit is in religion, whatever one wants to make it. Sometimes they go according to conscience, sometimes according to law, sometimes according to rule of court. Equity is a roguish thing, for in law we have a measure and know what to trust to; equity is according to conscience of him that is the Chancel-

lor, as that is longer or narrower, and so is equity. 'Tis all one, and if they should make the standard of measure the Lord Chancellor's foot, what an uncertain measure that would be! For one Chancellor has long feet, another has short feet, and another has indifferent feet. It is all the same thing with the Chancellor's conscience."

Another great Englishman, referring to the same problem of equity, offered this opinion, in which I think we can also concur:

Lord Camden said: "The discretion of a judge is the law of tyrants; it is always unknown; it is different in different men; it is casual and depends upon constitution, temper and passion. In the best it is oftentimes caprice; in the worst it is every vice, folly and passion to which human nature is liable."

I wish I had the power of saying something as scathing as that concerning these men who issue injunctions against us in connection with industrial disputes.

Eventually Englishmen rebelled against the courts of equity. Parliament, the representative of the people, placed limits and bounds upon the authority of the courts of equity. The Parliament determined the basic rules under which equity could be applied. It became the basic principles of chancery, or equity, that equity was to be exercised for the protection of property only, to prevent irreparable injury to property when there was no adequate remedy at law; that those who sought equity must do equity; in other words, that those who went into a court of equity seeking an injunction must not have been the aggressors. No employers' associations antagonistic to the principles of the trade union movement could go into a court of equity if our courts of equity lived up to that principle. Another principle was that equity must never be used to curtail personal rights.

And this was done while the colonists were coming over from England and settling along the coasts of Massachusetts and Virginia, so that when our constitution was adopted in 1787 and our courts began to function the practice and rules of British equity were those incorporated in our constitution, and they stand there today.

We had a good many industrial disputes during the early years of our country. We had these disputes before the courts of law, as the history of our country amply indicates, and the astonishing thing is that it was not until thirty-four years ago that the first

equity court in these United States believed it could issue an injunction in connection with an industrial dispute; and it was not until thirty-one years ago that a federal court issued the first injunction in connection with an industrial dispute. And when that injunction was issued, or the second one, by Judge Ricks, a federal judge, realizing that he had no precedence to govern him, made the following statement:

"It is said the orders issued in this case are without precedent. Any just order or rule known to equity courts was born of some emergency to meet some new conditions, and was therefore in its time without precedent. If based on sound principles and beneficial results follow their enforcement affording necessary relief to the one party without imposing illegal burdens on the other, new remedies and unprecedented orders are not unwelcome aids to the chancellor to meet the constantly varying demands for equitable relief."

Shortly after that Judge Jenkins, in 1892, issued an injunction against the railway workers, and for the first time the attention of American working men and the American public was called to this new departure, and Congress became interested in the matter. Congress appointed a committee to investigate the injunction issued by this federal judge. I want to read you a few excerpts from their report:

"The power to punish for contempt is limited by the laws of most of the States, and we can see no reason why a like limitation should not be placed upon the power of federal judges. Your committee therefore recommends the adoption of the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the action of Judge James G. Jenkins in issuing said order of December 19, 1893, being an order and writ of injunction at the instance of the receivers of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company directed against the employes of said railroad company, and, in effect, forbidding the employes of said Northern Pacific Railway Company from quitting its service under the limitations therein stated, and in issuing a similar order of December 22, 1893, in effect forbidding the officers of labor organizations, with which said employes were affiliated, from exercising the lawful functions of their office and position was an oppressive exercise of the process of his court, an abuse of judicial power, and a wrongful restraint upon said employes and the officers of said labor organizations; that said orders have no sanction in legal precedent,

were an invasion of the rights of American citizens and contrary to the genius and freedom of American institutions; and therefore deserving of the condemnation of the representatives of the American people."

At least there was a time in our history when the Congress was willing to express their opinion of federal equity courts when they invaded the rights of our citizens.

That is a committee of Congress reporting to its body. The same case also made its progress through the federal courts, and in 1894 that great jurist, Justice Harlan, set aside the injunction that Judge Jenkins had issued. I want to read only one or two excerpts from his decision in vacating that injunction:

"Equity will not enjoin employes of the railroad from quitting service. Employes of a railroad may lawfully confer together upon the subject of a proposed reduction in wages and may withdraw in a body from such service because of such reduction.

"A strike is not unlawful if it is merely a combination among employes having for its object their orderly withdrawal in large numbers or in a body from their employer's service to accomplish some lawful purpose.

"If two equal rights conflict it does not and cannot rest with any court to decide which of these shall give way. No court can subordinate the right of labor to the right of the employer. Nor can any court declare that capital shall abate any of its rights because of collision with the rights of labor.

"It is not logical to say that a railroad is a public highway and owes a duty to the public, and that it must be kept a going concern, although it proved unremunerative to the shareholders and at the same time shift this duty over to the public from the shoulders of the company and its shareholders to the wage-earners, who in any event can have no interest in the profits.

"It would be an invasion of one's natural liberty to compel him to work for or to remain in the personal service of another. One who is placed under such restraint is in the condition of involuntary servitude—a condition which the supreme law of the land declares shall not exist in the United States, or in any place subject to their jurisdiction."

So that when the injunction was issued by a federal court without precedent—the beginning of this beast which we have seen tearing the vitals out of the Constitution which provided for our

rights—not only did the committee of Congress appointed to investigate the subject report as I have just read, but Justice Harlan, in reversing that decision, laid down the basic principles which must govern a court of equity, and the basic rights which we have as workmen and which must not be invaded.

So in the beginning—thirty-two years ago—of the application of the writ of injunction to workmen engaged in industrial disputes, the committee of Congress and the highest court to which the question went both declared the court had no such right. Yet the courts continue to develop it.

There is a common opinion that injunctions were not issued in connection with labor disputes in England. I want to refer to the matter for a moment so that we may all better understand how things have developed on the part of the equity courts of our country.

There were two injunctions in Great Britain. The first occurred in 1867, when some mill employes went on strike against the Springhead Spinning Company, and they carried banners which contained the statement that this company was unfair and its actions unjustified. They picketed the plant with these banners so that other workmen would know the condition. And Vice Chancellor Mellen, of the chancery court, issued an injunction restraining these men from carrying these banners, on the ground that the banners contained a libel and the union did not appeal to the higher court. But the Lord Chancellor noted what had occurred, and he seized the first opportunity to render a decision which would cover the matter. Shortly afterwards the opportunity came and Lord Chancellor Cairns, the keeper of the king's seal, with the approval of his associate Vice Chancellors, handed down this opinion:

"The court of chancery has no jurisdiction to restrain the publication of a libel, as such, even if it should be injurious to property."

And so the Lord Chancellor nipped the first effort on the part of a chancery court in England to enjoin workmen of their rights.

The other case is even more important to us at this time. In the famous Taff-Vale case that so profoundly affected the policies and the efforts of the British trade union movement, there was an injunction in the beginning. Judge Farwell issued an injunction against the railway men, prohibiting them from many acts in connection with their strike. They carried their case to the

court of appeals. The court of appeals vacated Judge Farwell's injunction. The railway company then went to the highest judicial authority of England and appealed to the House of Lords. The House of Lords set aside the decision of the court of appeals and approved of Judge Farwell's injunction.

It was then the British trade union movement and the liberty-loving spirit of the British people led to a campaign and an election, which resulted in the passage of the British Trades Dispute Act. The action of Parliament in passing the British Trades Dispute Act set aside the decision of the House of Lords and sustained the court of appeals, so that there is no equity court in England today that would for one moment attempt in any manner whatsoever to interfere by the use of the writ of injunction when there was a dispute between employers and employes.

So far as the practices of our American courts are concerned, they are all contrary to the provisions relative to equity courts in our constitution, and in violation of everything which is accorded in connection with the origin, development and present condition of the equity courts of Great Britain.

I realize that it would be a mistake, perhaps, to go into this question at very much length at the present time, but I do it, Mr. Chairman, for the purpose of having certain records in connection with this movement we are launching at the present time in such form as they can be used, as they should be, for the education of our fellow trade unionists.

There is no more important safeguard of our liberties than trial by jury, and trial by jury is something which does not exist in equity practice. As a matter of fact, the equity court, so far as we have known of it in connection with labor disputes, operates identically in the same manner as the court of Star Chamber did in Great Britain before it was abolished; and so we have, instead of the court of equity as established in Great Britain, courts called courts of equity but operated in reality as star chambers. I will not put my quotations in; I will give you an instance that perhaps explains the matter.

A short time ago I had the opportunity of addressing the Constitutional Convention of Illinois. When I had finished my remarks I was turned over to the very tender cross-examination of some of the dozen corporation attorneys seated there as delegates. Trying to demolish the arguments I had tried

to present, one of the attorneys said: "Mr. Frey, if the home you live in, representing your life savings, contained besides that your mother's wedding ring, the shoes of some little infant that had stayed for a moment and passed on, and other things of a sentimental character that could not be replaced, and I was known as a dangerous character and threatened to burn your home down and cause you irreparable injury, injury that could not be paid by financial reward, and the court of equity should restrain me from burning down your home, would you refuse to accept that injunction?"

Well, I am not a lawyer, but I was taught to ask questions when I lived in New England, and when he was demanding that I answer yes or no, I submitted this question to him: "If your suppositions case was exactly as you have stated it, and my house was burned down, but you were not guilty, would you be perfectly willing to waive your right of a trial by jury because an injunction had been granted me?" The answer has never yet been given—he became busy with something else.

There is probably no greater monopoly than that of the United Shoe Machinery Company. A little over two years ago they made up their minds to de-unionize their machine shops, and so they went to their machinists with copies of individual contracts, or that which we call the "yellow dog," and they told their machinists: "Unless you sign these contracts which compel you to withdraw from your union and pledge you to belong to no labor organization while remaining in our employ we will discharge you."

And so that they might keep their organization from being destroyed for acting collectively they went on a strike. The court issued an injunction restraining them from striking, because the judge's conscience convinced him it was for an illegal purpose. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts sustained that injunction, so that so far as injunction by judicial conscience is concerned, the right of a trades union organization today does not depend upon the desire of wage-earners, but depends entirely upon the employer's willingness, and the equity court stands prepared, if the employer desires to destroy the union of his employes, to issue an injunction declaring it illegal to go out on strike.

The committee has made some recommendations. Upon the question of injunctions, the Congress of our United States and our State Legislatures should be willing to do what the Parliament of Great Britain did. We should be able

to find men who are willing to sign the same kind of a report as the one signed by the congressional committee I read to you a few minutes ago. And if these men are not in Congress and in our State Legislatures, and we have not sufficient intelligence to replace them by men who will, then perhaps we are hardly deserving of those rights which we believe we are entitled to.

One step in addition to legislation and if necessary constitutional amendment that may be required is what, in my opinion, will bring the question before the glare of publicity as effectively as any.

When a man like Judge Anderson, of Indianapolis, when a man like Judge McClintic, of West Virginia, issues an injunction which is a clear invasion of our constitutional rights, or when a court ratifies an injunction such as the one in the United States Machine Company's case, then, so far as I am concerned, and my understanding of our methods and the system by which we govern ourselves, we are justified in having that judge impeached and haled before the Legislature to publicly give the reasons for his actions in invalidating constitutional rights because workmen have an industrial dispute with their employers.

#### DELEGATE GEORGE L. BERRY International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union

Mr. President and Delegates to the Convention: It would be presumption on my part to undertake to make reference to the acts of the Supreme Court of the United States and the inferior courts of this country, or to attempt to make any review of the historical decisions of the courts of England, because that has been presented adequately and minutely by Delegate Frey, who has just addressed you.

I am sure that every delegate to this convention must be impressed by what has been said with regard to the attitude of the courts of this country. The committee has presented to you a constructive, forward-looking educational program. It is the result of the action of this convention in directing that delegates to this convention bring to your attention some remedy and some analysis of the facts involved in this very serious situation.

The failure of the delegates to this convention to introduce resolutions upon this subject of judicial abuse is a compliment to the intelligence, and yet more of a compliment to the determination of the convention of the American

Federation of Labor to do something constructive and responsive to our need and the needs of the whole of the citizenship of this great Republic.

There isn't a delegate on the floor of this convention who doesn't appreciate the fact that we are confronted with the most serious situation that has ever been visited upon the trade union movement of America, and for that matter upon the citizenship of our Republic; and I venture the observation, Mr. President and delegates, that there isn't a delegate to this convention that isn't as mad as hell because of the conspiracy against the workers of America.

The question that must demand our attention is: What are we going to do about it? I make the observation without fear of contradiction—and I am prepared to stand the consequences—that there has been in America, that there is in America today, the most colossal conspiracy to break down the trade union movement that has ever been organized in the history of civilization. And, whether intentionally or unintentionally, the courts of this country have acceded to and have responded to every offensive made against the workers of this country who have endeavored to retain a respectable livelihood and to function as American citizens. And because of it, as an American citizen, I elect to say that that element that has conspired to abridge, to break down, the progress of the workers of this country is the most radical, revolutionary element America is confronted with at this moment.

The American Federation of Labor can very properly say that it is, at least in numbers, and I believe in principle and conduct, the greatest American institution and that it has stood more consistently than possibly any other group of American citizens for the conservation of American principles and the enforcement of the Constitution of our Republic.

And now we propose in this committee's report, not only the remedy for this situation—which can only come by understanding, by evolutionary process—but we likewise propose and offer the means by which all of the forward-looking men and women of this Republic who believe in the possibilities of the Constitution can co-operate, can coordinate, with us in making effective the remedies necessary to estop further encroachment upon the rights of Americanism.

Back in the rank and file of the unions that you represent as international officers there is a suffering, there

is a resentment, my friends, such as never before existed in America. A few weeks ago I had the opportunity of visiting West Virginia and held in Williamson, Mingo County, the first mass meeting held there for nearly two years. I traveled up and down the rivers and the mountains of that wonderful section of our Republic, and I saw men, women and children, Americans one hundred per cent, who had lived for two winters in tents because of the outrages of the judiciary of that State and the executive conduct of that Commonwealth.

In that section of West Virginia I saw industrial possibilities unequalled possibly by any other State in the Union, the bowels of the earth filled with coal, with gas and with iron, natural beauties unsurpassed in America; and yet in that great State of the Republic there were men and women, I repeat, who had lived in tents and suffered poverty as a result chiefly, if not directly, of the action of the courts of that State and judicial district, and of the executive conduct of those in charge of the State of West Virginia.

And that is but a sample. There is not a union represented here that hasn't suffered similar consequences from unemployment in America, fictitious, organized for the purpose of strangling the ambitions of the workers. Suffering, my friends, untold suffering, unequalled in the history of America, is now upon us. I think every delegate in this convention appreciates the correctness of that statement.

Let us see if we are the only ones involved in this statement. The farmers of this country—and I am talking about the farmers who grow meat and who produce the bread for the people of this Republic—are in bankruptcy. The farmers of America never before have faced a situation as confronts them at this moment, due to the combination organized in America to unhorse both the farmers and the workers of the United States.

About eighteen months ago twelve men—just twelve men—met in the city of Chicago and elected that upon a given day the selling price of the products of the farmers of America should be a, b, c, and it happened. It happened because the farmers were unorganized, and any attempt of the farmers to organize to prevent that autocratic course will be met with the same circumstances that confront the trade union movement of this country. And because of that there is an inescapable community of interest between the farmers of this country and the trade union movement.

Organized labor has not been so submissive, because we were organized. We have resented the encroachments, we have resented the campaign of starvation imposed upon us as a result of the introduction of this fictitious, unfair and unnecessary depression in America. But, my friends, when our resentment, when our organized effort, appear to be sufficiently strong to stop, then, and immediately, nine men were called upon to unhorse you as the twelve men in Chicago unhorsed the farmers in this country.

Now, I am wondering who it is that will dare question the Americanism of the American Federation of Labor and of the farmers of this country; I am wondering who it is that will dare to question the Americanism of this Federation of Labor when it offers the people of this country a remedy predicated upon the prophecy, predicated upon the statesmanship of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln.

Now, it is perfectly true, my fellow delegates, that the passage of the report of this committee will amount to nothing unless every trade unionist, every forward-looking American, whether he be at the top or at the bottom of official standing, puts his shoulder and her shoulder to the wheel in making effective the resolutions you are considering here today. And I urge upon you to make this fight as a fight for the conservation of Americanism and the furtherance of the principles of our Republic. If we do that we will win by attracting the attention and the co-operation of all of the people of this country.

I favor the adoption of the committee's report in toto, because I believe it is the only remedy at our disposal. It is a remedy that can be applied if we but play our part in the furtherance of this great campaign to conserve your rights to organize and function as free men.

I repeat to you that there has never come to you as a result of this industrial conspiracy a situation such as you are now faced with. The trade union movement, in contravention of the well-known purposes and precedents established in America, is today helpless because of the action of the courts of this country, because largely we have not functioned one hundred per cent as trade unionists. So I am urging upon you not the mere passage of this resolution, not the mere applause of the provisions of it; but I am urging that you take this matter back to those you represent. Urge upon them the advisability of tak-

ing it to their families and friends, to the end that the purpose of this great, just, practical and constructive document may be brought into fruition at the earliest possible moment.

#### DELEGATE WILLIAM P. CLARKE American Flint Glass Workers' Union

Mr. Chairman and Delegates: I want to congratulate you upon setting aside last Wednesday and today for the discussion of problems of such great importance, and it occurs to me that if in the future we would devote more of our time to discussing matters of such importance, rather than devoting our energies to non-essentials, we would perhaps get a little farther on in the labor movement.

So it was quite fitting and, in my judgment, a very practical piece of legislation was enacted when we agreed that this day would be set aside to consider, discuss and determine the action of the American Federation of Labor as to recent decisions of the Supreme Court, which decisions are antagonistic to labor, to labor's rights, to labor's hopes, and to the common people in general.

In the very inception, I wish you to understand that I have no antipathy to judge because they are judges, nor do I feel that they should be treated with more respect than that accorded to any other self-respecting citizen or be more immune from criticism than are other citizens or officials of our government, always bearing in mind that honest, well-intended criticism has a tonic-like effect.

There are some federal judges whom I admire—admire for their courage, their learning, their high ideals and their attempt to administer the law in an equitable manner, free from influence and prejudice. On the other hand, however, I have reason to believe that some federal judges have allowed their bias to warp their judgment, resulting in great injury being done to the common people.

Federal judges are attorneys. In their training, be it in the school, in the college, or in the practice of their profession, they have been constantly in an environment which is akin to an "evil influence." Their complete lack of knowing or understanding the struggle of the overwhelming majority of our people; their self-assurance that should appeals be taken from their decisions, said appeals, as a rule, shall be passed on by other judges whose mentality and reasoning are developed along the same line of thought as their

own and who will, in all probability, see the situation as they see it, wholly un-mindful of how their decision affects the common people. Furthermore, their positions and their incomes are secure, being assured of their places for life.

In dealing further with the environment surrounding federal judges, and its dangerous effects, it may be well to quote Senator Norris, who, when discussing the provisions of a bill providing for federal judges being called to Washington once a year, said:

"When these judges come to Washington at the expense of the taxpayers, what will they do? They will meet with the Chief Justice. They will be dined every evening somewhere. They will be run to death with social activities. They will be killed with social favoritisms before they get down to business. That is especially true in respect to the genial Chief Justice we have, who dines out somewhere every night. I would like to pause right here to say, Mr. President, that I do not believe there is any man who can stick his legs under the tables of the idle rich every night and be fit the next day to sit in judgment upon those who toil. Honest though he may be, he can not get away from the atmosphere that will surround him, and ninety-nine times out of one hundred, it will affect him and get him in the end. . . . I do not believe there can be any doubt but what in the practical workings the annual pilgrimages these judges will make to Washington will have an unfavorable effect upon them and upon the common idea of the common folks as to the courts."

In my humble judgment there has grown up a condition in this country to which much of our cause for complaint can be traced. The sons and daughters of most of the common people have been deprived of an opportunity to develop their mental faculties, while the history of the legislative, executive and judicial branches of our government clearly indicate that those who were fortunate enough to have their minds developed have constantly dominated the legislative, executive and judicial branches of our government.

In this connection, let me give you the results of an analysis I made twelve years ago, at which time I found that it was then estimated that only 1 per cent of our male population were college graduates, 99 per cent were not. While 1 per cent were graduates, we also had 10.9 per cent who were illiterates. By illiterates I mean those who could neither read nor write, or those who could read but not write, or vice

versa. While only 1 per cent of our male population were graduates and 99 per cent were not, yet that 1 per cent furnished 58 per cent of the presidents of the United States, 54 per cent of the vice-presidents, 55 per cent of the cabinet officers, 69 per cent of the justices of the Supreme Court, 86 per cent of the Chief Justices and 62 per cent of our Congressmen and our United States Senators. In other words, 297 of the 481 men that constituted our legislative bodies at Washington at the time of my survey were college graduates and it is presumed they were put there because it was thought that they were best fitted to represent us. Is it not reasonable to presume that education has been the reason for favoring 1 per cent to the disadvantage of the 99 per cent of our people?

Knowing the great value of education to the coming generation, is it any wonder that the common people feel deeply grieved when a law to protect our offspring is declared unconstitutional, while a similar law for the regulation of a grease called oleomargarine is held to be constitutional?

It was the Divine Master who proclaimed "Suffer little children to come unto me for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," but by the ruling of the courts of our land these poor defenseless souls are consigned to the mines, mills and work shops of this country to bear the cruelties that many within the hearing of my voice have experienced, and they are now seemingly crying out to the common people, "Oh! save me; oh! save me, you men and women who were the instruments of God in my creation," and the only way we can save them is to rededicate ourselves to a renewed effort that those children whose lives have been ground out in industry shall not have died in vain, but under God we shall carry on this work for the emancipation of those little ones, made His image and likeness.

It may be asked if our criticism of the courts in their relation to the common people is justifiable. My answer to this is that the laboring people of our country are the poor people, and the attitude of the courts toward the poor has been dealt with by men more able to handle the subject than the speaker. Hence, I beg your indulgence while I quote a few expressions:

Elihu Root in relation to courts has said:

"I think the true criticism which we should make upon our own conduct is that we have been so busy about our individual affairs that we have been slow



to appreciate the changes of conditions which, to so great an extent, have put justice beyond the reach of the poor."

The United States Commission on Industrial Relations, in 1915, declared:

"The sources from which industrial unrest springs are xxx-3, denial of justice in the creation, in the adjudication and in the administration of law."

Lyman Abbott has said: "If ever a time shall come when in this city (New York) only the rich man can enjoy law as a doubtful luxury, when the poor who need it most cannot have it, when only a golden key will unlock the door to the court-room, the seeds of revolution will be sown, the firebrand of revolution will be lighted and put into the hands of men, and they will almost be justified in the revolution which will follow."

Chief Justice Olson, of Chicago, says: "When litigation is too costly, the result for many persons is a denial of justice. Such denial or practical denial of justice engenders social and commercial friction. The sense of helplessness thus caused incites citizens to take the law into their own hands. It causes crimes of violence. It saps patriotism and destroys civic pride. It arouses class jealousies and breeds contempt for law and government."

Again Mr. Root has said:

"While the law is enforced, justice waits. The possibilities of delay and of forcing a compromise to avoid expense and annoyance induce litigation by those who wish to escape the faithful performance of their contracts. The calendars are crowded with such cases. For such a game the poor stand little chance against the rich, or the honest against the unscrupulous."

On April 6th of this year, Senator Norris, while discussing a like question in the Senate, gave vent to the following:

"Members of this body (the federal court) are high-class men. They are picked men; judges are picked men, but sometimes they are picked by politicians, and often mistakes are made when that is done. I am not willing to admit and I do not believe that the federal district judges are any better class of men than are the general trial judges of the States."

Further on he said:

"When I was a young man and started out in life, when I studied law and commenced to practice law, I thought it was the finest thing in the world; and in theory our federal judicial system is fine. I do not think, however, it has worked out in practice so well as

we would expect it to work out when we study only its theory.

"From my experience in life, and especially in dealing with courts and lawyers, I have reached the conclusion that a life tenure of office is not good for the people; that while in theory the judge, appointed for life, is removed from temptation and has nothing but the straight and narrow path to follow—and often that is the result, as many judges have exemplified—yet too often the security of a life salary and a life position makes some men indifferent; it makes some forget the common people, the common run of humanity, the common folk who are struggling, with more or less difficulty, to maintain themselves and those who are dependent upon them for a livelihood."

The authorities that I have cited are learned men, men whose standing and experience justify them to speak, but, sirs, I have another authority whose words, if sincere, should have a tremendous bearing on the relation of the courts to the poor, and, in this connection, I wish to quote the Honorable William Howard Taft, ex-president of the United States and now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who, in an address before the Virginia Bar Association, said:

"Of all the questions which are before the American people, I regard no one as more important than the improvement of the administration of justice. We must make it so that the poor man will have as nearly as possible an equal opportunity in litigating as the rich man, and under present conditions, ashamed as we may be of it, this is not the fact."

Let me contrast the utterances of the Honorable William Howard Taft, ex-president of the United States, with the very recent declaration of Chief Justice Taft, one and the same person, who, just a few days ago, wrote the opinion in the Coronado case when, after rejecting the claim for almost a million dollars, took occasion to say:

"The circumstances are such as to awaken regret that in our view of the federal jurisdiction we cannot affirm the judgment."

Why the changed attitude? It is due, I believe, to environment. Let us reason this out. It has not been many years ago since this same gentleman (Mr. Taft) gave utterance to the following declaration:

"Time was when everybody who employed labor was opposed to the labor union; when it was regarded as a menace. That time, I am glad to say,

has largely passed away, and the man who objects to the organization of labor should be relegated to the last century."

Nor are the common people the only ones who recognize the vacillating disposition of Mr. Taft. In a book written by John J. Leary, Jr., entitled "Talks With T. R." (meaning former President Theodore Roosevelt) a chapter appears under the caption, "The Break With Taft." Here Mr. Roosevelt gives his version of their difference, and from which I quote:

"The break in our relations," said he, "was due to no one thing, but to the cumulative effect of many things—the abandonment of everything my Administration had stood for, and other things.

"Taft changed greatly between the time he was elected and the time he took office.

"The first friction came in the matter of his Cabinet. When he was nominated I went to him and asked whom he wished to have take his place as Secretary of War. I told him I considered it as much his appointment as mine, and that I would appoint no one not acceptable to him, though I had a good man in mind. I told him the man was Luke E. Wright.

"He said Wright was absolutely the man he would have chosen himself. Wright, he recalled, had been with him in the Philippines and was the man for the place.

"After he was elected he came to me and told me he wished to retain my Cabinet and would like to have me tell the members so. I realized at once that this was a rather delicate matter, believing he might and probably would change his mind later; that his wishes in November might not be his wishes in March; and I asked him if he really desired the message delivered.

"How about Cortelyou? I asked. 'Do you want him? You know he thought he was your rival.'

"He allowed this was so, and that he would not want Cortelyou.

"How about Bonaparte? I asked. 'You know you do not think much of him as a lawyer.'

"He agreed that he would wish another in the place, but he insisted that he wanted the others to stay, and on his definite insistence I delivered the message. More than that, those thus assured thanked Taft for the offer in my presence.

"Wright was among those so assured; in fact, the assurance that he was the joint choice of myself and Taft

was, he said, the impelling reason for his deep acceptance of the place when I offered it to him.

"By inauguration time, however, Mr. Taft had changed his mind, just as I had feared he would, and it made a great deal of feeling. Some had made very definite plans on the strength of his offer, renewing leases of houses and that sort of thing, and it was bad all around."

In a public address in London this week, Mr. Taft is credited with saying that he had retired from the Presidency of the United States with the "full and unmistakable consent of the American people," and to this I say, amen.

When the minds of men are so easily changed—a right we do not deny,—why should not the common people have a chance to exercise the same right? If they had such a right in the matter of selecting the federal judiciary, is it not possible that they may retire some judges just as they retired President Taft, who, now, by the power of a reactionary president, has been placed at the head of the judicial branch of our federal government?

But it is not unusual for Mr. Taft to change his mind. I wish to quote from an address delivered in New York when he said:

"There is nothing that this war has developed so much as the complete dependence of a nation in modern war upon labor. If labor deserts the cause, the country is gone."

May I not reason that if Mr. Taft's statement is correct in reference to labor in war times, then it is not a fair way to measure the importance of labor by the same scale in peace times?

Paraphrasing the reasoning of Mr. Taft in paying this compliment to labor, I wish to be understood that my judgment justifies the belief that if labor will but unite in peace times as it did in war times, then and not until then, can we redress the wrongs inflicted on us by our federal courts.

I believe that the men who have gone into the dungeons of the earth and brought forth the coal that has given us warmth and comfort when winter's frosts make us otherwise; the fuel that has made the steam that propels the swiftly flying trains to speed on like a star taking its flight from heaven; the electricity that has been gathered and used in so many ways to the advantage of mankind, as well as the men who produce the bulbs from which comes forth the light whose brilliancy can be estimated and appreciated only by contrast with the tallow candle of yore—in fact, a light that almost

turns night into day; the men who carved the marble that went into the spires ascending heavenward, marking the spots where achievements have been accomplished by others, as well as building palaces for those who have accomplished nothing; the men who felled the forests and made from the sturdy oak the magnificent furnishings for homes, and also the farmer who has devoted his life to bringing together the two greatest elements of nature—the sun and the earth—and producing therefrom not only the food for man and beast but many other necessities of life, to do without which would be a hardship; in a word, all labor, skilled or otherwise, has contributed so much to our comfort and happiness that laborers need never bow their heads in shame for the part they have played in the production and development of the things that go towards the advancement of the human family. These people, to my mind, are the real guardians of American liberty.

On April 11th this country was treated to a great surprise when the Labor and Education Committee of the United States Senate, in its report to that body in reference to the steel mills of this country, said in part in a document entitled:

#### **"Brutal Systems of Industrial Slavery"**

"This government is bound in its own defense, for its citizenship, its life, to interpose between the strong and the weak. No man can meet the obligations and discharge the duties of citizenship in a free government who is broken in spirit and wrecked in body through industrial peonage. And before he has reached the prime of life under such conditions, sodden in mind and broken in health, he is cast off as a useless hulk—a burden and a curse in society and a menace to the government. It is just as much the government's duty to protect citizens from such outrageous treatment as from the burglar and highwayman."

On February 13th, Judge E. H. Gary, Chairman of the Steel Corporation, declared:

"Unless capitalists themselves take a leading part in trying to improve the conditions of humanity, great changes will come, and they will come mighty quickly, and the mob will bring them."

After his remarks were published broadcast, he announced that they were not intended for the public, but only for his fellow-capitalists.

What excuse have the working people of America to offer when they sit idly

by and allow the legal profession to occupy 380 out of 531 of the seats in the legislative branch of our federal government? This gives to that profession 72 per cent of the representation in the Congress and the Senate of these United States.

I would now like to recall to your mind the work of the Industrial Commission appointed by President Wilson in 1915. The three employers who served on that tribunal made a separate report. Listen to this indictment registered against the employing class by their representatives on the commission:

#### **Capital's Own Indictment**

"Despite the fact that we have been appointed to represent, on this Commission, the employers of the nation, we are free to admit that the investigations made by the Commission, and the testimony brought forth at our public hearings, have made it plain that employers, some of them, have been guilty of much wrongdoing and have caused the workers to have their fullest grievances against many employers. There has been an abundance of testimony submitted to prove to our satisfaction that some employers have resorted to questionable methods to prevent their workers from organizing in their own self-interest; that they have attempted to defeat democracy by more or less successfully controlling courts and Legislatures; that some of them have exploited women and children and unorganized workers; that some have resorted to all sorts of methods to prevent the enactment of remedial industrial legislation; that some have employed gunmen in strikes, who were disreputable characters, and who assaulted innocent people and committed other crimes most reprehensible in character; that some have paid lower wages than competitive conditions warranted, worked their people long hours, and under insanitary and dangerous conditions; that some have exploited prison labor at the expense of free labor; that some have been contract-breakers with labor; that some have at times attempted, through the authorities, to suppress free speech and the right of peaceful assembly; and that some have deliberately, for selfish ends, bribed representatives of labor. All these things, we find, tend to produce industrial unrest, with all its consequent and far-reaching ills.

"There is, therefore, no gainsaying the fact that labor has had many grievances, and that it is thoroughly

justified in organizing and in spreading organization in order better to protect itself against exploitation and oppression. \* \* \* We say frankly that if we were wage-earners we would be unionists, and as unionists we would feel the keen responsibility of giving the same attention to our trade union duties as to our civic duties. \* \* \*

It is evident both from the investigation of this Commission and from the reports of all recent government bodies that a large part of our industrial population is, as a result of the combination of low wages and unemployment, living in a condition of actual poverty. How large this proportion is cannot be exactly determined, but it is certain that at least one-third and possibly one-half of the families of wage earners employed in manufacturing and mining earn in the course of the year less than enough to support them in anything like a comfortable and decent condition. The detailed evidence is presented in a separate report which is submitted for transmittal to Congress.

It was shown that the babies whose fathers earned less than \$10.00 per week died during the first year at the appalling rate of 256 per 1,000. On the other hand, those whose fathers earned \$25.00 per week, or more, died at the rate of only 84 per 1,000. The babies of the poor died three times as fast as those who were in fairly well-to-do families. The tremendous significance of these figures will be appreciated when it is known that one-third of all the adult workmen reported by the Immigration Commission earned less than \$10.00 per week. These workmen (one-third of all workmen) may expect one out of four of their babies to die during the first year of life. The last of the family to go hungry are the children, yet statistics show that in six of our largest cities from 12 to 20 per cent of the children are noticeably underfed and ill-nourished.

Let me conclude by reciting to you a very appropriate poem by Braley:

**"The Worker"**

"I have broken my hands on your granite,  
I have broken my strength on your steel;  
I have sweated through years for your pleasure,

I have worked like a slave for your weal,  
And what is the wage you have paid me?  
You masters and drivers of men—  
Enough so I come in my hunger  
To beg for more labor again!

I have given my manhood to serve you,  
I have given my gladness and youth;  
You have used me and spent me and crushed me,  
And thrown me aside without ruth;  
You have shut my eyes off from the sunlight,  
My lungs from the untainted air,  
You have housed me in horrible places,  
Surrounded by squalor and care.

I have built you the world in its beauty,  
I have brought you the glory and spoil,  
You have blighted my sons and my daughters,  
You have scourged me again to my toil.

Yet I suffer it all in my patience  
For somehow I dimly have known  
That some day The Worker will conquer,  
In a world that was meant for his own!"

And I say to you that if you go from this convention permeated with the spirit that permeated that special committee, if you carry that spirit to your local unions, to your national unions, if you will set aside in your conventions—as I intend to set aside in mine—a time for the discussion of such questions as this, if you will only do your duty when you go home, you will soon permeate the atmosphere that is inhaled by the common people, the day will soon come when the words of Braley will be a reality and the constitutional amendments that are presented by our committee will be written into the laws of the land.

Delegate Antonini, International Ladies' Garment Workers and Delegate McCullough, International Typographical Union, made brief statements after the other addresses had been delivered which could not be heard on the platform, but which will be prepared and printed with future discussion on the subject.

At 5:45 o'clock p. m. the convention adjourned until 9:30 o'clock a. m. Thursday, June 22nd.

## TENTH DAY—Thursday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 22, 1922.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

### Absentees

Mountford, Quesse, Kelleher, Desepte, Coulter, Rosemund, Laibly, Kirby, J. T. Carey, Parker, La Belle, Canterbury, Doane, Koester, Taylor, Howat, Stephen Ely, Fenton, Grace, Mooney, Fox, Troutman, Lorntsen, Clendenning, Clark, Hushing, Lehman, Thornbrough, Winans, Taylor, Lochray, Robt. Marshall, Ogg, O'Dell, Brown, Kerns, Argo, Nelson, Bennett, Downes, Sims, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Frampton, Ogletree, Meloon, Dunn, Herder, Bower, Casey, Wrenn, Rich, Trimmer, Whitcomb, Dechend, Halloway, W. E. Colman, Boulware, A. E. Allen, Harte, Hixson, Sandy Colman, Caporal, McCoy, Chas. I. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, Stewart, Milton, Fizer, Latimore, Rincker, F. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstone.

Secretary Morrison read a communication from Charles J. Lammert, of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers, stating that he would represent that organization in place of Delegate Finan, beginning Thursday, June 22.

He also read a communication from William Tracy, of the United Brick and Clay Workers, stating that he was called away on account of a strike in his organization and stating that Thos. Hutson would replace him as a delegate.

The communications were made a matter of record and Delegates Lammert and Hutson were seated.

Secretary Morrison read a telegram from W. E. Kimsey, Secretary of the Central Labor Council of Portland, Oregon, stating that they were considering inviting the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1923 convention in Portland.

President Gompers: At the adjournment of the convention last evening there was under consideration the report of the Special Committee upon the various subjects referred to that committee for consideration. Debate was had, and a motion was made that the report of the committee be adopted. The question is now before the convention.

Mr. Luigi Antonini, Ladies' Garment Workers: The report of the committee is excellent and eloquent. But it does not go far enough. The same with the speeches which so eloquently support the report of the committee. They do not go far enough. The report and the speeches are excellent analyses, but the remedy suggested does not go far enough. It will take untold years to secure constitutional amendments under present political conditions. The workers in this country must employ the same methods employed by the workers of other countries to safeguard their rights. They must adopt a program of independent political action. They must elect men who represent them. And, finally, they must use that weapon so effectively used in the country in which I was born, the weapon of the general strike. I know that this weapon is not looked upon with favor in this country, but in a case like this where the very fundamental rights and liberties of the workers are threatened, certainly it is justified. So I would like to see added to the present report of the committee a recommendation that the worker of the country organize for political, as well as economic, action and as a last resort employ the weapon of a general strike.

Mr. T. W. McCullough, Typographical Union: I did intend to present an argument in support of the committee's report, but in view of the hour will refrain from saying anything. I aim to briefly cover a single point that has not been touched on by the various speakers. It is the effect of the Coronado decision; isn't it possible of extension? Under the terms of the decision, the language is capable of extension to include in almost any labor dispute all the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Certainly in this instance it can be so extended. As members of the American Federation of Labor each of the national and international unions here represented are responsible to one another and to the general organization. In the event that a directly chartered union under the American Federation of Labor seeks to strike for any reason or for no reason, it applies to the executive head of the American Federation of Labor for sanction. Should

that sanction be given it is in very truth the sanction of every national and international union here represented and therefore under the Coronado decision, each is alike liable for any act done by the union so sanctioned to strike. Moreover, the liability is extended to include all members of every organization, for any judgment for damages given against the organization runs, first against the joint funds of the membership as represented by the union's treasury, and then any unsatisfied return made on such an execution is diverted to include the property of the individual members of the union for satisfaction. This brings the importance of the Coronado decision directly home to each individual member of every labor organization represented in this convention.

In the Declaration of Independence we are told that man has certain "inalienable rights, among which rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and that "to secure these rights, governments are set up, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," and further that "when one of these governments become destructive to the ends for which it is instituted, it is the right of the governed to alter or abolish it, and to institute such government as shall secure these ends."

The purpose of the committee's report is to move in an orderly fashion to the alteration of the system of government under which we live to the end that it shall secure the aids of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," in accordance with the consent of the governed, to the end that the course of the evolutionary development of our civilization be turned into its proper and health channel, and for the growth of civilization and the preservation of our institutions of human liberty.

Mr. Max Hayes, International Typographical Union: I listened with a great deal of attention to the report as read by the secretary of the committee and to the very able addresses that were delivered on the subject by Delegates Green, Frey, Clarke and others, and I do not rise at this time to oppose the report of that committee, but to make a few observations upon the subject before the house, which subject I consider is the most vital to the labor movement that has been considered in any previous convention that I have attended, and certainly the most important that has come up or will come up in this convention.

In short, the American labor movement is facing a critical period that

must be met in a practical way immediately, because under your repeated court decisions, and particularly the decision in the Coronado case, we have virtually been outlawed as organizations, and even our small savings for the traditional rainy day of the average worker are now endangered by any act that he or his colleagues, his fellow-workers may engage in for the improvement of their conditions as far as strikes, boycotts, etc., are concerned. I say that to us, as printers, this is a very serious condition. Over in Indianapolis we have about three and a half millions of dollars piled up in our funds that were paid in by the men who anticipated that when they became old they would be able to draw a pension of a dollar a day for the balance of their lives, in case of becoming incapacitated. Our membership has paid into an insurance fund approximately a million dollars, which goes into a grief-stricken home ordinarily when it is the most needed. We have other funds that are subject to the raids of employers who may enter the courts and bring suits for alleged damages because of the contests in which we may be engaged for our own improvement.

Now, the committee, I presume, has gone as far as its conservative wisdom permitted it. It is generally admitted that it will require from four to ten or a dozen years to bring about an amendment to the Constitution. Well, within four to a dozen years we don't know whether we will have a labor movement. I saw what was coming in the Hatters' case and I stated it on the floor of the convention. After years of struggle I acquired a home and I prepared that home, not, as in the case of the Hatters, to have it sold over my head, but it is now immune from court attack as far as it can be made under the law. I don't know how the rest of you are situated. When the decision in the Hatters' case was announced a certain principle was laid down and that has simply been built upon and expanded by subsequent decisions along the same lines, irrespective of your so-called labor Magna Charta in the shape of the Clayton Act. The courts care nothing about mere acts of Congress, as Senator LaFollette told you very plainly the other day.

It is now about twenty years ago that, in company with the secretary of the Hatters' Union, who is seated on the floor here as a delegate, I went as a fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. The last newspaper that I purchased before going on

board contained an item of a dozen lines announcing that suit had been brought by Loewe & Co. against the United Hatters, Brother Lawlor and I discussed that subject to a greater or less extent, and when I got to Great Britain I made diligent inquiries with regard to the Taft-Vale decision; I wrote several articles on the subject and I made a report to the Boston convention of this Federation, and I tried then, as I had in several previous conventions and in practically every convention since, as I have tried or will try this morning in order to keep my record straight, to impress upon the minds of the leaders, or so-called leaders of the organized labor forces of America, that it is necessary for your own safety to buttress your industrial movement with a political movement.

Well, you know the result. Most of you delegates here recall that a few years ago it was a favorite indoor sport at these conventions to kick the radicals around the floor in every conceivable manner. It was a delightful time that was had by all, including the advocates of political action. Yes, when I went into this convention, Mr. President, in Kansas City in 1898, the then leaders of the American labor movement ridiculed political action as absolutely unnecessary, or substantially so, and they said—the favorite argument, by the way—that we will accomplish through our industrial movement what you Socialist politicians expect to do on the political field. In other words, the workers of the nation were to be organized 100 per cent in industry, or 90 per cent, as the case may be, control obtained in that industry, and the industry operated as the unions desired it should be operated. The old, worn-out direct-action theory, the theory advanced as far back as the Russian anarchists—that was the policy—and any one who discussed the idea of independent political action was denounced in every term imaginable as an enemy of organized labor trying to disrupt the movement.

I stand for 100 per cent industrial form of organization, but I also want to stand 100 per cent for a political organization of labor without being compelled to get on my knees, without being subjected to the humiliation, after having the opportunity of using the ballot, of going down to Washington or to the State Legislature to beg and plead and threaten a court or its hirelings—a lot of lawyers, doctors, corner grocery keepers, anybody and everybody except men of labor who understand our movement and who know

what you are talking about when you talk in terms of labor. That is the galling feature of our movement, this great movement of ours, this great movement in a great country, the greatest of the great, where we are compelled to confess that we have no representation in Congress except as it may come through the boss-owned and controlled political machines of the old parties.

Several of the speakers touched, very lightly, however, on the matter of political action, and I was particularly interested and thought I would become intensely so, when Brother Clarke mentioned the political power that the workers of Belgium had in their Parliament, and in the new Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, and I wanted him to continue going about the circle, but he suddenly switched—he was getting on dangerous ground again—he didn't want to hold any temptation before you, apparently. Well, the British trade unionists at the time that Brother Lawlor and I were fraternal delegates had the same question before them and in several preceding Congresses, and I had the opportunity by invitation to sit in some of the conferences that were had by the British leaders, many of whom have been fraternal delegates to this body, and I recall very distinctly a statement that was made by Brother Seddon, who was elected to Parliament. It was to this effect: "We, you and I, trade union officials, know what is confronting us in the Taft-Vale case and in other hostile attitudes assumed by the various branches of government, and we as leaders have discussed and advised with the rank and file, but they are moving too slowly to suit me and to suit you." And that thought was generally accepted. In fine, the British trade union leaders, the officials, were real leaders; they were trying to draw the workers into their Labor Party movement for the purpose of securing representation in Parliament. They did not wait to see how the rank and file was going to march and then run around the corner and get at the head of the procession—that is not leadership; that is pure, unadulterated cowardice.

I don't care whether I am the only one—and frequently I am the only one almost that stood upon this floor and battled upon some of these propositions, and I know they were received with bad grace by the leaders—alleged—in this convention and prior conventions. That does not matter. I said a number of times, I will stand on my own right, on my own acts, and I want to keep that record clear by repeating and reiterating that this question will not be set-

tled until you throw the fear of God into the hearts of the courts of this country by engaging in a political revolt in and through your own government and elect men from your own ranks with common sense.

I feel more responsibility today in this matter than I have in all my life, not for myself, but for the movement of which I am an officer and representative. I know hundreds of thousands of printers, how hard they struggle and how they practiced every virtue of self-denial to accumulate a small competency in the nature of a home for themselves, their wives and their children; a small balance, perhaps, in the bank; and under these circumstances, after battling away practically every day of my life, building, building, building, and trying to point out the necessity of safeguarding your union on the political field, being confronted here with the report of a committee that tells me we can do nothing within four years or more that will be effective. What am I going to say to hundreds of our members who are even now on strike all over this State and this section and have been for more than a year? I don't have to say much to them. The other side will take care of that, Mr. Chairman; they have already. The day after the report came from Washington concerning the latest decision of the Supreme Court, an employer in the city of Canton told me he intended to take full and complete advantage of that decision. In the little city of Canton, where one of our honored Presidents was born, we have a local union of some 130 members, and of that number nearly if not one-third are owners of homes. I don't have to go up there and say, "Boys, the condition is serious;" the employers will take advantage of this condition through their many associations and the knowledge they have gained from their keen and able attorneys and see that that information gets into the hands of our members to frighten them into submitting to the dictates of the employers or open-shop associations. Then the membership will come back again and say, "Give an account of your stewardship; what have you done in all these years past to make possible our widely boasted claim of being the greatest and freest country on earth?"

Why, some organizations today are even considering the matter of transferring their funds from free America, free, republican, democratic America to monarchical Great Britain and its Dominions. Now, that is what we are facing. Senator LaFollette told you the other

day, that even though the miners received a rather apparent victory in that they were not assessed for the damages, and in which it is questionable whether they will ever receive the money that has been put in escrow, he didn't tell you that a careful reading of the verdict, of the decision as printed in the bulletin of the American Federation of Labor that was distributed throughout this convention, would show that they there prepared the way for further "obiter dicta," which means that when you come into the court with another case you have opinions laid down there in advance as to decisions that will be rendered by that court.

I already have taken more time than I intended, but I was not satisfied with a mere criticism, with the relating of the history of jurisprudence, court decisions, etc. They are constructive in their way. I am not finding fault with any previous speaker; only I say when it comes to criticism and denunciation that I can resort to that, I presume, fairly well, but that does not get us anywhere. What you have got to do is to begin now. We must, sooner or later, if we hope to save our movement, put men in the Senate and in the Congress and in other places of responsibility, see that the laws and bills that we propose are enacted into law, and see that they are enforced as they should be after they have been passed.

I for one simply repeat in conclusion that I refuse to be dragged into either the Republican or Democratic parties by a policy of sophistry and hypocrisy for the purpose of rewarding my enemies and punishing my friends. I will stay out and continue to preach the idea of independent action until—well, until hell freezes over, and then I will preach it on the other side.

#### MR. MATTHEW WOLL Photo Engravers' Union

Speaking on the report of the Special Committee and statements made by the previous speaker, may I say that all of the phases that have been presented to the convention on this question were considered by the Special Committee, and if the committee did not make a complete report as to every detail of the situation confronting the trade union movement it is because of the grave questions involved and of the absolute necessity of further careful and thoughtful consideration for many of these questions.

I am not going to try to take up your time regarding the philosophy underlying our government, the powers of the various divisions of our govern-



mental functions, the checks placed in order to prevent infringements or encroachment of one upon another, but I shall confine myself more particularly and practically to the committee's report. Aside from setting forth the constant usurpation of the judiciary, not alone in encroaching upon the rights of the legislative divisions of our State and national governments, we also set forth the constant encroachment and restriction upon the rights and liberties of our people. Considering how that encroachment and how that insidious development and usurpation of power by the judiciary might be curbed, your committee considered which of the more practical methods may be used or applied to accomplish the desired result—that is, to keep the judiciary within its rightful and original phase in our government and the exercise of governmental functions.

There are two ways which we considered—one for the legislative branch of our government to demonstrate its own power and assert its own right and to tell the judicial department of the government that it shall stop and go no farther. Unfortunately, however, our Congress has not backbone enough; we haven't men of sufficient temper to realize the grave situation, to tell the judiciary where its powers begin and where its powers end, instead of having the judiciary tell the legislative branch what it may do and what it may not do. I feel convinced that if Congress would re-enact the laws passed by it even today and defy the judicial branch of our government, having the power to command the police and military force, our judiciary would not have that great power that it has today. However, it is absurd for us to appeal to Congress to assert its original rights and to assert its original functions. Indeed, I am inclined to believe that what was intended to be a check of one upon the other has become a convenient device by which to further restrict the interests of the people and to protect the interests of property and of wealth. Today our government, as is true of all governments of the past, is more concerned with the protection of property than with the protection of humanity.

The only other course, then, that your committee deemed advisable, desirable and most appealing to the great general public is to suggest and recommend constitutional amendments in the form contained in the committee's report. No utterance has been made adversely to these several proposals, hence I shall not take your time in the analysis of these proposals or what is to be accom-

plished thereby. We realize that to undertake a constitutional amendment under our present form and procedure of amending our Constitution will require years of effort, years of struggle, years of propaganda, years of sincere and honest fight. Indeed, today and yesterday while we were speaking of the rights of the people, Congress was condemning Senator LaFollette, the man who so ably presented the doctrines of Washington, of Lincoln, and of Jefferson, as a destroyer of this great Republic. And so the fight is on and will be on for years to come on that great, fundamental question.

Realizing that it will take years of time for the enactment of Constitutional amendments, your committee proposes that proper legislation be again introduced into Congress and the several State Legislatures seeking earlier redress than may be obtained by Constitutional amendments, and by the denial of the Legislature, if that be their choice, or if granted to us, then by the destruction of the Supreme Court of such legislative attempts, hasten the day when there will be a real reform in our governmental affairs and the proper relations of the various departments of government.

It is true we have no reported specific forms of legislation to be asked for. Further consideration is required on that question, and your committee has provided for that further consideration and for the preparing of that proposed legislation which may bring the relief sooner and speedier than may be accomplished through Constitutional amendment if such course is possible.

The third question raised by Brother Hayes is, What shall we do in the meantime? To ask for Constitutional amendments is all right, to seek legislative redress is well and good, but years will pass before redress of that character will come in force. What are we to do in the meantime? Here are the printing trades, the miners, and perhaps tomorrow the railway workers, and so each day the various workers are involved in an industrial struggle with their funds jeopardized, the savings of their members menaced, and their homes threatened at almost any moment. What shall we do? Why did the committee not advise us what to do and how we might save our funds, our property, how we might save our little earnings set aside in the form of savings?

In considering that question there are two points of view to be expressed. One is, shall we attempt to evade the rulings of the court, shall we attempt

to avoid the rigors of the unwarranted, unjustifiable conduct of the Supreme Court and the lower courts? Shall we play into the hands of the very powers that are constantly taking away our rights and our liberties by seeking to find evasive and avoidable ways of having the rigors of these decrees and judgments conferred upon us? Shall we stand firm and stand on our rights as free men and dare the courts, challenge the employers to go all the way and take away our properties, take away our funds and take away all that is dear to us? I ask you, by what process are you going to seek your redress most speedily? If I were to advise this convention, if I were to influence your judgment, I would say to the governmental authorities, judicial, legislative and administrative: "You are making the law, you are taking away our property; don't do it, and if you want to create a condition where evolutionary, progressive development will have been halted and where revolution will take its place, go to it, and go all the way."

Delegate Keep, Journeymen Tailors (interrupting): May I ask the chairman of the committee a question? I would like to ask whether or not the committee has taken into consideration this view of the matter: I have a distinct recollection on several occasions in various parts of the United States that members of organized labor have been arrested in connection with crimes committed by somebody else, and an attempt has been made to hold them for it, though they were miles away; to hold them personally and criminally responsible for the acts of that organization. Has the committee taken into consideration the fact that each and every one of us, under this decision as it will be extended, will be forced to defend ourselves criminally against the acts of the man in Washington or some place else, as Delegate Green said, both criminally and civilly?

Delegate Woll (continuing): The committee did not go into the details of the various developments arising out of the Supreme Court's decision. We are not concerned about the criminal phase of the law. We are speaking about the civil and equity expressions of the court. Fortunately we have yet there the great safeguards and principles of freedom and liberty of action.

Returning to the original suggestion, the two points: Shall we attempt to evade and avoid the full force of the decision of the Supreme Court and challenge the employers to use the full power at their command and take whatever consequences may arise, or shall

we remain as we are and seek to avoid the rigors of the law? We considered that question in connection with the matter. The proposal was made that we might escape at least some personal liability, if not collective liability, by the incorporation of trade unions and placing ourselves on a par with the incorporated organizations of wealth and capital, and yet we know the dangers of that. That is an avenue by which we may limit our liabilities at least so far as personal responsibility and liability is concerned.

Then, again, the suggestion that by the ruling of the Supreme Court the international unions might amend their laws, giving the full authority to call strikes by local unions or districts without requiring international sanction, thus saving our international funds and leaving the situation entirely in the hands of our local unions.

Again the proposal has been suggested to the committee that instead of striking off the job, we should strike within the job, that is, sabotage on the work in the factory, the mill and the mine. Other suggestions have been made, but your committee was not prepared, and I feel this convention is not prepared, to determine upon hasty judgment. First of all, which of these points of view shall we adopt? First of all, that of letting the courts administer the functions of government, the legislative department and the employers going all the way with the decisions and rights they have laid for themselves, or whether we shall attempt to avoid and evade those rigors. And then if we determine on the latter course, what particular evasive policy shall we follow?

Whether we put our funds in Canada or send them to Great Britain or wherever we may send them, if the employer under the decisions laid down wants to get them he can get them, and I say the quicker he attempts to get them, the quicker he attempts to deprive the wage-earner of his little savings and take away the home of the worker, the quicker will we have redress and this issue be determined to the interests of the great mass of people, the wage-earners of our land, and there will be a reversion from the conception—yes, even of our Constitution, that it was to protect the rights of the minority, and the minority clearly in mind were those who possess property and property rights.

Your committee, instead of offering any specific recommendation on these points, asks that in the meantime, in

order to adequately meet the increasing onslaughts against the fundamental rights and vital functions of organized labor, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to call a conference of persons and associations interested in any or all of the above-specified recommendations for the purpose of obtaining advice, assistance and co-operation in the preparation of the proposed laws and constitutional amendments and in the education of public opinion for their support and adoption, and that the Executive Council be authorized to approve, in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, the laws and constitutional amendments so prepared, and to take such further action as may be deemed advisable to promote their enactment.

The committee has a further recommendation to make which is not appended to this subject, and I think it would be only fair in connection with this subject to read that recommendation. It recommends that "in the meantime and in order to adequately meet the concerted and increasing onslaughts against the fundamental rights and vital functions of organized labor, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to establish a Legal Defense Bureau for the purpose of collating all laws and judicial decisions on the rights of labor, such bureau to enlist the voluntary assistance and co-operation of lawyers friendly to the cause of labor and experienced in industrial litigation."

You will therefore note that the committee, realizing the gravity of the situation, realizing the many complex and perplexing questions involved, has undertaken to provide what, in its judgment, is the most direct, the most efficient manner in which to deal intelligently with this grave and all-important problem. It provides for the calling of a further conference of all groups of people interested in this question; it provides the Council with authority to take whatever action may be essential and necessary in co-operation with all those groups, in order that speedy and effective remedies may not only be proposed, but their enactment be hastened. It provides for the calling of the best legal talent we can secure to our aid and co-operation in order that we may devise an advisable course by which the immediate rigors of the courts might be minimized or overcome, if this be possible.

And I think you will agree with me that your committee has amply consid-

ered all the questions involved and has sought to deal with them in a manner that may perhaps be not the most appealing, yet after all the most intelligent and effective course that could be adopted and allowed.

Something has been said of political action. Of course, your committee did not have this question before it, because that subject came before this convention through the report of another committee and was acted upon by that committee, but may I just make this observation—that the program outlined in this committee's report is not by any means an industrial program—it is a legislative and constitutional program; and as the agitation and the promulgation and the advancement of that program proceeds, I am quite sure that the wage-earners of America will become aroused as they have never been before in the rightful and helpful exercise of their voting power as wage-earners and as citizens, and will attract to us not alone the wage-earners, but all citizens who see in these decisions a fundamental reversal of our Constitution, a most dangerous assumption of power by our judiciary.

In this connection may I call your attention to this one important point? Read the Declaration of Independence, and in that Declaration you will find the conception, the philosophy, upon which this great Republic is founded; there you will find the inalienable rights of mankind set out—the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And then the Declaration goes on to safeguard those rights—"governments are founded"—not a single line about property or property rights. All the language pertains to humans and human rights. That was the cry our forefathers made when engaged in the contest with old England for its oppression and tyranny upon the early forefathers of this great Republic; but strange, after that war was over and when the representatives met in the early Constitutional Congress, they forgot the rights of men; they did no longer consider the feelings of the great mass of the people; they were more concerned about landed and vested interests, and so it required years after the original adoption of the Constitution to have inserted into that document the Bill of Rights, the rights of man as indicated in the Declaration of Independence—the first ten amendments.

And oh, how similar the period through which we are passing today! During the great World War the cry was, "Let us make the world safe for

democracy; autocracy must be destroyed." And so the appeal was made to those who are unpossessed of property, who have little if any of the world's wealth to gain, the great appeal upon which governments are founded, that of liberty, justice, righteousness and democracy; but no sooner had the clouds of war disappeared from our horizon than again we find a reversal to the protection of vested and property interests, and today the Congress, the administrative forces of our nation, the judiciary, have forgotten all their appeals of humanity, of right, liberty, justice and democracy by which the great mass of the people were arrayed and united in that great world contest.

And yet I feel convinced that if we proceed intelligently, forgetful of minor differences, not permitting our own individual views and convictions as to procedure to divide us—rest assured that the employers will attempt to do that very well for us, rest assured that the employers will attempt to foist different parties, different combinations to divide the ranks of labor, rest assured that they are adept in these processes of organization, not alone on the economic but likewise on the political field—I feel that we are in a situation that requires the most careful and most conscientious and most intelligent force of which the American labor movement is possible, and that can only be done after careful and considerate attention to the processes of the committee submitted to you for your consideration.

President Gompers: The Chair asks whether, in the judgment of the delegates to this convention, this subject has not been fairly well discussed, that we may reach a conclusion and a vote upon the report of the committee.

Upon a motion for the previous question being put, a division of the vote was called for, resulting as follows: 167 in favor of the previous question; 62 opposed.

The report of the committee was adopted with but one dissenting vote.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: I rise to make a privileged motion. I move that the rules be suspended and that the hour of 10 o'clock Friday morning, June 23, be designated as the hour for holding the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor and for the selection of the 1923 convention city. (Motion seconded.)

Delegate Swartz spoke briefly in support of his motion, explaining that many of the delegates would be required to leave Cincinnati before Saturday and that the purpose of his motion was to

give all an opportunity to cast their vote.

Delegate Redfern, Postal Clerks, arose to a point of order, on the ground that the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor provides for the holding of the election on the last day of the convention.

President Gompers stated that it was impossible to determine when the last day of the convention would come, but that if the convention decided that the election should be held tomorrow, tomorrow would be the last day.

The motion offered by Delegate Swartz was adopted by unanimous vote.

#### REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE (Continued)

Delegate Woll, chairman of the committee, reported as follows:

Your committee also recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized and directed to call conferences of persons and associations interested in any or all of the above-specified recommendations, for the purpose of obtaining advice, assistance and co-operation in the preparation of the proposed laws and constitutional amendments, and in the education of public opinion for their support and adoption; and that the Executive Council be authorized to approve, in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, the laws and constitutional amendments so prepared, and to take such further action as may be deemed advisable to promote their enactment.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee also recommends that in the meantime and in order to adequately meet the concerted and increasing onslaughts against the fundamental rights and vital functions of organized labor, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to establish a Legal Defense Bureau for the purpose of collating all laws and judicial decisions on the rights of labor, such bureau to enlist the voluntary assistance and co-operation of lawyers friendly to the cause of labor, and experienced in industrial litigation.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Delegate Woll: The committee will be prepared to report at 2:30 o'clock on the balance of the subjects before it, and I move that the report be heard

as a special order of business at that time. (Seconded and carried.)

Delegate McParland, Typographical Union, requested that Miss Effie Bentham, representing Dr. Barnardo's Homes in England, be given the privilege of addressing the convention.

The request was granted, and Miss Bentham was introduced by President Gompers.

#### ADDRESS OF MISS EFFIE BENTHAM

Perhaps twenty years from today the people who will be in the seats in front here are now in different parts of the world, the children of this and other countries, and you will agree with me that the most important part of the world is the children. I am glad that this convention has taken up the fight of the children, and I am glad that I have on the platform my own countrymen who are helping in the great cause that I represent.

We have Dr. Barnardo's Homes, which were the first homes for children to be founded in the world, the largest family of children in the world—13,000 children, and 6,000 of them are on this side of the Atlantic. Last year we sent some hundreds of thousands of dollars from the old country to pay people on this side of the water for keeping them.

Now, I want you here as a Federation, in a great, wonderful country, to give your official sanction and co-operation to an international and interdenominational work for the children, not only of Great Britain, but of the world, and judging from the number in this country and Canada of your labor leaders and those prominent in the movement, judging from the number of those today who were born in England, Ireland, Scotland or Wales, there are today I should say a great number of children in the old country who may be your leaders twenty years from now. The workers of Australia, of New Zealand, of Canada, of Newfoundland, are joining in feeding this family of 13,000 children, and I want you in this great country, you who can, to begin right away and do something. I dare say you thought when I came here that it was money I wanted. Gentlemen, if it were not that you need the money, if your miners could feed your children and your families without money, this convention would not be sitting here today. None of us can do without money, and we need \$10,000 a day to keep up

our institutions, and every cent of that money will go right straight to the children without any deduction of any description to myself or my secretary.

I am going to give the last two minutes to Mr. Herbert Smith, who will tell you that in spite of the great strike they had in their own country, the Yorkshire country, they made a levy for us directly the strike was over. We need money to keep this great family, and I want you to join the workers of the world to feed them.

I hold here an appreciation from Mr. Timothy Healy, representing America; from Mr. Tom Moore, representing Canada, and from Mr. J. H. Thomas, of the National Union of Railway Men, representing Great Britain, and I am going to give a copy of this document to the press. In conclusion, I am going to ask Mr. Herbert Smith to tell you what they are doing in the old country.

The expressions of appreciation referred to by Miss Bentham read as follows:

#### United States of America

"Dr. Barnardo's Homes have never refused admission to a destitute child during the past fifty-six years, whatever the creed or nationality of the children, and the world tour Miss Bentham and Mr. Stephen are making in the interests of the 13,000 children now under the care of the Homes is being conducted entirely without cost to the Homes.

"TIMOTHY HEALY."

#### Great Britain

"Miss Bentham has devoted herself to this cause, and last year succeeded in raising, chiefly in pennies from the British workers, no less a sum than £47,000, and without a single penny for expenses. I sincerely hope that our fellow-workers overseas will respond to the appeal of Miss Bentham and her secretary and that you will give her all the advice and assistance you can, especially in view of the great personal sacrifice which her efforts and travels involve.

"J. H. THOMAS."

#### Canada

"I have personally discussed with Miss E. Bentham the object of her mission to Canada and the United States, and any assistance that you can render her toward giving her the opportunity of placing the facts before the workers of your city will be gladly appreciated.

"TOM MOORE."

"President, Trades and Labor Congress of Canada."

Vice-President Valentine in the chair. Mr. Herbert Smith: Having known Miss Bentham for many years and knowing that she has devoted her whole life to this work, not for monetary benefit, because she could have lived in luxury at home, I want to say that Dr. Barnardo's Homes are one of the safeguards and bulwarks of the orphans. In the Yorkshire Miners' Association, to show what these men can do, our men contributed two pence last year, and in previous years but a penny, and they have contributed up to date £3,000. Although they have been out of work thirteen weeks last year, the first week they went to work paid the levy to Dr. Barnardo's Homes.

This is why they are so popular: There is no religious test; they don't ask the children what religion they belong to; every one is welcome there.

Now I hope the American trade unions that make up this convention, when the opportunity arises, will put this question before the men showing them the good work that Dr. Barnardo's Homes is doing for destitute and orphan children. I hope the appeal that is being made by Miss Bentham will not fall on deaf ears, but at the first opportunity this convention will take its part, along with the British trade union movement, in doing all it can to assist these Homes that are doing such good work for orphans and destitute children.

Delegate Healy, Stationary Firemen: Having been in England two years ago representing this Federation, I want to say to the convention in behalf of Dr. Barnardo's Homes that the institution is non-sectarian, recognizing neither creed, nor color, nor nationality. I think the delegates to this convention should know more about the great work that this institution is doing, and I therefore move that the remarks of Miss Bentham and Mr. Herbert Smith be printed in full in the proceedings of this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Delegate McCullough, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

##### Teamsters—Bridge and Structural Iron Workers

Under the above caption, on pages 130-133, inclusive, Executive Council's Report, will be found the details of the proceedings taken by the Executive

Council in conformity to the direction of the Denver convention.

Your committee has carefully examined the report of the Executive Council, which contains the report of a committee consisting of Vice-Presidents Valentine, Mahon and Green, and which report the Executive Council recommends that this convention approve.

In addition, your committee heard arguments at length from the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association.

The chief factor in this controversy has to do with processes that are common to both organizations and which we find are now being carried on by both organizations as a part of their ordinary work. The loading and unloading of material around yards or buildings from cars to trucks and from trucks to the ground or elsewhere is a process that involves a class of workers especially organized and skilled at the character of work required of them.

Your committee finds from the facts presented that in some instances this work is done by the Structural Iron Workers and in other instances by the Teamsters. There appears no controversy over the handling of any building material save that of iron and steel. Claim is set up by the Iron Workers to jurisdiction over the handling of heavy machinery and material for bank vaults and other similar construction. To this class of work the Teamsters also lay claim.

Your committee is of the opinion that the international officers of the two unions involved could by conference work out a satisfactory adjustment, whereby the control of the processes involved would be jointly shared, to the end that the causes of friction and conflict would be removed and a more harmonious relation between the organizations be set up.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the Executive Council be requested to continue its efforts to secure such conciliatory action by the officers of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, and the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association.

Secretary McCullough moved the adoption of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Do I understand from the report that the committee has rejected the report of the Executive Council on this matter?

Secretary McCullough: That is the effect of the committee's report.

Delegate Tobin: The report on this matter is the same report we had about four years ago in one of the conventions of the Federation. After four years of struggling and trying to reach an agreement, this committee sets back the work that has been done by three or four conventions, by practically an absolute refusal to accept the findings of the other conventions and the report of the Executive Council. In last year's convention we discussed this matter. It was before the Committee on Adjustment.

This question of jurisdiction has been pending for a great many years, and for years and years before it came into the Federation. Owing to conditions arising in both organizations the matter was dropped for some years, then as the Iron Workers continued to branch out, taking in more of our work, it came to a crisis and our international union had to bring the matter into the convention about five years ago. In all those years we have been trying to reach an agreement, and we failed.

Last year the convention decided that the matter be referred to the Executive Council, to the end that a conference be called and an endeavor made to reach an agreement. Failing to reach an agreement, the Council named three members of the Council who would go into the matter in detail and render a decision. The decision was that the conference be called within ninety days after the convention. Ninety days elapsed and we could not get a conference. The Teamsters went, but could not get a conference with the Iron Workers. At length, after 120 days, we got a conference and failed to reach an agreement. The Executive Council requested the president of the Structural Iron Workers to name any three members of the Council to render a decision in this case. He did not name the committee; consequently, the Executive Council had no other alternative but to name three members of the Council to go into the matter in detail and try to reach a settlement.

The three members of the Council selected were William Green, of the Miners; Joseph Valentine, of the Molders, and W. D. Mahon, President of the Street Car Men. They called a meeting of the representatives of both sides; due notice was given. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters was represented by three or four men. I did not appear before the committee, as I was a member of the Council, for fear criticism would be made that I had

influenced the committee. Three members of our International Board appeared. The Bridge and Structural Iron Workers did not appear, or would not appear, and those three members of the Council brought in their report after studying the matter for three or four days. The report of that committee is embodied in the report of the Executive Council and submitted to this convention. Now this committee makes a report and says that we recommend that the matter be again referred back to the Council.

Delegate Tobin continued his discussion of the subject, giving a resume of the conditions prevailing in the industry in which disputes have arisen with regard to the jurisdiction of the Teamsters and the Iron Workers over certain work.

At the conclusion of his discussion Delegate Tobin offered the following as an amendment to the committee's report:

That a conference be called within sixty days after the adjournment of the convention, by President Gompers, of both international organizations for the purpose of reaching an agreement; failing to agree, that the entire question involved be submitted for final settlement to an Arbitration Board consisting of three trades unionists; that the president of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers shall name one, the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters shall name one, and the Executive Council shall name the third. If either of the international unions or their representatives refuses to name their representative on the Arbitration Board within thirty days after notice has been forwarded to them by the president of the American Federation of Labor, then President Gompers shall name the member of the Board to represent the international so refusing. The decision of the arbitration shall become effective immediately.

The amendment was seconded.

Secretary McCullough announced that the chairman and secretary of the committee were willing to accept the amendment to the report, as it was directly in line with the purpose of the committee's report. He stated that unless there was objection from a member of the committee the amendment would be accepted as a part of the report.

Delegate Morrin: I object as a member of the committee. We have made every effort to settle our differences with the Teamsters, and we have tried to carry out the spirit of the committee's report.

Delegate Morrin gave a brief account

of the manner in which the dispute had been before previous conventions, and referred particularly to the action taken in the Denver convention. He stated the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers were willing then and are now willing to leave the matter to a conference and that they would make a fair effort to settle, but they were not willing to have President Tobin of the Teamsters use the power of his position as a member of the Executive Council to the detriment of the Iron Workers. He objected to the form of arbitration provided for in the amendment offered by Delegate Tobin, and moved as an amendment to the amendment that the arbitrators selected by the Teamsters and Iron Workers select the third arbitrator.

**President Gompers:** The Chair calls attention to the fact that if that thought is to be carried out at all, in the event of the two failing to agree, there ought to be some way by which an agreement can be reached.

**Delegate Morrin:** We agree to the other portions of Delegate Tobin's amendment, with this proviso.

Delegate Tobin opposed the amendment offered by Delegate Morrin unless it would provide that if the representatives of the Iron Workers and Teamsters failed to reach an agreement on the third man that the Executive Council be empowered, within thirty days, to name the third man.

**Delegate Morrin:** That is provided for in the amendment Delegate Tobin offered. We will accept the amendment offered and the committee's report, with the further amendment that the two arbitrators selected by the organizations shall select the third man.

**President Gompers:** In the event, after a reasonable period, the two representatives of the organizations fail to agree upon a third member, the Executive Council is to select the third person.

**Delegate Morrin:** The amendment offered by Delegate Tobin provided for a conference being called within sixty days. Then if we fail to agree we are each, within a reasonable length of time, to select an arbitrator to settle the controversy. Any reasonable time, sixty or ninety days, will suit us, but we do not want Delegate Tobin to have a club over our heads. We are willing if we cannot agree within a reasonable time—and I want to say that sixty days additional is a reasonable time—for the Teamsters' and the Iron Workers' representatives to select a third man. If they cannot do it, then some other method can be provided.

**Delegate Wilson, Chairman of the Committee:** I think the suggestion is included in this part of the amendment which reads: "Failing to agree, that the entire question involved be submitted for final settlement to an Arbitration Board consisting of three trade unionists; that the president of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers shall name one; the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters shall name one and the Executive Council shall name the third."

**Chairman Wilson** then suggested that the amendment of President Tobin read: That the president of the Bridge and Structural Iron Workers shall name one member of the arbitration board, the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters shall name one, and they shall select the third member. Failing to do so within thirty days the Executive Council shall select the third member.

**President Gompers:** Is that agreed to?

**Delegate Tobin:** It is satisfactory to us.

**Delegate Morrin:** It is agreed to.

The amendment offered by Delegate Tobin, as amended by the suggestion of Chairman Wilson, was carried, and the report of the committee as amended was adopted.

**Secretary McCullough:** We have here a very important matter and one to which I respectfully call the attention of the gentlemen of the press, as it affects a railroad organization which is not now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but which hopes to become reaffiliated very soon.

#### Maintenance of Way Employees— Carpenters

On pages 127 and 128, Executive Council's Report, under the above caption, the Executive Council reports that no agreement was reached prior to the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Cincinnati, on June 12, 1922.

Your committee has heard statements from both sides of this controversy and recommends that the terms of the agreement defining the jurisdictional control between the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, as reported to this convention by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, should be amended by the addition of the paragraph attached to and made part of the agreements between the United Brother-



hood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, which paragraph is also a part of the agreement between the Maintenance of Way Employees and the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters, and between the Maintenance of Way Employees and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers, so that the entire agreement will read:

"The term 'carpenter repair work' is defined to mean where workmen are employed direct by the railroad corporations in repairing property of railroads along the line of the railroad proper, but shall not apply to offices and other railroad buildings, the former employment to be under the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, and the latter to be considered as construction work and to be under the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners.

"It is further understood and agreed that where disputes or misunderstandings as to jurisdiction arise in any district or locality, such disputes must be immediately submitted to the international officers of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, for investigation and adjustment."

Your committee further recommends that on the acceptance of this basis of settlement and the ratification of the terms hereof by the international officers of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers, and the payment of per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor for the period beginning the first day of July, 1922, the suspension of the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers from affiliation to the American Federation of Labor shall cease and the aforesaid international organization shall be restored to its affiliation and in possession of its jurisdictional claims and rights as outlined by its charter and further defined by the various agreements it has entered into with the several national and international organizations affected by such charter provisions.

In addition to the foregoing, your committee desires to insert at this point and make part of the record the following, copies from the proceedings of the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, and which

will be found on page 463 of the printed proceedings of that convention:

"The following letter was read following the reading of the resolution and recommendation of the committee:

"Detroit, Michigan, June 18, 1919.

"P. J. Morrin, General President, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers, Chalfonte Hotel, Atlantic City, N. J.:

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"Relative to your complaint that members of our organization are infringing upon the jurisdiction claims of work of your International Association, I wish to assure you that the United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers does not claim jurisdiction over any bridge, structural or ornamental iron work or pile-driving, erection or removal or falsework in connection with such work done by any of the railroads of this country; and, further, we agree that where any encroachment of your jurisdictional claims is brought to the attention of the international officials of our union we will give it our immediate attention and stop our members from doing such work.

"Trusting that this is satisfactory to your organization and assuring you of our desire to fully respect your jurisdictional claims, I remain,

"A. E. BARKER,

"Grand President, United Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees and Railway Shop Laborers."

Delegate Morrin, Ironworkers, asked that the above document be made part of the records of the convention and its insertion in the records was ordered.

Secretary McCullough: Before we take a vote I think I ought to make an announcement that will be of interest to you all. This amendment to the agreement was adopted at the suggestion of the Carpenters to set up and provide the same plan for dealing with the jurisdictional question as had been agreed to with the other trades involved.

The matter has been explained to Brother Grable, the president of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees. Brother Grable is unable to come to Ohio by reason of a controversy pending in the courts and he has tried to keep out of reach of an injunction. He has signified his willingness to accept the agreement. Our understanding is that he is ready to re-

affiliate as soon as the convention gives him its permission, and according to the decision of the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Engineers—Electrical Workers

On pages 128 to 130, inclusive, in the Report of the Executive Council, under the above caption, will be found the report of the effort made to adjust the differences between the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, in compliance with the instructions of the Atlantic City convention of 1919.

Pursuant to those instructions, after considerable negotiation between the Executive Council and the organizations at interest, a special committee was appointed consisting of John H. Walker, Chairman; Joseph A. Franklin, John Donlin, William H. Johnston and Alexander W. Russell, Secretary, which committee heard the claims put forward by the representatives of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, and rendered a decision on the jurisdictional points in dispute.

This decision was reported to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, which, after further examination of the record, set aside the recommendation of the Special Committee and reaffirmed the decision reached by the Executive Council at the San Antonio meeting, November, 1918, as reported to the Atlantic City convention, June, 1919.

Your committee has examined the report made to the Executive Council by the Special Committee hereinbefore referred to and has carefully compared the same with the decision reached by the Executive Council. Your committee has also listened to the presentation of arguments at great length and has examined a large mass of exhibits offered as evidence by the parties in interest, and we are convinced that, from the showing made, the points involved in the question are of such importance it is impossible to render a decision which will do justice to both parties without the most careful examination of the merits of the case.

These points referred to are extremely technical in their bearings and deserve the fullest consideration by men who are sufficiently conversant with the operations involved to be able to give an opinion that will rest on authoritative knowledge, rather than on a con-

clusion hastily reached as a result of arguments and exhibits, which should demand the most minute study and examination before a verdict is rendered.

The fact that this controversy has grown out of a development in the methods of industry and the application of power from a source which was not developed at the time the charters were issued to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, and therefore could not be expressly set forth in the jurisdictional claims of either of the organizations, makes it imperative that the question be now studied most carefully in all its bearings in order that a fair decision can be reached and justice be done to the men who are engaged in these industries.

Your committee therefore recommends that the entire subject matter be again referred to the Executive Council, with instructions that a fuller examination be made, to the end that the controversy may be satisfactorily settled and all the causes of the dispute between the two organizations be removed.

In making this recommendation your committee is impressed with the fact that there is great merit in the claim of both parties and that it is almost impossible to lay down a hard-and-fast rule to govern in cases such as this, where the overlapping or conflicting claims have grown out of improvements in processes which are continually going on, and which are bringing what formerly were separate and distinct crafts into relations that are continually becoming more intimate.

This case presents characteristics that are typical of many of the jurisdictional disputes that have been before the American Federation of Labor, and its settlement may be possible, providing a basis on which all such disputes can be dealt with in the future.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Huddell, Engineers: I would like to ask, in the event of this committee's report being adopted by this convention, if the decision of the Executive Council in this case stands until this decision is made.

Secretary McCullough: The committee is scarcely prepared to answer that question offhand, because the matter was not presented in a concrete form to the committee, and my impression would be that pending a rehearing and reversal of the case the decision will stand.

Delegate Noonan, Electrical Workers: I rise to offer an amendment to the committee's report, and ask permission, before offering that amendment, to make an explanation.

Two decisions have been rendered, both of them absolutely unfavorable to the Electrical Workers, and delivering all the work in question to the Engineers. The committee takes the position that this work did not exist when the charters were issued to the two organizations. I take issue with that statement, because this work did exist—not in such volume, it is true—but it existed in the same form it is now at the time the charter was issued to the Electrical Workers, which organization was admitted five and one-half years before the charter was granted to the Steam and Operating Engineers—the Steam Engineers at that time.

Because this matter has been considered for the past four years by the Executive Council, by the action of various conventions, and by a committee expressly provided by a convention and appointed by the president of the American Federation of Labor, and because that committee did render a report on the matter after a thorough hearing on the question, which took a full day's consideration, I deem that it is not only unfair to the Electrical Workers, but an imposition on the labor movement, to refuse to accept that report, and because of those reasons I desire to offer the following amendment for the latter part of the committee's report which has to do with reference to the Executive Council:

"That the electrical installation, electric repairs, overhauling of general electrical apparatus in generating stations, substations and the operating of exclusively electrical-driven machines in the aforementioned plants or stations; also that the operation of traveling or other electric cranes for shop or factory purposes shall be Electrical Workers' work.

"This decision is not to interfere with the jurisdiction of the Steam and Operating Engineers over operating steam-generating plants, electric hoists in building construction or electric shovels.

"These conclusions are not intended to disturb any other conditions obtaining that are mutually satisfactory at this time, or that have been provided for by past action of the American Federation of Labor which are not in conflict with this decision."

That, Mr. Chairman, is the report of the Special Committee that was provided by the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor

and appointed by the president of the American Federation of Labor. That is offered as an amendment.

The amendment offered by Delegate Noonan was seconded.

Chairman Wilson, of the committee, in discussing the question, said in part: At the Atlantic City convention a decision was rendered by the Executive Council, and your committee at that time, desiring that no mistake be made, recommended the appointment of a committee to make a thorough investigation of this controversy and report its findings to the Council. The amendment offered by the president of the Electrical Workers to our report is, in substance, the report made by that Special Committee, and your committee now reporting to this convention ascertained the amount of investigation that committee made upon this highly technical question of jurisdiction between these organizations.

It is true that they held a hearing. Your committee also had an extensive hearing upon this question, and your committee is unable to determine this question in justice to both parties. From the knowledge we gained as to the hearing of the Special Committee, they have no more knowledge of the question than does your committee now reporting. I maintain, in the interests of both organizations, that this committee's report should be adopted and that when finally this question is settled it shall be settled upon a basis of justice and fairness to both parties. It is the judgment of your committee that it would be unfair now either to adopt the decision of the Council or the report of the Special Committee.

Delegate Bugnaizet, Electrical Workers, in discussing the question, said in part: We are not coming before this convention making mere statements and trying to influence you by those statements; we are giving you the facts in writing. You are from all over the United States and you come in contact more or less with this question, and you can easily determine whether the facts you have are facts. We put all these facts in written form, presented them before two committees and gave them to the delegates in book form.

This question was up at St. Paul in 1918. The laws of the American Federation of Labor provide that there must be a conference of both parties. A conference was called by the president of the American Federation of Labor and both parties were present. The representative of the Engineers refused to confer with our representatives, stat-

ing that President McNulty was not there and for that reason he would not hold a conference. The Vice-President of the Brotherhood was there with authority in writing to represent the president. The Engineers blocked that conference.

The matter then went to several conferences before the Executive Council. One was held at Atlantic City. The Engineers refused to go ahead or to make a statement. The Executive Council then decided to appoint one of its members to meet at a conference between the two parties.

The conference was held at the Engineers' headquarters in Chicago and the representative of the Council was President Perkins of the Cigar Makers. The Engineers refused to discuss the merits of the question; they said they had nothing to talk about. The matter then came before the Council at San Antonio, Texas, where both sides made statements. The Council made its decision and it went to the convention at Atlantic City in 1919. The convention took the position this committee is taking today—that the matter was important and that a committee of five should be appointed by the president of the American Federation of Labor to investigate the merits and report back to the Council.

The president selected five men. They did not meet. He appointed another committee that did not meet. He then appointed another committee that did meet in Washington in February, 1922. We supported our proposition there with documentary evidence. We presented 107 signed agreements on that work. The Engineers did not bring any facts except statements. The committee rendered a report to the Executive Council after the Council had adjourned. The report stayed in the archives of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor until they met in May this year. After they met we received a copy of the report of the Special Committee.

Our representatives appeared before the Council, and I understand there was no evidence presented there; that the Engineers offered to present evidence and our representatives offered to present more, but neither offer was taken. The Council closed the matter up and in its wisdom never called in any of the committee of five. I don't suppose they considered anything but the written report of the committee. They took that report which is diametrically opposed to the previous decision of the Council, which the Council had before them, brushed it aside, and after brushing it aside re-affirmed their own decision. The secretary of your committee now states that the decision rendered by the Council and turned down by the Atlantic City convention, turned down by a Special Committee, and practically turned down by this committee shall remain in force. We have 37,000 men in good standing in our Brotherhood doing this work at this time and the Engineers have less than 32,000 in their entire organization. We are not steam engineers; we cannot get steam licenses and you do not want to put 37,000 men into the Engineers and deprive them of the benefits of the Brotherhood accumulated for many years. The Engineers never gave those men any assistance where they had troubles in shops, and we had to pull our men to give them assistance.

Delegate Bugnaizet discussed the question further, gave a history of the chartering of both organizations, the dates at which they were chartered, the jurisdiction granted in each case and the class of work performed by the men of both organizations in different parts of the country.

The discussion continued until after the hour for adjournment. Further discussion was deferred until the afternoon session.

At 12:45 the convention was adjourned until 2:45 p. m. of the same day.

## TENTH DAY—Thursday Afternoon Session

At 2:45 o'clock p. m., Thursday, June 22nd, the convention was called to order. President Gompers in the chair.

### Absentees

Mountford, Quesse, Kelleher, England, Desepte, Coulter, Rosemund, Laibly, J. T. Carey, Parker, Jas. Murphy, La Belle, Canterbury, Doane, T.

N. Taylor, Howat, Fritz, Stephen Ely, Fenton, Grace, Mooney, Fox, Troutman, Lorntsen, Clark, Clendinning, Hushing, Legassie, Lehman, Thornsbrough, Robbins, Taylor, Lochray, Robt. Marshall, E. W. O'Dell, Brown, Kerns, Argo, Guy Bennett, Downes, Sims, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Frampton, Ogletree, Meloon,

Dunn, Herder, Bower, Maurice Ryan, Casey, Wrenn, Rich, Trimmer, Whitcomb, Dechend, Holloway, W. E. Colman, Boulware, A. E. Allen, G. H. Harte, Hixson, Sandy Colmon, Caporal, McCoy, C. I. White, S. P. Davis, A. Stewart, Milton, Fizer, Latimore, Rincker, F. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstone.

President Gompers: The committee appointed by the Chair to consult with delegates of this convention with regard to testimonials to the fraternal delegates reported that it was impossible to get an appropriate inscription upon the testimonial to be presented to the fraternal delegate from the Mexican Federation of Labor at that time. I ask them now, inasmuch as they are ready, to conduct Fraternal Delegate Vargas to the platform.

The Fraternal Delegate from the Mexican Federation of Labor, Mr. Canute A. Vargas, was escorted to the platform. President Gompers made a brief address in which he spoke of the fraternal relations existing between the labor movements of the two republics, and expressed the hope that those pleasant relations would continue. He then presented to Mr. Vargas a handsome gold watch and chain, inscribed with his name, his official position and the date of the gift.

Fraternal Delegate Vargas, in a brief address, thanked the delegates for the handsome gift presented to him, and assured them of his deep appreciation of the kindness and courtesy shown him since his coming to the convention.

Discussion was resumed on the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report on the jurisdiction question affecting the Engineers and Electrical Workers.

Vice-President Duffy discussed the question at some length and said in part: This question is one of long standing. It has been before the Executive Council for several years. We had representatives of both organizations there to discuss the matter and we have heard their evidence. The Executive Council, at its meetings at Laredo and San Antonio, had representatives of both organizations appear, in conformity with the action of the St. Paul convention. The question was asked at that time before we went into a discussion of the subject whether the representatives of the Electrical Workers and the representatives of the Engineers would abide by any decision that might be rendered by the Executive Council. Both presidents agreed that they would. The Executive Council, after going through the entire matter, rendered its decision: "That the electric installation,

electric repairs and overhauling of the general electric apparatus in generating stations and substations as well as electric cranes properly belong to the Electrical Workers. That the operating of electrical-driven machinery in electrical generating stations and substations, as well as the operating of electrical cranes, properly belongs to and comes under the charter of Steam and Operating Engineers."

We were notified by President Noonan of the Electrical Workers that they appealed from our decision to the Atlantic City convention, after agreeing to abide by the decision. After both parties agreeing and a decision being rendered, I claim neither had a right to appeal to a convention. Both parties were willing at that time that it would be left to a committee of five technical experts, trade unionists that might be selected, to go through the entire matter, investigate and report back their findings to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

After that report was made back to the Executive Council and a conference was again held with the two organizations, the Executive Council was to render a decision. That happened. Both presidents were again before the Executive Council, and after going through it the Executive Council affirmed its former decision. The report of the committee is at variance with the decision of the Council.

Vice-President Duffy discussed the question and explained in further detail the proceedings and action of the various meetings with the Executive Council, the special committee and the action of previous conventions. He also discussed the work performed by engineers and electrical workers. In concluding, he said: "Sitting down here and hearing those things, I am more in favor of the committee's report than when the committee made its report. I feel that an investigation should be made and then let the Executive Council take it under consideration. In that way we may be able to clear up a lot of misunderstandings and prevent in the future jurisdictional fights coming on the floor of the convention which no doubt will come in if the amendment offered by Delegate Noonan is adopted.

Delegate Huddell, Engineers, in discussing the question, said in part: We are the operators of machinery. The American Federation of Labor has already granted to us in the decision of the Norfolk convention the operation of electric driven machinery and construction work in the building trades. That is conceded to us by the Electrical

Workers. If we are only then operators of steam engines, was the convention wrong in Norfolk? It went on to say we had peace and harmony and did that work in the building trades. In this city we are now in, if it was necessary and you had the time, I could show the members of this convention the high class of work we are doing. In the hotel where we have our headquarters, there is a generating plant, generated by steam and it makes the electricity that lights our rooms, the corridors and halls; it makes ice there that freezes and carries on the refrigerating system of that entire hotel. That is the kind of work we have done all our lives. We generate the electricity, but the electricians want to say: "After generating the electricity in the general station and sending it out there we want the electricity when it leaves you." The thin edge of the wedge is driven into the union of Steam and Operating Engineers. And what a lame argument—that it is only steam we control.

They have shifted their ground, they are agreed to the committee's report they have substituted here. That was not their first claim. They are satisfied now to have overhead cranes in factories and workshops. In their first claim they had the word "cranes" there, and "cranes" means all work done by cranes on construction work and on large operations outside of workshops and factories. In other words, they are willing to modify anything in order to get the thin edge of the wedge in there this year or any other year, and it is only the question of driving it home until they have driven it to where they want it, the installation and operation of everything electrical. They never dreamed of that until they found we were equipped and were doing the operation of the generation at the general stations and substations. We have done that since the first and we are entitled to it.

Delegate Huddell reviewed at some length the course pursued in dealing with the jurisdictional dispute between the Engineers and the Electrical Workers in the various conventions, before the Executive Council and the various committees mentioned in the report and in the previous discussion. He discussed particularly the work and report of the committee of technical men that made the investigation. He denied the statement made by a previous speaker that 37,000 men in the Electrical Workers' organization were doing the work in dispute, and asserted that in the

37,000 men were included line men, wire men and maintenance men.

Referring to the question of repairs the speaker said: We are the operators of machinery, but it is necessary in industry to make repairs when something goes wrong. We do not want to install, we do not want to maintain nor repair the power house. We must make a temporary repair to keep industry going in a factory that is stopped because of an accident or where something goes wrong in the power house. Whether it is steam or electricity we are looked to to start that machinery and we will make that repair that will start that factory and that is all. If there is a permanent repair made an electrician is brought in if it is electricity, the steam fitter if it is steam, the machinist if it is the machinery, and the boiler maker if it is the boiler.

The engineers are highly trained men, and must be so in order to know the technique of their trade. There isn't an engineer in a steam or electrical plant that does not know enough to make a temporary repair to last to carry the peak load until a permanent repair can be made. That is our lifework. Our men are studying constantly to keep abreast of the time and to keep up with the evolution of the industry we are working in. We are fighting for temporary repair work. We will go with you, brother, hand in hand for what the Federation of Labor gave you, the right to place the installation and the maintenance. We will assist you and give you that work, and if you and I will assist each other instead of fighting about the technique of this trade we will be better off. There are unorganized engineers and unorganized electricians that we would better spend our time to get than in quarrelling with each other.

I hope the delegates to this convention will not pass this amendment, that they will accept the committee's report, that this question will be settled right when it is settled, and that it will not be settled upon a snap judgment such as the substitute is or the amendment to the committee's report that has been offered by Delegate Noonan.

Delegate Evans, Electrical Workers, discussed the class of work in dispute, the number of men employed in doing that work, and contended that the Electrical Workers were justified in asking that the amendment offered by Delegate Noonan be adopted. He pointed out that the word, "operating" did not appear in the original charter of the engineers, that since the addition of

that word to their charter at the Seattle convention of the American Federation of Labor, despite the fact that they stated at that time they did not intend to extend their jurisdiction they have attempted to do it ever since that time.

Delegate Evans pointed out further that an impartial investigation had been made by a body over which neither the Electrical Workers nor the Engineers had any control, the United States Railroad Labor Board, and that that body had rendered a unanimous decision granting electrical work of all character in the mechanical department and all other departments of the railroads, including the substations, the switchboards, the repair, maintenance and operation of same to the Electrical Workers.

Secretary McCullough, in discussing the question said in part: I hope the delegates will not lose sight of the main fact that is before them in the committee's report. The amendment offered by President Noonan is in effect a substitute for the committee's report and if adopted by the convention does away with the committee's report. The committee did study the language of the report offered to the Executive Council by the Special Committee. We examined carefully the language of the decision of the Executive Council which set aside the report of that special investigating committee and adopted or reaffirmed its previous decision in this case, and the conclusion was forced upon us that if it takes many months for a board of government experts to enable them to decide, how do you expect a committee of this convention to decide in the short time they have at their command?

A vice voce vote was taken on the motion to adopt the substitute offered by Delegate Noonan. A division was asked for, and the vote was 97 in the affirmative to 110 in the negative. A roll-call was requested and a sufficient number of delegates supported the request to demand the calling of the roll.

Secretary Morrison proceeded to call the roll on the motion to adopt the substitute offered by Delegate Noonan to the report of the committee on the question of the Electrical Workers and Engineers with the following result:

#### Electrical Workers—Steam Engineers

**Yes**—Foley, Kline, Powlesland, Horn, Martin, J. A. Franklin, Charles Scott, MacGowan, Dohney, Morrin, E. Ryan, Cunnah, Quesse, Ambrose O'Brien, Kelleher, Martin F. Ryan, Ware, Buckley, Hyland, John Williams, Hunt, Cunning-

ham, Flaherty, Hohmann, Mark B. Greene, Redfern, E. H. Fitzgerald, Hay, Odell, McNulty, Shurtleff, England, Dee, J. E. Davis, Noonan, McNulty, Bugnizet, Julia O'Connor, Barton, Joyce, Edward J. Evans, Luther C. Steward, Baer, Kirby, Morton, W. J. Brennan, Ladies' Garment Workers' Delegation (627 votes), Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Etchison, Cordell, Tigue, Ben I. Davis, Brewster, McSorley, Duty, Case, W. E. Bryan, Gainor, Cantwell, Chas. D. Duffy, Swartz, John T. Mugavin, Johnston, Schoenberg, Grow, Larkin, Geo. W. Marshall, Hannon, Hewitt, C. J. Hayes, Lane, Gorman, Sheet Metal Workers' Delegation (187½ votes), Moyer, Crough, United Mine Workers' Delegation (3,108 votes), Stickel, Yarrow, Angleton, Lammert, John J. Doyle, Thos. H. Mugavin, Madsen, N. F. Smith, J. T. Carey, Geo. J. Schneider, Parker, Fallon, Printing Pressmen's Delegation (296 votes), Suitor, Harvey, B. E. Thompson, Cleland, Seamen's Delegation (246 votes), Cashen, Connors, Trost, Tailors' Delegation (80 votes), Stillman, Manion, Ramsay, Perham, J. H. Williams, Smart, Roscoe H. Johnson, Walden, Curtis, Chas. P. Howard, Kohn, Jewell, Cline, Coleman, Gertraudy, Mooney, Bierzetz, Doherty, Snyder, John E. Sullivan, John L. Williams, Kosten, Bleasius, R. J. Fitzgerald, Coughlin, Lynam, Wobser, Hourigan, Mahan, McAndrews, Burford, Harry Bryan, Carter, Stratton, Joseph L. Anderson, Frank Williams, Ambrose Harris, Mocerf; representing 16,226½ votes.

**No**—Myrup, Beisel, Goldstone, Barbers' Delegation (362 votes), Dannenberg, Walter N. Reddick, Haggerty, Neary, Baine, C. E. James, John A. Brennan, Guinan, Trainor, John Sullivan, Kugler, Obergfell, Hauser, Bowen, Dobson, Peter S. Shaughnessy, Price, Skinner, Thomas J. Murphy, Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, Michaels, W. T. Allen, Weaver, Kelso, Wm. J. Kelly, P. H. McCarthy, Perkins, Gompers, Sexton, W. A. Campbell, Abrahams, E. E. Baker, H. J. Conway, Desepete, Coulter, Veder, Feeney, Huddel, Dave Evans, Posschl, Edgerton, Saddler, Woll, Schmal, Healy, Rickert, Larger, Doyle, Adamski, Houck, Garment Workers (Ladies) Delegation (312 votes), Voll, Colin, Most, Wm. P. Clarke, Harry H. Cook, John B. O'Brien, Siemer, Weil, James Duncan, Lawlor, Hollander, Shalvoy, Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Greenstein, Bock, Maitland, Chlopek, Sheet Metal Workers' Delegation (82½ votes), United Mine Workers' Delegation (621

votes), Valentine, Frey, A. R. Burns, Regan, Jos. N. Weber, Carey, Claude C. Taylor, Canavan, Weaver, Winkler, James Wilson, Edward I. Hannah, W. W. Britton, Leary, Atherton, John T. Wood, Thos. Farrell, Frank H. Hutchins, Printing Pressmen's Delegation (74 votes), Mahon, Quinlan, Schultz, Jas. Rodgers, Conn, Peter J. O'Brien, Seamen's Delegation (246 votes), Chas. C. Shay, P. J. Ryan, Suarez, Thos. Malloy, M. W. Mitchell, Blasey, Tailors' Delegation (40 votes), Tobin, Thos. L. Hughes, Gillespie, McLaughlin, Rox, Steve C. Sumner, Thos. F. McMahon, Conboy, Garrity, Jos. R. White, Frank Morrison, McCullough, Wm. Young, Manning, Mikel, Hulsbeck, John E. Murphy, Hart, Pascoe, Clay, Oberting, Brydon, McGahey, R. E. Roberts, John H. Riley, W. C. Franklin, Frank H. Smith, Lowder, Simmons, Herder, Gable, James B. Conroy, Casey, Stehmer, Hubbard, Robert Butler, Jordan Rogers, H. Hawkins; representing 13,475½ votes.

**Not Voting**—Mountford, Gillmore, Mullaney, Kasten, Hutson, Boyer, Rosemund, Laibly, Shamp, Holtschult, Austin, Morris Kaufman, D'Alessandro, Hubert S. Marshall, Geo. T. Johnson, Stephen C. Hogan, Bergstrom, McGivern, Donlin, Biehl, Rooney, Coefield, Chas. Anderson, Gunther, James Murphy, Burke, La Belle, Helt, Cone, Freel, Sumner, Funder Burk, Canterbury, McFarland, Max S. Hayes, Spencer, O'Connell, Lord, Doane, Hopkins, Koeser, Jerome Jones, Walker, T. N. Taylor, Hjort, Howat, Zwalley, Lawson, Fritz, Ely, John L. Barry, Holland, Roach, Fenton, Iglesias, Grace, Hanly, Geo. W. Fisher, Ohl, Fox, Steadman, Troutman, Lorntsen, James A. Miller, Clendenning, Josh Clark, Hushing, Legassie, Lennon, Lehman, Kolb, Niemeier, Owens, Thornsrough, Robibns, Winans, Jacob C. Taylor, Lochray, Feinauer, Geo. T. Johnson, Robert Marshall, Ogg, O'Dell, Mullen, B. F. Brown, Ford, Andler, Kerns, Argo, McSpadden, Nelson, Bennett, Downes, Utterback, Sims, Muir, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Frampton, Ogletree, Hilfers, Ornburn, Tinney, Plaut, McKinnon, Weitzel, Meloon, Dunn, Bower, Maurice Ryan, Geo. H. Wrenn, Rich, Nicol, Trimmer, Covert, Henry Miller, Whitcomb, McGovern, Dechend, Holloway, Wm. E. Colman, Boulware, Defrem, Alfred E. Allen, Harte, Mez-zacapo, Hixson, Sandy Colmon, Caporal, McCoy, Chas. L. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, Arthur Stewart, Milton, Fizer, Malone, Smyth, Olive Sullivan, Latimore, Rincker, Owen W. Jones, E. C.

Scott, Ely, Wulff, Feinstone, Poulton, H. Smith, Robinson, Vargas; representing 1,762 votes.

The chairman announced that the amendment offered by Delegate Noonan was adopted.

The report of the committee as amended was then adopted.

#### **Machinists—Flint Glass Workers.**

Under the above caption in the report of the Executive Council will be found the report of the Executive Council on the controversy between the Flint Glass Workers' Union of America and the International Association of Machinists. In connection with this part of the Executive Council's report, your committee considered Resolution No. 97, which is as follows:

**Resolution No. 97—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Wm. Hannon, Wm. Schoenberg, C. F. Grow, G. W. Marshall, F. Hewitt and Wm. Larkin, of the International Association of Machinists:**

WHEREAS, The American Flint Glass Workers have disputed the claim of the International Association of Machinists for jurisdiction over men engaged in the manufacture and repair of metal molds for molding glassware bottles, etc.; and,

WHEREAS, This controversy has been before various conventions of the American Federation of Labor for adjustment, and a decision rendered by the convention that has divided the employees in the machine shop in several plants, into two organizations, and resulted in the loss of recognition, the loss of signed agreements and the disruption of the power of the organized labor movement as well as a drastic reduction in wages and the loss of other favorable working conditions; and,

WHEREAS, The American Flint Glass Workers is a glass workers' organization, and the International Association of Machinists is a metal working organization with jurisdiction over machinists employed in machine shops, factories and elsewhere; and,

WHEREAS, The shops where molds are made and repaired are machine shops pure and simple; we contend that no good to the organized labor movement has been accomplished by granting jurisdiction over this class of work to the American Flint Glass Workers, while on the other hand much harm has been done to the International Associa-



tion of Machinists and the organized labor movement by this decision; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Forty-second Annual Convention in session assembled instruct all parties at interest that the work of making and repairing molds for molding bottles, glassware, etc., come under the sole jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists.

Your committee begs to call the attention of the convention to the fact that this controversy has been dealt with on many occasions by the American Federation of Labor and always with the decision diametrically opposed to the request contained in the resolution.

At the Denver convention, the Committee on Executive Council's Report presented a necessarily lengthy, but concise resume of the action taken by the several conventions, beginning with that held at Rochester in the year 1912, and continuing down to and including the Denver convention of 1921.

In view of the well-established record of the matter in controversy as presented at various times to committees of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and to Special Committees appointed ad interim, for the purpose of investigating and reporting to the American Federation of Labor, with the same result in each case, the confirmation of the jurisdiction of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union over the making of molds for molding glassware, your committee recommends that this convention non-concur in the resolution and reaffirm the previous decisions covering the case at issue.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Hannon, Machinists: I move as an amendment to the report of the committee that, inasmuch as this work is made and repaired in machine shops, this convention go on record instructing all parties at interest that the work of making and repairing molds comes under the sole jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists.

Delegate Sullivan (J. L.): I rise to a point of order. That is practically a substitute for the resolution, in which the committee has recommended non-concurrence.

President Gompers: The point of order is well taken. The resolution introduced by the delegates of the Inter-

national Association of Machinists contains that declaration which Delegate Hannon offers as a substitute, and is therefore not in order.

Delegate Hannon: Do I understand, therefore, that it would not be in order to substitute the resolution for the report of the committee?

President Gompers: The report of the committee is non-concurrence with the resolution. If the convention desires the original resolution to be passed, it must be secured by the defeat of the committee's report.

Delegate Johnston, Machinists, in defending the position taken by his organization, exhibited several specimens of the molds in controversy. He contended that the jurisdictional question, which has been before the convention of the American Federation of Labor for many years, had never been presented or considered on its merits, but that it had been considered on the question of priority alone. Continuing he said: "The fact that mold making was done by the Flint Glass Workers previous to the machinists being organized as a national or international body was the sole argument made in rendering the decision in favor of the Flint Glass Workers. I submit to you that the decision previous to this was based on a false premise; surely we are not going to be governed solely by the question of priority.

"To carry out what the Flint Glass Workers claim would mean a division of the machine shops, the men who do the repair work in the factory would be members of our union and the men who make the molds would be members of the Flint Glass Workers."

Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers, called attention to the fact that the jurisdictional dispute before the convention had been before previous conventions for many years past; that decisions favorable to the Flint Glass Workers had been rendered time after time, without exception, and that every one of the previous decisions had been in strict conformity with the report of the present committee.

He traced the history of the dispute from its beginning and read from former convention proceedings and from reports of committees' records showing the previous actions in the matter.

"We have had jurisdiction over the making of molds for molding glassware from 1885 up until 1904," said Delegate Clarke, "we organized the molders in 1883 when the machinists were un-

known. The machinists were not organized until 1889, six years after, and yet they come into this convention and present a bottle mold to you; they are presented to you over their pictures, and there is not a man in the machinists' delegation who can distinguish a mold shop from a machine shop; yet they have taken pictures from the machine shop at Streator, Ill.; they are showing you these pictures; in one instance the machine shop and the mold shop are two in one, and in the other they are separate and distinct. I submit to your sense of fair play whether

or not you are in position to intelligently judge the merits of this case by two or three men lifting one mold on their shoulders and showing it to you and asking you to render a decision."

In closing his statement Delegate Clarke referred to the fact that agreements entered into by the Machinists with the Flint Glass Workers had been consistently repudiated by the Machinists.

Discussion of the committee's report was discontinued at 5:45 p. m., when the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, June 23rd.

## ELEVENTH DAY—Friday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 23, 1922.

The convention was called to order at 9:50 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

### Absentees

Quesse, Del, Desepte, Coulter, Rosemund, Laibly, Kennedy, J. T. Carey, Parker, Hutchins, La Belle, Blasey, Canterbury, Doane, Koester, Howat, Stephen Ely, Fenton, Grace Fox, Troutman, Lorntsen, Clendenning, Clark, Hushing, Legassie, Lehman, Thornsborough, J. E. Sullivan, Winans, J. C. Taylor, Lochray, Robert Marshall, E. W. O'Dell, Brown, Bleasius, Kerns, Argo, Guy Bennett, Downes, Sims, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Frampton, Ogletree, Meloon, Dunn, Herder, Bower, Casey, Wrenn, Rich, Trimmer, Whitcomb, Dechend, Holloway, Boulware, A. E. Allen, Harte, Hixson, S. Colman, McCoy, C. L. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, A. Stewart, Milton, Fizer, Latimore, Rincker, F. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstone.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

"Ft. Worth, Tex., June 22, 1922.

"Samuel Gompers, President American Federation of Labor, Convention Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio:

"The Fort Worth Trades Assembly, at tonight's meeting, extends fraternal greetings, and by unanimous vote endorsed the convention's non-partisan political program.

"R. W. WALKER, Secretary."

President Gompers: Within a few minutes the special order of business for this morning's session will be transacted—the election of officers and the selection of the place for holding the next convention. The Chair desires to call the attention of the delegates to the fact that a number of delegates have stated that it would be necessary for them to leave Cincinnati very soon after the election, so that to the delegates remaining, so long as there is a quorum present, the business of the convention will be referred for action.

The Chair suggests that we dispense with the nominating speeches and that a delegate having a candidate to propose for any position, or a city to suggest for the holding of the next conven-

tion, may be confined to one minute. I ask the delegates whether they regard that suggestion as the rule that shall govern our proceedings in this convention.

The suggestion of the President was concurred in by a very large majority.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers: You have just announced that the hour of 10 o'clock has been set apart for the election of officers. An unusual situation arises which I think justifies my requesting you to announce who these officers are from the President down.

President Gompers: A President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer.

Delegate Gainor: Does that include the fraternal delegates?

President Gompers: That will be determined when we reach it.

Delegate Gainor: A point of order. I direct your attention to Robert's Rules of Order, which say that while an election is in progress no other business shall be conducted, and therefore it is the duty of the convention now to determine whether four fraternal delegates are to be elected now or later.

President Gompers: Fraternal delegates are not officers of the American Federation of Labor.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair.

Delegate Grow, Machinists: A point of information. Will you kindly state the usual practice of this convention in electing officers, if the fraternal delegates are not usually nominated and elected at the same time as other officers are?

Vice-President Duncan: Following the election of officers they are elected—always.

### ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Vice-President Duncan: Nominations are in order for the office of President.

The name of the incumbent, Samuel Gompers, of the Cigar Makers' International Union, was presented by Delegate George Perkins, of the same organization.

No further names were offered, and upon motion of Delegate Clarke, Flint Glass Workers, the secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for Samuel Gompers for the office of President. The instructions of the convention were com-

plied with, and Samuel Gompers was declared duly elected President.

As President Gompers took the chair the delegates applauded vigorously.

President Gompers: From the very bottom of my heart I thank you for this unanimous re-election to the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor. At some time during the convention, if there be time, or under some other circumstances, I may have something to say regarding your unanimous election of me, but at this time, consistent with the purpose that I had in mind in asking that the convention shall take as little time as possible in the election, I ask that you will pardon me if I refrain from any remarks now other than to again thank you and to say that I shall endeavor to the fullest to give you the best service that is in me.

President Gompers in the chair.

James Duncan, of the Granite Cutters' Union, was placed in nomination for the office of First Vice-President by Delegate Frey, Molders.

There were no other nominations, and upon motion of Delegate Kovaleskie, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, the secretary was authorized to and did cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Mr. James Duncan, who was declared duly elected First Vice-President.

For the office of Second Vice-President the name of Joseph F. Valentine, the incumbent, was submitted by Delegate James Wilson, Pattern Makers.

Delegate Connors, Switchmen, offered the motion which authorized the Secretary to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention. The instructions of the convention were complied with, and Joseph F. Valentine was declared duly elected Second Vice-President.

Delegate McCarthy, Brotherhood of Carpenters, submitted the only nomination for the office of Third Vice-President, that of Frank Duffy, Brotherhood of Carpenters.

Upon motion of Delegate Tighe, Iron and Steel Workers, the Secretary was authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Frank Duffy. The instructions were complied with, and Frank Duffy was declared duly elected Third Vice-President.

For the office of Fourth Vice-President Delegate Moore, United Mine Workers, offered the name of William Green, the incumbent.

There were no other nominations, and upon motion of Delegate Tighe, Iron and Steel Workers, and Johnston, Machinists, the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of the convention for

William Green, who was duly elected Fourth Vice-President.

Delegate Larger, United Garment Workers, placed in nomination for the office of Fifth Vice-President the incumbent, William D. Mahon, of the Street Railway Employees.

No other names were presented, and upon motion of Delegate Connors, Switchmen, the unanimous vote of the convention was cast by the Secretary for Mr. W. D. Mahon, after which he was declared duly elected Fifth Vice-President.

The name of T. A. Rickert, Garment Workers, was offered for the position of Sixth Vice-President by Delegate Manning, Union Label Trades Department.

There being only one nominee, the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Mr. T. A. Rickert, upon motion of Delegate Holland, New York State Federation of Labor, and he was declared duly elected Sixth Vice-President.

Delegate Shanessy, Barbers, placed in nomination for Seventh Vice-President the incumbent, Jacob Fischer, of the same organization.

The name of Thomas F. Flaherty, of the Postal Clerks, was placed in nomination by Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers.

No further names were submitted, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll, with the following result.

**For Fischer**—Gillmore, Myrup, Beisel, J. Goldstone, Shanessy, Fischer, Wahl, Foley, Roe H. Baker, Dannenberg, Reddick, Haggerty, Neary, Baine, C. E. James, Brennan, Guinan, Trainor, John Sullivan, Kugler, Obergfell, Hauser, Bowen, Dobson, Shaughnessy, W. V. Price, Skinner, T. J. Murphy, Kasten, Hutson, Morrin, Edw. Ryan, Cunnane, Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, Michaels, Allen, Weaver, Kelso, Wm. J. Kelly, P. H. McCarthy, Perkins, Gompers, Sexton, W. A. Campbell, Abrahams, E. E. Baker, Conway, Desepte, Coulter, Veder, F. Feeney, Huddell, Dave Evans, Posschl, Edger-ton, Saddler, Woll, Schmal, Baer, J. A. Kirby, Holtzschult, Austin, Rickert, Larger, F. Doyle, Adamski, Houck, Schlesinger, Langer, Amdur, Antonini, Greenberg, Pinkofsky, Voll, Colin, Most, Wm. P. Clarke, H. H. Cook, J. E. O'Brien, Siemer, Weil, Duncan, Lawlor, Hollander, Shalvoy, D'Alessandro, Moreschi, J. Marshall, Etchison, Cordell, H. S. Marshall, Flore, Jere Sullivan, Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Tighe, Ben. I. Davis, Brewster, McSorley, Duty, Case, G. T. Johnson, W. E.

Bryan, Bock, Maitland, Chlopek, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's delegation (131 votes), Hynes, Hock, Dorsey, Pattison, United Mine Workers' delegation (1,244 votes), Valentine, Frey, A. R. Burns, Regan, Weber, D. A. Carey, C. O. Taylor, Canavan, C. A. Weaver, Winkler, Stickel, Yarrow, Angleton, Lammert, J. J. Doyle, Mugavin, N. F. Smith, J. Wilson McGovern, Donlin, Biehl, Rooney, Coefield, C. Anderson, Gunther, J. Murphy, Britton, Leary, Atherton, Operative Potters' delegation (46 votes), Mahon, Quinlan, Schutz, Rodgers, Conn, P. J. O'Brien, Seamen's delegation (246 votes), C. C. Shay, P. J. Ryan, Suarez, T. Malloy, Tobin, T. L. Hughes, Gillespie, McLaughlin, Rox, Steve C. Sumner, McMahon, Conboy, Garrity, J. R. White, Walden, T. J. Curtis, Typographical delegation (344 votes), Kohn, J. J. Manning, J. Jones, T. N. Taylor, Hulsbeck, Zwalley, J. L. Barry, J. F. Murphy, J. P. Holland, L. F. Hart, J. A. Miller, W. J. Doherty, Kolb, Oberling, Niemeier, McGahey, J. L. Williams, R. E. Roberts, J. H. Riley, W. C. Franklin, Feinauer, G. T. Johnson, C. B. Nelson, Lowder, Ogletree, Hilfers, J. P. Coughlin, Tinney, G. T. Simmons, J. B. Conroy, M. Casey, J. J. McAndrews, Nicol, Covert, H. Miller, G. B. McGovern, Burford, H. Bryan, Stratton, J. L. Anderson, F. Williams, R. Butler, A. Harris, Smyth, O. Sullivan, H. Hawkins, E. C. Scott, Mocerf; representing 17,725 votes.

**For Flaherty**—Mountford, Mullaney, Kline, Powlesland, Horn, M. W. Martin, J. A. Franklin, Charles Scott, McGowan, Dohney M. F. Ryan, Ware, Buckley, Hyland, J. Williams, S. Hunt, Cunningham, Flaherty, Hohmann, M. E. Greene, Redfern, E. H. Fitzgerald, A. C. Hay, Odell, McNulty, Shurtleff, England, Dee, J. E. Davis, Noonan, McNulty, Bugniziet, J. O'Connor, Barton, Joyce, E. J. Evans, L. Steward, Healy, Shamp, J. W. Morton, W. J. Brennan, Gainer, Cantwell, C. D. Duffy, Swartz, J. T. Mugavin, Wm. H. Johnston, Schoenberg, Grow, Larkin, G. W. Marshall, Hanno, Hewitt, Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's delegation (65 votes), Moyer, Crough, United Mine Workers' delegation (2,486 votes), Madsen, J. T. Carey, G. J. Schneider, Parker, Hannah, Operative Potters' delegation (46 votes), Fallon, G. L. Berry, Geckler, Frater, Pepper, Stier, Saitor, Harvey, Thompson, Cleland, Seamen's delegation (246 votes), Helt, Cone, M. W. Mitchell, Blasey, Cashen, Connors, Trost, Sweeney, Silinsky, Keep, Stillman, Manion, Ramsey, Per-

ham, J. H. Williams, Smart, R. H. Johnson, Typographical delegation (345 votes), Jewell, Cline, Mikel, Hjort, F. J. Coleman, Gerraughty, G. W. Fisher, Ohl, Pascoe, Lennon, F. Snyder, Kosten, F. H. Smith, R. J. Fitzgerald, Lynam, Gable, Wobser, E. S. Mahan, W. E. Colman, Defrem, Caporal, Wm. Carter, Owen W. Jones; representing 13,279 votes.

**Not Voting**—Boyer, Quesse, A. O'Brien, Kelleher, Rosemund, Laibly, Kaufman, Greenstein, S. C. Hogan, Bergstrom, J. P. Burke, La Belle, Freel, C. A. Sumner, Funder Burk, Canterbury, W. J. Spencer, J. O'Connell, Lord, Doane, Hopkins, Koester, J. H. Walker, Howat, Lawson, Fritz, S. Ely, Roach, Fenton, Iglesias, Grace, Hanly, Mooney, Fox, Steadman, Troutman, Lorntsen, Clendenning, Josh Clark, Hushing, Bieretz, Legassie, Lehman, Clay, Brydon, J. G. Owens, Thornsborough, Robbins, J. E. Sullivan, Winans, J. C. Taylor, Lochray, Robt. Marshall, Ogg, O'Dell, Mullen, B. F. Brown, J. W. Ford, Bleasius, Andler, Kerns, Argo, McSpadden, G. Bennett, Downes, Utterback, Sims, Muir, R. J. Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Frampton, Ornburn, Plant, McKinnon, Weitzel, Meloan, Dunn, Herder, Bower, M. Ryan, Hourigan, Wrenn, Rich, Trimmer, Whitcomb, Dechend, Stehmyer, Holloway, Boulware, A. E. Allen, Harte, Mezzacapo, Hixson, Sandy Colman, McCoy, Hubbard, C. L. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, A. Stewart, Milton, Rogers, Fizer, Malone, Latimore, Rincker, F. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstone, Poulton, H. Smith, E. Robinson, Vargas; representing 461 votes.

Delegate Jacob Fischer was declared duly elected to the office of Seventh Vice-President.

For the office of Eighth Vice-President the name of the incumbent, Matthew Woll, of the Photo Engravers' Union, was presented by Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union.

There were no further nominations, and Delegate Mahon, Street Railway Employees, moved that the Secretary be authorized to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Mr. Matthew Woll. The motion was seconded and carried, the Secretary casting the unanimous ballot of the convention with the exception of Delegate Lynam, Peoria Trades and Labor Assembly, who asked to be recorded as not voting for Mr. Woll.

Matthew Woll was declared duly elected Eighth Vice-President.

For the office of Treasurer, Delegate Hughes, Teamsters, placed in nomina-

tion the name of Daniel J. Tobin, the incumbent, also of the Teamsters.

Delegate Manion, Railroad Telegraphers, presented the name of Joseph A. Franklin, of the Boiler Makers.

No further nominations were made, and the Secretary called the roll, with the following result:

**For Tobin**—Mountford, Gilmore, Barbers' delegation (362 votes), Dannenberg, Reddick, Haggerty, Neary, Baine, C. E. James, J. A. Brennan, Guinan, Trainor, J. Sullivan, Kugler, Oberfell, Hauser, Wm. Dobson, Kasten, Hutson, Hutcheson, F. Duffy, Michaels, W. T. Allen, Weaver, Kelso, Wm. J. Kelly, P. H. McCarthy, Perkins, Gompers, Sexton, W. A. Campbell, Abrahams, Clerks (Post Office) delegation (45 votes), Conway, Desepte, Coulter, Veder, Feeney, Huddell, D. Evans, Possehl, Edgerton, Saddler, Woll, Schmal, L. C. Steward, Baer, Kirby, Holtschult, A. Austin, Kaufman, Rickert, Larzer, F. Doyle, Adamski, Houck, Schlesinger, Langer, Amdur, Antonini, Greenberg, Pinkofsky, Voll, Colin, Most, W. P. Clarke, H. H. Cook, J. B. O'Brien, Siemer, Weil, Duncan, Lawlor, Hollander, Shalvoy, d'Alessandro, Moreschi, Etchison, J. Marshall, Cordell, H. S. Marshall, Flore, Jere Sullivan, Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Tighe, B. I. Davis, Brewster, Greenstein, McSorley, Duty, Case, Bock, Maitland, Chlopek, S. C. Hogan, C. J. Hayes, Lane, Gorman, Hynes, Hock, Dorsey, Pattison, United Mine Workers' delegation (1,864 votes), Valentine, Frey, A. R. Burns, Regan, Weber, D. A. Carey, C. O. Taylor, Canavan, Weaver, Winkler, Stickle, Yarrow, Angleton, Lamert, J. J. Doyle, Mugavin, Madsen, N. F. Smith, J. Wilson, Hannah, McGovern, Donlin, Biehl, Rooney, Coe-field, C. Anderson, Gunther, J. Murphy, Britton, Leary, Atherton, Wood, Farrell, Hutchins, Fallon, Berry, Geckler, Frater, Pepper, Stier, Mahon, Quinlan, Schultz, Rodgers, Conn, P. J. O'Brien, Hanson, McKillop, C. C. Shay, P. J. Ryan, Suarez, Malloy, Mitchell, Blasey, Tobin, T. H. Hughes, Gillespie, McLaughlin, Rox, S. C. Sumner, McMahon, Conboy, Garrity, J. R. White, Walden, Curtis, Typographical delegation (344 votes), Kohn, Lord, J. J. Manning, T. N. Taylor, Hulsbeck, F. J. Coleman, Gerraughty, J. L. Barry, J. E. Murphy, Holland, Roach, L. F. Hart, Doherty, Kolb, Clay, Obering, Niemeier, J. G. Owens, J. L. Williams, R. E. Roberts, Riley, Feinauer, Ogg, Muir, Lowder, Ogletree, Hilfers, Tinney, Simmons, Conroy, Casey, J. J. McAndrews, Covert, Mil-

ler, McGovern, Burford, H. Bryan, J. L. Anderson, Smyth, O. Sullivan, O. W. Jones, E. C. Scott, Mocerf; representing 18,519 votes.

**For Franklin**—Myrup, Beisel, Goldstone, Barbers' delegation (90 votes), Kline, Powlesland, Horn, Martin, Franklin, C. Scott, MacGowan, Dohney, Bowen, Shaughnessy, W. V. Price, Skinner, T. J. Murphy, Morrin, E. Ryan, Cunnane, M. F. Ryan, Ware, Buckley, Hyland, J. Williams, Hunt, Cunningham, Post Office Clerks' delegation (133 votes), E. H. Fitzgerald, A. C. Hay, Odell, McNulty, Shurtleff, England, Dee, E. E. Baker, J. E. Davis, Noonan, McNulty, Bugnizet, J. O'Connor, Barton, Joyce, E. J. Evans, Healy, Shamp, J. W. Morton, W. J. Brennan, G. T. Johnson, W. E. Bryan, Gainer, Cantwell, C. D. Duffy, Swartz, Mugavin, Johnston, Schoenberg, Grow, Larkin, G. W. Marshall, Hannon, Hewitt, Moyer, Crough, United Mine Workers' delegation (1,865 votes), Carey, G. J. Schneider, Parker, Suito, Harvey, Thompson, Cleland, Helt, Cone, Cashen, Connors, Trost, Sweeney, Sillinsky, Keep, Stillman, Manion, Ramsey, Perham, J. H. Williams, D. C. Smart, R. H. Johnson, Typographical delegation (345 votes), O'Connell, Jewell, Cline, Doane, Mikel, J. Jones, Hjort, Zwalley, Lawson, G. W. Fisher, Mooney, Ohl, Pascoe, J. A. Miller, F. Snyder, Brydon, McGahey, Robbins, J. E. Sullivan, W. C. Franklin, E. Kosten, Mullen, J. W. Ford, F. H. Smith, McSpadden, Nelson, Bennett, R. J. Fitzgerald, Coughlin, Lynam, Gable, Wobser, W. E. Colman, Defrem, Wm. Carter, Hubbard, Stratton, F. Williams, R. Butler, A. Harris, J. Rogers, H. Hawkins; representing 12,543 votes.

**Not Voting**—Mullaney, Boyer, Quesse, A. O'Brien, Kelleher, Rosemund, Laibly, Bergstrom, J. P. Burke, La Belle, Freel, C. A. Sumner, Funder, Burk, Canterbury, W. J. Spencer, Hopkins, Koester, J. H. Walker, A. Howat, Fritz, S. Ely, Fenton, Iglesias, Grace, Hanly, Fox, Steadman, Troutman, Lorntsen, Clendenning, Josh Clark, Hushing, Bierzetz, Legassie, Lennon, Lehman, Thornsborough, Winsans, J. C. Taylor, Lochray, G. T. Johnson, R. Marshall, O'Dell, B. F. Brown, Bleasius, Andler, Kerns, Argo, Downes, Utterback, Sims, R. J. Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Framp-ton, Ornburn, Plant, McKinnon, Weitzel, Meloon, Dunn, Herder, Bower, M. Ryan, Hourigan, Mahan, Wrenn, Rich, Nicol, Trimmer, Whitcomb, De-chend, Stehmeyer, Holloway, Boul-

ware, Allen, Harte, Mezzacapo, Hixson, Sandy Colman, Caporal, McCoy, C. L. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, A. Stewart, Milton, Fizer, Malone, Latimore, Rincker, F. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstone, Poulton, H. Smith, E. Robinson, Vargas; representing 403 votes.

Daniel J. Tobin, having received a majority of all votes cast, was declared duly elected to the office of Treasurer.

For the office of Secretary, Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen's Union, presented the name of the incumbent, Frank Morrison, of the Typographical Union.

No further names were submitted, and upon motion of Delegate Foley, Barbers, seconded by Delegate Howard, Typographical Union, the unanimous vote of the convention was cast by President Gompers, who also declared Frank Morrison duly elected to the office of Secretary.

Nominations for fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress were declared in order, and the name of Benjamin Schlesinger, Ladies' Garment Workers, was presented by Delegate Green, United Mine Workers.

The nomination of Delegate Schlesinger was seconded by Delegate Woll, Photo Engravers, and by Delegate Coughlin, Brooklyn Central Labor Union. There being no further nominations, he was declared the unanimous choice of the convention for first fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

For second fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress, Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen's Union, presented the name of Edward J. McGovern, of the Plasterers' International Union. The nomination was seconded by Delegate McCarthy, Carpenters, and Delegate Doyle, Painters.

The name of Edward J. Gainer, Letter Carriers, was presented by Delegate McGowan, Boiler Makers, and the nomination seconded by Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers.

There were no further nominations, and the Secretary proceeded to call the roll, with the following results:

**For McGovern**—Mountford, Gillmore, Mullaney, Myrup, Beisel, Goldstone, Barbers' delegation (362 votes), Dannenberg, Walter N. Reddick, Haggerty, Neary, Baine, James, John A. Brennan, Guinan, Trainor, John Sullivan, Kugler, Obergfell, Hauser, Wm. J. Bowen, Dobson, Peter S. Shaughnessy, Price, Skinner, Thos. J. Murphy, Morrin, Edward Ryan, Cunnane, Wm. L. Hutcheson,

Frank Michaels, W. T. Allen, Weaver, Kelso, Wm. J. Kelly, McCarthy, Cigarmakers' delegation (256 votes), E. E. Baker, Conway, Desepte, Coulter, Feeney, Huddell, Dave Evans, Possehl, Edgerton, Saddler, Woll, Schmal, Rickert, Larger, Doyle, Adamski, Houck, Schlesinger, Langer, Amdur, Antonini, Greenberg, Pinkofsky, Voll, Colin, Most, Flint Glass Workers' delegation (43½ votes), Siemer, Weil, James Duncan, Lawlor, Hollander, Shalvoy, D'Alessandro, Moreschi, Marshall, Etchison, Cordell, Marshall, Flore, Thos. S. Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, McSorley, Duty, Case, Johnson, Bryan, Block, Maitland, Chlopek, Hogan, Hynes, Hock, Dorsey, Pattison, Valentine, Frey, Burns, Regan, Weber, D. A. Carey, C. O. Taylor, Canavan, Weaver, Winkler, Stickle, Yarrow, Angleton, Lammert, John J. Doyle, Mugavin, Madsen, N. F. Smith, James Wilson, Hannah, McGovern, Donlin, Biehl, Rooney, Coefield, Anderson, Gunther, James Murphy, Britton, Leary, Atherton, John T. Wood, Thos. Farrell, Frank H. Hutchins, Berry Geckler, Frater, Pepper, Stier, Mahon, Quinlan, Schulz, Rogers, Conn, Peter J. O'Brien, Hanson, McKillop, Shap, P. J. Ryan, Suarez, Malloy, Mitchell, Balsey, Tobin, Thos. L. Hughes, Gillespie, McLaughlin, Rox, Sumner, McMahon, Conboy, Garrity, White, Curtis, Frank Morrison, Wm. Young, Kohn, Manning, T. N. Taylor, Zwalley, Gerraughy, Lawson, J. L. Barry, John E. Murphy, J. P. Holland, Hart, Doherty, Kolb, Oberting, McGahey, John H. Riley, W. C. Franklin, R. J. Fitzgerald, Ogletree, Hilfers, Coughlin, Tinney, Simmons, Conroy, Casey, Jas. J. McAndrews, H. Miller, McGovern, Burford, Harry Bryan, Carter, Hubbard, Stratton, Rogers, B. M. Smyth, Olive Sullivan, Hawkins, E. C. Scott, Mocerf; representing 16,469½ votes.

**For Gainer**—Barbers' delegation (90 votes), Kline, Powlesland, Horn, Martin, J. A. Franklin, Charles Scott, McGowan, Dohney, Martin F. Ryan, Ware, Buckley, Hyland, John Williams, Hunt, Cunningham, Cigarmakers' delegation (64 votes), Flaherty, Hohmann, Mark B. Greene, Redfern, E. H. Fitzgerald, Hay, Odell, McNolty, Shurtleff, England, Dee, J. E. Davis, Veder, Noonan, McNulty, Bugnizet, Julia O'Connor, Barton, Joyce, Evans, Luther C. Steward, Baer, Kirby, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Kaufman, Flint Glass Workers' delegation (43½ votes), Jere L. Sullivan, Tighe, Ben I. Davis, Brewster, Gainer, Cantwell, Chas. D. Duffy, Swartz, Mugavin, Johnston, Schoenberg, Grow, Larkin, Marshall, Wm. Hannon, Hewitt,

C. J. Hayes, Lane, Gorman, Moyer, Crough, Lewis, Wm. Green, Murray, Farrington, Moore, Kennedy, J. T. Carey, Schneider, Parker, Fallon, Suito, Harvey, B. E. Thompson, Cleland, Helt, Cone, Cashen, Conners, Trost, Thos. Sweeney, Sillinsky, Keep, Stillman, Manion, Ramsay, Perham, Williams, Smart, Roscoe H. Johnson, Walden, McParland, Howard, Max S. Hayes, McCullough, Jewell, Cline, Hjort, Coleman, Ohl, Pascoe, Jas. A. Miller, Lennon, Snyder, Clay, Brydon, John L. Williams, Kosten, Mullen, Frank H. Smith, Nelson, Lynal, Defrem; representing 14,499½ votes.

**Not Voting**—Kasten, Hutson, Boyers, Quesse, Ambrose O'Brien, Kelleher, Rosemund, Laibly, Holtschult, Austin, Greenstein, Bergstrom, John P. Burke, La Belle, Freel, Chas. A. Sumner, Funder Burk, Canterbury, Wm. J. Spencer, O'Connell, Lord, Doane, Mikel, Hopkins, Koester, Jerome Jones, John H. Walker, Howat, Hulsbeck, Fritz, Ely, Jas. H. Roach, Fenton, Iglesias, Grace, Hanly, Fisher, Fred Mooney, Harry W. Fox, Steadman, Troutman, Larntsen, Clendenning, Josh Clark, Hushing, Bieretz, Legassie, Lehman, Niemeier, John G. Owens, Thorsbrough, Paul Robbins, John E. Sullivan, Winans, R. E. Roberts, Jacob C. Taylor, Lochray, Feinauer, Geo. T. Johnson, Robert Marshall, Ogg, E. W. O'Dell, B. F. Brown, J. W. Ford, Bleasius, Andler, Kerns, Argo, McSpadden, Bennett, C. A. Downes, Utterback, J. L. Sims, Muir, Robt. J. Kaiser, Jas. N. Steel, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Frampton, Lowder, Ornburn, Plant, McKinnon, Weitzel, Meloon, Dunn, Herder, Bower, Gable, Maurice Ryan, Wobser, Hourigan, Ed. S. Mahan, Wrenn, Rich, Nicol, Trimmer, Covert, Whitcomb, Dechend, Stehmeyer, Holloway, Wm. E. Colman, Boulware, Alfred E. Allen, Harte, Mezzacapo, Hixson, Sandy Colmon, Caporal, McCoy, Charles L. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, Jos. L. Anderson, Frank Williams, Stewart, Robert Butler, Harris, Milton, Fizer, Malone, Latimore, Rincker, Owen W. Jones, Ely, Wulff, Feinstone, Poulton, H. Smith, Ernest Robinson, Vargas; representing 496 votes.

Nominations for a delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress were declared in order.

The name of William E. Hulsbeck, Kentucky State Federation of Labor, was presented by Delegate Berry, Printing Pressmen.

No further names were presented, nominations were declared closed and the Secretary was instructed to cast

the unanimous vote of the convention for Delegate Hulsbeck. The instruction of the convention was complied with by the Secretary, and the Chairman declared Delegate Hulsbeck duly elected.

### SELECTION OF CONVENTION CITY

Houston, Texas, was placed in nomination by Delegate Andler, of the Houston Trades and Labor Council.

Portland, Oregon, was placed in nomination by Delegate McCullough, International Typographical Union.

A roll-call was taken on the question, which resulted as follows:

**Houston, Texas**—Mullaney, Kline, Powlesland, M. W. Martin, J. A. Franklin, Reddick, Haggerty, Neary Martin F. Ryan, Ware, Cigarmakers' delegation (128 votes), Huddell, Dave Evans, Possehl, Edgerton, Saddler, Baer, Kirby, W. E. Bryan, Bosk, Maitland, Chlopek, Machinists' delegation (518 votes), Berry, Geckler, Frater, Pepper, Stier, Mahon, Quinlan, Schultz, Rodgers, Conn, Helt, Cone, Sweeney, Typographical delegation (344 votes), Kohn, Cline, Mikel, Jerome Jones, Oberling, Brydon, John L. Williams, W. C. Franklin, L. M. Andler, Nelson, R. J. Fitzgerald, Lowder, Mocerf; representing 4,446 votes.

**Portland, Oregon**—Mountford, Gillmore, Myrup, Beisel, Goldstone, James C. Shanessy, Fischer, Geo. H. Wahl, C. F. Foley, R. H. Baker, Dannenberg, Horn, Chas. Scott, MacGowan, Dohney, C. L. Baine, James, Brennan, Quinan, Trainor, John Sullivan, Kugler, Oberfell, Hauser, Wm. J. Bowen, Dobson, Shaughnessy, Price, Skinner, Thomas J. Murphy, Morrin, Edward Ryan, Cunnane, Buckley, Hyland, John Williams, Hunt, Cunningham, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, Michaels, W. T. Allen, Weaver, Kelso, Wm. J. Kelly, P. H. McCarthy, Cigarmakers' delegation (192 votes), Flaherty, Hohmann, Mark B. Greene, Redfern, E. H. Fitzgerald, Hay, Odell, McNulty, Shurtleff, England, Dee, J. E. Davis, Veder, Noonan, McNulty, Bugnizet, Julia O'Connor, Barton, Joyce, Edward J. Evans, Feeney, Woll, Schmal, L. C. Steward, Healy, Shamp, Morton, Brennan, Kaufman, Rickert, Langer, Doyle, Adamski, Houck, Schlesinger, Langer, Amdur, Antonini Greenberg, Pinkofsky, Voll, Colin, Most, Wm. P. Clarke, Harry H. Cook, O'Brien, Siemer, Weil, James Duncan, Lawlor, Hollander, Shalvoy, D'Alessandro, Moersch, Marshall, Etchison, Cordell, Flore, Jere L. Sullivan, Thos. S. Farrell, Koveleski, McDevitt, Tighe, Ben I. Davis, Brewster,



Greenstein, Geo. T. Johnson, Gainor, Cantwell, Chas. D. Duffy, Swartz, Mugavin, Machinists' delegation (1,295 votes), Stephen C. Hogan, Hynes, Hock, Dorsey, Pattison, Moyer, Crough, Lewis, Wm. Green, Murray, Farrington, John Moore, Kennedy, Valentine, Frey, Burns, Regan, Weber, D. A. Carey, Claude O. Taylor, Canavan, Weaver, Winkler, Sticel, Yarrow, Angleton, Lammert, John J. Doyle, Mugavin, Madsen, N. F. Smith, James Wilson, McGivern, Donlin, Biehl, Rooney, Coefield, Anderson, Gunther, Jas. Murphy, John T. Wood, Thos. Farrell, Frank H. Hutchins, Fallon, Suiter, Harvey, B. E. Thompson, Cleland, Peter J. O'Brien, Hanson, McKillop, Shay, P. J. Ryan, Suarez, Malloy, M. W. Mitchell, Blasey, Cashen, Conners, Trost, Sillinsky, Keep, Stillman, Tobin, Thos. L. Hughes, Gillespie, John McLaughlin, Rox, Steve C. Sumner, Manion, Ramsay, Perham, J. H. Williams, Smart, Roscoe H. Johnson, McMahon, Conboy, Garrity, White, Walden, Typographical delegation (345 votes), O'Connell, Lord, Jewell, T. N. Taylor, Howat, Hulsbeck, Frank J. Coleman, Lawson, James P. Holland, Pascoe, John B. Kolb, Clay, Feinauer, Kosten, George T. Simmons, Weitzel, Geo. B. McGovern, Burford, Harry Bryan, Wm. Carter, Hubbard, Stratton, Jos. L. Anderson, Frank Williams, Robert Butler, Ambrose Harris, Jordan Rogers; representing 25,819 votes.

**Not Voting**—Kasten, Hutson, Boyer, Quesse, A. O'Brien, Kelleher, E. E. Baker, Conway, Desepete, Coulter, Rosemund, Laibly, Holtschult, Austin, H. S. Marshall, McSorley, Duty, Case, C. J. Hayes, D. Lane, Gorman, J. T. Carey, Schneider, Parker, Hannah, Bergstrom,

Britton, Leary, Atherton, J. P. Burke, La Belle, Freel, C. A. Sumner, Funder Burk, Canterbury, Curtis, Wm. J. Spencer, J. J. Manning, Doane, Hopkins, Koester, J. H. Walker, Hjort, Zwalley, Gerraughty, Fritz, S. Ely, J. L. Barry, J. E. Murphy, Roach, Fenton, L. F. Hart, Iglesias, Grace, Hanly, Fisher, Mooney, Ohl, Fox, Steadman, Troutman, Lorntsen, J. A. Miller, Clendenning, Josh Clark, Hushing, Bieretz, Legassie, Lennon, Doherty, Lehman, F. Snyder, Niemeier, J. G. Owens, McGahey, Thornsborough, Robbins, J. E. Sullivan, Winans, R. E. Roberts, Riley, J. C. Taylor, Lochray, G. T. Johnson, R. Marshall, Ogg, O'Dell, Mullen, B. F. Brown, J. W. Ford, Bleasius, Kerns, Argo, F. H. Smith, McSpadden, Bennett, Downes, Utterback, Sims, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nikolaus, Frampton, Ogletree, Hilfers, Ornburn, Coughlin, Tinney, Plant, McKinnon, Lynam, Meloon, Dunn, Herder, Bower, Gable, Maurice Ryan, Conroy, Casey, Wobser, Hourigan, Mahan, J. J. McAndrews, Wrenn, Rich, Nicol, Trimmer, Covert, H. Miller, Whitcomb, Dechend, Stehmeyer, Holloway, W. E. Colman, Boulware, Defrem, Allen, Harte, Mezzacapo, Hixson, Sandy Colman, Caporal, McCoy, C. L. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, A. Stewart, Milton, Fizer, Malone, Smyth, O. Sullivan, Latimore, Hawkins, Rincker, O. W. Jones, E. C. Scott, F. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstone, Poulton, H. Smith, E. Robinson, Vargas; representing 1,200 votes.

Portland, Oregon, was declared selected as the convention city for 1923.

At 12:45 p. m. the convention was adjourned until 2:30 p. m. of the same day.

## ELEVENTH DAY—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

### Absentees

Gillmore, Kasten, Hutson, Quesse, A. O'Brien, Kelleher, England, Dec, Rosemund, Laibly, Austin, W. E. Bryan, Kennedy, Carey, Schneider, Parker, Hannah, Jas. Murphy, Hutchins, La Belle, Blasey, Canterbury, Doane, Koester, Howat, Stephen Ely, Fenton, Grace, Fox, Troutman, Lorntsen, Clendenning, Clarke, Hushing, Bieretz, Legassie, Lehman, Thornsborough, Robbins, John L. Sullivan,

Winans, Taylor, Lochray, Robert Marshall, E. W. O'Dell, Brown, Bleasius, Kerns, Argo, Bennett, Downes, Sims, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Fitzgerald, Nikolaus, Frampton, Ogletree, Plant, Meloon, Dunn, Herder, Bower, Casey, Wrenn, Rich, Trimmer, Whitcomb, Dechend, Holloway, W. E. Colman, Boulware, A. E. Allen, Harte, Mezzacapo, Hixson, S. Colman, Caporal, McCoy, C. L. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, A. Stewart, Milton, Fizer, Latimore, Rincker, F. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstone.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, offered a motion that the rules be suspended and that the convention.

upon afternoon adjournment, meet again at 8 o'clock. The motion was seconded, but no action was taken, for the reason that the convention hall would not be available after 7 o'clock.

Delegate Gainor, Letter Carriers, offered a motion that the convention proceed to the election of two fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress in 1923. (The motion was seconded and carried.)

The name of Peter Shaughnessy, Bricklayers, was presented by Delegate Bowen, of the same organization, and upon motion of Delegate Woll the unanimous vote of the convention was cast for Peter Shaughnessy and he was declared duly elected first fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress in 1923.

For second fraternal delegate the name of William Clarke, Flint Glass Workers, was presented by Delegate Mountford, Actors.

Anthony J. Chlopek, Longshoremen, was nominated by Delegate Duffy, Carpenters.

Delegate Clarke withdrew his name, and there being no other nominations, Anthony J. Chlopek was, upon motion, declared the unanimous choice of the convention for second fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress in 1923.

President Gompers asked the pleasure of the convention in regard to the election of a fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress in 1923.

The name of Walter N. Reddick, Bookbinders, presented by Delegate Anna Neary, of the same organization, was the only one submitted, and he was declared the unanimous choice of the convention for delegate to the 1923 Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Delegate Perkins, Cigar Makers: The Committee on International Labor Relations is now ready to report, and I move that the committee be permitted to report at this time under a suspension of the rules and under a special order. (Motion seconded and carried.)

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Delegate Woll, secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

##### International Labor Relations

Your committee considered Resolution No. 6 in connection with that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the caption, "International Labor Relations," because the resolu-

tion deals with the same subject matter. Resolution No. 6 is as follows:

**Resolution No. 6**—By Delegates Max J. Sillinsky, Arthur Keep, Thos. Sweeney, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, as per instructions of their convention, held in August, 1921:

**WHEREAS**, The class struggle between the workers and the capitalists all over the world is assuming more and more the aspect of one international front; and,

**WHEREAS**, The imperialists are preparing new wars in which the workers will be called upon to slaughter each other for the sake of the capitalists' greed and profits; and,

**WHEREAS**, These conditions which are menacing the workers' demands that labor must unite nationally and internationally in order to present a solid front against the enemies of the working class; and,

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor is at present not affiliated with any international body; be it therefore

**RESOLVED**, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor, now held in Cincinnati, instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, immediately upon adjournment of this convention to get in touch with the International Federation of Trades Unions and reaffiliate with that body.

Your committee recommends non-concurrence in Resolution No. 6 and notes with satisfaction and approval the untiring efforts of the officers and the Executive Council to have the laws of the International Federation of Trade Unions amended as per declaration of the Montreal, 1920, and the Denver, 1921, conventions, and instruct the Executive Council to continue the efforts to bring about affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions and in accord and in agreement with the instructions by the Montreal and Denver conventions.

The report of the committee was adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 25, 28 and 84:

**Resolution No. 25**—By Delegate Herman Defrem, of Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union, No. 12646:

WHEREAS, The conditions of unemployment which prevail in every industry throughout the country are causing great suffering to American working men and women; and,

WHEREAS, There exists in Russia at the present time a state of famine in which many millions of workers and farmers are suffering, not only from lack of food, but from the scarcity of all necessary manufactured articles; and,

WHEREAS, The existence at one time of a great body of unemployed workers in America and a great need for manufactured goods in Russia is plainly due to artificial economic barriers which impede the natural flow of commerce and prevent the American workers from finding employment in the production of foodstuffs, clothing, tools, machinery and all the other commodities needed by the Russian people; and,

WHEREAS, The principal manufacturing nations of Europe, including Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Norway and Sweden, have concluded trade agreements with the Soviet Government of Russia for the purpose of promoting commerce with Russia and giving employment to the workers of those countries; and,

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States, by refusing to recognize the Government of Russia, and by neglecting to conclude a trade agreement with that Government, is prolonging the state of famine and suffering in Russia, and is directly withholding useful and profitable employment from American workers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we demand that the Government of the United States recognize the present Government of Russia, and that the State Department take immediate steps to negotiate a trade agreement with the Russian Government which will restore the facilities for communication and commerce between the United States and Russia, and enable the American worker to secure employment in the manufacture of the commodities needed by the Russian people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to President Harding and to the State Department.

Resolution No. 28—By Delegates E. H. Fitzgerald, A. C. Hay, H. B. Odell, Wade Shurtleff, Louie J. England, Mabel McNolty, of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight

Handlers, Express and Station Employes:

WHEREAS, The conditions of unemployment which prevail in every industry throughout the country are causing great suffering to American working men and women; and,

WHEREAS, These conditions are being used by employers to take from organized labor the hard-won gains of many years and to reduce wages and lengthen hours; and,

WHEREAS, There exists in Russia at the present time a state of famine in which many millions of workers and farmers are suffering, not only from lack of food, but from the scarcity of all necessary manufactured articles; and,

WHEREAS, The existence at one time of a great body of unemployed workers in America and a great need for manufactured goods in Russia is plainly due to artificial economic barriers which impede the natural flow of commerce and prevent the American worker from finding employment in the production of foodstuffs, clothing, tools, machinery and all the other commodities needed by the Russian people; and,

WHEREAS, The principal manufacturing nations of Europe, including Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Norway and Sweden, have concluded trade agreements with the Soviet Government of Russia for the purpose of promoting commerce with Russia and giving employment to the workers of those countries; and,

WHEREAS, the Government of the United States, by refusing to recognize the Government of Russia and by neglecting to conclude a trade agreement with that government, is prolonging the state of famine and suffering in Russia and is directly withholding useful and profitable employment from American workers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, demand that the Government of the United States recognize the present Government of Russia, and that the State Department take immediate steps to negotiate a trade agreement with the Russian Government which will restore the facilities for communication and commerce between the United States and Russia, and enable the American workers to secure employment in the manufacture of the commodities needed by the Russian people; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Secre-

tary of State and be given wide publicity as the expression of American workers.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates C. L. Baine, Jere L. Sullivan, Thomas F. McMahon, Sara Conboy and John A. Voll:

WHEREAS, There has continued during the year a persistent propaganda in favor of some sort of recognition of the communist autocracy in Russia which has crushed and all but broken the Russian people; and,

WHEREAS, This propaganda has taken form under various heads as follows:

1. Propaganda for official American recognition of the Soviet dictatorship as a government;

2. Propaganda among trade unions for relief for Russia to be forwarded for distribution in Russia under direction of the Soviets;

3. Propaganda for so-called trade relations with Russia, which as a matter of fact have existed and now exist in so far as they can exist with a disorganized people ridden by a brutal tyranny;

4. Propaganda for communism in the abstract among American working people;

5. Propaganda having the definite purpose of destroying the American Federation of Labor in obedience to the command of the chief of the Russian tyranny to the effect that the American Federation of Labor must be destroyed as the first necessary step in the communist scheme to overthrow the republic of the United States; and,

WHEREAS, All of this propaganda is based upon the desire of communists and communist central power to undermine and overthrow democratic institutions everywhere; and,

WHEREAS, We find, in brief, the facts in the case to be;

1. The Russian Soviet authority, called a government, is a most rigorous, brutal, tyrannical autocracy in the absolute control of communists of whom there are among all of the millions of Russians less than 400,000, with no freedom of speech, no freedom of press (only authorized government controlled newspapers are permitted), no freedom of assemblage, no secret ballot, a system of plural voting which gives communists four votes to one for the peasant; there is a complete economic breakdown due to communist tyranny in theory and practice; there is thrust upon the people the burden of the largest

standing army in the world; there are and have been persecution and execution of thousand of workers whose crime was their effort to be trade unionists and to express their opposition to the autocratic powers in control; there is a despotism which seems to grant concessions as a part of its propaganda when that is deemed wise, but which may withdraw at any moment the concessions it grants; there is absolutely no power residing in the people who have been stricken of everything material, political, industrial and ethical; there is the most brazen misrepresentation to the peoples of the world;

2. As to relief, which it is sought to gather from trade unionists, this is a deception of the most despicable kind, since it plays upon the heartstrings for the deliberate purpose of bolstering the despotism; the American Relief Administration is putting into Russia regularly more food than Russian equipment can transport inland to the famine area; relief sought for propaganda purposes from trade unionists through special agencies can not even, if collected, be got to those who need it because the Russian transportation system is incapable of transporting that which is and has been available through the generosity of the American people and the American Government; and the Soviet powers, utterly lacking in human sensibilities and ready to practice any deception for a propaganda purpose, have deliberately sought to impose upon American workers the most heartless misrepresentation;

3. In relation to trade it can only be said that the accounts of riches awaiting Americans upon the establishment of trade relations are as false as other Soviet propaganda and are calculated to serve Soviet ends alone; there is now no bar to trade with Russia except the inability of Russia to pay for those things which she needs most sorely; the only end to be served by trade relations would be to extend a quasi recognition to a hateful tyranny and to make the American Government in some measure a guarantor or collector for bills which the Soviets unquestionably would seek to avoid paying;

4. Propaganda for communism in the abstract in America is too obvious to need fresh description. It is not effective, but it is in evidence and it appears to be well financed and well organized, all for the purpose of foisting upon Americans the nightmare that has ruined Russia;

5. Propaganda having for its definite

purpose the destruction of the American labor movement is also declared; unfortunately some trade unionists, essentially sound and well meaning, are temporarily deceived by this propaganda, leading to sporadic outbursts here and there for such fantastic schemes as the "One Big Union," the "amalgamation" of unions which would mean the disintegration of unions, and even the complete abolishment of unions and their replacement by Soviets; these various schemes having such variations as the propagandists think will win them the most support, their one aim being to destroy our trade unions in order that they may then destroy our government; and,

WHEREAS, There is in support of all of this work a diffused propaganda working through many channels for one purpose, having no scruples as to honesty or truth, drawing to its support at various times a wide variety of persons, including public speakers, writers, editors, ministers, business men and some labor men, calling for constant vigilance on the part of all who wish to avoid deception; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we declare the foregoing to be a truthful statement of facts justifying our position, adding thereto the declaration made by our convention in Montreal and affirmed in Denver, as follows:

"That the American Federation of Labor is not justified in taking any action which could be construed as an assistance to or approval of the Soviet Government of Russia so long as that government is based upon authority which has not been vested in it by a popular representative national assemblage of the Russian people; or so long as it endeavors to create revolutions in the well-established, civilized nations of the world; or so long as it advocates and applies the militarization of labor and prevents the organizing and functioning of trade unions and the maintenance of a free press and free public assemblage;" and be it further

RESOLVED, That we express again our great friendship for the Russian people, our distress because of their terrible misfortune, our compassion and our sympathy, our pledge of continued friendship and assistance, and that we further extend to Russian trade unionists our greeting and our hope that they may soon be free to act democratically as trade unionists, unfettered by any tyranny, and that in that way they may contribute mightily toward the rebuilding of a great nation by a people tried

unto despair, victimized by adventurers, ridden and ruled by lust and avarice, denied the most elemental rights by the most audacious, unscrupulous and incongruous despotism in history.

Your committee, having had under consideration Resolutions Nos. 25, 28 and 84, find that in Resolutions 25 and 28 the preambles are unfounded and unwarranted and the deductions therefore unfounded. We therefore recommend non-concurrence in Resolutions Nos. 25 and 28 and report upon Resolution No. 84 as follows:

Your committee having under consideration Resolution No. 84 has given the subject matter thereof most careful attention and has made a detailed examination of a large mass of official and documentary evidence in order that there might be absolute assurance of accuracy in every respect. It is not possible to present to the convention a full account of all the evidence that is available, since there could easily be prepared from that evidence a volume larger than the entire proceedings of this convention. It is possible only to present a most meager summary of our findings and to assure the convention that we find the statements contained in Resolution No. 84 sustained in every particular.

Concerning many of the statements contained in the resolution there is no dispute. As a matter of fact, those points which are in reality most significant and most important so far as American labor is concerned are not disputed. The existence of a dictatorship over the Russian people is beyond dispute. On the contrary, the existence of that dictatorship has been proclaimed to the world as the fulfillment of all the hopes of those to whom Communism is a gospel. In proclaiming "the dictatorship of the proletariat" the Soviet authorities are not always frank in depicting the methods by which that dictatorship is continued in power, but it is possible to find in official and authenticated records descriptions of the methods employed, and your committee is of the opinion that those methods compare well with the methods of all the great dictatorships and autocracies. No refinement of cruelty has been overlooked.

The statements that there is in Russia no freedom of the press, no freedom of speech and no freedom of assemblage are undisputed; they are everywhere known to be the facts. Neither do we find dispute as to the abolition of the secret ballot. The economic breakdown of Russia is a

matter of world concern. We are aware of the fact that spokesmen for the Soviet Government seek to excuse or explain the economic breakdown and the appalling condition of starvation on the ground of losses and disorganization incident to the war and on the ground of failure of rainfall. It is not necessary to minimize the effects of either of these factors. Nor does the presence of either statement eliminate the disorganization and destruction wrought by the Soviet Government as the direct result of its effort to put into practice the philosophy of Communism.

So liberal-minded a person as Dr. Vernon Kellogg, one of Mr. Hoover's most important associates in Russian relief work, speaking after intimate first-hand and personal knowledge, thus emphatically refutes the Soviet claim in this respect:

"The waste and devastation of war, and the requisitioning by the Soviet Government of the farmers' surplus production, thus destroying all incentive to surplus production, have combined to produce a food shortage all over Russia in the last two or three years, whatever the rainfall."

Mr. Hoover, himself, describes the situation as follows:

"The causes of the famine are such that they will be recurrent every year until there is much further change in the economic system of Russia."

"The industrial collapse has brought about these conditions. The widespread prevalence of disease and famine represents the fruits of this collapse."

"The drought in the Volga region would not be of such fatal character but for the general decadence of agriculture and the reduction of surplus stocks in other regions, the decay of transportation rendering most difficult the movement of such local surpluses as do still exist."

It is set forth in the resolution that a propaganda of deception has been conducted under the direction of Soviet authorities and that, in addition to other aims, it has been the purpose of this propaganda to undermine and destroy the American Federation of Labor. Numerous authoritative statements might be cited in this connection, but we deem it unnecessary to go at length into a point which has been made so thoroughly clear to the world by the Soviets themselves. We call attention, however, to one specific declaration of the Third Internationale, the political propaganda agency of Soviet power, as follows:

"V. Especial attention must be paid to the American Federation of Labor. It must be broken, agitating with the energetic aid of the I. W. W. for the creation of revolutionary trade unions."

Another official pronouncement of the Third Internationale containing instructions to sympathizers in the United States contains explicit instructions for the undermining and destruction of the American Federation of Labor in the following language:

"First, organize small Communist groups for the purpose of conducting revolutionary propaganda and establishing Communist influence in the component unions of the American Federation of Labor; and

"Second, organize in the unions special bodies, such as shop committees, workmen's councils, etc., for the purpose of opposing the bureaucracy of the unionist leadership and of attempting to bring about the rejection of the old forms of union organization in favor of revolutionary activity and a system of industrial rather than trade unions, as well as of organizing strikes wherever possible, irrespective of the decisions of the present-day leaders of the unions.

"This work in the old unions must always be connected with the realization that one of the principal aims of the movement in America must be the creation of a new labor organization, independent of the American Federation of Labor. The fact that most workmen in America are not organized; that the unions which are not affiliated with American Federation of Labor have a membership of more than a million; that there exists a tendency toward the creation of 'one big union'; that unions separate themselves from the American Federation of Labor all the time—all this makes it possible and necessary that all these forces be united into a new labor organization, based upon the principles of the industrial union and of the class struggle. The Communist party and the I. W. W. should work together for the accomplishment of this great aim.

"In order that this should be done it is necessary that the revolutionary masses in the I. W. W. should take all power away from those union officials.

"Striving to create this new labor organization, the Communist party must at the same time remain in close and continuous contact with the workmen who still remain members of the old unions, and even after the creation of the new labor organization, the Communists must

continue their revolutionary work in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor, in order to unite and mobilize all class-conscious workmen in the struggle against capitalism. By means of the Communist groups organized in all the unions, as well as special organizations and the new great labor organization, the unification of the revolutionary industrial forces of the proletariat will be completed."

The question of famine relief is touched upon in Resolution No. 84, and your committee wishes it might have an opportunity to go thoroughly into that subject in its report. Suffice it to say that the Soviet authorities and the friends of Sovietism in America have neglected no opportunity to create propaganda for the Soviet under the guise of securing famine relief. In an article in behalf of this alleged relief quite generally published in the United States, one of its spokesmen brazenly described the desire of the Soviets as follows:

"We ask labor to consign what it sends to the port officer of the Soviet Government, in order that the people of Russia can see that the workers of the world recognize the Russian Workers' Republic; trust it, and hope it will make good."

It was further requested that such relief supplies be shipped to Russia "as the Russians prefer to have it done and to send with it the mute message the Russians are hungry to hear—that American labor understands \* \* \* for it is the sign that the American workers realize that the Russian workers are in a long, long strike for the common good." A more complete misrepresentation of the actual facts and of the attitude of American labor would be difficult to imagine.

We cannot refrain here from calling attention to the great relief work conducted by the American Relief Administration, and we are happy to say effectively and conscientiously supported and assisted by the officers of the American Federation of Labor.

It is advisable to say a word in connection with portions of the resolution dealing with tyranny and brutality under the Soviets. There can never be compiled any adequate statement concerning the number who have died of starvation as the result of Soviet incompetence and blundering, but it is possible to present a partial tabulation of those who have been murdered by the Soviets in pursuit of its policy of deliberate violence and extermination, because it is in the most convenient

form we quote a compilation made by Archbishop Alexander, head of the Greek Orthodox Church in North America, who drew his figures from Soviet sources. Archbishop Alexander found that in the period from November 7, 1917, to July 1, 1931, the following executions were instigated by the Soviets:

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| "Clergymen .....                          | 1,215      |
| Bishops .....                             | 28         |
| Professors and school teachers .....      | 6,775      |
| Physicians and their assistants .....     | 8,800      |
| Army and navy officers....                | 54,650     |
| Soldiers .....                            | 260,000    |
| Policemen of higher ranks.                | 10,500     |
| Policemen of lower ranks..                | 48,500     |
| Land owners .....                         | 12,950     |
| Belonging to the intellectual class ..... | 355,250    |
| Manual workers .....                      | 192,350    |
| Peasants .....                            | 815,100    |
|   | 1,766,118" |

As to propaganda conducted in the United States in behalf of Communism, we find it unnecessary to add anything to the statement contained in the resolution to the effect that it is "too obvious to need fresh description." We cannot overlook the fact that in Russia and in the rest of the world, the Soviet powers have made special efforts to exterminate the bona fide trade union movement. In Russia there is no longer a free trade union movement. The trade unions have ceased to exist except in name and as agencies for the carrying out of Soviet orders. In fact, under the most recent decrees of the Soviets in their alleged turnback toward capitalism, the workers have not only been deprived of the right to speak through their trade unions, but have, in fact, been made absolutely powerless against the arbitrary and autocratic orders of Soviet factory managers, who, in many cases, are the same individuals who held those positions prior to the downfall of the Czar's regime. Instead of gaining freedom, the workers have lost even that meager degree of independence and strength which they possessed under the old autocracy.

The notorious Cheka, which is the old Czarist secret police organization made more efficient than ever, possessed of all of the horrible arts of the Inquisition, is and has been the Soviets' main instrument in torturing, executing and exiling those trade unionists who have had the courage to stand for a free trade union movement in the

face of the dictates of the autocracy. The Cheka, agent of death and destruction, typical instrument of absolutism, has been described by Zinoveff, one of Lenin's principal aids, as "the ornament and glory of our party."

We feel that it would be trespassing upon the time of the convention were we to extend our report so as to include further details. The evidence, however, is most unlimited. It is not necessary to take the word of those who are opposed to the Soviet Government or to the philosophy upon which it is built. It is necessary only to observe the operations of the Soviet autocracy and to study its official pronouncements and the utterances and descriptions of those who are its authorized spokesmen and propagandists. Should it be contended that the recent statements to the effect that a return to capitalism is under way in Russia, we can only add that whatever policy may be found in operation in Russia at any moment is a policy defined by an autocracy, and, therefore, revokable at any moment by the same authorities. We find it nothing less than amazing that any American trade unionist should permit himself to be misguided in relation to the subject under discussion. The evidence is easy of access and is most voluminous. We find but one explanation for the misleading of any person in this respect. The plea for recognition of the Soviet autocracy is customarily a plea couched in terms of emotionalism and sentimentalism. Human sympathies, perhaps more fully developed in the trade union movement than elsewhere, are played upon skillfully by those whose business it is to seek support of the autocratic powers that are ruining the Russian nation. The answer to those pleas must be couched in terms of facts, and it is a matter of common knowledge that among those whose convictions are determined by considerations of emotion the facts have little meaning. In view of what we have here set forth and in view of everything we have been able to discover, we can recommend only that the position of the American Federation of Labor remain as it was so clearly defined at Montreal and affirmed in Denver.

Your committee concurs in Resolution No. 84.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Max Hayes, Typographical Union: I rise to submit a minority report, as a member of that committee, signed by Delegate Timothy Healy and myself. It is as follows:

The undersigned, a minority of the members of the Committee on International Labor Relations, submit the following substitute resolution in lieu of all resolutions referred to the committee on the subject of relations with Russia, and recommend its adoption by the convention:

WHEREAS, The United States stands by with millions of unemployed while other industrial nations are hastening to contract trade relations with Russia, which, in rebuilding its economic structure, needs vast quantities of manufactured products; and,

WHEREAS, Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Germany, Austria, Poland, China, Mexico and other countries have concluded treaties or trade agreements with Russia; and,

WHEREAS, The labor movement of every other nation of industrial importance has urged its government to establish friendly relations with Russia and to end the warfare, military or economic, that has been waged against Russia; and,

WHEREAS, World peace, which is one of the fondest hopes of the workers, cannot be established while military or economic pressure is used to deprive peoples of self-determination; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor request that the Government of the United States recognize the existing Russian Government and take immediate steps to restore facilities for communication and commerce.

MAX S. HAYES,  
TIMOTHY HEALY.

Delegate Hayes: I move that the minority report be substituted for the majority report of the committee. (Motion seconded.)

Delegate Keep, Journeymen Tailors, discussed the question at some length, and said in part:

I am just going to state certain facts that only an imprudent fool would attempt to deny. It is remarkable to me how recently we and others have got to the point where we are unable to recognize a revolution. There isn't an established government in civilization whose form of government was not conceived and born out of a revolution, including ours, and it was no tea party, either—none of them. In the Astor Library in New York, and in the collection owned by Judge O'Brien of New York, there are hundreds of circulars that were issued by the Tories



or the colonies in this country at the time of our revolution. In this country we had a class who had to be run out, deprived of free speech, and treated as a common enemy at that time, and when they were licked they would issue those circulars, and in those circulars the revolutionary fathers were denounced in identically the same terms as Lenine and Trotsky are denounced.

I could make statement after statement from these broadsides and change the names of Washington, Madison, Hancock and others to Lenine and Trotsky, and it would correspond to the statements now being made by the Chambers of Commerce, the open shoppers and others of their kind.

After we accomplished our revolution Thomas Jefferson was sent to England and the continent to open up commercial relations with these countries, and he was treated identically as are the Russians today. In England they refused to do business with him unless he guaranteed to pay the debts incurred by the Tory Legislatures that represented the people of the colonies during the Revolution, and he refused; those debts were repudiated and never paid.

Delegate Keep continued his statement by referring to the numbers killed in the French revolution and in other revolutions that had occurred in history, and to the famines which had occurred in Russia under the regime of the Czar, before the Soviet government came into power. Concluding, he said: "I don't care what government is in Russia. Any one can tell me that there is a mere handful in control in Russia, but I don't care anything about that. As an American I am tired of this Soviet of millionaires called the Cabinet down at Washington; I am tired of Mr. Hoover and the other foreigners who are talking about America not knowing enough to know what is going on, and because I am that, because I am a plain American, I favor the recognition of the Government of Russia."

Delegate Frey, Molders, in discussing the question, said in part: Mr. Chairman, in discussing this minority report I have no desire to throw out any smoke screen. I shall also endeavor to confine myself to two of the questions, instead of covering Europe and America. I would like, first of all, to direct your attention to this feature of the minority report. It is based upon the idea that a recognition on the part of the United States to Soviet Russia would limit or bring about disarmament in

Europe. If the logic of that position is sound, and all of those nations that were mentioned favor this action, wherein lies the military menace to Russia?

The logic of that argument is as sound and as impressive to reasoning men as the one we listened to but a few months ago—that it was necessary to enter into this trade agreement so that the millions of idle workers in the United States would secure employment in the manufacture of articles that the Soviet government desired to buy; and scarcely had that insidious propaganda spread in our trade union movement than we were solicited to contribute from our funds to prevent millions of Russians from dying of starvation.

I believe this convention has no moral right to discuss the form of government that any country desires to have. Whatever the Russian majority wants it is entitled to, and if a minority is maintaining a dictatorship in Russia, it is up to the majority to rid themselves of it, and it is none of our affairs.

But, Mr. Chairman, this question is not coming before this convention as one for the American people to pass upon; it is coming into a trade union convention for the purpose of securing trade union action. I don't know that all the enemies say of Soviet Russia is true. I don't know that all of the statements attributed to the officials of our country are true, but there are some facts, there are some records upon which I am willing to stand and rest my case, and these are the records which come to us from the officials and the recognized trade union movement of Europe.

Mr. Chairman, the only official trade union request that has come to the American Federation of Labor came to us from what is left of the Russian trade union movement, the official representatives of that trade union movement which Soviet Russia has now destroyed. After appealing to the German, the French, the British and the Scandinavian movements for assistance to maintain their trade union movement, they came over to America and asked us to use our influence so that the trade union movement might continue to exist in Russia. So that as far as the trade union movement is concerned, the only official communication that has come to us was the one conveyed by the representatives of the legitimate trade union movement, who called our attention to the fact that they were being imprisoned, that they were being slaughtered,

as were the other reformers in Europe, because they failed to agree with the Government of Russia.

I am interested in this question as an American trade unionist and nothing more, and if I take a position upon this question I hope I can do so in a manner that cannot be misunderstood. I believe that this trade union movement which it is my pleasure and my privilege to be a member of is the best trade union movement which has ever been developed in any country on earth, and, so far as I am concerned, it matters little to me who the enemies of this movement are, or the name that they apply to themselves, or the means that they use; whether it is an employers' association, Chamber of Commerce, the Metal Trades Association—which is trying to destroy my trade union; whether it is intellectual theorists, whether it is the I. W. W. or the One Big Union—they are enemies of my movement because they are openly trying to destroy it; and if I believe that the Third Internationale—as the evidence coming to me from trade union sources leads me to believe—that it is the intention of Soviet Russia to carry out this purpose, I am as much against them as though they had labeled themselves scabs.

I received two or three days ago the official organ of the International Federation of Trade Unions. In the international trade union movement it occupies the same position as the American Federationist does in the United States and Canada. Under date of May, 1922, is an article from the general secretary of the French Confederation of Labor, Leon Johaux, part of which I will read:

"Such criticisms and reproaches cannot be taken seriously.

"And it is also useless to quibble about the word 'reformism.' Yes, it is true that the French trade union movement has made a pronouncement against 'reformism.' But that was against 'reformism' in the exact sense of the term, that is to say against a policy which would consist in renouncing the idea of a complete social transformation and would confine itself to certain reforms within the present scheme of capitalist society, leaving the present social order entirely intact.

"This point of view of the French trade union movement is the same as that of the trade union movement in all countries. This, however, does not mean the renunciation of reforms which have for their aim the amelioration of

the present situation of the workers, thus preparing the way for fresh conquests.

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"Such, however, are the weak arguments with which our opponents (the 'minoritaires') prop up the campaign which they have now been carrying on for almost three years.

"They have seized every pretext to attack the action of the C. G. T. There was not a single act of the C. G. T. that was not denounced by these people as a 'betrayal'; not a single decision that did not arouse their anger.

"This campaign has been carried on without any scruples as to the means employed. All our leaders have been attacked, insulted and calumniated both for their national and their international actions. With regard to our International action, this is not the place to dwell at great length upon that question. Suffice it to say that the French 'minoritaires' have largely put into practice the instructions of Sinovief and have made a plentiful use of the language of the dictators of the Third Internationale. For, as is already known, the action of the 'minoritaires' was not so much a mere domestic dispute within the French trade union movement as a systematic attempt to win over our movement for the action of the Communists. If it only cared to do so, the C. G. T. could prove that it has been one of those organizations against whom the instructions emanating from Moscow have been most particularly directed; we could even say that it was against our organization that the most violent attacks have been directed, and that, unfortunately, it was on our organization that the severest blows have fallen.

"The idea of forming 'cells' within the trade unions, as prescribed by the Third Internationale, was applied unsparingly, even before that idea had been officially sanctioned as a general principle of action. The campaign of slander against our leaders, the systematic disparagement of our activities, the defeats consequent upon the struggle precipitated by the supporters of the Communist methods—all these factors have tended to diminish our membership. From the first moment, however, it was easy to foresee what would be the results of such actions: a trade union organization whose fighting forces for the struggle against the employers have been diminished, turns naturally to mere ranting and extreme demagoguery. The victory of the minority could only be realized through the exhaustion of the

working class movement. When the other side boast that they have made some progress they forget to tell us what conditions have enabled them to make that progress. If one were to investigate conditions in the trade unions which support the 'minoritaires,' if, for instance we were to review the situation of the organizations in the Paris district, we should have to pronounce the most emphatic condemnation against all the efforts made by the opposition, as constituting one unbroken series of destructive activities. It is not our intention here to go into the history of our trade union movement during the past two years and a half, during which time this campaign of incessant and unparalleled violence has been carried on. We shall not dwell upon the two railwaymen's strikes in February and in May-June, 1920. We have only to remark that despite all schemings, despite a coalition which would fall to pieces if it had come into existence anywhere else except in the opposition, despite the repercussions caused in our organizations as a result of the Socialist split, despite all the repeated manoeuvres to falsify the membership cards in the trade unions, our opponents have not been able to win over the French trade union movement for the Communist Party and the so-called Red Trade Union International at Moscow.

"What remains of this disruptive action, which conduces so much to the impotence of the trade union movement, is the regrettable crisis which affects our trade unions so injuriously, and the combined attacks from the side of the communists as well as from the side of the political and capitalist reaction against us.

"That is the upshot of the lugubrious work accomplished in the name of the Russian Revolution.

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"The French trade union movement has now reached a critical stage not only of its evolution but also of its very existence.

"Where and how do we stand at present?

"We are writing these lines a few days before the meeting of a Congress which has been convened by certain 'minoritaire' organizations and which is a palpable act of indiscipline and characterizes in a striking manner the disruptive efforts that are being incessantly made.

"Allusion has already been made to the formation of Communist 'cells' within the trade unions. Our comrades

in the other countries will also know something about these methods; most probably, however, they do not know the situation which these methods have created in France and what consequences these methods may possible lead to.

"The 'cells' which are being formed within our movement have assumed a character which reveals sufficiently the real object their instigators have in view. In our country they have been given the name of 'Revolutionary Trade Union Committees.' Things have come to such a pass that an organization has been formed within the organization. Not only are there Revolutionary Trade Union Committees within the Trade Unions; in the industrial federations there are so-called 'Federal Sub-Committees'; and finally, there is, towering above all the others, a Central Commission of the Revolutionary Trade Union Committees.

"Can it be denied that these side-show separate organizations constitute in reality a veritable C. G. T. within the C. G. T.? Does not all this point to the determination of the Communist 'minoritaires' to bring about a split in our movement? Is that a situation which can be tolerated?

"The trade union movement could not close its eyes to these facts; and so at its last meeting the Executive of the C. G. T. made a formal pronouncement in conformity with the decision taken at the Lille Congress in July last.

"It has declared that it is impossible to maintain unity without that respect for discipline which is so indispensable to every organization, no matter of what kind it may be; it has formally condemned the affiliation of trade unions to the Revolutionary Trade Union Committees. It is against this decision that the minority are now rebelling; it is against this decision that they now wish to convene an illegal Congress. We would simply ask this question: Is such an action admissible?

"There can be only one answer.

"We do not wish to investigate just now what will be the consequences of this situation. It will be necessary later on to return to this question, in order to give the international trade union movement the explanations which it is entitled to ask for. In the course of these pages we have simply endeavored to give a clear and concise picture of our present situation—a situation which, it would seem, is not yet sufficiently known.

"Having done so, it now remains for us to reaffirm our confidence in the future.

"Having successfully resisted all assaults, all attempts to dislocate its organizations, the French Trade Union Movement is determined not to submit to the yoke which its enemies are trying to impose upon it.

"The principle of autonomy which is the basis of its organization will not permit it to submit to tyranny which would make it an instrument for the purposes of a policy which is foreign to its actions and to its objects.

"Neither will it consent to its organization being subjected to a continuous violation of the discipline which is indispensable for its very existence. The working classes of France who have made such great sacrifices for their unity will manifest their unflinching determination to oppose the efforts of those who have wished to destroy that unity, and who have been obliged to give up their designs against the movement as a whole. And the immediate future will show of what little account those are who imagined that they could lay hands upon our organization and use it for their own designs."

Mr. Chairman, this is a statement, not made for this Federation, but a statement made by the head of the French trade union movement for the trade union movement of the world. If it were necessary I would read statements equally illustrative of the methods, equally pointing out the dangers from the leaders of the British, the German and the Scandinavian trade union movements.

And now just as I take my seat, I want to again say this: That when any question arises affecting any country, we should be guided at least as much by the advice and the information which we receive from the proper, duly authorized trade union representatives in those countries as we would from anybody else; and if those who favor the minority report believe in being governed by official trade union movement information they will withdraw their minority report.

Delegate Healy, Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen: Mr. Chairman, I signed the minority report. As a member of that committee I could not agree with the majority report. I heard it read, and I want to say now that the report is an insult to the intelligence of this convention. We are not dreamers or fanatics. All my life I have been a believer in the principle that all peoples should establish governments according to their own ideals and they should not be dictated to by other peoples; and, whether it is in Russia, India, Egypt or any place else.

the people should have the right to establish their own government, and they should have the good will at least of the American Federation of Labor to back them up in their aspirations.

Delegate Frey has quoted to you a statement of the secretary of the French Confederation of Labor. He was talking to the Communists in his own movement and in his country, Delegate Frey. We have been told that the Soviets are aiming to destroy the American Federation of Labor. I am as jealous of my international union as Delegate Frey is of his international union. We are all with the American Federation of Labor. We have been told in the past few months that there is an agent of Lenin and Trotsky here trying to destroy the American Federation of Labor. Who do you think they expect to destroy the American Federation of Labor? Bill Foster! If I had time I would go down to the meeting to hear him tonight.

The American labor movement is not going to be turned upside down and its complexion changed by Foster. I don't believe he is an agent of the Russian Soviet; if he is, I wish him luck. I believe the Russian people or any other people fighting for their independence, fighting to establish a government after their own ideas, should have at least the sympathy of the American Federation of Labor and should not be attacked; we should not stand for their being attacked as they have been in the report submitted by a majority of this committee.

At this point Delegate Healy called attention to the reasonable hearing the question was receiving in the convention as compared with the manner in which the question had been dealt with in the Denver convention. He spoke of the falsehoods being circulated about the Russian situation by Wall Street, the manufacturers' associations and the destroyers of labor generally. He further stated that the report brought in by the committee was of such a nature that it would please Secretary of State Hughes and the other reactionary agents of our government in Washington. Continuing his discussion, Delegate Healy said:

For two years and a half some of us have been talking about recognizing Russia, and our friends, the opposition, tell us Russia has no money to purchase goods and that they have no way of delivering goods if they are landed in Russia. Still we find that goods are being delivered. From the end of the war up to the 1st of January, Germany, England, Austria and other

countries have delivered locomotives, railroad rolling stock, tools and other material to Russia, to the amount of \$155,000,000. We had millions of unemployed people tramping the streets of our cities and we did not get one dollar of that trade, through the action of our government and the reactionaries—including the reactionary American Federation of Labor. I was invited to see Mr. Martens, the Soviet Minister, when he was kicked out of this country, and he had three or four suitcases stuffed with contracts with American merchants and he had \$50,000,000 in gold to pay for the goods these contracts called for.

At this point Delegate Healy described in some detail the agencies in New York which were preparing and sending broadcast anti-Russian propaganda.

Continuing he said: It is our duty here today to recommend to our government, as the resolution calls for, that they take up the question of diplomatic and trade relations with the Soviet Government of Russia. That is all we should do; that is all this substitute asks for; and I think that we as labor men owe it to Senators Borah, Johnson, LaFollette and other giants in our Congress who are fighting an honest fight in the interest of the people of our country. They are not afraid of revolution, they are not revolutionists, they are loyal American citizens; and I claim that Senator LaFollette—who has been branded as a pro-German, branded by every name they could designate to injure him in the eyes of the American people—I claim he is fighting our battle, he is fighting the battle of the Russians, he is fighting for liberty, and he is presenting the people of the United States, not the reactionary government nor the capitalist class, but the people of America, in the proper light before the world. This American Federation of Labor should be with all peoples who are struggling to build up a government after their own ideals. It is our duty to send from this hall today a message of encouragement to Senator LaFollette and his associates in Washington on this question.

Delegate Grow, International Association of Machinists, in discussing the subject said in part: I rise to support the minority report presented to this body. I have in mind the most terrible condition affecting the lives and destinies of 150,000,000 people. Just recently you have read in the press and heard from the platform of various labor organizations a direct appeal for money

to buy foodstuffs and clothing to send to the suffering people of Russia. The American people have responded, the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations responded to the appeal that came to us and to the world; and I want to lay the foundation, perhaps, for a clearer understanding of the right of the people of this country, and in particular of the right of the people who constitute the great labor body of America, to at least come to a point of clear reasoning, based not on any temperamental spasms or angles, but to look the question squarely in the face.

In briefly reviewing some of the things that have happened in Russia, first of all I will go back to the Japanese-Russian War and find when that war was launched that millions of Russians were torn from their homes, sent across a trackless waste on those rails, or lines of rust, in poorly equipped trains. Millions of those people were thrown into that conflict, without proper support from a rotten, grafting government, and they were destroyed. It wasn't war; it was a massacre. They fell, fighting to the best of their ability, improperly fed and improperly equipped. That struggle was a tribute to the Russian people.

And history will record that in the last war the grafting and rotten government of Russia sent its millions into that struggle, without side arms or equipment, starving and freezing—yes, a similar condition to that which transpired in this country, that followed the defeat of Washington at Brandywine and before his retreat to Valley Forge. And the women were as brave as the men; they practically threw their bodies upon the German bayonets. It was Russia that largely was responsible for saving the Allies in the war, because with that poorly equipped force they kept the enemy engaged. They displayed a courage such as the world has never seen.

At this point Delegate Grow spoke in detail of the great courage displayed by the Russian people, of the treachery of their former government, of the manner in which they had been opposed and enslaved by the Czar, aided by the Cossacks, in their effort to wipe out and destroy the desire of the Russian people for liberty and freedom. Continuing, Delegate Grow said:

Following that war, where over 10,000,000 lives were lost, Russia lay helpless before the enemy, yet they had saved the day for the Allies. Then came the revolt against oppressive government, and within a very short time

they established a new government, which soon began to utilize its power of suppression again over the lives of the people of Russia. That government was not responsive to the people and they had the courage and the foresight to remove the government of the autocrat.

Following that Mr. Kerensky became the head of the government. It is true they established a representative government, but they dilly-dallied along; the people were starving, the peasants had no grain, the whole country was in turmoil, and they removed that government—as honest and courageous men should remove a government that was not responsive to the people.

Again something terrible happened in Russia. A number of their allies whom they had saved immediately began an invasion of their land in Siberia. The United States, England and Japan sent forces to Siberia and there suppressed the people. After our government withdrew its troops, after labor in these conventions protested against further invasions and against further sending of troops, and Great Britain withdrew her troops, there was planted the emblem of the most autocratic nation on earth, the Rising Sun, on Siberian soil.

Delegate Grow at this point in his address spoke of the manner in which the nations he had mentioned, Great Britain especially, had gone into Russia, into the oil fields and the provinces, where grain had been stored, in order to gain possession of these resources, and followed that by a description of the campaign of Kolchek, Denekine and other military leaders, and the further devastation and suffering of the country. He spoke of the great courage of the Russian people under all the suffering they endured and the manner in which they endeavored to set up a government that would be responsive to their wishes.

Continuing with this subject, Delegate Grow said:

I congratulate a people that has the courage, the stamina, after passing through such terrible ordeals, to rise in their might and in spite of all their invaders establish a stable government. Now, as to what broad-minded and thinking men outside of labor have to say about the matter. Among those who have visited Russia and brought back knowledge to us, I refer you to Senator LaFollette, Senator Borah, Senator Johnson—I am glad we have a Johnson in our State—Senator Wat-

son, of Georgia; Senator Joseph France, of Maryland; and, on the other side, the economist and journalist, Guinness; Sir Philip Gibbs, H. G. Wells and H. W. Nevins. Other organizations and individuals of standing who favor friendly relations with Russia are Jane Addams, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, of which she is president; Raymond Robins, the Foreign Policies Association, James P. MacDonald, president; among the many influential newspapers of the country the New York World, New York Globe and Baltimore Sun.

You are dealing with a problem not so narrow as to confine its activities, its scope and its intent to the trade union movement of this or any other country; because labor in this country or any other country in the world will never be able to accomplish the things for which we are organized until we have established on broad grounds and with deep purposes an international relationship with labor of the world.

By conciliatory methods and establishing proper relations we will set up a condition where the Russian people may be at peace, where they will not be endangered by counter-revolutionists, where the world will reach out its hand to the Soviet Republic as it reached out its hand to the American Republic. You must be constructive, broad-minded, democratic; you must be builders and not obstructors. As long as you oppose and obstruct the Russian people will become suspicious; as long as they are suspicious of a hostile world, just so long will they maintain their army to defend Russian people in Russian countries.

So I say, let us be fair-minded and look at the question as Americans who understand the traditions of their own country; let us be firm, loyal, intelligent and extend to Russia the right to deal and communicate and have commercial and trade relations established with all countries of the civilized world.

Vice-President Duncan in the chair. President Gompers; Mr. Chairman and delegates, it is with keen interest that I have listened to the discussion so far. It was a repetition of the statements made by Delegates Hayes and Delegate Healy last evening when the committee met and the report was being discussed.

To me it seems strange, as I suppose it seems strange to you, that the delegates who have taken cognizance of this subject and have addressed us upon the subject have entirely evaded or forgotten one of the features which

is contained in the report of the majority of the committee. Isn't it strange that not one of them should have taken cognizance of the statements repeatedly made, both in Resolution No. 84 and the report of the committee, that it is the official purpose, declared by the Soviet government, to destroy the American Federation of Labor? I am sure that not one of them would doubt the declarations, the open letters to the American working people of the official of the Soviets and the head of that regime—Lenine—in his declaration for the overthrow and destruction of all democratic countries, and particularly the democratic country, the Government of the United States of America.

The basis upon which they claim to base Sovietism is that democracy shall not exist, either in Russia or in any other country. Any man or woman who believes in real democracy cannot consistently favor the Soviet government. And, says the declaration of Lenine frequently, and repeatedly by his commissariats and his agent, as a condition precedent to the overthrow of the Republic of the United States it is necessary to destroy the American Federation of Labor. Does anybody doubt that there are attempts being made, in the name of those who represent Sovietism in the United States? If he doubts, let him read the declarations of the representatives of the Soviet government in the United States.

We share the view expressed by some that the American Federation of Labor is in no fear of destruction. I quite agree, but I agree from a different standpoint, that the American Federation of Labor is so rooted in the hearts and souls and minds of America's workers that no power on earth, whether it be from Russia or from any other part of the world, including our own country, can destroy the American Federation of Labor. But that serious plans in that direction have been made and that preparation of that idea is being carried on no one can really deny.

Delegate Frey read a declaration from the official head of the French Confederation of Labor, and he calls them "cells" within the unions for the purpose of either capturing the trade unions of France to Communism or Sovietism. He calls them "cells." There is a propaganda now going on, circulars secret and open, advertising that in every local union in America there shall be formed a small group to bring about either that the local unions shall declare for Sovietism or we will

destroy them, and an invitation has been issued within this past week by the head and front of that movement to have these smaller groups of the local unions meet in Chicago in August, and there to devise the ways and means by which the labor movement, the trade union movement of America, may be undermined and destroyed. And all in the interests of labor—to divide and destroy the organized labor movement of America—all in the interests of labor!

It has been my good fortune to have had the opportunity of learning from the authoritative sources, the official sources of Soviet Russia, their own declarations. I commend your attention to the report of the Executive Council made to the Denver convention and to note therein the imposition of tasks and duties and obedience to the edicts of Sovietism that have dismembered every bona fide trade union in Russia; that have enforced compulsory labor upon the working people of that unhappy country.

I don't want to advertise any particular matter which I have written, but with the collaboration of an intelligent man I prepared and had published a book entitled, "Out of Their Own Mouths," and in that book there is not a statement contained between those pages that has not been quoted from the official utterances and decrees of the Soviet government. It has meant slavery, compulsory service, brutality of the most bestial and horrible character.

It is refreshing for us to hear of the early struggles of the Revolution of our forefathers. It was no pink tea party; it was a big, self-sacrificing revolution, but that revolution was predicated upon freedom, upon justice, upon democracy and humanity—human rights—and in that struggle thousands upon thousands of Americans sacrificed their lives; but when the colonists were in power, either temporarily or permanently, they never butchered their own kind; they never imprisoned and tortured their own fellow-citizens.

I hold in my hand here a pamphlet of about twenty-four pages signed by the foreign delegation of the Russian Social Revolutionary Party to the conference of three international federations of Socialist and Communist parties held at Berlin, April 2, 1922—not from reactionaries, not from Wall Street Soviets, not from the old reactionaries in the old Revolutionary War, but the Social Revolutionists of Russia—and these twenty-four pages are replete with

horrors and murders of the men engaged in the Socialist Revolution of Russia. Within these past three weeks forty-seven Socialists, trade unionists and Social Revolutionists, were arrested in Russia and were imprisoned. The Socialist movement of Germany and the Socialist movement of Belgium sent, each one of them, one of their most pronounced Socialist men, learned in the law of their own lands and learned in the law governing civilized communities. They sent the brother of the murdered Dr. Liebknecht, of Germany, and they sent Vandervelde, of Belgium, Vandervelde having occupied the position for several years, during and after the war, of Minister of Justice, one of the greatest legal minds of Belgium. They went to Russia to defend these forty-seven men incarcerated and they appeared before the Commissariat and the Cheka and undertook to plead the cause of these men, and after two days of their attempts to be heard and put in a defense of these forty-seven men, they threw up their hands and left the men to their fates. They could not, they declared, secure anything like a decree of fairness or justice at the hands of these Commissariats.

Talk about endorsing and recognizing Soviet Russia or taking the means by which such a course on the part of the American Federation of Labor should be recommended! You might as well recommend the recognition of a government of Soviets. No man who has had any connection with the bona fide labor movement of America but whose whole-hearted sympathy goes out to the people of Russia. I doubt whether there is any man in this convention now who has manifested his sympathy and his support for and of the Russian people more than the one who is addressing you now, and they know it as well as those who care to know it in the United States.

I am appealing to your judgment. Upon what basis is it predicated that we should urge the American government to recognize the Soviet oligarchy and autocracy as the bona fide government of the people of Russia? Do you know during the war in Mexico, when Huerta, the General in command of Mexico, assassinated the President and the Vice-President, that the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, refused to recognize Huerta as President of the Republic of Mexico? He held that any usurpation founded upon murder, a government based upon that principle, would not be recognized by the Government of the United States so long as he was President.

Do you know that when the American Federation of Labor delegation went to Mexico last year with your mandate there was a colony of Americans—and forsooth I am sorry to say they were Americans; they had run away from the draft; they had slacked upon the people of our country and those engaged in the common cause—and they were the agents in Mexico of the Soviets; that they printed circulars urging a few of them or some of them to murder the delegation from the American Federation of Labor and put them out of business? And the head of them, who, having come across the International Bridge, was taken in charge by a representative of the American Government, and within half a minute of his arrest for violating the laws of the country and evading the draft, he became so yellow that he wanted not only to confess, but to implicate those who worked with him in Mexico! And during and after that, when he was brought East, he sent me telegrams and letters that he would be willing to be my yellow dog so long as I would help him to clear himself of the charge! He was tried, and he is now enjoying a well-deserved vacation.

After the committee met last night—that is, after its adjournment—the thought occurred to me that some authentic information should be received here from an official and reliable source. The resolutions and the preamble and the preamble to the minority report are all based upon the idea that there are no free-trade relations between the United States and Russia. I was satisfied in my own mind that that was absolutely baseless, and no matter what slur may be cast upon the man to whom I addressed a communication, I venture to state that his word in the matter with which he deals is absolutely trustworthy and that we may rely confidently upon its truth. So last night before retiring I sent a night letter-telegram to Mr. Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce, a member of the Cabinet of the United States. I am going to ask the occupant of the chair, Brother James Duncan, to read the telegram I sent to Mr. Hoover.

Vice-President Duncan read the following telegram:

#### WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM.

"Cincinnati, Ohio, June 22, 1922.  
"Hon. Herbert Hoover, Secretary Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.:

"Some are alleging that there is an American blockade against trading with Russia and that because of that



blockade the people of Russia are denied the opportunity of the freedom of securing the products of the United States, and that thereby the people of Russia are denied the opportunity of recuperating and reconstructing their economic and commercial condition. Will you kindly reply as expeditiously as possible? I am sending an identical telegram to Honorable Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of the Department of State.

**"SAMUEL GOMPERS."**

President Gompers (continuing): In answer to that, while upon the platform this afternoon I received two telegrams, one of them about an hour ago and the other within these past few minutes, while I have been on my feet addressing you. I have had no time to have a copy made of this supplementary telegram, and I ask the Chairman, Brother Duncan, to read it.

Vice-President Duncan read the following:

**"WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM."**

"Washington, D. C., June 23, 1922.

"Hon. Samuel Gompers, Cincinnati, Ohio:

"Your wire date 22. There have been no restrictions by the American Government against Americans trading with Russia for the last two years. The obstacles to trade are purely the creation of the Soviet authorities; first, because foreign trade is all retained in the hands of the Soviet agents so that American exporters must deal solely with them and are not allowed to ship their goods into Russia for sale to Russian individuals, and thus the normal development of trade by exchange of goods is prevented. Second, the Soviet reserves for purchases of goods has comprised the old Czarist gold reserve plus such goods as the Soviet agencies have exported from Russia. As there is no consequential production going on in Russia, the export of goods is trivial, the gold reserve seems to be now practically all expended. Practically the whole of this gold has come to America, either in the purchase of American goods direct by the Soviet authorities or by European nations selling their own goods and then using the gold received to purchase other commodities from us. There appears to be little prospect of further gold except that recently taken from the churches. Third, even were the Soviet prohibitions upon trading removed there cannot be any considerable trade so long as there are no guarantees as to the security of goods

belonging to American merchants; but of more importance than this, the total breakdown in production in Russia provides but little for exchange. The problem is therefore again one solely for solution by the Soviet authorities.

**"HERBERT HOOVER."**

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"Washington, D. C., June 23, 1922.

"Hon. Samuel Gompers, Cincinnati, Ohio:

"Add to my telegram today the following: The concern we all feel for the terrible situation of the Russian people is well evidenced by the sixty-five millions of dollars in food and medical supplies that America has furnished and distributed under my direction during the present famine. Some ten millions of farmers and workmen with the women and children are now being fed daily. In addition to this, the rest of the world is feeding about three hundred thousand. Your firm support in the inauguration of this movement of practical Americanism was of the utmost importance and is itself proof of your own real sympathy with the Russian people.

**"HERBERT HOOVER."**

President Gompers: In addition to that which I know to be fact, this disproves statements that there is any hindrance on the part of the American Government or the American people of trading with Russia. I believe with and have, in so far as it has been possible for me, aided in every movement of every people for their self-expression. In the revolution in Russia I think no one who knows will deny that my name has been linked with the effort of the revolution, and, aye, long before the revolution found its open expression and manifestation; but I hold that oppression and depression are not self-expression.

The fact of the Red Army being intact is answered in a way in the report of the committee. The killing of officers and soldiers, civilians, workmen and peasants by the hundreds and thousands, murdering them—that is not self-expression of the people. There are taken from the men and women of toil in industry or in the fields of agriculture the material things for subsistence, and the army is as well fed as it is possible in that country. As a matter of fact, the soldiers in the Red Army are given rations far in excess of that enjoyed by the civilians, the workers, the producers on field, factory and farm. No wonder the army is intact! As a matter of

fact, it is the only way that any of the Russian people can obtain anything like decent food, sufficient nourishment and clothing to sustain themselves. It is the poor devils at home who work under duress, under governmental authority, that they must yield and work—work at any time, in any place, directed and mobilized and demobilized from one factory and one establishment to another. There is no voice in determining; it is simply obedience, and never in the history of the world has there been such a domination of governmental power and brutal dictatorship as now exists in Russia.

They have adopted a title for their regime and they call it the dictatorship of the proletariat. I think I am justified in saying, I know that I am right when I say, that it is not the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is a dictatorship over the proletariat.

I have just been informed that in answer to a night letter which I sent last night to the Secretary of State, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, identical with the one I sent Mr. Herbert Hoover, a message has just been received. I haven't seen it nor read it, nor do I know its contents. I ask Chairman Duncan to read the telegram to the convention.

Vice-President Duncan read the following:

**"POSTAL TELEGRAPH TELEGRAM.**

"Washington, D. C., June 23, 1922.

"Mr. Samuel Gompers, American Federation of Labor, Cincinnati, Ohio:

"Replying to your inquiry, I have to inform you that there are no legal obstacles to trade with Russia so far as the United States is concerned. The products of the United States may be freely purchased and shipped to Russia and are actually being so purchased and shipped. The obstacles that exist to greater trade are due to the situation in Russia, and this is control of those who dominate the affairs of Russia. The essential condition for a return to productivity in Russia, which can alone afford permanent basis for trade, were pointed out in this Government's declaration of March 25, 1921, to be safety of life, the recognition by firm guarantees of private property, the sanctity of contract and the right of free labor. This is not an artificial conception, but simply a statement of fact.

It is hardly necessary to refer to the concern and sympathy which we will feel for the people of Russia. These have been manifested in most unmis-

takable manner. And it is hardly necessary to add that we look forward with the most friendly hope to the solution of Russia's present difficulties and to the part which American enterprise can take in Russian economic rehabilitation.

**"CHARLES E. HUGHES,  
"Secretary of State."**

President Gompers: I shall not take more than a minute more of your time. Neither upon economic grounds, commercial, political nor judicial, nor even upon the grounds of humanity, can the minority report be justly adopted by this convention. The Soviet Government of Russia has never been entitled to the recognition of any civilized government or the peoples of such a government. Brutal, domineering, receiving the consent, not of the people of Russia, but by being pressed by their armed guard, they have no voice in giving their assent or consent or to protest against that form of government.

Last night I repeated in the committee meeting the statement published in the newspapers of the United States, a full speech from Lenine a few weeks ago, in which he said: "Any one who opposed the Soviet government and in the hearing of a Communist, he should be shot down on sight, and if any Communist does not shoot and kill, that offender ought to be shot himself."

Some claim that there is private property in Russia now. A very excellent writer in one of the daily newspapers of New York a week or so ago, commenting upon that statement, said: "Yes, there might be private property in Russia in all things, but there is no private property in one thing, and that is opinion."

If we were to adopt the minority report it would place the American Federation of Labor not only in a questionable but in a ridiculous position, and no government, no administration in our country, will pay the slightest attention to such a declaration. It is not founded upon justice and right or a fair conception of the conditions which prevail.

The American Federation of Labor has had to contend with groups of men who antagonized the American Federation of Labor at every point. Yes, in every dispute within our movement, they always sided against the American Federation of Labor. In the organization of the American Railway Union they sided with that body as against the American Federation of Labor. When the American Labor Union was formed they sided with that decadent body as

against the American Federation of Labor. When the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance was formed they sided with that body as against the American Federation of Labor; when the I. W. W. was formed, they sided with that aggregation against the American Federation of Labor; when the One Big Foolish Union was proposed, they were siding with that as against the American Federation of Labor. And now comes this proposition.

We have, since the revolution, expressed our profound friendship and sympathy and have given the fullest cooperation to the Russian people. At the conventions in Montreal and Denver we were forced to express ourselves as we did against this usurpation, this military power, exercised over all the people of Russia. It is veritably known that there are less than 300,000 people in the Communist Party of Russia, and no more claimed, and of those of that party, not one-fiftieth of them are wage-earners. And those who are of that party dominate 140,000,000 people because of their Red Army, because of their folly, because of their sophistry and because of their blood-thirsty action upon their own people.

Men and women delegates to this convention, you have manifested even today confidence in me, and that confidence I think implies that I would not mislead you; that I would not make statements here which could be successfully questioned or contradicted. I say to you, if you believe that I have endeavored to give to you, to the cause of labor and freedom in our own country and throughout the world—if you believe that I can be or hope to be of service to your cause, you will defeat the minority report, founded merely

upon fancy, and adopt the report of the majority of the committee, founded upon historical foundation and upon facts which cannot be successfully disputed.

A number of delegates called for the previous question at this time.

Delegate Max Hayes asked if the mover of a motion would have the opportunity to speak on the subject, even though the motion for the previous question was adopted.

Chairman Duncan stated that Delegate Hayes, as the author of the motion to substitute the minority report for the majority report of the committee, would be given the opportunity to speak.

The motion to put the previous question was adopted by a vote of 124 to 82.

Delegate Hay, Railway Clerks, also insisted upon the right to speak on the subject, stating that he had come to the convention with instructions from his organization to introduce a resolution on the question of recognition of the Russian Government and to defend such resolution.

Vice-President Duncan stated that the chairman or secretary of the committee would claim the same right, and asked the pleasure of the convention, inasmuch as the usual hour of adjournment had passed.

Delegate McCullough, Typographical Union, moved that the rules be suspended and that the convention remain in session continuously until forced to relinquish possession of the hall. (The motion was seconded, but was defeated on being put to vote.)

Vice-President Duncan: The motion to remain in session has been defeated, and the convention will therefore take a recess until 9:30 o'clock Saturday morning, June 24th.

### EXECUTIVE COUNCIL SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT No. 3

#### BUILDING TRADES DEPARTMENT

William J. Spencer, secretary-treasurer of the Building Trades Department, submitted the following report of the work of that department:

With a fortitude which to say the least is creditable to the workers of the industry, the building trades have shown a remarkably admirable front for the past year. Not only are the members of our unions showing cohesion and loyalty to the movement, but that, too, in the face of the most perplexing adversity.

Idleness, always the cause of discontent and distress, has been painfully

in evidence in many sections of the country, due of course to an enforced curtailment of needful building erection. With a subnormal market, produced as a result of the suspension of commercial, home and plant building during the war, interests hostile to organized labor grasped the occasion as one to bring about a stagnation in order to reduce wages and destroy organization of the workers, but the treachery has been exposed.

The public is, or should be, aware of the fact that the mere lowering of the workers' wages is not an economic ad-

vantage or an incentive to a revival of building operations.

There can be no substantial reduction in building cost until contractors, material distributors, banking and real estate interests agree to guarantee reduced profits. In order to "gull" the public, however, Labor is denounced for the excessive cost of building operations.

It is to the eternal discredit of the contractors in some of our leading cities, among the one we have selected for our annual meeting this year, that they saw fit to repudiate an agreement upon which the ink was scarcely dry and substitute in its stead a proposal calling for a wage reduction. If the case were reversed, and one of our unions had offended in like manner, the movement in general would undoubtedly suffer condemnation throughout the country by the public and the press.

To the credit of our fellow members be it said they have not been made blind by the chaff thrown in their eyes. They have made a stand and are still standing against unjust and unwarranted reductions, and what is more important, they have not surrendered their inherent right to organize. From every quarter, however, we hear sounds of encouragement and receive reports of an optimistic character, all pointing in the direction from whence is to come an early revival in the trade.

Building permits—never a very true barometer of future building conditions, still withal the one usually accepted upon which to base general predictions—indicate a return to a normal program, in which case it naturally follows our members will find reemployment under conditions that will be satisfactory to them. Our only occasion for doubt is as to whether the revival will reach us on schedule time.

With regard to the international affairs of the department, we have made continued progress, notwithstanding the serious handicap suffered by reason of the withdrawal of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners during the convention in the City of Denver when, on a close vote being recorded against the carpenters in which the delegation of the brotherhood refused to participate, incensed perhaps by lack of desired support, the delegation retired from the convention.

The immediate cause for action was the refusal of the united brotherhood to submit contentious questions to and accept and abide by the decisions of the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards in the building industry. Notwithstanding the fact that the union in

question had voluntarily participated in the establishment of the plan of organization, construction of the constitution, definition and character of qualification for membership, purposes to be covered and immunities and penalties to be incurred for compliance or non-compliance with awards when made.

The brotherhood with all other affiliated internationals voted its approval and became a signatory to the plan, and its international president was elected to represent the department, being later chosen for office on the board. As one of the representatives of the department the president of the brotherhood either officiated or appointed his substitute on the board, and heard and assisted in deciding controversies of sister trades engaged in dispute. Indeed minor questions of contention in which the carpenters were involved were considered, decided and apparently accepted, but when in the course of events it became necessary to dispose of subjects of extreme importance to the carpenter trade, the brotherhood either declined or refused to agree to a submission of these for determination.

With the disposal of equally important questions relating to other trades, the board was called upon to give consideration to vital matters in which the carpenters were interested, among these the question of metal trim, scheduled for determination on several occasions and as frequently postponed. It was finally set specifically for hearing and the carpenters accordingly invited to attend. A reply refusing to participate in the hearing was received, whereupon the board proceeded with the consideration of the case and reached a decision favoring the sheet metal workers. The brotherhood promptly gave notice of its intention to ignore the decision and refused to accept its right of appeal and evidently because the convention did not concur in the unsupportable position of the carpenters, the delegation retired from the Denver convention.

Later the organization refused to remit per capita tax; or that portion due the department for the months of April and May preceding its retirement from the Denver convention.

The facts in the case are here succinctly given, without elaboration or prejudice for or against the union in question, especially for the information of the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, to which body a copy of this report is made in accordance with customary procedure.

The Building Trades Department has a right to expect the latter body to take necessary steps to bring about a realignment of the carpenters with the department in accordance with the constitution and laws governing departments, and thereby assist in the fulfillment of the pledges already given constituent associations to share in the elimination of controversial jurisdiction. The integrity of the unions in the building industry is at stake. In so far as the department and affiliated internationals are concerned there is no question as to fidelity, but if responsibility is to continue and endure then dictation either by numerical strength or other potential influence must be challenged.

Jurisdictional contention has given less cause for unrest in the building industry during the past year than has been noticeable at any time since the inception of the department. Fewer grievances have been recorded than formerly, while at the same time, where contention has arisen, decisions covering the particular issue were accepted with a greater show of readiness than heretofore, with the very gratifying result that there has been little or no serious interruption in construction work in so far as the international unions affiliated with the department are concerned.

An "off year" has doubtless contributed to the tranquility, but by far the more potential factor has been the activities of the National Board for Jurisdictional Awards in the building industry, which body has rendered forty decisions on trade disputes affecting almost every international union in the department.

In some cases doubt is expressed as to the merit or justice of the award, but nevertheless the decisions have been accepted as a means of adjusting contention and disputes settled thereby which previously gave cause for grave concern.

So far as present indications point the board has acquired a permanency in building affairs, either as at present constituted or in some slightly modified form, but the service is recognized, as is amply testified to by the number of agreements written of late which carry a clause binding all parties covered to respect and abide by the decisions of the board as they continue to be rendered.

Notwithstanding the tremendous opposition directed against the building trades during the past year, substantial gains have been made so far as or-

ganizations are concerned, as the following table will show:

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Total number of organizations in good standing with department  |     |
| March 31, 1921.....   | 417 |
| Local councils chartered during fiscal year .....               | 20  |
|   | 437 |
| New York Building Trades Council suspended .....                | 1   |
| United Brotherhood of Carpenters withdrawn .....                | 1   |
|   | 2   |
| Total number of organizations in good standing March 31, 1922.. | 435 |

**METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT**

A. J. Berres, secretary-treasurer of the Metal Trades Department, submitted the following report of the work of that department during the year:

The past twelve months have tested, as no other period in our history has, the ability of the American labor movement under the banner of the American Federation of Labor to meet and to conquer the enemies of our movement regardless of their political, financial or industrial strength.

While the unemployment situation has been acute it has in no way dampened the spirit or the aspirations of the membership of this department. On the contrary the action of those in any way responsible, for the bringing on of the greatest industrial depression this country has ever witnessed has awakened in the workers a new understanding as to the necessity of maintaining and perfecting the trade union movement to a degree that will better enable it to meet the unfair and un-American tactics of the antagonists of industrial freedom and liberty. If we read aright, this two-year bitter campaign to destroy the American labor movement instead of accomplishing its purpose has created a greater desire for solidarity and determination on the part of the organizations that make up this department.

**Conditions in the Shipbuilding Industry**

No other industry has suffered greater during this depression. During the war period no less than 400,000 men were employed; whereas at the present time it is safe to say there are not more than 25,000. Our agreements with both the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation Limited, and the Atlantic Coast Shipbuilders were set aside, influenced by the action of the shipbuilders in making several reduc-

tions and changing the general conditions of employment, without the consent of the boards created by the agreements. The necessity for doing so they claim was to meet the competition of the foreign shipbuilders. Time has since proved, however, that their statements and actions were not based upon the facts. The following relating to the same is self-explanatory:

**Resolution Adopted by the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, Metal Trades Department Joint Committee, July 26, 1921**

Owing to the present peculiar industrial situation in which we find ourselves, the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation-Metal Trades Department Joint Committee agrees to disband and to waive the thirty-day requirement of the agreement with the understanding that the mutual relations that have been built up during the life of the Joint Committee, as far as possible, be continued and that the system of recognizing and meeting committees of the employes by the management be continued.

It is the hope of the members of the Joint Committee that industrial conditions may right themselves in the very near future so that the reorganization of the Joint Committee may be brought about.

**Extract From Minutes of Meeting Atlantic Coast Shipbuilding Industrial Board, July 12, 1921**

As spokesman for the Metal Trades Department, President O'Connell pointed out that under instructions of the executive officers of the international unions the labor representatives were powerless to agree to any further wage reductions nor the introduction of any further differentials.

The situation was further discussed in detail and the shipyard and labor representatives mutually agreed to withdraw as signatories to the agreement of August 20, 1919, between certain members of the Atlantic Coast Shipbuilders' Association and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, under which the board was created, and it was unanimously voted to dissolve the board as of July 21, 1921, which action both sides were agreed should be taken owing to changed conditions in the shipbuilding industry since the agreement was originally executed.

Announcement was made by the shipyard representatives that the signatory yards will continue to co-operate in order that precipitate or drastic

action may be avoided, and will continue to confer with the labor representatives when occasion requires. It was further agreed that the board had proven mutually advantageous and should conditions again warrant closer contact the parties to the agreement will be glad to consider renewing negotiations.

**Organizing Campaign, Baldwin Locomotive Works**

This industry has also suffered greatly during this depression and its representatives have too, reduced wages and the conditions of employment and give as their reason for so doing, "competitive necessity."

One of the locomotive companies of this country, whose antagonism to the organization of labor is pronounced, and where the conditions of employment are below the standards, is the Baldwin Locomotive Company. Other locomotive building concerns claim their inability to compete with it because of the manner in which this company conducts its plants relative to the treatment of its employes. An organizing campaign was inaugurated upon the suggestion of the officers of this department and was supported for some months by an organizing committee of representatives of most of the organizations interested in this industry, but on account of the general depression and the intimidation practiced by this company it was decided to temporarily curtail expenditures in this field until such time as the general industrial situation improves.

**Withdrawal of Privileges Formerly Enjoyed by the Panama Canal Employes**

Panama Canal employes have enjoyed to January 1, 1922, free rent, light, fuel, sanitation and maintenance of quarters. Since the present administration has come into office a disposition has been shown to change the conditions of employment on the Zone. The Secretary of War under date of June 6, 1921, appointed a commission of four, composed of Brig. Gen. William D. Connor, U. S. A.; Capt. Alfred Brooks Fry, U. S. N. R.; F. A. Molitor, Engineer, and H. P. Wilson, President, Great Western Power Co., to make a full and comprehensive report of all conditions on the Panama Canal Zone. The commission reported to the Secretary of War under date of September 15, 1921, and among other things recommended the following:

Recommendations.—It is therefore recommended that rental be charged for

quarters occupied in all cases where such quarters do not form a part of the basic wage, and that the rent be determined as follows: First, write down the book value of the quarters to its present depreciated value of \$3,435,076, and upon this value charge 5 per cent for amortization and interest. Add to that amount the cost of repairs due to ordinary wear and tear, plus the cost of garbage disposal and other services necessary from a sanitary point of view, and prorate the resulting amounts among the houses according to the amount of floor space, including porches, in each set of quarters. The result will be the rental for housekeeping quarters. For bachelor quarters and non-housekeeping quarters, add certain fixed sums for janitor service, light, and water as set forth more in detail in Appendix No. 1, page 40.

It is further recommended that the repairs to furniture, repairs to stoves, and care of grounds at the cost of the Government be entirely stopped, and that they be paid for when desired by the individual concerned.

It is further recommended that a charge be set up for water used by the employes at a rate comparable with rates in the United States, and proportioned to cover the amount of water used. Meters are not recommended on account of their cost.

It is further recommended that electrical service for light and heat be charged for a married man's quarters according to consumption, and that all such quarters be metered, the charge to be 5 cents per kilowatt hour, as elsewhere recommended.

Approved by the Secretary of War.

#### Tropical Labor

**Recommendations.**—The commission therefore recommends that the governor be informed that conditions have now changed to such an extent that it is desired that he employ tropical labor and artisans to the maximum extent possible, taking into consideration the fact that the canal is, to a certain extent, an element of national defense and that there may be certain positions in which aliens ought not to be employed but that in all other positions he employ local labor to the maximum, and that he institute a system of apprenticeships and training by which he can build up a larger force of skilled tropical labor.

It is believed that this alien labor can be employed in much greater numbers and in much higher positions than they now are, and it is further believed that after the policy above enunciated is

carried out that within a few years most of the positions, including those of operators of mechanical contrivances, can be filled almost wholly with tropical labor.

**Secretary of War's Reply.**—Your recommendation as to tropical labor is not approved. Tropical labor will not be employed in responsible positions which involve any element of the national defense, or where such employes might imperil the proper operation of the canal.

I find myself in accord, however, with the policy of extending the employment of tropical labor in other capacities than those generalized above, and also with the policy of educating and developing such native labor as may be suitable for low-grade work.

No changes in employment should be entered upon precipitately, but should be adopted gradually so as to determine by experience to what extent tropical labor can be properly used, to what extent it is a proper and real economy, and what limitations should be placed thereon so as to avoid any injustice to American labor now or hereafter employed on the Canal Zone.

We protested in person to the Secretary of War and to the President of the United States against those recommendations of the commission that changed the conditions of employment, but without success. We were, however, successful in having both the Secretary of War and the President agree not to put the changes into effect at once. The date of July 1, 1922, was suggested but they compromised on January 1, 1922, and hence on that date the employes were made to pay for rent, light, fuel, sanitation and maintenance of quarters. In addition to the loss of these privileges the Panama Canal employes suffered a reduction in their wage rate in the same proportion that the navy yard employes received and also the loss of the \$240 bonus.

The Panama Canal Metal Trades Council questioned the right of the President of the United States to withdraw these privileges by executive order and proceeded to have the court enjoin him from doing so. A temporary injunction was granted by the court. The employes, however, were made to pay for rent, light, fuel, etc., with the understanding that if they were successful in their fight the amount paid by them would be returned to them. We are lending

every assistance and have assisted in having a bill introduced in Congress known as H. R. 10646. A bill to amend an act entitled, "An Act to provide for the opening, maintenance, protection and operation of the Panama Canal, and the sanitation and government of the Panama Canal, and the sanitation and government of the Canal Zone," approved August 24, 1912. If this bill is enacted into law the privileges formerly enjoyed by these employes will be restored to them and will secure for them the 25 per centum above state rates which they now receive and which is the maximum allowed in the Canal Act, but which amount is optional with the War Department.

#### Navy Departmental Wage Board

The Assistant Secretary of the Navy by communication requested the President of the American Federation of Labor to nominate a representative of the American Federation of Labor to sit on a wage board to consist of three members. The President of the American Federation of Labor submitted the name of Mr. A. J. Berres, Secretary of the Metal Trades Department by the American Federation of Labor. The following letter of appointment was received from the Assistant Secretary of the Navy:

May 19, 1921.

From: Assistant Secretary of the Navy.

To: Capt. J. K. Robison, U. S. N.  
Office of Naval Operations,  
Washington, D. C.

Subject: Navy Wage Board of Review.

Reference: (a) Department circular letter of May 10, 1921.

1. A board consisting of yourself as Senior Member and Mr. F. S. Curtis, Chief Clerk of the Navy Department, and of Mr. A. J. Berres, of the American Federation of Labor, as members, is hereby appointed and ordered to convene at the Navy Department, Washington, D. C., at 10 o'clock A. M., August 1, 1921, or as soon thereafter as practicable.

2. Mr. William D. Bergman, Chief of the Appointment Division, Navy Department, will act as recorder.

3. The board shall carefully consider the recommendations submitted in compliance with reference and shall make recommendation to the Department as to the proper rate of pay in each trade and occupation

under the naval establishment and also a recommendation as to feasible methods for the payment of labor on a productive labor basis. Further, it shall submit recommendation upon any other subject matter pertinent to the wage question in general, such as working conditions, changes in the existing number of rates of pay in each of the several grades of ratings, hours of labor per day, hours of labor per week, annual leave and sick leave, which in its opinion should be brought to the attention of the department.

(Signed) THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The officers of this department had on several occasions interviewed the Secretary of the Navy with a view to impressing upon him that it was the intention of the preceding administration to continue the wage schedule established September, 1920, to January 1, 1922. The Secretary of the Navy, however refused to permit the life of the award to extend to January, 1922, and ordered that the wage board convene August 1, 1921, and later decided to put the new wage schedule into effect, September 16, 1921.

The Departmental Wage Board recommended to the Secretary of the Navy a reduction in the wage rates approximating 12 per cent. The amount of the reduction would have been greater had not labor been represented on the board. In addition to saving the employees from larger reductions the following favorable recommendations were made by the board to the Secretary of the Navy which labor representation was largely instrumental in promoting:

1. Continuance of forty-four-hour week.

2. That no change be made in the hours of technical and clerical force who work seven and one-half hours per day. Much influence was brought to bear to extend hours to eight.

3. Uniform wage rate for all navy yards.

4. Proper recognition of shop committees.

5. Monthly meeting of shop committees with commandant of yard and associate officers and supervisory force present.

6. Shop committees to function without prejudicing their positions.

7. All mechanics must qualify in six months as first-class mechanics, or be dismissed.



8. Five cents an hour differential for night shifts.

9. Ninety-six cents day differential for Americans sent from the continental limits of the United States to Pearl Harbor Naval Station, H. I.

10. Upholsterers made a basic trade.

11. Coppersmiths retained differential.

12. Seventy-three cent rate for basic trades.

13. Forty-one cent rate for common labor.

14. Schedule to remain in effect for one year, but if the U. S. Labor Department wage statistics show an increase in six months, warranting an increase, the rate to be automatically increased. If statistics show wage reductions the present rate will continue unchanged for the year.

15. Painters and riggers continued as basic trades. General disposition not to continue them as such.

16. Local representation of local wage boards in future.

During the past year approximately 35,000 employes of navy yards and arsenals were discharged and furloughed. This, notwithstanding the suggestion which we made during the past year to the Secretary of the Navy than a five day week be put into effect, which at the time it was thought would prevent any serious reduction in the force, especially during the critical period of the industrial depression. On February 9, about 1,500 employes were discharged or furloughed from the Washington navy yard without having been given one moment's notice. In company with the President of the American Federation of Labor we protested to the Secretary of the Navy against the dismissal of these employes without a reasonable notice being given to them. At the same meeting we jointly presented a memorandum suggesting ways and means by which the situation might be helped and further reductions avoided. The Secretary of the Navy later replied to the memorandum in detail but in no instance adopted any of the suggestions made.

Many of these employes would soon have been eligible to retirement under the provisions of the Retirement Act. Upon our suggestion the Secretary of the Navy under date of February 10 in a circular stated, "Employees on leave without pay are in an employment status and are subject to the provisions of the Act of

May 22, 1920. An employe who reaches the age of retirement during a period of leave without pay is automatically retired in the same manner as if present and working. If he is eligible for annuity he should be instructed to file application therefor."

We have endeavored on several occasions to interest government officials in utilizing the navy yards and arsenals for the manufacture of all war materials used by the government and for such other materials and articles as the present equipment of these plants is capable of. At the present time there is much of such work being let out to private contractors. Very little sympathy has been manifested by the officials toward the suggestion. In fact the Navy Department during the present year refused to permit the Boston Navy Yard to even submit a bid on the reconditioning of the Leviathan; notwithstanding the fact that on a former occasion the Boston Navy Yard was the lowest bidder for the reconditioning of the ship. In order to give the navy yards and arsenals the opportunity to bid upon work for the government we have had a bill introduced in congress known as H. R. 10,967, A Bill, "To relieve unemployment among civilian workers of the government, to remove the financial incentives to war, to stabilize production in Federal industrial plants, to promote the economical and efficient operation of these plants and for other purposes." If this bill becomes a law and the navy yards and arsenals are given a fair chance to bid upon work it seems reasonable to suppose that nearly all war materials will be built in these government plants. This measure will go a long way toward taking the profit out of war, and is consistent with the treaties agreed upon by the Limitation of Armament Conference and later adopted by the United States Senate.

#### Department Finances

The finances of the department are in a healthy condition and adequate to meet all reasonable activities of the department.

#### Charters Issued

Local charters were issued to Hartford, Conn.; Tulsa, Okla.; Dunkirk, N. Y.; Paterson, N. J., and to the American Locomotive District Council.

Our councils have been fairly active

in instances in preventing any great changes in conditions of employment. They are on the alert, preparing for the time when industry shows signs of life.

#### Conclusion

We have taken part in many conferences affecting not only the organizations affiliated with this department but wherever we could be helpful to the general movement. Mass meetings have been attended and campaigns of organization encouraged and assisted. Our affiliated internationals continue to manifest a growing interest in the affairs of all the department's affiliations. Harmony and co-operation prevail, insuring success for the future. Our relations with the resident officers of our movement have been of the most cordial nature. This in itself encourages and stimulates a general desire to be helpful.

#### UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

John J. Manning, Secretary-Treasurer, Union Label Trades Department, submitted the following report of the work of that department for the year:

Unemployment, which affected directly more than six million workers and those dependent upon them, made the past year a particularly trying one for the organizations of labor, yet despite this condition and the attacks made upon many of the unions in affiliation to the Union Label Trades Department, the department is, on the whole, in better shape to go on with its work than it has been at any time in the past.

Several of our affiliated unions were forced to strike because of violations of agreements by employers, individually or as associations. Some of these strikes resulted disastrously to the unions, others are still pending decisions. Yet despite these reversals, the morale of our membership has been maintained at a very high standard.

The continued depression in business has had a bad effect in that it tended to keep many of the workers in idleness, thus curtailing their power of purchase, yet we are safely within the truth when we say that interest has been increased as to the possibilities for good by continued demands for the union label, shop cards and working button.

By the issuance of literature and attendance at conventions and mass meetings of the workers by representatives of the department, the benefits of conserving the purchasing power of trade unionists has been continually kept before many thousands of organized workers.

Campaigns of education, state wide in character, have been conducted under the auspices of four state federations of labor, which were beneficial in every way. The several meetings held in various parts of these states were well attended, and a vast amount of literature bearing on the relativity of the union label to the trade union movement, were distributed.

During the year, charters of affiliation were issued to three international unions and twenty-seven cities were issued charters for conducting union label leagues.

There are now forty-four national and international unions affiliated with the department.

The officers of the department are hopeful and confident that the coming year will see the work of the department extended and intensified.

#### RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

John Scott, Secretary Treasurer of the Railway Employees' Department, submitted the following report of the work of that department:

At the time of our report to the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor the very disturbed conditions on the railroads brought about by the abrogation of the national agreements were temporarily relieved by the issue of addendum No. 2 to decision No. 119, which continued the national agreement rules where substitute rules were not agreed to, pending the decisions of the labor board on all rules in dispute. The outstanding feature of the negotiations on rules was the dominating influence so plainly in evidence that prevented the railroad managements from granting any rules that were fair and reasonable, notwithstanding the fact that a large proportion of the same rules had been in effect for many years prior to government control, and had been previously agreed to by the same officials. In no instance were the national agreement rules agreed to in their entirety, and only on six short line railroads and the American Rail-

way Express Company and the Pullman Company were the shop crafts successful in negotiating complete set of rules in any form acceptable.

The fact that a satisfactory agreement was signed up by the Pullman Company is particularly noteworthy in view of the strained relations in effect for many years due to the arbitrary attitude of some of their officials, the present management having jurisdiction over the membership of our organizations has by his attitude of fair dealing established a new order of things, which is fast making for harmonious conditions and whole-hearted cooperation between the Pullman employes and the management.

In our previous report we dealt with the presentation to the United States Railroad Labor Board of voluminous data in defense of the wage standards secured by decision No. 2 issued June 20, 1920, and retroactive to May 1, 1920. It can truthfully be said that our defense against this contemplated wage reduction was the hardest fought battle in the history of the railroad organizations, but regardless of this fact and the undisputable evidence filed with the labor board on the justness of our claims, the labor board rendered decision 147, docket 353, under date of June 1, 1921. The decision of the board was vigorously protested by all organizations, on the ground that the decision was not based on the evidence submitted, nor was there any justification for a wage reduction on the plea of the reduced cost of living. This protest was followed by the canvass of a vote by the federated shop crafts on all railroads, the returns from which show that the membership were decidedly opposed to accepting the wage decrease.

Inasmuch as the shop craft organizations represented but approximately 20 per cent of the membership involved, it was deemed inadvisable to proceed in this matter until all the organizations affected, who were parties to the cooperative agreement, were in a position to take united action. Fortunately, or unfortunately, a situation developed with the train service organizations which prevented concerted action with the organizations signatory to the cooperative agreement, this together with the serious industrial depression augmented by the machinations of the combine between the railroads, banks

and car and locomotive construction plans, has temporarily restrained the organizations from taking the necessary steps to recoup their loss, thereby placing them for the present in the position of working under protest against the wage reduction of decision 147 and the elimination by decisions of the labor board of overtime and other established principles.

Since the return of the railroads to private control, the railroad employes have been confronted with all manner of schemes on the part of some of the railroad managements to disrupt the organization, by arbitrarily reducing wages, re-establishing piece work and other objectionable conditions. The Erie Railroad took the initiative in this direction by leasing out its Hornell shops to contract, later extending it to cover all shop points in the system. This action was followed in turn by the Pennsylvania, Chicago Great Western, Indiana Harbor Belt, Pere Marquette, Michigan Central, Big Four, Western Maryland and other railroads to the extent that on a number of railroads practically all departments have been contracted and subcontracted. This new departure in leasing out the entire railroad shops to dummy contractors and farming out their work is quite obviously for no other reason than to avoid the labor provisions of the transportation act and to ignore the rulings of the Labor Board. Ex parte submissions have been filed with the United States Railroad Labor Board by the Railway Employees' Department covering each case, hearings were held on December 19, 21, 1921, on the Indiana Harbor Belt, Gulf Coast Lines, Erie and Chicago Great Western, and ample evidence introduced to show that this contracting business is a palpable fraud and conspiracy to destroy the labor organizations and enslave the employes by low wages and long hours; up to the present time no decision has been rendered by the Labor Board, the long delay being evidently accepted by the railroad managements to indicate that the board has no jurisdiction. This has resulted in greatly aggravating the situation, but nevertheless the organizations have strictly complied with the provisions of the transportation act, awaiting the decision of the labor board to correct the many injustices imposed upon them.

Under date of March 25, 1922, a strike of the following organizations

on the Western Maryland Railroad took effect and is still in progress. All employes of this road coming under the classification of the following organizations are out:

Machinists, Boilermakers, Blacksmiths, Sheet Metal Workers, Electrical Workers, Carmen, M. & M. of W. E., Firemen and Oilers, R. R. Signalmen.

The strike was called by almost unanimous vote of the men affected and in protest against the subleasing of the shops, the arbitrary reduction of their wages and the loss of punitive overtime and other working rules.

Between the dates of March 6 and April 10, this department presented arguments before the labor board in support of our demands for a wage increase of 5 cents per hour above rates established in decision No. 2 of July 20, 1920. The railroads made counter proposals for decreases in the present rates of pay, the nature of which if granted would abolish standard rates of pay entirely and substitute that deplorable condition whereby but a few men receive the mechanics' rate and the majority receive any number of lower rates.

The department representatives on behalf of the employes introduced evidence showing that the family income of the employes from railroad employment fell short by \$200 per year of the actual amount these families spent. We claimed that an adequate wage was a fixed charge that should receive preferment over dividends and return on capital investment. Dr. Frank J. Warne attacked the evidence submitted by the roads and proved that what were ostensibly "wages in outside industry" were being paid in concerns actually controlled by the railroads themselves. He attacked efforts of the railroads to relate transportation rates to wages, proving that there was not necessarily any relation between the two. The evidence on the question of wages is now all in the hands of the board, and the employes now await a decision which may be of vital concern not only to the railroad worker but to the workers as a whole.

April 10 saw the opening of the sixth biennial convention of this department. The constantly changing conditions and the attacks to which these organizations have been subjected since the last convention gave rise to many important questions that had to be considered and disposed of by the assembled delegates. Espe-

cially strong feeling was expressed over the condition of things that allowed the railroads to evade and break the law with impunity. The feeling of the delegates prompted by the desperate mood of the employes represented, culminated at the convention in the passage of a resolution, one of many of like character, which calls for the taking of a strike vote of all the employes represented by the department. This strike vote is to be tabulated within sixty days and strike, if called for, is to be ordered by the department Executive Council at a date they select.

The Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad recently announced that it had arranged to lease out all of its larger shops. The department requested hearing, which has been set for May 4. In setting date for this hearing the Labor Board at the instance of the department has ordered the railroad to postpone consummation of the leases until decision is rendered. This order is somewhat tardy, inasmuch as the leasing out of the shops on many other roads is still an undecided issue before the Labor Board. The railroad has agreed, however, to comply with the request of the board and restore conditions in effect prior to entering into this contract, pending the result of the hearings. We feel that the action taken by the Labor Board in this instance is largely attributable to the declaration made to the Labor Board by the department officers supplemented by a vigorous protest from the members of the E. C., in which it was stated in plain terms that the patience of the employes was exhausted, and, unless the board could function in protection of their rights, redress would be sought through other means.

Perhaps the most aggravating situation the department has to contend with during the past year is the attitude assumed by the officials of the Pennsylvania Railroad. It will be recalled that during last year a dispute arose between the company and the federated shop crafts concerning the selection of the employes representatives to confer on wages and working conditions. The Pennsylvania ignored the rules of the agreement and the orders of the labor board which granted to the employes the right to select their own representatives, but proceeded to organize their own committees and force the federated craft to accept the terms agreed to. An appeal was filed with the Labor

Board, but the Pennsylvania Company anticipating the censure due them, secured a temporary injunction restraining the company from making its decision public. Postponement after postponement occurred while the case was docketed in Judge Landis's court, finally being transferred to the Federal District Court to be heard before Judge George T. Page. To those who are in any way familiar with the labor policy of the Pennsylvania officials it need not be stated that during the interim they have lost no opportunity to harrass the organization in their efforts, to crush the spirit of the members and force them to accept the rump agreement entered into with a committee of their own choosing. To the credit of the members of all crafts, regardless of the persecution they have endured, they are determined that the pre-war conditions shall not again be established, and we feel assured that an attempt to do so or further abridgement of their rights will be met with a stubborn resistance.

A decision was rendered by Judge Page on April 22, wherein he upholds the position of the Pennsylvania Company and denies the request of the Labor Board to vacate the injunction. In rendering such a decision the functions of the board are very seriously crippled; the organizations are also placed in a rather embarrassing position in view of the ruling governing ex parte submissions to the board which the court holds can not be legally acted upon.

Undoubtedly the Labor Board will appeal to the Supreme Court or to Congress to establish its status. We can, however, anticipate that the Pennsylvania Company and others dominated by that same influence will use the opportunity to further their own interests at the expense of organized labor. Let them be not deceived that because the members of our affiliated crafts have been patient and long suffering during the past year that they have lost their old-time fighting spirit. On the contrary, the absence of impromptu strikes plainly indicates that the members have greater confidence in their organizations and will act as a unit in protection of their rights in accordance with their laws.

#### MINING DEPARTMENT

Secretary-Treasurer James Lord, of the Mining Department, submitted the following report of the activities of that department for the year:

The twelve months intervening since that time have been a real trial to each of the affiliated unions. The terrific industrial depression, which is largely a part of the general dislocation that spread throughout the world as a result of the great war, has manifested itself especially in the mining and interrelated industries.

The vicious drive on the organized labor movement and all the established standards of freemen, that was launched in this country simultaneously with the signing of the armistice, has not abated one iota, its malignant pressure during the current year. It has directed its energies, in all its ferocity, throughout the mining fields of this continent. All men in the mining industry, both coal and metalliferous, have felt the complete force, both of the general depression in industry, and the program of the industrial bourbons.

In looking backward over this critical period, the organized labor movement can find much, in spite of all its trials, to congratulate itself upon.

In the face of the supreme efforts of these labor baiters, for wage reductions, the lengthening of the work day, of plots hatched in the injunction field, in the legislatures and in the chambers of commerce, of reaction and the general drive on human standards, the trade unionist has got the conviction that the bourbons have got nothing in their arsenal that can break or divide the labor movement. The greatest and most significant result of their so-called "open shop" fight has been to make clear, beyond peradventure of argument, to all intelligent men and women, to all who love the truth, just what is involved in their hypocritical "open shop" endeavors. The fact that this unholy program has caused hundreds of thousands of men and women to begin to think in straight line has not been without its results.

Again, with the knowledge of the economic solidarity we have so well maintained in this crisis, we can with confidence review the march of labor from the mystic ages down to date. We see, more clearly than ever before that the workers of the world have never got anything they were not able to take; that no measure of human liberty exists today that did not find birth in the ancient slave society, the ancient guild, or the modern labor union. The ideas of free

speech, free thought, free press, the right of assembly, the right of franchise, the open road and the public school, all found birth in the councils of ancient or modern unions. We have never got anything, we will never get anything, we are not able to take.

The present situation in these United States is one that ought to cause us all to think these things over. We have a situation in this country, that not only calls for supreme effort for the continuation of human progress, but one that exacts the last atom of effort to prevent these human rights, enacted into law and usage, from being taken away, by the injunction process, vicious interpretations of existing law, and unscrupulous attitude of some of the courts. The term "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" was never more literally true in this world than it is now in the year 1921-22.

So I say again, that it is a matter for congratulation for the entire labor movement, that it can weather such a storm of industrial stagnation, judicial prostitution and labor baiting, and keep its ranks and its philosophy intact.

#### The United Mine Workers of America

When the United Mine Workers met in convention on September 20th, 1921, they met at one of the most critical periods in the life of the organization. There was a general unemployment situation everywhere, and wage reductions were being demanded in the non-union fields.

This situation of intolerance against the organized workers, and especially in the coal fields, which included anti-strike laws, reductions in wages, and general labor-baiting and so-called "deflation of labor," is in my opinion a large and distinct part of the so-called "open shop" campaign. I believe the entire program throughout America, is all tied together.

In reviewing the suspension of bituminous mining, and the causes leading up thereto, I can possibly do it as well as any other way by quoting my testimony before the committee on labor, held in the house office building in March and April, 1922, on the Bland bill.

My Chairman and gentlemen of the committee—I wish here to submit some of the main facts that surround the bituminous situation today, without wishing to fill the rec-

ord with a repetition of wearying statistics.

There are some facts, plainly evident, in the situation that I want to bring out, and all the statistics and formulas in the world can not change their existence.

I think by this time it must be evident to all who are interested that the present situation has been brought about deliberately by the coal operators, and the power behind them, by their deliberate, studied violation of the interstate agreement. The agreement has been ruthlessly violated. No one but the operators have done this. All the sophistry and fine spun argument in the world can not alter this fact.

And I unhesitatingly say that it is my firm conviction and belief that the main force of the operators is aimed not merely at the wrecking of the interstate movement, but at the organization of the United Mine Workers of America. The operators would be the last people in the world to break up the interstate movement for itself alone, or plan of joint relations in the central competitive field, unless they were aiming at something else far beyond that.

Let us review the situation as it is. In 1916 the basic tonnage rate for the central competitive fields was 64 cents a ton. The miner got this, less what it took out of the 64 cents for explosives, fuse, caps, tools and tool sharpening, etc., and other "mine expenses." All these expenses came out of this 64 cents a ton.

In that year the representatives of the miners and operators of the central competitive field reached an agreement after holding conferences in Mobile, Alabama, and in New York City. This agreement provided an advance of 3 cents a ton at the basing point, the universal adoption of the mine run system of weighing and paying for coal, and an advance of 5 per cent on the prices of day labor, yardage, deadwork and room turning.

Following the adoption of this agreement, the effect of the war began to be felt in this country through the acute increases in the cost of living, resulting from purchases of all kinds of supplies by the allied nations, and the rankest profiteering here. As a result of this situation and the increased prices being charged for coal, the miners

found the situation becoming more and more unbearable. Wages had become more inadequate than the industry had ever experienced, bonuses were being paid in many localities, operators were bidding for each others men, and many miners were leaving the mines for the healthier and better paid jobs above ground.

The joint relationship that had so long prevailed in the industry became badly strained, and, as a result, an informal conference of the miners and operators of the central competitive field met in Indianapolis, April 5th and 6th, and this resulted in an interstate conference of the same parties in the McAlpin Hotel, New York City, April 12th and 13th, where an agreement was reached to run until March 31st, 1918, and providing for an increase of ten cents a ton on pick and machine mining rates and sixty cents a day on day work, with no advance on yardage and deadwork.

Prices continued to soar, and on an effort to bring about a more stable situation, the committee on coal production was formed as part of the council of national defense, on which committee the miners, operators and public were represented. This committee was later superseded by the Fuel Administration.

The situation still being acute, a joint conference of operators and miners was held in Washington, D. C., September 25th, 1917, which resulted in an agreement for an advance of \$1.40 per day for day work and a fifteen per cent advance on yardage, deadwork and room turning. It provided for ten cents per ton to the miners, and the selling price to the public was advanced forty-five cents a ton.

The disparity between wages and living costs becoming more acute, the officials of the United Mine Workers, during August, 1918, appealed to Fuel Administrator Garfield for a conference whereby the situation might be intelligently discussed. The conference was denied them. The record made and the principle agreed on at this time by the Council of National Defense was that "there would be no lowering of standards." This was amplified to mean that where the cost of living increased, wages should be increased in the same proportion. Yet the Fuel Administrator denied them even a conference for discussion.

At the Cleveland convention the miners formulated demands for a 60

per cent advance, a 6-hour day, and a 5-day week. The price of coal, since the armistice, had continued to soar. The war, to all intents and purposes, was over, and the miners to all intents and purposes appeared to be the only ones who were being held to the war time understanding. The Fuel Administration had ceased to function as far as price-fixing was concerned. The demand for the shorter workday was for the purpose of more equitably distributing the work in a woefully over-developed industry. The shortening of the workday did not and does not mean an advance to the miner, as he works by the ton and by the yard.

These demands were formulated in convention in the regular way, were not arbitrarily fixed, but were subject to negotiations, as had been the custom for over thirty years. In these joint conferences it has always been the custom for either side to bring in its own matters for discussion, and nothing can be adopted in these conferences that does not receive the unit vote of both sides. In these conferences neither side gets all that it demands, but with proper negotiation and consideration, some ground for agreement can always be reached. The competitive features of the coal question are of no more interest to the operators than to the miners, and the miner of the central competitive field has learned, in the field of bitter experience, that it would not serve him to insist on a contract, even if he could force it, that it might be the best in the world on paper, but all the business driven south of the Ohio river or to other outlying fields.

Now, here is the phase of the situation that all men might well consider. A joint conference was held in Buffalo September 23, 1919, and the miners, in accord with custom submitted their demands. For the first time in the history of the point movement no counter demands were put forth by operators. The conference finally recessed and met again in Philadelphia on October with the same results. The operators stood by the position in both conferences of offering nothing and reiterating that they could not meet the demands of the miners, Philip Penna before this committee, reiterated several times that they were in conference for months and could not get anywhere with an agreement. The only answer is that there was never any approach to negotiations as far as the operators were concerned.

Why this sudden change of tactics? Why did the operators deliberately establish this deadlock?

The operators had evidently been advised that the Lever Law could and would be construed to deny the rights of the miners to cease work in the event an agreement could not be reached. So they forwarded a policy which they knew could only result in a failure of negotiations, relying on the miners being stopped by the government from exercising their economic power.

The strike naturally ensued. It was the Lever Law. In other words, the belief of the operators that the miners were to be restrained by the government from striking was the direct cause of the strike. The miners could not continue to accept wages which represented an actual reduction in real remuneration. Coal prices justified a large wage advance, but this fact had no influence on the policies of the operators. All they have ever recognized, the only argument they ever did or will recognize, is potential resistance. This resistance they believe was taken away from the miners by the Lever Law. And the Lever Law was ruthlessly used in this case, notwithstanding the fact that we had been assured by Mr. Lever and others in highest authority that it would not be used against trade unions in the exercise of their rights.

Thus, that the existence of what had been construed as an anti-strike law caused the miners' strike is evidenced by the fact that prior to the existence of such law there had been no general stoppage of work in the mines because of failure to reach an agreement, since joint relations had been in vogue.

Another parallel to this situation is borne out by the "outlaw strike" of the railroad switchmen at that time. The Lever Law plus the Transportation Act was considered by the railroad managers as ample protection from strikes. Hence, in spite of the knowledge that the switchmen and other transportation men were miserably underpaid, the managers felt safe in refusing to give the real grievances of their employees consideration. The causes for dissatisfaction were real and insistent. Therefore, even though the organizations representing the transportation workers refused to sanction a strike, the strike ensued. So I say again, for the reasons herein stated, that there were no negotiations either at Buf-

falo or Philadelphia. Had there been no anti-strike laws, the railroad managers and the coal operators would doubtless have recognized the necessity of making some mutually satisfactory agreement with their employes, as they had in the past, and these strikes, with their ensuing consequences and inconvenience to the public and business, could and doubtless would have been averted.

So the coal strike was called as scheduled, and under the circumstances could not be avoided, on November 1. On the 17th of October, Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson called a joint conference, which adjourned without result.

On October 21, Attorney General Palmer secured an injunction from Judge Anderson, of the United States District Court of Indianapolis, restraining the miners from striking, and ordering the officials of the union to revoke the strike order. This was done, but the miners did not return to work.

After several conferences, Secretary Wilson made a proposition for negotiation of a 31.61 per cent increase. On Wednesday, November 26, Dr. Garfield proposed a 14 per cent advance, this to be paid out of the then selling price of coal. He demonstrated that this could be done regardless of the fact that in August, 1918, he had denied the miners even a conference under that same contract, and the same prices to the public, and these selling prices had been maintained since that time.

The miners rejected his offer as most unreasonable and an insult to their intelligence. They were willing to consider Secretary Wilson's proposition, which would have barely placed them back at the very unsatisfactory pre-war standards.

On December 6, an understanding was reached that ended the strike, the men returned to work and the Bituminous Commission was created. The miners on returning to work received a 14 per cent advance, pending the findings of the commission.

On March 10, 1920, the majority report of the commission was rendered, providing for a 27 per cent increase in the tonnage rates and 20 per cent increases on day wages.

That agreement expired on March 31, 1922. It carried with it the following paragraph:

"RESOLVED, That an interstate joint conference be held prior to April 1, 1922; the time and place of holding



such meeting is referred to a committee of two operators and two miners from each state herein represented, together with the international officers of the United Mine-workers' Organization."

This paragraph means exactly what it says. It has never been misconstrued before. An interstate meeting of the central competitive field, to be held sufficiently ahead of the date of the existing contract, namely, March 31, 1922, that the four participating states, and all the outlying fields could without stoppage of work or period of scare prices to the public, peacefully negotiate their agreements. That is the way it has been done for many years now. It has been adhered to generally since 1898, was in existence for many years before that, till both operators and miners movements almost broke down in the years of terrific industrial depression, and it is the pivotal point of bituminous coal negotiations in our country and has so been recognized by all thoughtful men on both sides of the issue.

The central competitive field is a geographical and a competitive fact, and can not be brushed aside. It is to the coal industry, but on a greater and more important scale, what Pittsburgh is to the steel industry. If the central competitive field is set going on the wrong basis, then it logically follows that every bituminous field is wrong and out of line. Does the public want to see this condition of chaos and confusion visited on the country at the whim of some disgruntled operators, who can not play the game of fairness? Does the public desire to let these operators, and the influences behind them, tear this treaty up like a scrap of paper, that they may be able to more thoroughly dominate the control of the nation's coal supply?

Complaint has been made that the mine workers sometimes violate their contracts. The organization can not be responsible all the time and everywhere for the acts of individuals and groups. They have vigorously opposed such violations by fines, revocation of charters and expulsion. They can not be responsible, over such large distances and territory, for the thoughts and action in advance, that are sometimes brought about locally by certain insidious influences who are opposed to the methods of conciliation and reason. Neither can they prevent the opera-

tors from violating or setting aside the agreements. These things happen, I regret to say, and are things to be dealt with after they have happened. There is no law in the world that can prevent a man from doing anything. It can and does establish good citizenship to a large degree, and sets more or less of a general moral precept. But it can only prescribe regulation and punishment for wrongs committed or wrongs contemplated. There is no 100 per cent morality either among the operators or miners, or the inhabitants of our country, and those who stray from the straight and narrow road are playing tag with law and usage.

The United Mine Workers, regardless of any "trade" arguments, firmly endeavor to see that agreements are carried out in letter and spirit, and if wrong is committed they use their best endeavors and judgment in the premises to see it righted. But, in the language of Burke, "you can not indict an entire community." The machinery for handling disputes in the industry is arranged in joint conference, both operators and miners participating, and if either side fail to carry these provisions out, it is evidence at least that one of them must have erred in action.

The check-off system is a matter of joint agreement, both sides being in agreement, as in other matters, of its value to the industry. For I repeat again, nothing can be adopted in the joint conference that does not receive the unit vote of both sides. It means less trouble to both sides, as innumerable operators have borne witness. It means that the worker is to carry his share of the burden and responsibility, is to pay his pro rata share for the benefits he receives, rather than be a leech on the efforts and sacrifices of other men. It means the end of the situation where a number of men, urging the odd man to join the organization, and in some cases refusing to work with him, and the operator exclaiming, "but what have I done? I am the innocent bystander." The check-off system has brought more peace in the coal industry than almost any other thing in my recollection. It is the miner's money, to be assigned by him as he desires.

The check-off system, like the violation of agreements, etc., is just a "red herring" drawn across the trail of those whose every act and intent

at this time is to justify their attitude in violating an agreement on the largest scale it has ever been attempted, at least on this side of the Rhine. The agreements, if they are inefficient in the opinion of the operators, are subject to amendment and perfection, as time and experience warrant.

It seems to me that about the time of the signing of the armistice there began in this country one of the greatest drives against the liberties of freedom ever attempted in the country. It has been generally heralded as the "open shop" movement. Whatever it is, it has manifested itself by union baiting, anti-strike laws, denial of constitutional government, and unwarranted reductions in the standards of life. I am inclined to believe, watching the attitude of the coal operators, that this present trouble is a part of this far-reaching program, as are the Mingo County troubles in West Virginia and many other upheavals.

When the Bituminous Coal Commission made the award of 24 cents flat advance on pick and machine mining to the bituminous miners of these United States, the coal operators of Mingo County refused to apply the award, and applied instead 5, 10 and 15 cents on each mine car, there being no coal weighed throughout that field. The alleged capacity of the mine cars varies from two to five tons, and the highest rate paid per car was \$1.40. This price for five tons of coal represented and included all dead work and tonnage rates. When the award was granted the miners by the commission, the miners sent committeemen to the operators and demanded the award. Every man so selected was sent "down the line" with the aid of the hired killers who have charge of that kind of law and order, and all that trouble and subordination of government became known to the world as one of the blackest pages in our history.

I repeat, I believe all these things are just a part of a gigantic plan to subdue or break the power of the organized labor movement. The men and women who do the useful work of the world are not bad men and women. If they were, they would not do the useful work of the world. And being what they are, they will never submit or surrender their rights to the bourbons.

I sincerely hope that the light of

reason shall yet show the operators the way to comply with their pledged word that an intelligent solution of the present coal menace may be reached, and I can only echo the plea of those who have testified before me, that this may be speedily done, and the miners are ready and willing to go into conference that day that the operators agree so to do.

If the operators should succeed in breaking the United Mine Workers, which I do not think they can do, the entire nation will reap the inevitable results. If experience and reason, brought into open conference, is no longer of value in our national life, then these influences that have made their impossible and baneful effects felt throughout the world, and not omitting our own United States, will take that opportunity of invading the industrial arena."

The membership of the United Mine Workers is still keeping about at its highest peak, and the miners in the non-union fields are joining by the thousands. The gospel of unionism, and the influence of the United Mine Workers are now entering the domain of steel in the Pennsylvania fields which have been considered hitherto almost impregnable.

#### Damage Suits in the Arkansas Cases

The suit of the Pennsylvania Mining Company vs. the United Mine Workers of America, was tried in the Federal Court at Fort Smith, Ark., during the months of March and April, 1920. This is a parallel case to the Coronado suit, but it arose after the passage of the Clayton amendment to the Sherman anti-trust law.

The attorneys for the United Mine Workers invoked the provisions of the Clayton act as a legal defense, but to their surprise a verdict for \$100,000 damages was rendered against the international organization and its officers, and district 21 and its officers. Through the provisions of the Sherman law this verdict for damages was automatically trebled, the court costs and attorneys fee amounted to \$50,000. The case was appealed to the Federal Court of Appeals. This compelled the organization to give bond amounting to \$350,000. As security for this bond the international union was required to place in escrow \$350,000 in Liberty Bonds. These bonds are held as collateral for the guaranteed payment in the event the

higher court finally sustains the verdict of the lower court.

In the Coronado case the organization was forced to place \$800,000 in Liberty Bonds in escrow, in addition to the \$350,000 in the Pennsylvania mining case, making a total of \$1,150,000 collateral, held as a guarantee of payment in case judgment is decided against the organization, pending final decision by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The Coronado case has been argued before the Supreme Court. This decision is awaited anxiously, as it will have a far reaching effect on every national and international union in the United States and will in effect decide the case of the Pennsylvania Mining Company.

This is a terrific situation, and it would seem that the prospect of all activity in unionism is at stake.

The international officers, together with all district officers in the central competitive field are indicted under the provisions of the Lever law. At a later date new indictments were returned against them alleging conspiracy and restraint of trade, contrary to the provisions of the Sherman act. The officers have all appeared in court and answered to the indictments and have given bonds to the extent of \$10,000 each. These cases are still pending and large sums of money have been spent in employing attorneys and preparing a proper defense to the charges made.

The United Mine Workers might well then be big and powerful, to be able to cope year after year with this terrific situation, in addition to the ordinary burdens it normally has to carry. The future and opportunities of other branches of organized labor are closely bound up in the outcome of these matters. All these things are happening in our country at this time, and yet the organized workers have never asked a greater boon than an honest enforcement of existing law and constitutional government.

#### **The International Association of Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America**

This is one of the younger internationals of the American Federation of Labor.

They have made some remarkable progress and demonstrated a fine measure of unity and wisdom in the few years they have been launched

among the family of trade unions. They have met their full share of bitter opposition and shown a full measure of intelligent solidarity in coping with the tremendous opposition from without, and dissention from within.

Immediately after the Denver convention of the A. F. of L. in 1921, it was arranged that Secretary Morrison and Vice President Green of the Executive Council, should remain in Denver to bring the two opposing factions together in conference for the purpose of getting them in unity in accord with their laws, constitution and common needs. Having been conversant with this deplorable situation for a considerable time, I attended these conferences and rendered what help and co-operation I could.

This unity was established, and the present officers of the organization elected. In former reports, I have explained in detail the plan that was set up during the great war, in the oil industry, whereby the oil workers, the oil operators and the Department of Labor were all participants. Under this plan, agreements regarding wages and conditions were arrived at in point conference, all disputes that could not be adjusted on the job were referred to a representative of the oil workers and the administrator, Mr. Hywel Davis, or one of his representatives, and generally a permanent solution was reached. There was no discrimination because of religious, political or union activity, and the workers made good progress regarding wages and conditions, and their union grew in numbers and influence.

Immediately after the adjournment of the unity convention in Denver, the oil workers of California began to prepare for the negotiations of a contract to succeed the one about to expire, under which there had been peace, continuous production and no strikes or shut-downs.

I went as usual to assist in these negotiations, and we were all surprised when the operators issued notice that they would positively refuse to enter a meeting of any character with a view to negotiate, that their position was that they would announce to the workers the terms of employment. The representatives of the department and I met representatives of the operators on several occasions and this brought no change in the situation. The operators were

not all a unit in opposing the idea of point relations, but the ideas and desires of the "open shop" crowd finally dominated.

On the 11th of September a strike was called in the California fields, involving about 8,000 men. The response to the strike call was practically unanimous, union and nonunion men responding to the appeal. For eight weeks the oil fields in the San Joaquin Valley were closed down. In this connection, it is well to state that some of the larger and many of the smaller independent companies signed an agreement prior to September 11, which provided for a reduction of one dollar a day, to run one year, other conditions to remain the same.

The "open shop" fight was promulgated by what is termed the "Better American Federation," which was in control of most of the companies; it refused to recognize any agreement, but posted notices that wages would be reduced one dollar a day, such reduction to be in effect January 1, 1922. The inference was that other reductions in wages, or a possible increase of working hours were contemplated after that period.

The striking oil workers returned to work on November 5, but have maintained the wages and conditions beyond the new year and up to the present.

This organization seems to be beset in some localities with spies and agents of the "open shoppers," bent on the destruction of the organization. The organization, of course, suffered much in the strike, but I am convinced by its action it steadied the situation and saved the industry from further reductions or breaking down of standards. The campaign for 100 per cent organization is being continually and tirelessly carried forward.

In the midwestern field things are not so promising at this time, due to the depression in industry it caused the oil bearing districts of the middle west to be over run by unemployed workers from lumber camps, coal fields and farms. This brought about conditions that militated against organization. The 12-hour day is again in vogue, in fact is becoming the rule in the fields outside of California. The comparatively small group who are maintaining and carrying on the fight are sorely handicapped in this critical time. Wages in many cases have been reduced in these fields to \$2.50 per day

below the wage existing on the coast. This had a discouraging effect on organization and a situation of apathy exists for the time, which, however, all organizations experience in such times. With the livening up of the industry every effort must be made to bring the workers in the fields to a realization that their only salvation lies in organization.

I have kept in close touch with this organization since, from a group of federal unions they were chartered as an international by the A. F. of L., and they can be justly proud of their record to date, with the extreme situations they have encountered and the antagonism of the most powerful groups of capital in the world to meet. Having watched their attitude from the beginning, I predict that this will be one of the big, powerful internationals in its own good time.

#### **International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers**

This organization has without doubt been hit harder than any other during the past year, largely because of the copper situation, although all metaliferous business has suffered a terrific slump since the armistice. But the copper industry all stopped almost instantaneously. When hostilities ceased, the allied governments had approximately a billion pounds of copper on hand. There was approximately a billion pounds on this side of the Atlantic also. There was practically no market, so the copper industry shut down for nearly nine months during the year 1921. The larger companies are now resuming operations on a basis of 40 per cent to 50 per cent of normal production. This was made possible by the final reductions of the copper stocks on hand which on January, 1921, was about one billion pounds. This surplus has now been reduced to about 400 million pounds, but in reality the actual surplus it not over 100 to 150 million pounds, because it takes three months between the time the ore is mined and put into its final market shape. The marketing during the past twelve months has ranged from 560 to 125 million pounds per month and production including transportation from South America has not exceeded 50 per cent of sales so under circumstances a three months supply on hand is not really a surplus when production is not continuous to replenish the amount sold. The resumption of

activities is becoming general although copper is selling at around 13 cents which is a very low price. Advancement in the art of recovery and the economy of better equipment would be necessary if copper should remain long at this price, which is altogether unlikely.

Wages have been reduced to not less than the average of 25 per cent, and in some cases more. As somewhat of an offset to these reduced wages the employes in the Miami and Ajo fields have been somewhat benefited by a form of cooperative stores, in which capital, management and credits are furnished by the companies, which is done by charging the profits of the store 6 per cent interest on the capital invested, plus a reasonable sum for depreciation, the balance of the profits of the store sales being returned to the employes, in ratio to their purchases. These dividends range from 12 to nearly 15 per cent on purchases, and are payable July 1st and January 1st, each year, only to employes of record on said dates. If a man leaves in the meantime, he loses his dividends but they go to increase the share of the remaining employes, which has a tendency to keep men there, and so reduces the turnover.

This is something new in industrial relations, and it will be noticed that some of its tenets have been borrowed from the Rochdale plan. It is, however, decidedly not the Rochdale plan, as the capitalization and all the equipment are in the hands of the companies, and it is simply operating some of the sterling features of the Rochdale movement, through mutual agreement.

A disastrous blow was received by the international when the smelter industry of the southwest, which had become well organized, and under joint agreements, closed down for lack of business. This will necessitate more money and effort to practically build up all over again when time and opportunity shall warrant.

It is a marvel as to how the metaliferous miners have managed to exist in this total closing down of the industry. It is gratifying to realize that the worst of this situation is over.

### Conclusion

I have of necessity given most of my time, since the last convention, in Washington. I have worked and co-

operated with the situation as it existed, regarding trade union and legislative work to the best of my endeavor. I have worked with the Legislative Committee of Trade Union Representatives, which includes all the A. F. of L., and the railroad brotherhoods. There has been absolute harmony in the councils and activities of this group, and I here take the opportunity of expressing my appreciation to all with whom I have been working, for their courtesies and cooperation.

If the general attack by the forces of reaction and intrigue shall have the effect of driving us to a closer unity, we have nothing to fear from them. All power in this world is tributary to economic power, and no power could exist if economic power did not first exist.

Every man's status, throughout the world, whether Rockefeller, Gary, or the coolie of the Orient, is based upon his economic grip on this earth and what the earth contains.

The salvation of the workers is vested in their own efforts and behavior. In the pathway of solidarity and understanding in the trade union movement, and its twin, the Rochdale Co-operative Movement, will the workers of the world work out their redemption and progress. The chasm between the cost of living and the purchasing power of wages, always, in fair weather or foul, is the standard by which their well being or misery is measured. The fullest exertion of the economic power of the workers, on the trade union field, and the full utilization of this same identical organized power used to establish the extension of the purchasing power of wages, will gradually, in accord with the measure of our efforts, reduce this chasm, and bring the wage and its purchasing power, ever nearer together.

The darkening situation now existing in Europe is decidedly on account of the lack of international cooperation among the present directors of nations. No part of the universe can be secure in its comfort and progress again while a part of the world writhes in chaos and uncertainty. The welfare of the world must rest on the measure of cooperation and helpfulness that humanity generally brings into existence.

## TWELFTH DAY—Saturday Morning Session

Cincinnati, Ohio, June 24, 1922.

Pursuant to recess, the convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock, President Gompers in the chair.

### Absentees

Mountford, Gillmore, Hutson, Boyers, Quesse, Ambrose O'Brien, Kelleher, Hutcheson, E. H. Fitzgerald, Hay, H. B. Odell, England, Dee, Baker, Conway, Desepte, Coulter, Rosemund, E. J. Evans, Feeney, Laibly, Holt-schult, Austin, Kaufman, Siemer, Tighe, B. I. Davis, Brewster, Greenstein, W. F. Bryan, Bock, C. J. Hayes, Lane, Gorman, Hynes, Pattison, Kennedy, Regan, C. O. Taylor, Winkler, Carey, Schneider, Parker, Hannah, Bergstrom, Coefield, Gunther, Jas. Murphy, Hutchins, Burke, La Belle, Rodgers, A. Conn, Harvey, Thompson, Cleland, P. J. O'Brien, Freel, Blasey, Funder Burk, Cashen, J. B. Connors, Trost, Keep, Stillman, Clendenning, R. H. Johnson, Canterbury, Curtis, Spencer, Jewell, Doane, Koester, J. Jones, J. H. Walker, T. N. Taylor, Howat, Zwalley, Lawson, Stephen Ely, J. H. Roach, Fenton, Iglesias, Grace, Mooney, Fox, Steadman, Troutman, Lorntsen, J. A. Miller, Clark, Hushing, Bieritz, Legassie, Lehman, Snyder, Thornsborough, Robbins, J. E. Sullivan, Winans, R. E. Roberts, W. C. Franklin, J. C. Taylor, Lochray, Robt. Marshall, Ogg, E. W. O'Dell, Carl Mullen, Brown, Bleasius, Kerns, Argo, McSpadden, Bennett, Downes, Utterbach, Sims, Kaiser, Steele, Schnorbus, Nickolaus, Frampton, Lowder, Ogle-tree, Ornburn, Plant, McKinnon, Meloon, Dunn, Herder, Bower, Gable, Maurice Ryan, Casey, Hourigan, Wrenn, Rich, Nicol, Trimmer, Dechend, Whitcomb, Stehmeyer, Holloway, W. E. Colman, Boulware, A. E. Allen, Harte, Mezzacapo, Hixson, S. Colman, Caporal, Burford, McCoy, C. L. White, Tunnage, S. P. Davis, A. Stewart, Milton, Fizer, Latimore, Rincker, F. W. Ely, Wulff, Feinstone.

Delegate Antonini, Ladies' Garment Workers, stated that he was not present at the Friday morning session and wished to be recorded as being absent at that session.

Delegate Coleman, a member of the Committee on State Organizations, stated that practically all of the mem-

bers of the committee had left the city, that he would be obliged to leave soon, and asked unanimous consent of the convention to present the committee's report at this time.

Consent was granted, and Delegate Coleman reported as follows:

### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate M. E. Steadman, of Alexandria Central Labor Union:

WHEREAS, The community service movement is becoming a potent factor in the happiness, general welfare and uplift of human society, and merits the co-operation of all good citizens in that its purpose is to assist communities in making the leisure time of citizens more valuable and more expressive through community service; and,

WHEREAS, It seeks to promote useful citizenship, neighborliness and happiness, made possible to the coming together of citizens to think, to plan and to act together for their mutual interests; and,

WHEREAS, Community service is non-partisan, non-sectarian and non-commercial; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in regular convention assembled, endorse and lend moral and material assistance to its advancement.

Your committee agrees with the purpose and intent of the delegate introducing this resolution, but believes that this is a matter which should be governed by local conditions, as community service depends greatly upon how it is administered and by whom. We recommend that this matter be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for investigation and consideration, and that the Executive Council thereafter give such information and advice to Central Labor Unions as, in their judgment is justified.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

### Women in Industry Endangered

Your committee has had referred to it that part of the Executive Council's report, page 101, under the caption of "Women in Industry Endangered."

Your committee concurs in the recommendations contained therein and commends the members of the Executive Council for their efforts to defeat the so-called "blanket amendment" to the Constitution of the United States as well as the Constitutions of the several States in which it has been introduced, and recommends that, in addition to the continued efforts of the Executive Council to defeat this legislation, the Legislative Committee of all State organizations be ever watchful for the appearance of this legislation in their respective States and urges that they at once get into communication with the President of the American Federation of Labor, requesting information as to the proper methods to be pursued in defeating this legislation, should same be introduced in their State Legislature.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

#### Legislation in the States

Your committee has had referred to it that part of the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Legislation in the States."

We wish to commend the Executive Council for the great interest it has taken in co-operating with the officers of State organizations in combating hostile legislation in the States.

We wish also to commend the vigilance of the State Federations of Labor in those States where hostile legislation has been defeated and favorable legislation enacted, but urge that even greater efforts be put forth by all State organizations in combating the hostile and reactionary forces that are endeavoring to have laws enacted inimical to the best interests of the workers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Coleman: Mr. Chairman, this completes the report of the Committee on State Organizations, which is signed by the committee:

JOS. F. VALENTINE,  
Chairman.  
F. J. COLEMAN,  
Secretary.

JOHN T. MUGAVIN,  
S. C. HOGAN,  
ED. BARTON,  
CARL BERGSTROM,  
THOS. A. MUGAVIN,  
GEO. W. MARSHALL,  
PHILLIP EDWARDS,  
FRED. SCHUTZ,  
JNO. A. BRENNAN,  
GEO. W. LAWSON,  
CLAUDE O. TAYLOR,  
B. E. THOMPSON.

Delegate Gainer, Letter Carriers, asked unanimous consent to present the supplemental report of the Committee on Shorter Workday at this time. Objection was raised, and the request was not granted.

Delegate Gainer then requested that unanimous consent be given to the publication of the report in the proceedings without reading, but this, too, was objected to, and the request was not granted.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

President Gompers: The subject matter under discussion when the convention recessed last evening was the report of the Committee on International Labor Relations. The question recurs now upon that subject, and Delegate Max Hayes has been given recognition to speak upon that subject.

Delegate Hayes spoke at some length, and said, in part:

I very much regret that the time is growing very short and many of the delegates are anxious to leave this convention. It is to be regretted that the committees have been so slow in bringing in these very important reports. I regret it particularly, because there are on this floor men who have been in Russia and who have served with the colors and who know what is transpiring and what has occurred in that country; they don't have to accept their information from the garbled reports appearing in the daily newspapers or from special correspondents sent there for the purpose of misleading the public of this country or other countries.

There have been so many things said by the majority report that it is impossible to cover all the points. I want to say at the outset that I am not a member of the Communist party or the Bolshevik party, nor do I hold any brief for the Soviet Government. I do not believe that the Soviet form of government would be applicable to our American institutions; I believe that it is too cumbersome, and that the republican form of government is far superior to that; but my contention is that if the Russian people, after centuries of oppression and tyranny, are trying to grope their way out to the light of civilization, they have the right to choose whatever form of government they see fit, and it is none of our business to interfere with their internal affairs.

As a minority member of the Committee on International Labor Relations,

I did not raise the point that the embargo was still in existence against exports or imports to and from Russia. The matter was slightly touched upon by Delegate Healy in committee when he said—and we have the Washington dispatches to support his claim—that everything was being done by the powers that be to discourage trade relations, and particularly recognition of the Soviet form of government. My contention is that we ought to recognize whatever government now exists in Russia, particularly in view of the fact that there has been residing in Washington a so-called ambassador who represented no one, and yet he was regarded as an accredited agent and a diplomat from that country. He left the United States only a few days ago, probably for the good of the United States, as it was charged he had simply become a bootlegger on a large scale.

I did challenge the majority members of the committee and the president to produce the proof that Lenine and Trotsky and other gentlemen for whom I hold no brief, but who were charged with having sent an enormous corruption fund to the United States for the purpose of being used to undermine the American Federation of Labor. A stack of material that high [indicating] was at the office; I hastily went through it and I found nothing tangible, nothing official, that would even tend to indicate that there had been a dollar sent into this country for the purposes that I know have been challenged by President Gompers in an address that he delivered in the city of Chicago. Newspaper reports galore, other reports, letters and communications from State organizations and central bodies and elsewhere that can be written by any individual making charges, founded or unfounded; but they did not touch the alleged fact as stated by President Gompers in his address in Chicago.

President Gompers: Delegate Hayes, do you regard that as fair argument when discussing a matter of this kind, to refer to remarks made in Chicago by any one?

Delegate Hayes: I understood, Mr. Chairman, from your remarks that you would be able to produce the proofs. You did repeat the statement to the effect that Lenine had made a speech advising that any one who objected to Communism be shot on the spot. I follow the newspapers as carefully as any one, and I never saw such a statement.

President Gompers: No one is so blind as those who don't want to see.

Delegate Hayes: I don't know about

that. I can read the English language and one or two other languages. However, I doubt whether he made the statement, because even Lenine, as bad as he is—and I have taken the opportunity to criticize and denounce Lenine, particularly at the outset of the revolution—Lenine himself has backed away from his extreme position on Communism, as he stated at the various conventions that were held in Moscow.

Stating at this point that he had belonged to the International Typographical Union for forty years and that he expected to remain in that organization for the balance of his life, and that he had never been a member of any other organization, Delegate Hayes continued, saying that he wanted to repudiate the claim that there is no labor movement in Russia. "There is a labor movement in Russia," he said, "embracing skilled and semi-skilled mechanics to the number of more than five million. When they charge that the labor movement of Russia has been forced into a secondary position, I call your attention to the fact that the President of the Russian Federation of Labor was one of the delegates sent by the Russians to the conference at Genoa, Italy. This same delegate, this same President of the Russian Federation of Labor, is a delegate now to The Hague conference. This same gentleman, it was announced in the newspapers the other day, was appointed as one of the three men that are to govern Russia in the absence of Lenine, so you have a trade unionist practically at the head of the Russian Government, as one of the three men at the head."

Delegate Hayes at this point reviewed the history of other revolutions in support of his argument that revolutions always meant bloodshed, murder, suffering and a long period of years after to bring about the semblance of orderly governments.

Continuing, he said: "I want to refer just briefly to the point that has been continually raised ever since the Secretary of State announced his celebrated statement to the effect that Russia is an economic vacuum, and that therefore it is useless to try to enter into international relationship with that country. Anybody can call anything an economic vacuum or what not—that does not establish it as a fact. Every student of history, every schoolboy, knows from reading that Russia is one of the richest countries in the world; that it possesses boundless, limitless areas of timber, of agricultural land, of mines, oils, minerals of every character. Mr. Chair-



man, we know while we are trying to hide the facts from ourselves that if American representatives had gone into Russia and contracted for concessions extending over many years they would be doing no more than the British and the Germans, who are going into Russia in every manner possible, by train and by ship, in order to be on the ground floor. That is what I am saying to you now; I am saying that Russia is not an economic vacuum.

I was one of those who believed there could be no great international wars. I woke up and found out that as long as the present form of production continues war will perhaps continue. Now this very moment alliances are being perfected between Russia and Germany, and we have noticed that the British are becoming more friendly to Russia every day. Whether it is through the pressure of her labor movement or not I don't know; that is immaterial. The fact remains that the indications point to a new alliance in Europe, and it may include Russia, Germany and Great Britain to a more or less extent, with possibly some minor countries. Then we will again be confronted by that old balance of power that has precipitated all the troubles upon the world for these many years.

"I sometimes believe that it really does not amount to much what action we take; that as a matter of fact the American capitalists, when they become acquainted with the situation and realize that the potential markets of the Far East and Russia and other countries are going to slip out of their grasp, then American capitalists will issue orders to Washington, so that in all probability in the forthcoming year, after The Hague Conference, whatever action is taken, we will find a distinct movement on the part of certain interests that want to trade with Russia and do it in a manner that they will be protected.

"I am in favor of trade recognition, linking up as far as possible the United States and Russia in an official manner, in order that Russia can borrow from the millions of dollars that are said to be bursting the bank vaults of New York, borrow that money and buy the tools in American markets, buy clothing, food, and everything required in order that these things may be transported to Russia, and to begin at the seaports and lay rails and place engines thereon to haul other commodities to the people who need them. That would mean that these tens of thousands of American workers would re-

turn to their jobs, where they are now compelled to tramp the streets.

"President Gompers took this opportunity, which was his right, to wire to Washington for information. I as a member of the committee wouldn't question that right at all, and exercised the same right last evening; I wired Senator William E. Borah, who is now interested in this very subject we have under consideration, for an expression of his views, quoting the telegram that has been received from Mr. Hoover. I haven't read this telegram; it just came up to me this morning. It reads:

"Theoretically we can trade with Russia, but as a practical proposition we cannot do so without recognition or trade treaty, which amounts to recognition. Business men who want to trade with Russia have told me time and time again that they cannot do business with Russia until we recognize Russia. Russia now has trade agreements or recognition with sixteen governments, and the citizens of these governments are trading with Russia in safety and with profit. Our own business men have made sales through English merchants and have had no difficulty in securing satisfactory terms with Russia, notwithstanding the Soviet form of government. No business man whose government refuses to recognize Russia can do business alongside the man whose government does recognize Russia. That is axiomatic, and those who controvert it are not sincere.

"But isn't there something more vital than trade or commerce? Can Europe have peace while Russia is an outlaw nation? Can Europe reduce her armies which are crushing the life out of the people so long as we outlaw Russia? Humanity is entitled to be heard. Recognition of Russia means peace—a long step for real disarmament, and means an effort to end the awful suffering and misery of a whole continent."

I submit that for incorporation in the records.

Delegate Schlesinger, Ladies' Garment Workers: Will the delegate yield to a question?

Delegate Gainer, Letter Carriers: I rise to a point of order. Yesterday a motion carried by majority vote directing that the previous question be ordered. The Chair ruled that by virtue of a courtesy accorded by the rules, Brother Max Hayes would be entitled to the floor, after which the previous mandate of the convention would be carried into effect. I now say that it is the Chair's duty to carry that into effect.

Delegate Schlesinger: I would like to ask Delegate Hayes—

Delegate Sillinsky: I object to the advantage this delegate is taking over the convention in asking a question and then making a speech.

President Gompers: Delegate Schlesinger, you asked for the opportunity of asking a question. The question must be addressed to this convention. If the delegate to whom it refers, in time, desires to answer it, that may be accorded, but the question of Delegate Schlesinger is not in order except through the Chair.

Delegate Schlesinger: I would like to ask a question through the Chair. In order that the delegates of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union might be able to know how to vote on this subject matter, I want to explain the position of our international.

President Gompers: No, no. The Chair directs the attention of Delegate Schlesinger to the fact that that cannot be done here now.

Delegate Schlesinger: Will the mover of the minority report include in his minority report a demand on the Soviet Government of Russia—

Delegate Sillinsky: A point of order. Inasmuch as the minority report has been read and the vote on the previous question was called for, any alterations to that report are out of place.

President Gompers: The point of order is well taken.

Delegate Schlesinger: Can I amend the report?

President Gompers: Not except by unanimous vote.

Delegate Schlesinger: Let me ask another question.

Delegate Gainer: I insist upon a ruling on my point of order. I respectfully suggest that the previous question is now the question before the house, and, availing himself of a courtesy, Brother Schlesinger secured the floor, and his actions indicate that he is trespassing upon that courtesy, and I ask for a ruling.

President Gompers: The ruling is in favor of Delegate Gainer.

Delegate Schlesinger: I desire to ask Delegate Max Hayes whether he is willing to include in his minority report a demand to the Soviet government that it grant immediately to the Russian people the freedom of speech and press and that it immediately liberate all Socialists and trade unionists who have been imprisoned by the Soviet government for daring to disagree on questions of principles with the Communist Party of Russia?

President Gompers: The minority report does not contain any such provisions.

Delegate Woll: Speaking in behalf of the committee, having presented the report, we oppose the motion to substitute the minority report for the majority report. Our opposition to that amendment—

Delegate Gainer: By what authority, may I ask, is the floor granted to the secretary of the committee? I wish to address the convention on a point of order. I believe if there is any place where parliamentary procedure ought to be observed it is in this, which is supposed to be the most intellectual labor congress in the world, Robert's Rules of Order are plain. There is no doubt but that when the previous question is called for and the previous question voted on, then it is the duty of the Chairman to say, "Shall the main question now be put?" and a vote shall be taken on the question. A courtesy was accorded Brother Hayes, and now then the question before the house, unless this convention wants to reconsider its mandate, is to put the question without further debate.

President Gompers: There is no question about the parliamentary practice of the authorities on parliamentary law. If we depended upon that, the point of order would be well taken, but the fact of the matter is that this convention, or rather the American Federation of Labor, has adopted a rule of its own government, irrespective of the rules upon which Robert's Rules of Order, or Cushing's Manual of Parliamentary Procedure, are predicated. The American Federation of Labor adopted a rule some years ago, and this convention reaffirmed that rule, that any delegate who has introduced a resolution or proposition shall have the right to discuss the question before a vote is taken. Under that rule a delegate cannot be denied the right to speak except that that rule be suspended or repealed.

Some of the delegates to the conventions of the American Federation of Labor have abused that right, and I declared in the earlier stages of this convention that if the matter came up while I was presiding I would hold that if more than one delegate has signed or proposed any resolution or any other matter for the consideration of the convention, if one of the delegates signing it spoke upon it, it would be considered that the proposers were heard. The majority report is signed by a large number of delegates who are members of that committee. The

minority report is signed by two delegates. One has already spoken, and without questioning anything I may say this: That if I had been in the chair I would have ruled that no delegate, simply because he had signed the minority report on a proposition, was entitled to speak in addition to the one who had already spoken. He could, within his own right, as any other delegate, speak, but not as a signer of that minority report after one of the signers of that minority report had made an argument and spoken upon the question.

Since that has been done the Chair has no right to deny the privilege of the majority committee, any one of them or all of them, to discuss this question. I say here and now, as I indicated and stated in the earlier part of the convention, that if any matter comes before this convention signed by more than one delegate, that delegate must be heard. One delegate must be heard, and all other delegates who have signed it may be heard in the regular order, as every other delegate.

I call attention to the fact that we have had resolutions presented in our conventions containing, I think one or two of them, one hundred and fifty names of delegates, and under the rules, if broadly interpreted, every one of the delegates who signed that resolution would have the right to speak, after the convention had declared for the previous question—every one of the 150 signers could talk this convention to death.

It is an abuse of a privilege created by the American Federation of Labor, so that any proposition before our convention shall not be suppressed, but that some one shall have the opportunity of expressing the sentiments and arguments in favor of it.

I therefore have no right to deny the privilege or the right of the floor to any of the delegates who have signed the majority report.

The point of order is therefore not well taken.

Delegate Gainer: Then the previous question is now without effect.

President Gompers: The previous question is ordered, but the delegate who has made the report to this convention has the right to be heard.

Delegate Woll: I have listened attentively to all of the discussions and particularly to the arguments presented supposedly in favor of the minority report, and yet not a single presentation of argument has been presented in support of the minority report. Indeed, the discussion has been entirely out-

side of what is contemplated in the provisions of the minority report.

Let us first analyze the minority report:

**WHEREAS**, The United States stands by with millions of unemployed while other industrial nations are hastening to contract trade relations with Russia, which, in rebuilding its economic structure, needs vast quantities of manufactured products; and,

**WHEREAS**, Great Britain, Italy, Norway, Germany, Austria, Poland, China, Mexico and other countries have concluded treaties or trade agreements with Russia; and,

**WHEREAS**, The labor movement of every other nation of industrial importance has urged its government to establish friendly relations with Russia and to end the warfare, military or economic, that has been waged against Russia; and,

**WHEREAS**, World peace, which is one of the fondest hopes of the workers, cannot be established while military or economic pressure is used to deprive peoples of self-determination; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor request that the Government of the United States recognize the existing Russian government and take immediate steps to restore facilities for communication and commerce.

We are asked as a labor body here to request our government to recognize the Soviet government and to open trade negotiations and trade opportunities and facilities with the Soviet government. Why? Not because the revolutionary spirit, not because of what the Russians may or may not be fighting for, not for what human dictates may prompt us, but we are asked to endorse that for a purely selfish motive, a motive of securing employment for American workers, and that alone.

Upon the premise that we have a state of unemployment and that there is a vast resource of natural wealth in Russia which ought to be and should be developed, therefore, we should recognize that government regardless of what it may stand for, regardless of what it may enforce upon its people, so long as we here, trade unionists in America, may have a chance for a job, and I ask you men if you are going to stultify yourselves for the purpose of securing a job and opening the resources of Russia to secure that job, to sell the lives and the souls of the

people in Russia. That is the premise upon which this minority report is founded, and no other.

We say world peace must be established and that it cannot be established while military or economic pressure is used to deprive peoples of self-determination. Oh, yes, your committee approves that recommendation. We as a Federation have consistently approved that declaration, but let us apply that declaration to Russia and see if we are drawing the proper conclusion and application from that premise. In Russia we have a nation of one hundred and fifty millions of people. Are these one hundred and fifty millions of people permitted by and of and for themselves to determine their form of government and the rules of government under which they shall live?

The first speaker has stated that he does not care whether a handful of men control Russia, and yet how can he reconcile that opinion and that expression with that contention here for self-determination, the right of all peoples to determine by and for themselves their government and rules of conduct? It is well recognized, it is not disputed even by the proponents and advocates of the minority report, that in Russia there exists a dictatorship, both economic and military. Indeed, in Russia we have the greatest standing army of any nation in the world, and then to ask us hypocritically to endorse that government under the assumption that it is a government of self-determined people, and by self-determined methods, is beyond my conception of fairness, reason and logic.

We are asked to open up trade relations. Why? Because of the vast mineral and other natural resources in that rich part of the world. Yes, no one will dispute the great natural possessions and wealth of Russia; but I ask my dear friends who have for years challenged the idea of these natural resources being owned by private people, private interests, how they can at this day come into this convention and use exactly that premise upon which to secure recognition for the Soviet government. This minority report asks that we open up the great Russian territory to the capitalists of the world and let them come in and exploit the Russian people—take from them their natural resources and accomplish the very thing that we have been denouncing in our own land, in our own country.

Yes, open up Russia, so we may get jobs! Let the capitalists secure their hold upon the resources of that people

and, as has been so clearly demonstrated at Genoa, the representatives of that autocratic government of Russia were willing to sell over the bargain table at Genoa for the recognition of their political existence. And then we are asked to endorse that sort of a condition, that those who have stolen the right of government from the people shall now be permitted to sell the birthright of the Russian people, their great, natural wealth—to sell that over the bargain table for political recognition, and nothing else! And are we going to say Amen and approve that sort of an arrangement?

I ask my dear friends who have been extolling the failure of our government to protect the peoples of America against the stealing of our own natural resources, since when have they reached that state of mind where they can endorse and approve and hasten that procedure being followed out in poor, struggling Russia?

We speak of self-determination. Are we blind to the history of 1918, when the representatives of the people did meet, that their Congress was slaughtered and imprisoned and the representatives of the people not permitted to determine their form of government and the functions of their government?

Trade relations—as has been indicated, there is nothing to stop the American capitalist—because the workers don't trade with Russia—there is nothing to stop the American capitalist from trading with the Soviet government of Russia, nothing at all; admitted by my friend Hayes and supplemented and supported by the telegram that he presented to this convention; nothing to stop American capitalists or any one else trading with Soviet Russia. Oh, but this convention is worried lest our American capitalist is not properly protected. We are afraid that our American capitalist is going to take a chance in dealing with Soviet Russia, and so we are going to the rescue of the American capitalist and we are going to undertake that rescue for him! We who have been denouncing capitalism are now becoming the champions, the guardians, of capitalism, and how do we propose to do it? How do we propose to do it, I repeat? We are going to ask our government to recognize the Soviet government, and why do we ask that? Why are the champions of the minority report going to ask our government to recognize the Soviet government? So that we might have trade, so that we might protect the capitalists, so that when debts are

contracted and the Russian people or the Russian Government is unable to pay our capitalists the profits that they have exacted and exploited from the Russian people, we may be compelled to use armies to force the payment of that debt.

Why, men, it is the most astounding proposition that has ever come to my attention, and especially from men who have for all these years professed their hatred and opposition to capitalism, profit and war, here undertaking to exploit the poor Russians by approving American capitalism, by giving it the protection of the American Government, and even leaving our military forces, our own safety, if need be—sending them over to Europe to enforce the payment of these contracts. I ask in the finality whether the purpose is recognition of the Soviet government other than that?

Senator Borah, in his telegram, made it very clear that the American business man—he does not say capitalist—will not trade with Russia unless he secures the backing of the American Government, and that means that he will have not only the moral force of America, but, if need be, the military forces, the customs officers, and the many other devices used by governments to compel payment of debts to secure the profits that he may be able to take from the Russian people.

I don't want to venture farther into that phase except that I can see in this proposition nothing more nor less than a most gigantic conspiracy and scheme to take from the Russian people at the present moment the great wealth, the great natural resources that God has placed in that part of the world, and give to capitalism of England, of Germany, of France, of America the strangle hold which we are complaining of so much.

Reference to oil was made yesterday. The arguments yesterday were purely and entirely capitalistic arguments, coming from so-called professed Socialists. And how these two points of view can be reconciled is most difficult for me to understand. But let us leave the political question. This proposition comes to us, not to determine the political issue excepting the premise, "We want jobs and we are willing to rob the Russian people to get them"—it comes to us as a trades union movement—to do what? To endorse the Soviet government. Why do we ask for the endorsement of the Soviet government, and in so asking is it not our right to inquire first what its attitude to the workers of Russia

is, and secondly, what its attitude toward the American worker is. If we are to give so much attention and express so much solicitation for the interests of the Soviet government, it is quite natural and just and right that we should find what the Soviet government is doing for the trade union movement.

So far as the trade union movement of Russia is concerned, the report of the majority states clearly—supported by documentary evidence—that the trade union movement in Russia is compelled, and is merely an instrumentality, a military agency, to enforce the dictum of the Communist party and the desires and dictum of the dictators of that unfortunate country. Surely, then, the Soviet government of Russia has not demonstrated its loyalty, its fealty, its great regard for the workers of Russia and their trade union movement that we should now be asked to endorse it.

I am not going to burden you with the reading of this document to which President Gompers referred yesterday. I have read through it carefully and I can only offer this comment: That the cover of that book, the color of it, is extremely and fittingly designed, because it is a record of bloodshed and murder, of thievery and depravity of the most damnable kind and character, not now in a state of revolution, but by a government which the proponents of the minority report would have us endorse. There is no comparison to the revolutionary periods of any other time, but I read from that as to its attitude on the American labor movement. It speaks here of the metal trade workers:

"On March 10, 1919, at 10:00 o'clock in the morning, the workmen of the factories at Vulcan, Etna, Kavkas, and Mercury, stopped their work on signals being given by steam whistles and began meetings. To the demands of the representatives of the authorities that they should disperse, the workmen replied with a refusal, and they continued their meetings. Then we fulfilled our revolutionary duty and made use of arms."

Yes, that is how trade unionists and trade unions are being treated in Russia. I shall not burden you with the full reading of the many examples, not only of the treatment accorded trade unionists, but the women and children, upon whom they practiced the most dastardly outrages, unheard of in the darkest of periods.

So much for their treatment given to the trade unionists in Russia and the

treatment accorded its people. The question has been asked: Does this minority resolution embrace a demand for freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, and a demand for the release of political prisoners? Certainly the minority report does not contemplate one or all of these demands, but the majority report is based principally upon the ideal of self-determination, the freedom of speech, the freedom of press, the right of free assemblage, and the release of political prisoners. And this convention, if it approve the minority report, it makes little difference what we say here. Others will interpret the language and the statement will go forth—and rightly so—that the American Federation of Labor has endorsed—not Socialism, because the Socialists are opposed to the Soviet government and the principles for which it stands; no less an authority than Morris Hillquit has said that they are not in accord with that government; that they disown and disavow Communism—and so the word will not go out that we have endorsed Socialism, but the word will go out that we have endorsed Communism and have put our stamp of approval upon all the heinous deeds committed under that name; we will stand committed for it, having endorsed for the poor Russian people a denial of their right to speak freely and meet freely, and that those who have different opinions from the authorities in power may at least have their freedom to express themselves without being thrown into dungeons and without sacrificing their lives for the freedom of their expressions.

And so you men—I know what has been going on, I know the appeals that have been made by some of the other sex to influence this convention on sentimental and emotional appeals, but I ask you to determine this question by your own judgment, not by promises and not by influences of that character. When the judgment of the convention has been expressed, let it be the free, uninfluenced, untampered, honest judgment of this convention.

For the past number of years we have been asking for the release of the political prisoners within our own land, and now we are asked to endorse a proposal which would deny that same right and that same appeal in behalf of the political prisoners of Russia.

But, going farther, Delegate Hayes spoke about having gone through the records and documents presented to him. I believe Fellow-Delegate Hayes

will agree with me when I say that at the utmost it took him but twenty or thirty minutes to go through a pile of documents over a foot high, and I leave you to judge if you can peruse documents of that volume in twenty or thirty minutes and say they contain nothing of authority, nothing of value. You may see the force of that statement without further elaboration.

But as for the interference of the Soviet Government of Russia with the American trade union movement—yes, there have been general statements. May I submit this as a statement of fact that may be verified in this convention, and which I think will clearly indicate that if that course be possible and is followed we may rest assured that there are other similar agencies at work within the trade union movement. I refer to the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and I particularize upon its president, Ben Schlesinger, who, as you well know, visited Russia and Mr. Lenine and all the leaders of the Soviet government, and upon his return to New York City there immediately followed from Russia a commissar, with the special duty and purpose to be carried out by him to seek Mr. Ben Schlesinger at the earliest possible moment, which he did. And he conferred with Mr. Schlesinger and demanded of Mr. Schlesinger that he join the Red trade union movement, and if he declined to do so that immediately he (the commissar) would undertake the up-building of a seceding, disrupting, dual body and leave no stone unturned to weaken not only himself (Schlesinger), but the International Ladies' Garment Workers—

Delegate Schlesinger (interrupting): And the officials of the Ladies' Garment Workers.

Delegate Woll (continuing): And Ben Schlesinger, as a trade unionist, opened the door and told him to get out as fast as he could. And he went out, and today the attack is being made upon the International Ladies' Garment Workers that was threatened. Mr. Schlesinger, by his own interruption, has verified that fact.

And I might cite to you the fact that the "Vorwaertz," ("Forward"), of New York, perhaps one of the most radical publications and most ardent advocates of Soviet Russia, has been compelled to change its attitude from one of friendliness almost to one of very keen antagonism. And then, in view of all that, we are asked to endorse this government, not of the people, by the people, or for the people, but a government for the Communistic party,

300,000 at the utmost, out of a population of 150,000,000 people. We are asked to take away the wealth of the Russian people, give it to our capitalists and the capitalists of the world, with the protection of the navy and military forces and all the powers of the government—capitalistic, if you please—to take these things from the people.

And we are asked to do all this in order that our capitalists may go in there and that we, as trade unionists, may get jobs because some of us are now unemployed.

I ask you, gentlemen, as trade unionists, as lovers of liberty, as sympathizers with the Russian people—because our report expresses that, as has been well indicated—we ask you as trade unionists to send a ray of hope, of courage, a message of cheer, of good will to the peoples of Russia, but let us keep our hands off the Soviet regime and let the peoples of Russia work out their own salvation; above all, don't let us endorse capitalism, as proposed by those who profess Socialism.

The vote on the adoption of the minority report was declared lost on a viva voce vote.

A request for a roll-call vote was made, but only 22 delegates, an insufficient number, supported the request.

The majority report of the committee, which recommended concurrence in Resolution No. 84 and non-concurrence in Resolutions Nos. 25 and 28, was adopted by a very large majority.

#### **Machinists—Flint Glass Workers**

At this point discussion was resumed on the motion to adopt the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, dealing with the jurisdictional dispute between the Machinists and Flint Glass Workers. The pending motion was to adopt the report of the committee, which had been presented to the convention during the afternoon of the tenth day.

Delegate Hannon, Machinists, opened his discussion by stating that he wished to disabuse the minds of the delegates of an impression that seemed to prevail that the work in dispute was of such a class that the Machinists were not capable of doing it. He stated that although he had not worked in a machine shop for years he could go into a shop and without any difficulty whatever complete work of that nature in a very short time. (As he made this statement Delegate Hannon exhibited the sample molds the Machinists had brought into the convention.)

Delegate Hannon, in discussing another phase of the question said in part: The representative of the Flint Glass Workers asked the other day why the Machinists did not bring in molds for making electric light bulbs. You saw the difficulty one of our delegates had in raising these molds up in order to exhibit them to the convention, and this mold we have here is for a bottle about that high [indicating a height of about eight inches] and if we were to attempt to bring in a mold that makes a light bulb up there we would have to get a couple of trucks to bring them over here. We do not intend to bring in here and exhibit to the delegates every kind of a mold that is used. We thought one mold sufficient, in order to show the delegates that this mold is made out of metal; that this casting came from a foundry where the molder made it; that it was carried to the machine shop, where it was placed on the lathe and the planer and the milling machine and the drill press, then taken over to the bench and the work there finished. If that is not machinists' work I do not know what machinists' work is.

Later in the discussion Delegate Hannon said: I am not very much surprised at the report brought in by the Committee on Executive Council's Report for this reason: To a great extent the committee is comprised of the same delegates who brought the report into the Buffalo convention in 1917, and it is hardly to be expected that the members of that committee want to bring in a report reversing the decision they made in 1917; although they might very well, in justice to the question, have done that, because the report they made in 1917 at the Buffalo convention was to endorse the decision made by Delegate Lennon, representing the Journeymen Tailors, who at that time was treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. The Flint Glass Workers were organized into a Glass Workers' Union away back in the '80s. In 1883, before the Machinists were organized, there was an organization known as the Mold Makers' Society doing this work that we claim properly comes under the jurisdiction of the Machinists. In 1885 the Flint Glass Workers obtained jurisdiction over this organization.

We were not organized until 1888. In 1895 we were admitted to the American Federation of Labor. In 1902, owing to a fundamental dispute the Flint Glass Workers had with the Glass Bottle Blowers, they left the American Federation of Labor. The

jurisdiction that had been granted to that organization when they were first admitted to the American Federation of Labor, I contend so far as the work which is now in dispute is concerned, automatically ended when they left the American Federation of Labor and came properly under the jurisdiction of the International Association of Machinists.

In 1912, at the Rochester convention, the Flint Glass Workers were admitted to the American Federation of Labor again. This question came up, protested by the Machinists. The Flint Glass Workers were seated over the protest of the Machinists. In 1913 the Committee on Executive Council's Report brought in a decision to the Seattle convention in favor of the Flint Glass Workers.

Personally I am of the opinion that if this matter had been discussed on its merits on the floor of the Seattle convention the convention would have reversed the decision of the committee; but our president, on the suggestion of somebody, feeling confident that any committee that investigated this would not do otherwise than render a decision in favor of the Machinists, suggested that a committee of three be appointed, one by the Machinists, one by the Flint Glass Workers and the other by the president of the American Federation of Labor. That motion carried. The purpose of that committee was to investigate and to report the results of their investigation. We named a man, Brother Lamb, of the Machinists; a representative of the Flints was named, and the American Federation of Labor named Brother Lennon.

That committee made a report. Brother Lamb contended that the work belonged to the Machinists and the Flints naturally contended that it belonged to them. Brother Lennon's report said: "That the making of all molds to be used for molding glassware is under the jurisdiction of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union and should be recognized as such." He based his decision, not on the class of the work, but on the grounds of priority; that away back in 1885 jurisdiction had been granted the Flint Glass Workers. Nothing was said about the work except, "We find a great similarity in the work done by the flint glass workers and the work done by the machinists." I should say there is a great similarity in the work—it is all the same, it is machinists' work!

Delegate Hannon quoted the remainder of the decision submitted by

Mr. Lennon, which provided that members of the Machinists' Union working as mold makers on molds used for making glassware should, before the 1st of January, 1918, should be transferred to the Flint Glass Workers without fee; that the Flint Glass Workers without fee; that the Flint Glass Workers should bring about the affiliation with the International Association of Machinists all machinists employed in glass factories under the jurisdiction of the Flint Glass Workers' Union before January 1, 1918, and that in case of demand for mold makers in mold shops covered by jurisdiction of the Flint Glass Workers that could not be filled by members of the Flint Glass Workers, the International Association of Machinists to be requested by the officers of the Flint Glass Workers to furnish the class of men needed, who upon being employed are to become members of the Flint Glass Workers' Union.

Delegate Hannon proceeded to discuss in detail the class of work in dispute, the conditions in different factories where the work is performed and the disputes that have arisen in various places with regard to the question of jurisdiction. He stated that the result of the various decisions have been very unreasonable and unfair toward the International Association of Machinists.

Referring to a portion of the report from which he had quoted, in part, to the effect that the Flint Glass Workers was an industrial organization, he asked why they did not seek jurisdiction over the Glass Bottle Blowers, which is another branch of the same industry. In closing he urged the delegates not to base their decision upon the question of prior rights of the Flint Glass Workers to the work, but to base it upon common sense and upon whether or not the work in question was machinists' work.

Delegate Hannon, during the course of his discussion, stated that Delegate Clarke, President of the Flint Glass Workers' organization, was a member of the committee that brought in the report under discussion, and while he felt that no unfair advantage had been taken by President Clarke because of his position on the committee, his presence undoubtedly had its influence upon the other members.

Secretary McCullough, in explaining the position of the committee, said in part: Delegate Clarke took no part in the consideration of this question before the committee. He did present an argument from the Glass Workers'



side, when the question came up for consideration in the committee he retired from the room, and he is just as innocent of what took place there as any other delegate in the convention. The secretary of the committee also retired and took no part whatever in the consideration of the question.

The committee's action is in conformity with a long line of decisions and actions by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, by the Executive Council, by special committees appointed under the authority of the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, most of which have been, at one time or another, tentatively and on one occasion specifically accepted by the representatives of the Machinists' Union.

Now they talk about the expiration of the jurisdiction rights of the Flint Glass Workers at the time they withdrew from the American Federation of Labor. Grant that, but go on to the Norfolk convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1907 and you will find a recorded vote of the American Federation of Labor granting to the Flint Glass Workers exactly the jurisdiction they came before this convention asking to have confirmed.

John Mitchell reported that to the convention at Seattle, along with the report of the Adjustment Committee. The matter came up in its present form at the Rochester convention, where the Machinists objected to the reaffiliation of the Flint Glass Workers, opposed before the Credentials' Committee the seating of the delegates from the American Flint Glass Workers' Union, which protest was unavailing, and the convention seated the delegates.

The matter was then taken to the Adjustment Committee in exactly the same form it is now presented to this convention. I happened to be a member of the Adjustment Committee; John Mitchell was chairman and John Golden was secretary. I know what the case was that was presented, I know what the arguments were, I know what the decision of the committee was. I also know that because of a request made by the representatives of the Machinists. On the ground that they thought they could come to an understanding and agreement with the Flint Glass Workers, the matter was withdrawn and not reported to the convention.

It was brought back to the Seattle convention in practically the same form, and a decision was reached by the Adjustment Committee absolutely sustain-

ing the Flint Glass Workers, and it would have been adopted by the Seattle convention had not President Johnston made an amendment to refer to an investigating committee. That committee was formed, visited the factories and reported to the Buffalo convention. The convention adopted the report of the investigating committee, which was in favor of sustaining the claim of the Flint Glass Workers and absolutely opposed to the Machinists. And in writing the presidents of the two contending organizations agreed that they would abide by that decision.

I submit to you that I am not arguing this question for the Flint Glass Workers; I am merely defending the committee in its action. The committee is criticized because it has not reversed this long line of decisions, all on the same point, all in the same direction and all to the same conclusion. The committee would have inconceivable impudence if it undertook, on an ex parte proposition, to reverse so many actions of the American Federation of Labor.

I am not criticizing the attitude of the representatives of the Machinists. They are battling for something they think they ought to have, something they want. They want to take away from another organization a considerable part of its membership, a considerable part of its industry, a part I understand is basic and fundamental and vital to that industry. I make no question of anyone's motives, I do, however, question the procedure when year after year and year after year the convention has gone on record; when promises have been made, pledges taken, assurances given, written agreements signed, and then they come back here, and surely the records show they have not at any time undertaken to do the things they agreed to verbally and in writing to do.

Upon motion of Delegate Hart debate was closed.

The report of the committee was declared adopted after a viva voce vote had been taken.

A roll call was asked for, but the request was not supported by a sufficient number of delegates to demand a calling of the roll.

Delegate Grow, Machinists, stated that he wished to point out one matter connected with the dispute.

President Gompers asked if there was objection to Delegate Grow making a statement. Delegate Chlopek of the Longshoremen, objected, and Delegate

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Grow was not permitted to make the statement.

Another viva voce vote was taken, and the Chair declared the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report on the Machinists-Flint Glass Workers question was adopted.

Secretary McCullough continued the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report as follows:

Resolutions Nos. 62 and 100, dealing with the same subject matter and aiming to accomplish similar purposes, were considered as one by the committee. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 62—By Delegates Thomas F. McMahon, Sara A. Conboy, Joseph R. White, James Garrity, John L. Barry, Martin T. Joyce, James P. Holland and William Larkin, of the United Textile Workers of America:

WHEREAS, On December 20th, 1920, a reduction in wages of 22½ per cent was given to the workers in the textile mills of our land; and,

WHEREAS, The manufacturers not being satisfied with the above reduction in wages, decided again on January 19th, 1922, to take another 20 per cent out of the already small pay of the workers; and,

WHEREAS, The mill barons not being satisfied with reducing wages, decided that the 48-hour week must be eliminated and 54 hours substituted in the States of New Hampshire and Rhode Island; and,

WHEREAS, The United Textile Workers of America voted to fight these un-American and unmoral actions of the textile manufacturers; and,

WHEREAS, The fight is now in its twenty-first week, with between 60,000 and 70,000 textile workers on the firing line in the States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island; and,

WHEREAS, There are tens of thousands of women and children today who need bread, their husbands, fathers and brothers are in the trenches, the end will come when the manufacturers are convinced the great big heart of American labor is back of the workers; victory is in sight; dollars are needed and needed badly; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record in favor of a one-cent assessment upon its entire membership, the proceeds of which to be turned over to the United Textile Workers of America for the support of the men and

women who are making this wonderful fight.

Resolution No. 100—By Fred W. Sutor of the Quarry Workers' International Union of North America:

WHEREAS, The Quarry Workers' International Union of North America has been engaged in a life and death struggle since September, 1921, with the following three Employers' Associations: The International Monumental Granite Producers' Association, Incorporated; the National Building Granite Quarries' Association of the United States, Inc., and the Granite Paving Block Manufacturers of the United States, Inc. These three associations operate east of the Mississippi River and have banded together into a Board of Control to further their plan of disrupting our union and introducing the so-called "American Plan" or "Open Shop;" and,

WHEREAS, The Granite Manufacturers' Association of California is following a similar course, thus making this a nation-wide effort to annihilate the Quarry Workers' International Union of North America; and,

WHEREAS, Most of the individual employers broke their contract with our union in order to launch this un-American movement; and,

WHEREAS, There has been a severe strain on our funds in carrying on this protracted struggle by valiently and successfully withstanding these dastardly and unscrupulous onslaughts; and,

WHEREAS, These employers' associations have so far made practically no inroads in our ranks; and,

WHEREAS, We are confident of ultimate success and that a settlement of our difficulties will be hastened if we can enlist your moral support and financial aid; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Cincinnati, endorse the stand of the Quarry Workers' International Union of North America against this un-American attempt to introduce the "American Plan" or "Open Shop" in this industry, and commend the heroic resistance of its members in this trying struggle; and be it therefore further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to levy a one-cent assessment per member on all affiliated unions to be used in assisting the Quarry Workers' Interna-

tional Union of North America in carrying this fight to a successful issue; or to provide such methods and urge such an appeal as will result in securing the essential aid in bringing this contest to an early and successful conclusion for the Quarry Workers' International Union of North America.

Your committee desires to express its full sympathy with the objects of the resolution. However, as a concrete fact is presented, which cannot be overcome by a resolution offered in this convention, your committee deems it inexpedient to even suggest the levying of an assessment to raise the funds for the purposes indicated by the resolution.

In lieu of such an assessment, your committee recommends that the Executive Council be authorized and instructed to issue a general appeal for voluntary contributions, for the purpose of providing funds for the relief and assistance of the striking Textile Workers and Quarry Men, and that the funds so raised be divided between the two organizations in proportion to the number of members each has involved in the pending strikes.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate McMahon, Textile Workers: I wish to express at this time, in behalf of the workers now out in New England to the number of 65,000, our deep appreciation of the recommendation of the committee. A few words at this time will suffice to bring to the minds of the delegates here the conditions as they exist in New England. One year ago, or a little more, we accepted without a fight a 22½ per cent reduction. In January, 1922, a 20 per cent reduction and a 54-hour week in Rhode Island and New Hampshire was given the workers in the mills and factories, under the false impression that Southern competition made that cut necessary.

We said to the mill barons, and we wish it carried to every hamlet and State and city in our country and in Canada, that we stand prepared to prove the falsity of that assertion of the barons that control the destinies of one million human souls, men and women, boys and girls. The factories and mills in the South to a great extent are controlled by Northern capital, whether in Wall Street, in Boston or by the Arkwright Club, it makes no difference.

We have a telegram this morning from the employers asking us to return to work under a cut, a reduced price,

until next October, when three gentlemen will sit as an arbitration board and decide whether or not it shall go into effect. Nothing retroactive. The representatives of the United Textile Workers have sent an answer to that, that we want nothing of the kind; that we believe the great labor movement, the great, big heart of America is today with the struggling men and women in the mills, and with the children who are unfortunate enough to have to work in the mills—or the institutions, they would be better named.

After twenty-two weeks we intend to continue this fight, if it is possible, indefinitely. We feel keenly in this matter, but we who have gone over times without number, and certain representatives here of various other international unions, as well as the president of the American Federation of Labor, who has come into our midst, know that we are a fighting and militant organization; that we are determined to continue that militancy until the workers in the mills secure for themselves the conditions that Americans should have—not serfs, not peons, not slaves.

The Textile Workers, whether in Somersworth, whether in Dover, Exeter, Newmarket, Suncook, Nashua, Manchester, whether in Lawrence, in Ware, in Lowell, in Berkley, in Ashton, Lonsdale, Salesville, Pawtucket or Providence, are fighting today a most magnificent fight.

I will leave it to the delegates here not to carry back with them the thought that they once had that when the gates are open the men and women will return to the mills. The gates have been opened, the gates are open, and last Monday morning, when the gates of the great Amoskeag Corporation, the greatest in the world, were thrown open, what did they find? They found a few, as you will always find, including bosses and second-hands, and a few children, to the number of 223 out of 15,500. In other big interests we find, out of a possible 4,800, that last Monday in the State of Rhode Island but 422 were at work.

We know what other organizations are going through; we know the sacrifices they are making at this time; we know that many of us are fighting with our backs to the wall, but we see a glimmer of hope, a ray of light; we feel as do the great, magnificent organizations of the Mine Workers, that victory will perch upon our banner, because we believe and know that God realizes that we are right when we are fighting for that end.

We feel there are many other organizations now engaged in this struggle. Why we have changed our attitude with regard to the 1 cent per capita tax is apparent to all and needs no comment from me. There are many organizations here with whom we have differed in the past that we wish to take this opportunity to thank for the magnificent manner in which they have supported us in the past twenty-two weeks; and I want to say, as does my colleague, Secretary Conboy, that nothing will be left undone so that the Textile Workers, the boy and the girl, the man and the woman, will receive what the constitution grants them, an equal opportunity; and we serve notice today that what you see quoted in some of the papers is not true, that in the city of Lawrence the One Big Union controls the textile situation. Let me say, and I defy and challenge anyone to contradict my statement, that in one little corner of Lawrence stands Ben Legere—who should be known as Simon Legree—but he controls only a small part of the city, and the big mass of workers in the textile industry in Lawrence are either under the jurisdiction with the organization I represent or in sympathy with the policy of the United Textile Workers. In no other part of New England but Lawrence and Pawtucket Valley—which the Amalgamated holds—only in these two places in New England is there a man or woman, boy or girl, under the jurisdiction of these seceding, wild-cat organizations. They are all under the banner of the organization that is fighting for them, and we will go down before we will accept a cut in wages; we will go down fighting, and only when the last one is down will it be possible for the barons of New England to be victorious.

Delegate Larkin, Machinists, in discussing the question said in part: I want to endorse everything President McMahon has said when he tells you the United Textile Workers' organization is running the strike. He is telling you the truth. The One Big Union has nothing to do with it. The United Textile Workers in New England are making the fight for their life. In Rhode Island, in Massachusetts and New Hampshire there are ten or twelve trades connected with the American Federation of Labor that are fighting shoulder to shoulder with this thing. That ought to show you who is in charge of this strike.

President McMahon has told you of the cuts they have had to suffer in the textile industry. He told you of the 22

per cent cut they had to suffer a year ago and of this 20 per cent cut. It was rumored in New Hampshire, where over 16,000 men and women went on strike last February, that if they accepted this cut another would come on the first of July. These men and women have been confronted with all the indignities the barons could put upon them. These men and women have been driven from their homes, the homes owned by the mill barons. We have tried to help them get at least two meals a day in the commissaries established by the Textile Workers. We other crafts do not come in here and ask you for support; we will take care of our own, but as a representative of the Machinists, we are vitally interested in this fight. I ask you when you go home to take a message to your organization that if there is anything under the heavens in the way of financial aid they can give the United Textile Workers, I hope to God they will do it.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Delegate Wilson, Pattern Makers, moved that the convention remain in continuous session until the business before it was disposed of. The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary McCullough continued the report of the Committee on Executive Council's Report as follows:

Resolution No. 4—By Delegates Max J. Sillinsky, Arthur Keep, Thos. Sweeney, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, as per instructions of their convention held in August, 1921:

RESOLVED, That the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, now held in Cincinnati, instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, to use their good offices to bring about an affiliation of the two existing organizations in the garment trades, namely, the United Garment Workers of America and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, to the end that peace and harmony be restored in the clothing industry, and a better working agreement reached thereby, thus clearing the field for an amalgamation of all the unions in the clothing industry, such as the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, the United Garment Workers of America, the International Ladies' Garment Workers of America, the Cap Makers' Union, the Neckwear Makers' Union

and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, on a department plan.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in Resolution No. 4. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 16**—By delegation from Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employes of America, by request: W. D. Mahon, William Quinlan, Fred Schulz, A. Conn and J. Rodgers:

**WHEREAS**, The program of 1919 should be much enlarged and brought down to date on economics, political and sociology, so that no second shall be lost in the placing of the fruits of labor in the hands of organized workers and workers in general; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the following subjects shall be added to our constructive plan of 1922:

1. Advertising of all Union Made Goods.
2. Complete Restriction of Immigration for ten years.
3. Reforestation of Wild Game and Preservation.
4. Restocking of Streams and Shores.
5. Completion of Good Roads and Trails.
6. Full support of Farm Bureau and Agricultural Department.
7. More Outdoor Life and Recreation.
8. Improvement of Evening High Schools.
9. Gradual Reduction of the Army and Navy.
10. Full support of Growers and Grazers' organizations.
11. United States Production of Chemical and other fertilizers.
12. Standardization of all Power Machines.
13. Building and Enlarging United States Dirigible Airship Plants.
14. State Annuals Compiled for Apprenticeship and Vocational Guidance.

Your committee recommends that the entire subject matter in the foregoing resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take such action as it deems advisable in regard to carrying out the purposes of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Resolution No. 22**—By Delegate John G. Clay, Chicago Federation of Labor:

**WHEREAS**, In the convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Montreal, Canada, June 7th, 1920, a resolution was introduced by Ben F. Parker, of the Chicago Federation of Labor, to establish a food-producing and distributing department under the banner of the American Federation of Labor; and,

**WHEREAS**, The resolution was referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, with instructions to call a conference of the international unions involved; and,

**WHEREAS**, To the best of our knowledge, no action was taken by the Executive Council; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the delegates representing the Chicago Federation of Labor at the next convention of the American Federation of Labor, to be held in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, commencing Monday, June 12, 1922, reintroduce the resolution that was known as Resolution 45 at the Montreal convention, which was as follows:

**"WHEREAS**, The workers in the food and catering industry of America are separated into various organizations such as cooks, waiters and waitresses, general hotel employes, bakers, ice cream makers, flour mill workers, egg inspectors, butchers, stockyard and packing house workers, milk, bread, grocery, butcher and ice cream drivers, and many other divisions, most of them under the charters granted by and under the control of the American Federation of Labor; and,

**"WHEREAS**, To unite these workers into a food-producing and distributing department, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor is the only real and effective way to procure justice for the millions of toilers engaged in the important work of producing and distributing food for the American people; and,

**"WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor has already established a building and mining department; therefore be it

**"RESOLVED**, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to request the convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Montreal, Canada, commencing June 7, 1920, to appoint a special committee for the purpose of investigating and recommending to the convention or to the Executive Council of the American Fed-

eration of Labor, a plan and a programme to establish a food-producing and distributing department under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, with the view of bringing about better relations of all workers engaged in the production and distribution of food products."

Adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor meeting held Sunday, May 7th, 1922, and ordered reintroduced in the convention of the American Federation of Labor beginning June 12th, 1922, at Cincinnati, Ohio.

The foregoing resolution undertakes to revive the subject matter of Resolution No. 45, and the substitute for that resolution which was adopted by the Montreal convention, and concerning which the Executive Council reported to the Denver convention:

"After a conference and correspondence with the various national and international unions interested, it became clearly evident that the proposal is impracticable of accomplishment."

Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Chas. W. Redfern, National Federation of Post Office Clerks:**

**WHEREAS,** There is now a world-wide, growing sentiment that suitable and honorable provision should be made by the government for the support in old age of those who expend the energy of their vigorous years in production for the benefit of society at wages too low to permit of their laying by for themselves, and who in the grip of age find themselves without employment and without income for their support; and,

**WHEREAS,** The most effective and least costly way of removing from the minds of citizens the haunting fear of want in old age and despondency, seems to be through old age pensions, which investigation in several states has shown would cost less than the present pauper support; now, therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That the American Federation of Labor endorse the old age pension system of providing for those who have grown old in honest toil without being able to lay by for themselves, and we instruct our national officers to exercise their best effort to secure the effective carrying out of this

resolution through every proper and legislative means.

The subject matter of the foregoing resolution has been before the American Federation of Labor in almost this identical form at a number of conventions.

At the Denver convention, your committee reported on Resolution No. 27, which involved the old-age pension system:

"Your committee recommends that the entire subject matter contained in this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for such investigation and action as may seem proper and necessary." The convention adopted the report of the committee.

Your committee at this time recommends that the entire subject matter be again referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 35—By Delegate Anthony J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:**

**WHEREAS,** It is essential to the development of organization that the greatest possible degree of co-operation between all groups of the component parts of the American Federation of Labor is necessary, this being particularly pronounced in the case of groups whose jurisdiction is closely allied or interlocking in its character; and,

**WHEREAS,** Our past experience has shown us, in the case of closely allied groups, that our activities can find a more intelligent and concrete expression on an industrial basis, as witness the operations of the Building Trades Department and the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor rather than through the Federation as a whole; and,

**WHEREAS,** The past strikes of Marine Workers illustrated the necessity of a greater degree of co-operation between all groups that come under the classification of Marine Workers, particularly so in view of the efforts that are now being made to enforce the so-called "open shop" throughout the country; and,

**WHEREAS,** It is only by concerted effort that we are going to be able to resist further encroachments by the employers; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED,** That this convention take the necessary steps to create a "Marine Transport Department" of the American Federation of Labor.

In connection with the foregoing resolution, your committee calls attention to the report of the Executive Council on pages 120-121, under the caption of "Marine Transport Department," in which the Executive Council reports:

"By Resolution No. 89, the Executive Council was directed to ascertain the wishes of the several organizations which would be affected by the formation of a Marine Transport Department, and that, if it should be found advisable by the Executive Council, a conference with the representatives of these organizations should be called.

"Conforming to that instruction, the several organizations were consulted by correspondence as to their wishes in this matter. From this correspondence, your Executive Council is convinced that the majority of the transport organizations do not desire the formation of such a department."

In view of this authoritative information, your committee recommends that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for such further action as may be deemed necessary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the committee.

Delegate Chlopek: During the past three months I have been in communication and have had personal conversations with the representatives of the Marine Engineers, Masters, Mates and Pilots, who are in favor of this resolution. We have during the past two months formed Marine Transportation Departments in the cities of Buffalo, New York and Baltimore, and are now working on one in Boston. In New York the representatives of the Seamen's Union are part of the Council. The marine workers feel it is high time for them to get together.

There is not a combination of organizations that has the organization of capital to fight that the marine workers have. When the marine workers go into a struggle they are called upon to resist every government on the globe that has a merchant marine, in addition to the private steamship interests. It is necessary for the marine crafts to get together and oppose these employers. I have discussed this matter with the officers of the Engineers, Masters, Mates and Pilots. The Executive Council of the Engineers is now in session in Washington and is acting upon this proposition. I am hopeful that if the president of the American Federation of Labor will call these

organizations together in accordance with the resolution we will get the favorable action of at least three of the organizations mentioned in the resolution.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried unanimously.

Resolution No. 58—By Delegates Thomas F. Flaherty, William P. Hohmann, Charles W. Redfern and Mark B. Green, of the National Federation of Postoffice Clerks; B. E. Thompson, C. M. Harvey and J. P. Cleland, of the Railway Mail Association:

WHEREAS, For a number of years the American Federation of Labor has affiliated postal organizations to bring relief to the thousands of postal workers who are employed at night; and,

WHEREAS, It is heartening to note that at least the U. S. Senate has appreciated the importance of this question of postal night work by authorizing an investigation of it by the post-office committee of the Senate, with a view of recommending appropriate legislative action; and,

WHEREAS, It is the view of the representatives of the affiliated postal workers that this legislative relief should take the form of shorter working hours, as the most satisfactory offset for night work hardship; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its previous declarations in favor of a time differential of fifteen minutes in every hour between 6:00 p. m. and 6:00 a. m. for postal workers and instruct the Executive Council to continue its helpful co-operation to have enacted by the Congress as speedily as possible the necessary remedial legislation reducing the night working hours for postal employees.

The committee recommended concurrence in Resolution No. 58. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate James A. Legassie, of the Berlin Central Labor Union, Berlin, N. H.:

WHEREAS, There are many persons outside of the ranks of organized labor, in the ranks of small business and professional men, who are indeed very friendly to organized labor and who stand ready and willing at all times to render such assistance as their means permit; and,

WHEREAS, Each year sees an increase in the number of people, who could not possibly affiliate with us, who view the trade-union movement with favor, inasmuch as they are brought to realize as time progresses that their interests are so interwoven with our interests that they must adhere more closely to us; and,

WHEREAS, In these trying times when nearly every organization within the folds of the American Federation of Labor is being openly attacked, these organizations are kept busy securing the wherewithal with which to meet their financial obligations to their members, to say nothing of aiding other organizations in trouble; and,

WHEREAS, Due to the fact that small business and professional men are beginning to realize now, more than ever, that they are dependent upon the workers for their existence, they are willing in many cases to aid us financially; and,

WHEREAS, President Samuel Gompers is absolutely opposed to the acceptance of charity "even to allay hunger," as per his communication to the Berlin Central Labor Union under date of November 29, 1921, in reply to a resolution forwarded to American Federation of Labor headquarters by the said Central Labor Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this, the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, go on record as favoring the acceptance of charity when offered by persons who recognize our need.

In connection with this resolution, your committee desires to present a copy of the letter written by President Gompers to Mr. Alfred Mortenson, Secretary of the Berlin Central Labor Union, Berlin, New Hampshire, which is as follows:

"Washington, D. C., Nov. 29, 1921.

"Mr. Alfred Mortenson, Secy., Berlin Central Labor Union, Berlin, N. H.:

"Dear Sir and Brother:

"Your letter of November 19 received and contents noted.

"You incorporate a resolution calling upon the American Federation of Labor to endorse a plan to solicit gifts of money or commodities from business men, labor and fraternal organizations, to be used as Christmas relief funds in the industrial centers. It is proposed that the funds be used for making Christmas Day brighter for the unemployed and their families.

"It is most regrettable that there will be many families who will be in want on Christmas Day for the necessities of life. Many children will miss the greatest pleasure of childhood by finding empty stockings hanging on the mantelpiece or about the stove when they awake on Christmas morning. Hardly anything causes more sorrow than the failure of Santa Claus to make his annual visit,—and the cause is the fact that the real Santa Claus is out of employment. But the American Federation of Labor always has discouraged the pleadings for donations and contributions from business men, even to allay hunger. No local union has ever been known to refuse to give aid and comfort to a member and his family in times of dire need. The camaraderie developed through association in a trade union movement has proved a wonderful impetus and a wonderful incentive to those who have to help those who have not. Members of trade unions should care for their own needy fellow workers. While the thought that animated the Berlin Central Labor Union is commendable, its carrying out so far as the general public is concerned would be contrary to the ethics of the labor movement.

"Permit me to suggest, therefore, that the Central Labor Union reconsider the resolution. To receive gifts from those outside of the organizations of labor would be accepting charity. Whatever is given by the unions or union men to those in dire need is the exemplification of the brotherhood of man.

"After reading this letter to the Central Labor Union, kindly let me know of the action taken on the suggestion made by me.

"With best wishes and assuring you of my desire to be helpful in any way within my power, I am,

"Fraternally yours,

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,

"President, American Federation of Labor."

In view of the explanation contained in the letter from President Gompers to Mr. Mortenson, Secretary of the Berlin Central Labor Union, your committee recommends non-concurrence in the foregoing resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 102—By Delegates Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal:

WHEREAS, All civilized governments have endeavored to encourage



and develop inventive genius to the highest possible degree, and to this end have undertaken to grant monopolistic rights for a fixed number of years to all patentees; and,

WHEREAS, Under guise of the protective features of our patent laws, many useful and valuable inventions are either disused or misused and the monopolistic rights rendered have come to serve the purpose of benefiting a few instead of all citizens of our land; and,

WHEREAS, Under the patent laws of other nations provision is made requiring patentees to work or operate their patents within a fixed period of time and to so operate or work them as to favor and stimulate home production; and,

WHEREAS, It is believed that holders of American patents are working or operating their patents in foreign lands while not doing so in this country, thus favoring foreign workers and stimulating foreign production under American patent laws while totally ignoring home production; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be authorized and directed to investigate or have investigated this entire subject of patents and of patent rights to the end that the Executive Council, in behalf of the American Federation of Labor, may take such action as will remove from our patent laws provisions and practices that tend toward this disuse or misuse of the monopolistic rights rendered patentees and to cause to be inserted into our patent laws such provisions as will require those holding American patents to so work or operate them as will result in actual production in the United States of the article disclosed in such patents in reasonable quantities and in a reasonable time; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council investigate or cause to be investigated patent laws and practices under which laws of other nations operate and to take such further action as will stimulate American production under all patent laws and under such conditions as will bestow the full benefits of all patents rendered upon the American people as a whole.

The committee recommended concurrence in Resolution No. 102. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate E. C. Scott, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants No. 11,773:

WHEREAS, The time has come when a minimum wage should be established to those engaged in clerical work; and,

WHEREAS, There are working in commercial offices throughout the country thousands of employees engaged in doing office work; and,

WHEREAS, Realizing that this convention can only recommend to affiliated bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the following resolution be spread upon the minutes as a working basis for those national and international bodies who have always in the past shown themselves as willing and anxious to promote the welfare of all workers generally; and, be it

RESOLVED, That a minimum wage of \$7.00 per day be paid stenographers and bookkeepers, \$5.00 per day for clerical work and \$10.00 per day be paid to foremen; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the vacation period during a calendar year shall consist of thirty days as well as a thirty-day sick period; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the average minimum basic rates of pay mentioned above can be changed according to local conditions in the different sections of the country, but in no sense less than \$1.00 per day than the amounts mentioned above; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the working day shall consist of seven hours a day with closing time at 12 o'clock noon on Saturday with full pay; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution is offered so that a basic rate can be established among this craft of workers the same as other trades.

The committee recommended non-concurrence in Resolution No. 107. The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate E. C. Scott, of the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants, 11,773, and Delegate Herman Defrem of the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants' Union No. 12,646:

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has in the past issued charters to local unions under different names, such as bank clerks, court reporters, counters and time keepers, state, city and county employees whose work is similar to that of a stenographer or office clerk, and whose interests would be best subserved by be-

ing affiliated with an international union of office workers; and,

WHEREAS, It is much easier to organize a trade through an international union than through a number of unrelated local unions; and,

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L. has within the past year granted an international charter to the Fruit Growers, who had at that time a membership of less than 2,500; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the E. C. of the A. F. of L. is hereby directed to issue such an international charter whenever the combined membership of all of the above classes of local unions shall total (2,500) two thousand five hundred members or more.

Your committee recommends that the foregoing resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to take such action as it believes will best serve the interests of the workers involved and the general labor movement.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 109—By Delegate Julia O'Connor, of Brotherhood of Electrical Workers:

WHEREAS, The enactment of laws granting the right of suffrage to women does not carry with it in all States all other political rights, and there are on the statute books various laws discriminating against women as to property rights, guardianship rights, naturalization rights and other rights now guaranteed to men; and,

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has long advocated political, civic and economic equality for women; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention hereby declare itself in favor of the removal of all discriminations against women and advocate specific laws to this end; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we disapprove and oppose the blanket legislation for this purpose because such legislation is necessarily drawn in general terms which must be subject to judicial construction and therefore place in jeopardy labor laws for women.

The committee recommended concurrence in Resolution No. 109. The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Ed S. Mahan, representing the Trades and Labor Assembly, Shawnee, Oklahoma:

WHEREAS, Believing that the future progress and advancement of the just and honest claims of the American labor movement depend very largely upon the intelligent use of the ballot, the only weapon that labor has at its command on the political field to protect those sacred rights that the sons and daughters of the American toiling men and women are guaranteed by that sacred document, the Constitution of the United States, therefore, realizing that the American men and women of labor constitute an overwhelming per cent of the voters of both Republican and Democratic parties; and,

WHEREAS, Believing that while the third party is necessary, there are too many of our laboring men and women that owe too close an allegiance to the two old parties for inherited national reasons, that they are unwilling to relinquish and renounce; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in the forty-second convention assembled, do go on record demanding of the union men and women of the United States that for their own good and their own liberation and freedom from political enslavement, that they do take a more active interest in the precinct, county, state and national convention and assemblies of the two old parties, thereby getting control of the two old parties' machinery by electing only men who are fair and honest with labor in the precinct, county, state and national assemblies. Both the old parties are ultimately controlling the machinery of our national government.

The committee recommended concurrence in Resolution No. 111. The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.:

WHEREAS, When the Washington Conference on Limitation of Armament was convened the organized labor movement, in conformity with its traditional position, lent its wholehearted support and sympathy to the administration in its efforts to prevail upon all the nations assembled to agree upon a substantial reduction in armaments. Organized labor expected, in view of this

attitude, that when the final program adopted by the Conference became effective in the United States, the interest of the workers at the government navy yards and arsenals affected thereby would be adequately safeguarded. Much to its disappointment, however, no steps were taken by the present administration in this direction or apparently even considered. With hardly an hour's warning, thousands of the faithful workers in the navy yards and arsenals were furloughed and discharged; and,

**WHEREAS**, There is invested in these navy yards and arsenals many millions of the people's money in the form of government securities and taxes; since the plants are among the most superior of their kind in the country, are absolutely indispensable to the naval and military establishments such as remains necessary under the limitation of armaments agreements; and,

**WHEREAS**, It is the concern of organized labor in keeping with the concern of all patriotic American citizens that these splendid plants be kept at the maximum of efficiency and usefulness to the government and the people of the country; and,

**WHEREAS**, In order that this may be accomplished, that employment in these plants may be stabilized, that the temptation to profiteer at the expense of the government on the strength of war and war scares may be eliminated, that the people may be saved many millions of dollars each year through the intensive utilization of these plants for the manufacture of all governmental supplies, it is imperative that Congress pass immediate legislation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, hereby record its approval of such legislation and urge upon Congress the passage of the Hull Bill H. R. 10,967, which embodies such legislation.

The committee recommended concurrence in Resolution No. 113. The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

**Resolution No. 114**—By Delegate Anthony J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

**WHEREAS**, It has come to the notice of the International Longshoremen's Association that it is contem-

plated the enactment into law in the State of Louisiana the following legislation:

**"AN ACT**

**"Providing for the creation of arbitration to settle questions involving compensation, hours of employment and other disputes between employers and employees.**

**"Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana**—that whenever wage earners in the State of Louisiana feel that the compensation for their services is inadequate, or the hours of employment are oppressive, or where the employees have other grievances against their employer, over which a strike may be called, it shall be the duty of the officers of the organization contemplating calling the strike to notify, in writing, sixty days before the time fixed for the calling of the strike the Governor of the State of Louisiana of the nature of their grievance. Upon the receipt of said notice, or without it, if he believes the public interests so demand, the Governor shall appoint three disinterested arbitrators, who shall have power to summon witnesses to appear and testify before them, to inspect the books of the employer and to employ stenographers and other necessary help.

**"Section 2.** Be it further enacted by the General Assembly, etc., that the arbitrators so appointed shall have the power to administer oaths and to organize themselves to their best advantage.

**"Section 3.** Be it further enacted, etc., that the arbitrators so appointed shall receive twenty-five dollars per diem during their active participation in the investigation of any proposed strike, which amount and the expense incurred during any investigation, shall be paid by the State Treasurer out of any funds not otherwise appropriated.

**"Section 4.** Be it further enacted, etc., that the Board of Arbitrators shall make a report of their investigation with their recommendation to the Governor, which report shall be published;" and,

**WHEREAS**, The International Longshoremen's Association is doing everything within its power to prevent the enactment into law this damnable piece of legislation; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor do everything within its power to assist in preventing this contemplated legislation; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the forty-second

convention of the American Federation of Labor in session assembled condemn in no uncertain terms legislation of this character.

The committee recommended concurrence in Resolution No. 114.

Delegate Chlopek urged the adoption of the recommendation of the committee, and suggested if the president of the American Federation of Labor appointed a representative in Louisiana to assist in opposing the legislation, that such a representative be assigned immediately, as the act was now before the State Legislature.

President Gompers suggested that Delegate Chlopek consult with him after the close of the convention.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Secretary McCullough announced that the introducer of Resolution No. 49 desired to withdraw the resolution and the committee recommended that he be allowed to do so. The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

**Resolution No. 118—By Delegates A. J. Berres, Martin F. Ryan, C. F. Grow, Wm. Hannon, B. M. Jewell, Thos. J. Curtis, Edw. E. Hannah, Josh. Clark, Jos. A. Mullaney, C. L. Rosemund, J. P. Coughlin, J. T. Carey, C. L. Shamp:**

**WHEREAS**, There exists in the various States laws providing compensation to working people who become injured while in the course of their employment; and,

**WHEREAS**, The employers of labor in several industries have set up such standards of employment that are unfair and through physical examination and age limits of employment they have taken advantage of these laws to discriminate against certain classes of workers; and,

**WHEREAS**, There is a wide differential in the administration and scheduled benefits in the amount of compensation in the various State laws causing much interstate controversy in industrial centers with interstate jurisdiction; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the president of the American Federation of Labor be authorized by this forty-second convention to select a committee to study the question of workmen's compensation from a national aspect with a view to—

1. To standardize the provisions of workmen's compensation through co-operation of the various State Federations of Labor.

2. To provide for an old age pension system for the infirm and handicapped who are unable on account of alleged extra hazard to obtain regular employment.

3. To extend the provisions of workmen compensation through federal amendment to all employees engaged in interstate commerce.

Your committee recommends that the subject matter of the foregoing resolution be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to carry out the purposes of the resolution.

In this connection, your committee begs to inform the convention that it has by consent of one of the introducers of the resolution made a correction in the phraseology of the second provision of the "resolved," to correct what was a palpable omission in the language of the resolution, as printed in the record.

This explanation is made so that the convention will understand that the committee has not amended, but merely has completed, the text of the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **The American Federation of Labor Political Campaign**

In the Executive Council's Report under the above caption, will be found a full and complete detailed report of the political activities undertaken by the president of the American Federation of Labor in compliance with the instructions given by the Denver convention.

The American Federation of Labor Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee was formed under the instructions of the convention by the President of the American Federation of Labor, operating through an Executive Committee consisting of Samuel Gompers, Frank Morrison and James O'Connell. This committee, together with the Publicity Service of the American Federation of Labor, sent to the different State and city central bodies, to directly affiliated labor unions and to the locals of the various national and international unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor a great mass of valuable information relative to the general trend of events in the political field during the year, keeping the local organizations thoroughly advised as to what was going on at the National Capital as well as in the several States and cities of the Union.

The effect of this campaign is shown

in the following statement from the Executive Council's Report:

"The workers have never been more united to translate into action the discontent with existing political and economic conditions. There is now no independent political labor movement in the field to interfere with or minimize the efforts of our people to gain victories. Organizations that have heretofore stood for partisan politics have discovered the futility of such a course and are heartily supporting the Non-Partisan Political Policy of the American Federation of Labor. This is most gratifying. It demonstrates that the repeated declarations of the American Federation of Labor against partisan politics, gained from forty-one years of experience, are for the best interests of labor and the people; it is the only policy through which success can be gained."

Your committee recommends to this convention that it approve and commend the action of the Executive Council in carrying on the American Federation of Labor political campaign, and recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its work in this direction.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Labor and Farmers Protected**

In the Executive Council's Report, under the above caption, will be found reference to the "good work done by Representative John I. Nolan, of California," who, assisted by Representative Johnson of Kentucky, succeeded in thwarting a scheme of the reactionaries in the House to appropriate money for the Department of Justice to prosecute, or rather persecute, labor and the farmer under the Anti-Trust Act.

In this matter, Representative Nolan has again proved that the confidence and trust reposed in him by the organized labor movement of America are well placed. His vigilance and energy on behalf of the workers has been many times displayed, but at no time in a more efficient manner, or one more directly serviceable, than in this instance.

It is right and fair in thus expressing our sense of continued obligation to Representative Nolan that we also include Representative Johnson, of Kentucky, whose assistance in this matter was timely and good.

Your committee therefore recommends that this convention in adopting this reference to the action of Repre-

sentatives Nolan and Johnson in preventing the consummation of the plan of the reactionaries in the House to put labor at a disadvantage, also express to these gentlemen the thanks of the toilers of America, who are here represented by their accredited delegates.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Labor and the Farmer**

In the Executive Council's Report, under the above caption, will be found reference to the conferences held during the past year between the American Federation of Labor officials and representatives of the various farmer organizations.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its activity in this direction and recommends to the convention that it concur in the request of the Executive Council that it "be authorized and directed to continue to do what it can in furtherance of such educational work as will acquaint the farmers with the issues that not only affect the wage workers but the farmers as well."

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Appointment of Trustees**

In the Executive Council's Report, under the above caption, will be found a request from the Executive Council that it be authorized to change the manner of appointment of Trustees for the American Federation of Labor Building, to the end that the several terms of the Trustees will not all expire at the same time, thereby avoiding the possible contingency of some time finding that no Board of Trustees for the American Federation of Labor Building exists.

Your committee recommends that this request of the Executive Council be concurred in.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted unanimously.

#### **Plumbers—Machinists**

In the Executive Council's Report, under the above caption, will be found a statement of the Executive Council with reference to this controversy.

Your committee desires to commend the Executive Council for its efforts to secure an understanding between the parties at interest in this controversy, and recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts.

The report of the committee was adopted unanimously.

Your committee at this time desires to impress upon the delegates to this convention the fact that the amount of work laid upon the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as a result of convention action, and because of the progress of events in the interim between conventions, has grown to enormous proportions. An examination of the report of the Executive Council as a whole will disclose the magnitude of its operations and the sequence of its activities, and must impress the careful reader with the thought that the members of the Executive Council are required to put forth such zeal and energy as almost stamps them as supermen.

Those who have had dealings, officially or informally, with the officers of the American Federation of Labor, and with the Executive Council as such, are well aware of the unflinching promptness and courtesy with which all requests for assistance in any form are met, as well as the efforts that are put forth to bring together representatives of organizations that are standing apart. The value of such services to the American Federation of Labor and its constituent organizations, and through them to the world, is beyond estimation in price.

In calling the attention of the convention to this view of the activities and employment of the officers, and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, your committee also desires respectfully to call the attention of the delegates to a matter which in the past frequently it has presented to the convention; that is, that a great many cases are brought here for adjudication which well might be disposed of by the parties at interest without troubling the convention.

Another tendency that has been noted and which is deplorable is that which leads the convention to refer to the Executive Council many matters that properly should be settled by the delegates. It is not expected that at any time injustice should be done or the door of appeal closed to any, yet it is but fair to all that matters which might be as well disposed of by the convention should be disposed of by the convention and not be sent by reference to the Executive Council, to further burden an already overloaded docket.

Your committee has carefully examined all those portions of the Report of the Executive Council to this convention which were referred to it for

consideration. It has also given full consideration to all of the resolutions which were referred to it from this convention; it has also patiently listened to the presentation of arguments and examined evidence in support of the claims put forward by the representatives of the organizations involved in the controversies with which the committee was called upon to deal.

Your committee has reported in full and at length on each and all matters that were given it for consideration and has returned the same to this convention with its recommendations.

**JAMES WILSON, Chairman,**  
**GEORGE L. BERRY,**  
**JOHN L. LEWIS,**  
**JERE L. SULLIVAN,**  
**WM. P. CLARKE,**  
**JOHN COEFIELD,**  
**W. A. CAMPBELL,**  
**WM. J. BOWEN,**  
**JOHN J. HYNES,**  
**P. J. MORRIN**  
**F. DOYLE,**  
**JAMES C. SHANESSY,**  
**A. J. CHLOPEK,**  
**STEVE C. SUMNER,**  
**T. W. McCULLOUGH,**

Secretary.

Secretary McCullough: I move the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole as amended by this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Delegate Hutcheson, Carpenters: I understand the remainder of the committees that have not reported have nothing of a controversial nature to report on, and I move you that they be accepted by this convention, made part of the minutes and the matters contained therein be referred to the Executive Council for further consideration and action.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

Pursuant to the action of the Convention, committees turned in reports on resolutions and subjects not yet reported upon.

In accordance with the instructions and authority of the Convention, the Executive Council considered these reports and acted upon them as follows:

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates William J. Doherty, delegate Boston Central Labor Union, and James P. Hol-

land, President State F. of L., State of New York:

WHEREAS, The Newspaper Writers of America have indicated a desire for organization and affiliation with the organized workers, and have already formed organizations in many cities; and,

WHEREAS, Newspaper writing and newsgathering is a craft separate unto itself and should be organized as a separate body; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the president, secretary and members of the Executive Council are hereby authorized and directed to issue federal charters to organizations of Newspaper Writers and to any existing Newspaper Writers' Unions now affiliated with any international union upon request of a majority of the members of such Newspaper Writers' Unions; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council is hereby authorized and directed to make suitable provision for the organizing of those engaged in this craft.

As this resolution deals with a controversy of long standing and as the International Typographical Union has had jurisdiction over newspaper writers for many years, your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the International Typographical Union and further recommends that the newspaper writers apply for the relief prayed for to the International Typographical Union in accordance with the laws thereof.

The Executive Council, acting upon the authority of the Convention, amended the resolution by striking out the word "federal" in the fourth line of the first resolve and inserting in its place the words "local trade."

The Executive Council decided that the following be added to the report of the Committee:

That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to communicate with the officers of the International Typographical Union presenting the matter to them for conference with the Newspaper Writers' Unions' representatives so that some definite action may be taken and report made to the American Federation of Labor office as to the position in respect to the subject of organizing the newspaper writers.

The report of the Committee, with the amendments was adopted by the Executive Council.

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate E. C. Scott, of the Stenographers, Type-

writers, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 11,773, Washington, D. C.:

WHEREAS, There is considerable work done every year in international and national headquarters by accountants, certified accountants, reporters and lawyers; and,

WHEREAS, There is among the membership of the various Office Workers' Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. competent help among the above classes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as recommending to the various bodies affiliated with it that in every case where it is necessary to employ help of a nature that falls within the province of the office worker that the local unions be called upon first to furnish such help who are members of organized labor and in the event such competent help can be supplied by the various locals that such help be given first preference; and be it further

RESOLVED, That help other than those belonging to an Office Workers' Union be employed only after the local unions fail to provide a competent employee, and in the case of employing such outside help the organization so employing them be requested to suggest to such help that they join the membership of the nearest local union.

Your committee non-concurs in this resolution, but recommends that all affiliated organizations assist the Stenographers, Typewriters, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Unions in every way possible consistent with the jurisdiction granted them by their charter rights.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 122—By Geo. T. Johnson, Laundry Workers' International Union:

WHEREAS, A special circular letter issued by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor requesting the salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor to pay particular attention to organizing the workers in the laundry industry; and,

WHEREAS, This circular letter was productive of very good results; and,

WHEREAS, The Laundry Workers' Union is not in a financial condition to be able to carry on active organizing work in the many and various sections of the United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of

Labor be requested to issue during the coming year a special circular letter to all salaried and volunteer organizers of the American Federation of Labor, calling their attention to the fact that the laundry industry is to a great extent unorganized at the present time and requesting them to do their utmost to organize the laundry workers, as many thousands of women employed in the laundry industry at this time are now receiving far less than a living wage.

Your committee concurs in this resolution.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 123—By Delegates A. Greenstein, George Leary and Wm. Johnston of the Jewelry Workers' International Union, Metal Polishers' International Union and Machinists' International Association:

WHEREAS, An investigation instituted by the United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, brought to light that at least 7.6 per cent of the total child population in Rhode Island aged 5 to 15 are engaged as workers in cottage industries, with a compensation for work completed less than 1 cent to 5 cents per hour; and,

WHEREAS, Of 153 firms in 21 industries of Providence, Rhode Island, practicing exploitation of child labor, the Governmental investigation found 91 to be jewelry establishments; and,

WHEREAS, The task to remove the evil of child labor in Rhode Island and its consequences is too complex to be handled by the International Jewelry Workers' Union alone; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates, in forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled, authorize and request the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to delegate a special organizer to Providence, R. I., and vicinity within 90 days after the adjournment of this convention, for the purpose of assisting the International Jewelry Workers' Union in its efforts to eliminate evils emanating from exploitation of minor-aged children.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for compliance therewith, if funds will permit.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

This concludes the report of your Committee on Organization.

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman,  
SARA A. CONBOY, Secretary,  
THOMAS S. FARRELL,  
CHAS. H. MOYER,  
F. J. McNULTY,  
W. N. REDDICK,  
J. E. DAVIS,  
HARRY GREENBERG,  
DANIEL W. HELT,  
JOHN McLAUGHLIN,  
ROSCOE JOHNSON,  
E. J. MANION,  
JOHN P. BURKE,  
WM. J. SPENCER,  
PHILLIP BOCK.

The Executive Council adopted the report of the Committee on Organization as a whole as amended.

#### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT SHORTER WORKDAY COMMITTEE

In dealing with the subject of the shorter workday, your committee unhesitatingly declares this to be of paramount importance among the matters considered by this convention. We further assert that year by year it is becoming more and more the conviction of thinking men and women that herein is to be found the one solution for many of our industrial and economic ills; that only by universal establishment of the scientifically calculated shorter workday can we build a continuing and enduring condition of national and world prosperity; that by thus balancing production and consumption, and in that way only, can we solve the problems of unemployment and all its attendant social, political and economic ills which threaten the perpetuity of American standards and American institutions.

The shorter workday is demanded in the interest of health, mental and moral development, and the general well-being of those who give service to the world. Where progress has been made toward its realization the result has to the fullest degree justified the soundness of the position of labor with regard to this great reform. We assert, with all the power at our command, that in many lines the shorter workday has become an absolute economic necessity.

Aside from offering the only permanent relief from unemployment, your committee desires to point out the incontrovertible fact that only by shortening the work period can the workers enjoy the share of increased production through the invention, development and use of labor-saving



devices, to which they are justly entitled.

Our nation suffers in this day from overproduction and underconsumption. With millions unemployed, and a vast amount of productive machinery in every line idle, we produce more than our people can secure the wherewithal to obtain and consume. Were it possible to secure full-time maximum production from our industries, operating upon the established basic workday, it is apparent to the most obtuse mind that the scale of production and consumption would be thrown more acutely out of balance and so-called depression from which our country has suffered would be many times multiplied.

With the development of machines which multiply the productivity of the individual; with millions of women in industry because of their experiences during the war; with other millions who have been producing for the enormously destructive purposes of war, turned to normal productive action by disarmament, it must be plain to all that labor's only relief is in the establishment of the shorter workday.

From bitter experiences the organized workers have learned they can expect no constructive and continuing relief from men in whose minds there is no thought of progress. The kings of finance who seek to autocratically determine every phase of the industrial and economic life of the nation are without vision or altruistic purpose. They rightly assume that with more workers than jobs wages can be forced to the lowest possible level.

They wrongly assume that with minimum forces and maximum hours production costs are lowered and mass production increased.

With no further thought they know the greater the mass production and the smaller the portion accorded to labor the greater the residue which they can retain for themselves.

But they fail to observe the inevitable consequences which follow from such conditions. Reduced consumption destroys the balance and without fail brings ever recurring periods of depression, chaos and ruin.

The right of collective action is essential; protection of the rights of the individual and his organization is imperative; a living wage with proper standards is all important; but we are sure recognition of and protection of these rights must be predicated upon the concrete statement of fact that the

opportunity to work is a supreme necessity. In full recognition of this, your committee most forcibly suggests that the only solution is the universal enforcement of the shorter workday.

In the great basic industry of coal mining this fact has been pressed home to the workers with greatest force. Today chaos reigns in that industry because of the refusal of coal barons to recognize the demand for a basic workday which would afford the miners of the country an opportunity to work a sufficient number of days each year to provide sustenance for themselves and their families. The machinations of the coal barons, in their attempt to retain the longer workday and the consequent reservoir of unemployed labor to a great degree responsible for damnable and disgraceful conditions during past years, are most reprehensible and your committee would impress upon you that the fight of the miners is a blazing of the trail which other organizations will be compelled to follow and their success is of utmost importance to many organizations at this time.

The printing trades have been forced into a nation-wide fight over the issue of the shorter work period. And since the inception of the strike for enforcement of this necessary change in the commercial printing industry, the International Typographical Union alone has expended, in fourteen months, more than nine millions of dollars.

The Textile Workers are engaged in a great struggle to prevent the lengthening of the workday for the workers in that industry.

Your committee feels we should highly commend the organizations which are acting as shock troops in this great struggle against privilege. Success will bring definite and effective solution of the problems of unemployment. The fight must be pressed and the field of action broadened to a point where every worker of this great country shall be guaranteed the opportunity for continuous employment.

It is the opinion of your committee that the fullest realization of the rights and aspirations of all workers must be based upon the establishment of the shorter workday, and the demand for this most essential reform will give to organized labor upon this continent a battle cry to which they will rally; and further, in such a demand is to be found the only sufficient answer to so-called open shop American plan, union-

hating and anti-union forces of our glorious Republic.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

E. W. GREEN, Chairman,  
EDW. J. GAINOR, Secretary,  
CHARLES P. HOWARD,  
GEORGE LEARY,  
CHARLES SUMNER,  
CHARLES P. HYLAND,  
WILLIAM HANNON,  
BERNHARD HOLLANDER,  
E. H. FITZGERALD,  
CHARLES SCOTT,  
M. J. SILLINSKY,  
WM. P. HOHMANN,  
H. J. CONWAY,  
LOUIS LANGER.

#### REPORT OF BUILDING TRADES COMMITTEE

Resolution No. 68—By Delegate James A. Legassie, of the Berlin Central Labor Union, Berlin, N. H.:

WHEREAS, The employers throughout the nation have solidly united, being bound together by a solidarity of interest and organization which leaves no room for divided action or desertions, and moreover they are supported by the government, the courts and the press in any union smashing undertaking that they engage in; and,

WHEREAS, They are carrying on a vicious attack upon the labor movement, singling out various unions and forcing them to engage in a bitter struggle for self-preservation; and,

WHEREAS, These unions, because they are divided against themselves along trade lines and are thus unable to make united resistance against the employers, constantly suffer defeat after defeat, with heavy losses in membership and serious lowering of the workers' standard of living and working conditions; and,

WHEREAS, The only solution for the situation is the development of a united front by the workers through the amalgamation of the various trade unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Berlin Central Labor Union, in regular meeting assembled, call upon, aye, urge the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, to take the necessary action toward bringing about the required solidarity within the ranks of organized labor.

Your committee recommends nonconcurrency in Resolution No. 68, and wish to state that the American Federation

of Labor is engaged every day in endeavoring to bring about solidarity within the ranks of organized labor.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

JOHN DONLIN, Chairman,  
ARTHUR M. HUDDLELL,  
Secretary.

J. P. NOONAN,  
JOS. A. MULLANEY,  
WM. J. McSORLEY,  
FRANK FEENEY,  
D. D'ALESSANDRO,  
THOMAS REDDING,  
JOHN J. DOYLE,  
M. W. MITCHELL,  
PETER J. O'BRIEN,  
P. O. SHAUGHNESSY,  
P. H. McCARTHY,  
JOHN B. O'BRIEN,  
EDWARD RYAN.

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate Anthony J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

WHEREAS, There is in effect a law known as the "65-foot Motor Boat Law" which permits a boat under 65 feet in length to be operated, except when engaged in towing by non-licensed pilot and engineer; and,

WHEREAS, This law not only works a hardship upon the members of the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association, an affiliated part of the International Longshoremen's Association and the American Federation of Labor, but endangers the lives of such persons as are carried as passengers, as these boats are exempt from inspection by the local United States Inspectors; and

WHEREAS, The Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association and the International Longshoremen's Association will cause a bill to be introduced in the House of Congress of the United States of America, which bill is intended to amend the "65-foot Motor Boat Law"; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and is hereby instructed to render any and all possible assistance to the Licensed Tugmen's Protective Association and the International Longshoremen's Association in their efforts to amend the "65-foot Motor Boat Law" to fully protect all power boats engaged in any commercial industry.

Committee concurs and recommends adoption.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

#### Relief for Panama Canal Zone Employees

In connection with that portion of the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Relief for Panama Canal Zone Employees:"

Resolution No. 2—By Delegate Wm. C. Hushing, of Central Labor Union of Balboa, Canal Zone:

WHEREAS, The President of the United States, at the instigation of the Secretary of War and the Governor of the Canal Zone, issued an executive order, effective January 1, 1922, which takes from the American employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad—on the Canal Zone—living and working conditions that they have enjoyed for many years; and,

WHEREAS, The loss of these conditions are in effect a reduction of approximately \$35 per month in pay, as their loss will increase the living costs that amount; and,

WHEREAS, This reduction is in addition to the reduction made in the actual rates of pay, many employes having been reduced \$41 and some \$58 per month, since the beginning of the present fiscal year, July 1, 1921; and,

WHEREAS, The total average reduction, since July 1, 1921, has been approximately \$76 per month; and,

WHEREAS, The employes had a bill introduced in Congress, known as H. R. 10,646, to restore the above mentioned conditions, that have been withdrawn by the terms of the President's executive order; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention be recorded as being strongly opposed to said executive order; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention be just as strongly recorded as favoring H. R. 10,646; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a telegram be sent to the President and the Secretary of War, protesting against the action they have taken; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a telegram be sent to the Speaker, and the majority and minority leaders in the House, requesting that they do all in their power to aid the passage of H. R. 10,646.

Committee recommends concurrence in Resolution No. 2 and commends ef-

forts of officers of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of the desired legislative relief.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

#### Reclassification

Under the caption "Reclassification," Executive Council's Report, there is recited the steps taken to effectuate this legislative objective, which has been endorsed by previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Aside from the mechanics in the navy yards and arsenals and employes in the postal service, who are covered by an existing satisfactory wage classification law, there is a demand on the part of the organized government employes for a systematic, definite method of fixing wage scales, under which opportunities for favoritism or reprisal would be minimized. The reclassification legislation, now pending in the Senate, would accomplish this object.

Commending the officers of the American Federation of Labor for their past efforts in behalf of satisfactory reclassification legislation, your committee urges a continuation of these efforts until results are achieved.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

#### After the Spoils

Referring to that portion of the Executive Council's Report, under the caption "After the Spoils," page 90, your committee is of the opinion that the secretive investigations of the so-called Bureau of Efficiency are inimical to the best interests of the government and its employes. The bureau is costly to the taxpayers. Since its inception it has not made a single worth-while contribution to public service. Its usefulness is apparent to all those familiar with government employment. These facts were pointed out recently in a Senate speech by Senator Thomas Sterling, chairman of the Senate Committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment.

We recommend that the Executive Council, in co-operation with affiliated organizations of government employes, endeavor to bring about a more satisfactory administration of the Bureau of Efficiency and, if it develops this course is impracticable, then appropriate action be taken to abolish the Bureau of Efficiency in the interest of greater efficiency in government service.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

### Conclusion

Referring to that portion of the Executive Council's Report, page 115, under the caption "Conclusion," your committee approves the Executive Council's indictment of the Sixty-seventh Congress for its reactionary attitude, which was so frequently evidenced on remedial labor legislation.

The Executive Council requests this convention to make some declaration to awaken the people and cause Congress to change its unfavorable attitude. Your committee believes that rather than spend our efforts trying to change the attitude of the present Congress, we should endeavor to change its personnel. Now is the opportune time to do so.

Your committee is in accord with the views of Delegate James O'Connell, a member of the Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee, as expressed in his illuminating address to this convention last week. However, that portion of the Executive Council's Report dealing with the Non-Partisan Political Campaign is not before this committee and we are not therefore called upon to lay down the details of the program having for its object the rejuvenation of Congress.

But your committee would venture this observation: There are at least fifty Congressional districts in this country, now represented by men who are not in accord with our legislative program and who are generally hostile to our objectives, from which trade unionists might be elected. A labor group of fifty trade unionists in the next Congress, together with those friends whose support we can depend upon, would insure a more sympathetic consideration of those measures touching the lives of the workers than has been accorded legislation of this character by the present Congress.

What we need is a realization on the part of the organized wage-earners that seats in Congress do not belong by divine right to lawyers and capitalists, who usually represent only minority dealing with the deliberations of the views. If we are able to merge our differences into some semblance of political solidarity and send more trade unionists to Congress, there would come from that body more constructive legislation in the interests of the workers.

Your future Committees on Legislation, when reporting to future conventions of the American Federation of Labor, would then be able to record more substantial progress made in subsequent congresses, than we have been able to record in this initial report

dealing with the deliberations of the Sixty-seventh Congress.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

C. L. BAINE, Chairman,  
LUTHER C. STEWARD,  
THOMAS C. CASHEN,  
HENRY F. SCHMAL,  
A. ADAMSKI,  
EMANUEL KOVELESKI,  
JEROME JONES,  
JOSEPH F. WINKLER,  
WILLIAM GUNTHER,  
FRED W. BAER,  
JOHN T. WOOD,  
HENRY F. HILFERS,  
J. H. WILLIAMS,  
THOS. F. FLAHERTY,

Secretary.

### REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE Legislative Attacks on Trade Unions

Upon that portion of the Report of the Executive Council under the above general heading, and under the sub-headings "Compulsory Incorporation of Trade Unions," "Kansas Industrial Law," "Duell-Miller Bill," "Colorado Industrial Commission Law," and "President Harding's Proposal to Regulate Trade Unions," the special committee reported as follows:

Your committee has carefully and thoughtfully considered that part of the Executive Council's Report dealing with legislative attacks on trade unions.

In this part of the report the Executive Council deals with the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations Law, the Colorado Industrial Commission Law, proposed Compulsory Incorporation of Trade Unions, President Harding's proposal to regulate trade unions, and the attempt made in New York to secure enactment of a law similar to the Kansas Law.

Interwoven throughout all of these legislative enactments and legislative proposals is the insidious attempt to extend the doctrine of conspiracy to the whole trade union movement and thus to prevent the constructive, effective and efficient application of the principles of organization and co-operation by the wage-earners.

Whatever else may be said of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations Law, the fact remains that the wheels of industry cannot be moved by anti-strike legislation any more effectively than coal can be dug by injunction.

The experience had with the Colorado Industrial Commission Law demonstrates even more clearly the real viciousness and futility of legislation of this character. Instead of making for peace and tranquility, it necessar-

lly aggravates and intensifies industrial conflicts.

It is evident from the report of the Executive Council that the legislative representatives of the people of the State of New York were not misguided by the combination of political ambition and private greed in the campaign to secure similar legislation in that State.

It would seem that the propaganda for industrial feudalism supported by political bureaucracy has, however, found its way into the White House. It is most regrettable to note the utterances of the President of the United States wherein he disapproves labor's reluctant but necessary resort to the right to strike against industrial oppression. It may be well to recall in this connection a most appropriate utterance upon the same subject by another President. Abraham Lincoln said:

"I am glad that a system of labor prevails under which laborers can strike when they want to; where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances and are not tied down to work whether you pay them for it or not. I like a system which lets a man 'quit' when he wants to and I wish it might prevail everywhere. I want a man to have a chance to better his condition. That is the true system. I am not ashamed to confess that twenty-five years ago I was a hired laborer."

It is for no arbitrary reason that we oppose these proposals for compulsory submission to tribunals created by the State. It is because of the fundamental principle involved and because of the utter failure of such institutions to promote either peace, freedom or justice.

We make the definite statement that the campaign for establishment of so-called industrial courts and commissions is the result of the conniving and designing financial, commercial and industrial interests for the definite purpose of defeating the legitimate aspirations of the workers.

It is the aim of this campaign and of these institutions either to limit or to destroy constitutional rights. These rights we cannot surrender without surrendering everything. To submit to the imposition of industrial courts means to abandon the road to freedom and to accept enslavement.

From many directions and through many proposals, the campaign of organized financial, commercial and industrial interests makes itself evident. The whole object is to deprive the workers

of all opportunity to exercise a voice in the determination of terms and conditions under which they shall give service and to prevent workers from withdrawing their service where they cannot agree to terms and conditions proposed by employers.

This is not an issue upon which there can be compromise. The cleavage is sharp and clear. The industrial court, the industrial commission, the proposals to regulate voluntary association of workers and farmers—these are the devices of kings and chancellors to hold subjects in submission and humility; they cannot be tolerated by free men.

Labor, for its service to the community as a producer, receives wages. Manufacturers and merchants for their service receive profits. Those who favor the character of legislation under consideration allege that the welfare of the community justifies the State in determining maximum wage rates. Were the same principles to be applied to manufacturers and merchants and a maximum price were to be placed on their returns, manufacturers and merchants would sweep out of office those who had dared to authorize the State to fix maximum prices and maximum profits in private industry and commerce.

Your committee therefore commends the officers and the Executive Council for their vigorous, unceasing efforts to prevent the enactment of this species of vicious legislation and for their untiring efforts to focus the public mind upon this unwarranted encroachment upon the rights and liberties of the people in the States of Kansas and Colorado. Your committee fully concurs in the report of the Executive Council on these subjects including the recommendation and declaration against compulsory incorporation of trade unions and we urge that renewed energy be displayed by trade unionists and by all friends of liberty, justice and democracy in the States of Kansas and Colorado to the end that the oppressive and restrictive laws enacted in those States may be repealed at the earliest possible moment.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 55—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., of Wisconsin State Federation of Labor:

WHEREAS, One of the greatest influences of government arrayed against the hopes and aspirations of labor for a better day and a brighter life is that

exercised by our courts through the so-called "equity" power; and,

WHEREAS, It has become the practice of courts to place themselves above other branches of government by re-making laws through additions to and alterations of constitutional provisions and statutory enactments, or through creating laws by injunctive order, thereby usurping the authority vested in legislative bodies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that to eliminate such tyrannical domination by the courts and to afford the people a necessary voice in judicial practices involving their well-being, we declare for the right of the people to recall any judge; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to put forth every effort to make this declaration effective.

Your committee having considered Resolution No. 55, recommends its reference to the Executive Council for consideration and action in connection with the several constitutional and legislative proposals which have been referred to it for further consideration and action.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 120—By Delegates M. F. Tighe, Ben I. Davis, W. E. Brewster, John L. Williams, of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers of North America:

WHEREAS, One of the most drastic injunctions ever issued in a labor dispute was promulgated by Federal Judge Cochran in the city of Newport, Ky., against the employees of the Andrews Steel Co. and Newport Rolling Mills Co.; and,

WHEREAS, The aforesaid injunction forbids the membership of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers from peaceful picketing, and men and women are jailed for speaking of the strike, or of the strike-breakers imported to said city; and,

WHEREAS, The officers of said organization has been subjected to every possible persecution under said injunction and has been held under prohibitive bond for exercising their ordinary duties; and,

WHEREAS, Many persons, both men and women, have been assaulted, beaten and shot by thugs in uniform and for the first time in the history of America, war tanks have been brought into play in industrial strife; and,

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has repeatedly expressed opposition and condemnation to the use of injunctions in industrial disputes, and the curtailment of the constitutional rights of the workers and has used every effort to curb the injunctive proceedings; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this, the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, reaffirm its former action on injunctions and instruct the Executive Council to render every assistance to the A. A. & I. S. & T. W.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the legal staff of the American Federation of Labor cooperate with the attorneys of said Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers to fight these injunctive processes to successful conclusion.

Having considered Resolution No. 120, your committee recommends amending the first resolve in the sixth line by inserting the word "possible" preceding the word "available," so that it will read:

RESOLVED, That this forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its former action on injunctions and instruct the Executive Council to render every possible available assistance to the A. A. & I. S. & T. W.

Your committee further recommends the elimination of the second resolve. Amended in this form the committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

B. M. JEWELL, Chairman,  
MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary,  
SAMUEL GOMPERS,  
JAMES DUNCAN,  
WILLIAM GREEN,  
G. W. PERKINS,  
JOHN P. FREY,  
W. D. MAHON,  
FRANK DUFFY,  
JOHN VOLL,  
JAMES WILSON,  
BENJ. SCHLESINGER,  
T. F. FLAHERTY,  
WILLIAM D. CLARK,  
GEORGE BERRY,  
T. V. McCULLOUGH,

#### REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Resolution No. 124—By Committee on Resolutions:

WHEREAS, The C. C. A. Cigar factory, a former union factory of Boston, Mass., which had operated a union

factory for years, transferred its operations to Newark, N. J., where it attempted to establish a non-union factory, and this fact was widely circulated among organized labor and its friends; and,

**WHEREAS**, Because of the helpful assistance given us by union labor, said firm has been unsuccessful in its attempt to establish a paying business under non-union conditions; and has sold its principle brand, the C. C. A., to a union manufacturer in Boston, Mass.; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, Since the C. C. A. is now made under union conditions, and is entitled to the use of the union label of the Cigar Makers' International Union, of America, we ask that all union men, and friends of organized labor, give that product the same consideration formerly accorded to it when made under union conditions.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 125—By Committee on Resolutions:

**RESOLVED**, That the lady delegates and the wives and daughters of the delegates attending this forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor herewith and hereby express their thorough appreciation for the many evidences of personal interest and courtesy which have been shown to them while in Cincinnati, and that they also acknowledge their indebtedness to the local committee for the varied and most enjoyable entertainment which was provided for them.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 126—By Committee on Resolutions:

**RESOLVED**, That this forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor now voices its appreciation for the welcome extended to it by the city of Cincinnati, through its mayor, the Honorable George P. Carrel.

**RESOLVED**, That we extend to Senator Robert LaFollette the assurance that his masterful and eloquent presentation of the problem created by our Supreme Court is assuming to deny the people the final voice in determining the laws under which they are to live was of incalculable value.

**RESOLVED**, That we express our appreciation to the Musicians' Union for the splendid music they supplied

upon the opening day of the convention.

**RESOLVED**, That we hereby record our praise for the exceptionally competent manner in which the local committee arranged and provided for our entertainment.

**RESOLVED**, That we tender our warm appreciation for the hospitality, the evidences of friendliness and the interest in our comfort which was shown by the Teamsters' District Council and the United Brewery Workers.

**RESOLVED**, That we now express to the representatives of the press, who were present during our convention, our acknowledgment of their evident desire and purpose to supply their papers with accurate information concerning the work of our convention, and their evident desire to understand the purpose and spirit of our movement.

**RESOLVED**, That we extend to the Cuvier Press Club and its Manager, A. Bart Horton, our acknowledgment of the hospitality and courtesies extended to the delegates.

**RESOLVED**, That we will return to our homes pledged to give the very best that is in each one of us to the carrying out to its full completion the policies which this convention has adopted for the guidance of the American trade union movement.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee and directed that copies of Resolutions 125 and 126 be transmitted to the organizations and persons referred to therein.

JAMES DUNCAN, Chairman,  
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary,  
GEORGE W. PERKINS,  
GEORGE F. HEDRICK,  
B. A. LARGER,  
JOHN A. VOLL,  
MARTIN LAWLOR,  
MARTIN F. RYAN,  
A. A. MYRUP,  
JOSEPH W. MORTON,  
JOSEPH A. FRANKLIN,  
JOHN MOORE,  
THOMAS L. HUGHES,  
JOHN McPARLAND,  
DAVID EVANS,

**REPORT OF  
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL  
LABOR RELATIONS  
Limitation of Armament**

Your committee, having had under consideration that part of the Executive Council's Report under the caption

"Limitation of Armament," fully concurs in the Council's report on this important question.

We note with satisfaction the activity of President Gompers and the Council in arousing public sentiment and being instrumental in the calling of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament and your committee agrees with the Executive Council that inseparably associated with the question of disarmament and as of equal importance is the necessity of an economic conference and, moreover, wherein the president of the American Federation of Labor expressed the belief that the Genoa Conference could not succeed in bringing about economic revival and in further stating that an international economic conference, to be successful, should be summoned by the United States, to be held in the United States under an agenda prepared by the United States.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

#### **Pan-American Relations**

Your committee has fully considered that part of the Executive Council's Report under the caption "Pan-American Relations" and notes with satisfaction the splendid showing made in Pan-America in the effort of bringing about relations of a friendly and helpful character. We are of the opinion that it is the duty of the American labor movement to inspire the workers of all Pan-America to organize along economic lines and affiliation through it to the Pan-American Federation of Labor to lend its guidance in that direction.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

#### **American Federation of Labor Fraternal Delegates to Great Britain**

Your committee has carefully considered that part of the Executive Council's Report under the caption "American Federation of Labor Fraternal Delegates to Great Britain." We commend our delegates, William J. Spencer and J. J. Forrester, for the painstaking manner in which they discharged their obligations and for the fund of useful, interesting information they have added to our knowledge of the British trade union movement.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

#### **American Federation of Labor Fraternal Delegate to Canada**

Your committee has had under consideration the interesting report of the Fraternal Delegate to Canada, Mr. John

B. O'Hara, set forth under the caption "American Federation of Labor Fraternal Delegate to Canada," and note with commendation his interesting resume of the convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

#### **Resolution No. 31—By Delegate James Lord:**

WHEREAS, Since December, 1920, the present government of Mexico, headed by Hon. Alvaro Obregon, who was elected president by the Mexican people in what was without question the fairest and most truly popular election Mexico has ever had, has been in power and has maintained in that country a degree of public order that compares favorably with the degree of public order maintained in any other country; and,

WHEREAS, The legislatures of a number of these United States, including the legislatures of the States bordering with Mexico, and numerous organizations representative of all walks of life in our country, have repeatedly petitioned the United States Government that recognition be granted to the Mexican Government; and,

WHEREAS, Regardless of the above and regardless of the repeated declarations of the Mexican Government that due protection is and will be given to the life and property of American citizens, complying with the precepts and requirements of international relations, has so far refused to grant recognition to the Mexican Government; and,

WHEREAS, It is a fact beyond dispute that certain powerful groups of American capitalists have sought and are seeking through all means at their command to shape the policy of the United States towards Mexico in such a manner as to bring to American investors the largest possible return from their investments in Mexico without the slightest regard for the needs and the welfare of the Mexican people and the requirements of the Mexican Government for the successful administration of the public affairs and the necessary and proper conservation of the natural resources of the country; and,

WHEREAS, The recognition of the Government of Mexico by that of our country is absolutely essential for the re-establishment of the cordial and friendly relations that should be the rule between two neighbor countries and their peoples, and inasmuch as the United States and Mexico will always be neighbors; therefore be it



**RESOLVED**, That the delegates to the forty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled in Cincinnati, Ohio, do hereby petition the President of the United States that immediate recognition be granted to the government of Mexico, of which Hon. Alvaro Obregon is president; and

**RESOLVED**, That copies of this resolution be sent by the president of the American Federation of Labor to the president of the United States, to the Secretary of State, to the president of the Senate, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the President and the Cabinet members of the Mexican Government and to the Mexican Federation of Labor.

Your committee offers the following amendment to the fourth whereas in Resolution No. 31: Insert "working" on line eleven. This amendment will make the line read "the Mexican working people" instead of "the Mexican people."

Also strike out "country" on line sixth of the fifth whereas and insert "republics." This amendment makes the whereas read "between two neighbor republics" instead of "between two neighbor countries."

Also strike out on line five of the first resolve, the word "President" and insert "the proper authorities." The line will then read "hereby petition the proper authorities of the United States" instead of "hereby petition the President of the United States." The State Department is the proper channel through which recognition of a foreign government or anything relating thereto finds expression,

With these amendments, which are no wise fundamental, your committee concurs in this resolution.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

**Resolution No. 40—By Delegates** Geo. W. Fisher, Texas State Federation; L. M. Andler, Houston, Texas, Central Labor Council; R. E. Roberts, Dallas, Texas, Central Labor Council:

**WHEREAS**, The workers of Mexico, under the present government, are now making wonderful strides in the task of organizing and bettering the conditions of the toiling masses of that Republic; and,

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated National and International unions should use every means to assist our brothers and sisters in the Republic of Mexico, in this worthy cause; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor, request the Executive Council to send a fraternal delegate to the fourth annual convention of the Federation of Mexico, which meets in the City of Guadalajara, State of Jalisco, beginning August 1 and continuing to August 10, 1922.

Your committee concurs in Resolution No. 40 and recommends its adoption.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

**Resolution No. 52—By Delegate** James O'Connell, of the Metal Trades Department:

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor stands for justice and freedom for all peoples; and,

**WHEREAS**, The people of India, one-fifth of the population of the world, are striving to attain their birthright of independence from a foreign yoke by practicing non-co-operation method enunciated by Matatma M. K. Grandhi and adopted by the All-India National Congress; and,

**WHEREAS**, About forty thousand people, including Grandhi and other popular leaders of India were put in jail during the last six months because of their voicing the aspirations of the people; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor convention in session at Cincinnati express its sympathy to the people of India for their just struggle; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That copies of the resolution be sent to the All-Indies National Congress and M. K. Grandhi, India.

For this resolution your committee substitutes the following:

**WHEREAS**, The American Federation of Labor stands for self-determination, self-government, justice, freedom and democracy for all peoples; and,

**WHEREAS**, The people of India are striving to attain a full measure of self-government; and,

**WHEREAS**, It is claimed that forty thousand of the people of India have been put in prison during the last nine months for the alleged offense of voicing their aspirations; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the American Federation of Labor hereby expresses its sympathy for the just struggles and aspirations of the people of India.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate John P. Frey:

WHEREAS, One of the greatest obstacles that the American Federation of Labor has encountered in its efforts to establish a common understanding and a harmonious relationship between the people of our country and the people of the Latin American Republics, especially with Nicaragua, Santo Domingo and Haiti, has been the fact that powerful groups of captains of finance have acquired the control, in some way or another, of the financial resources of these countries, this control being deeply felt in their political, economic and social structure; and,

WHEREAS, This controlling tendency is being emphasized more and more as time passes and extended to other and larger countries, like Bolivia and Guatemala, where captains of finance have negotiated or are negotiating financial contracts with the governments on such outrageous terms and conditions to the detriment of the economic welfare and political freedom of these peoples, the total effect of which will be to create an atmosphere of antagonism to the United States; and,

WHEREAS, The present government of Mexico is at present negotiating with a committee of international bankers in New York City for some sort of an arrangement that will insure the service of Mexico's public debt, in which connection the recent attacks of certain American newspapers upon the stability of the Mexican Government and the publication of dispatches intended to convey the impression that Mexico is again on the verge of another revolution, can, coming at this time, have no other purpose than a concerted drive by the financial powers to discredit the Mexican Government before the eyes of the American people with the possible, though not probable, result that the Mexican Government may agree to onerous terms and conditions in its negotiations with the international bankers of which American bankers form a part; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of this convention, mindful of the effect of the methods of our captains of finance upon the relations of our country with the Latin-American Republics, emphatically denounce the cupidity and greed with which our banking institutions proceed in their negotiations with the Latin-American governments; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we give expression to the sincere belief and the faith

we entertain that the Mexican Government will continue in its attitude of refusing to agree to any terms or conditions that international bankers may attempt to dictate, which may prove to be harmful to the economic safety and welfare of the Mexican people or may tend to abridge, through the bankers' financial control, the sovereign rights of Mexico as a free nation; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urgently call the attention of the labor movements of all the Latin-American Republics to the necessity of using their influence to prevail upon their respective governments, when negotiating with foreign banking institutions, that the future welfare of their peoples, as it may be affected by such negotiations, be the first consideration before agreeing to terms and conditions imposed upon them by the bankers.

Your committee concurs in Resolution No. 70 and recommends its adoption.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegates Wm. H. Johnston, Wm. Hannon, Wm. Schoenberg, Fred Hewitt, Wm. Larkin and C. F. Grow, of the International Association of Machinists:

WHEREAS, The Mexican Government has fulfilled every condition required by international law to entitle it to our friendship and intercourse; and,

WHEREAS, It has proved its stability, its fidelity and its power to maintain law and order throughout every section of the Mexican republic; and,

WHEREAS, It has enacted social welfare and humanitarian legislation, which evidence the very essence of diplomacy, and places Mexico among the most progressive and civilized nations of the world; and,

WHEREAS, We are advised that Mexico is actually expending more money for education than on its army and navy; and,

WHEREAS, At least twenty-two governments, including Japan, have recognized the Mexican republic, while the United States still holds aloof; and,

WHEREAS, We fail to understand why a sister republic, which has apparently fulfilled all the obligations of international law, prerequisite to mutual intercourse, continues to be classed

with the unstable, unfriendly and out-law nations by the Department of State of our country; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, fails to find a single valid reason why the recognition of the Mexican Government should longer be withheld; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we do hereby urge upon the Department of State that it give recognition to the Mexican Government without further unnecessary delay.

Your committee concurs in Resolution No. 103 and recommends its adoption.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

This completes the report of the committee which is respectfully submitted.

**GEORGE W. PERKINS**,  
Chairman.

**MATTHEW WOLL**, Secretary.

**SAMUEL GOMPERS**,

**JAMES DUNCAN**,

**MAX HAYES**,

**MARTIN LAWLOR**,

**JOHN P. FREY**,

**JAMES WILSON**,

**JAMES O'CONNELL**,

**B. A. LARGER**,

**DANIEL J. TOBIN**,

**GEORGE L. BERRY**,

**C. L. BAINE**,

**W. D. MAHON**,

**JAMES LORD**,

**W. J. BOWEN**,

**J. J. HYNES**,

**SARA CONBOY**,

**TIMOTHY HEALY**,

**W. J. SPENCER**,

#### COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

Resolutions Nos. 23 and 24, dealing with the same subject, were considered together by the committee. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 23—By Delegate Anthony J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremen's Association:

**WHEREAS**, Prior to March 18, 1916, considerable controversy existed between the International Longshoremen's Association and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks as to the jurisdiction over freight handlers; and,

**WHEREAS**, On March 18, 1916, through the efforts and good offices of the American Federation of Labor, a conference was held at Washington, D. C., for the purpose of bringing about

an amicable understanding between the International Longshoremen's Association and the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, which resulted in the following agreement having then been reached and approved by the American Federation of Labor:

"Washington, D. C., March 18, 1916.

"At a conference held this day at Congress Hall Hotel, at which were present T. V. O'Connor and Anthony J. Chlopek of the International Longshoremen's Association, and James J. Forrester and W. V. H. Bright of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, matters of jurisdiction affecting the organizations named were taken up, pursuant to action of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. It was determined and mutually agreed that:

"Where men are employed in marine warehouses, their work consisting of moving freight to and from marine warehouses to deep water vessels of seaport and the Great Lakes, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks concede the jurisdiction of these men to the Longshoremen's International Association.

**JAMES J. FORRESTER**,

Grand President, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

**W. V. H. BRIGHT**,

General Secretary - Treasurer, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks.

**T. V. O'CONNOR**,

President, International Longshoremen's Association.

**ANTHONY J. CHLOPEK**,

Vice - President, International Longshoremen's Association.

**SAM'L GOMPERS**,

**GRANT HAMILTON**,

Representing American Federation of Labor.

**WHEREAS**, The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks have and are still continuing to disregard the agreement herein mentioned by taking away from the International Longshoremen's Association and admitting into their organization freight handlers who rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremen's Association, and contrary to the agreement of March 18, 1916; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That the forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor hereby instruct the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks to refrain from taking into their organization members who rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremen's Association, and that the men who are now members of the Brother-

hood of Railway Clerks and rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremens' Association be returned to them.

Resolution No. 24—By Delegate Anthony J. Chlopek, of the International Longshoremens' Association:

WHEREAS, The official guide issued by the American Federation of Labor gives the title of the Railway Clerks as the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks; and,

WHEREAS, The stationery of that organization bears a title of "Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employes," which is misleading, particularly that part which refers to the "Steamship Clerks," as steamship clerks rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremens' Association—the Longshoremens having complete and full jurisdiction over the loading and unloading of vessels; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks be and are hereby instructed to use the name of their brotherhood in accordance with their charter rights, as issued them by the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks be and are hereby instructed to refrain from organizing, or taking into membership, steamship clerks who rightfully come under the jurisdiction of the International Longshoremens' Association, and that steamship clerks who are now members of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks shall be turned over to the International Longshoremens' Association.

President Fitzgerald, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and President Chlopek, of the International Longshoremens' Association, both appeared before your committee and agreed that President Gompers should call a conference of the representatives of both organizations on August 1, 1922, at 10 a. m., in Washington, D. C., at Federation headquarters, for the purpose of making an effort to adjust the existing differences.

Your committee recommends that this be done.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 41—By Delegates Fred. W. Baer, Jas. A. Kirby, International Association of Fire Fighters:

WHEREAS, The fire losses for the last ten years have been steadily in-

creasing to the extent that in 1921 the per capita loss in the United States and Canada was over five dollars; and,

WHEREAS, These fires have tended to increase the unemployment in this country, thereby working extreme hardships on the workers; and,

WHEREAS, From the investigations made by the International Association of Fire Fighters and other organizations interested in fire prevention, it has been found that vast majority of fires are caused by carelessness on the part of the public; and,

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor realizes the necessity for a curtailment of this enormous loss of life and property; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That they hereby instruct their affiliated organizations to co-operate with the civic officials of their respective cities in all matters that will tend to alleviate this enormous loss of life, labor and material.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends its adoption.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

Resolution No. 47—By Stephen J. Angleton, Christian M. Madsen, John M. Finan, N. F. Smith, John J. Doyle, Thos. H. Mugavin, delegates of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America:

WHEREAS, The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen includes in its membership men engaged in the painting of railway equipment and cars; and,

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has gone on record on several occasions, giving the jurisdiction over this work to the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; and,

WHEREAS, The Charter of the Carmen when granted was with the specific understanding that the issuing of the charter of the Brotherhood of Railway-Carmen shall in no way infringe upon the jurisdiction of any existing national or international union; and,

WHEREAS, Several conferences have been held by representatives of the Railway Carmen and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America in order to bring about an adjustment of this long-standing controversy without any results being obtained; and,

WHEREAS, During the last few years the Railway Carmen have been

discriminating against members of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America on many occasions refusing to allow members of the Brotherhood of Painters to work in railway car shops, unless they became members of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen which prevented members of the Brotherhood of Painters from following their occupation and in many instances resulted in the loss of their positions; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen be notified by the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, to refrain from further encroachment upon the jurisdiction of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America.

President Martin F. Ryan appeared before your committee for the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, and First Vice-President John M. Finan for the Brotherhood of Painters, and stated that the representatives of both organizations had settled this dispute between themselves, and therefore asked that the committee recommend to the convention that no action be taken on this resolution.

Your committee so recommends.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

**Resolution No. 80—By Delegates J. W. Kline, W. G. Powlesland, C. N. Glover, M. W. Martin, of International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers:**

**WHEREAS**, An agreement was entered into in New York City, July 26, 1921, by and between the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers and the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union to conform to Resolution No. 110, acted upon at the forty-first convention held in Denver, Colo.; and,

**WHEREAS**, This agreement contains this language—"That the Tunnel and Subway Constructors International Union agrees to turn over all Blacksmiths and Helpers who are now or who in the future may become members of their organization or who do blacksmith's work or use anvil tools, or who do work that comes under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers; and,

**WHEREAS**, By reason of not being specific and definite as to the claim of all classes of work that blacksmiths perform, the Tunnel and Subway Con-

structors' International Union is now making, dressing and tempering drills, all of which is purely blacksmiths' work, whether made on the anvil or by machines; and,

**WHEREAS**, Demand has been made repeatedly by the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers on the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union for these blacksmiths, and that the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union has absolutely refused to comply with this agreement, and even has gone so far as to notify their members to pay no attention to this agreement; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That unless the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union comply with the full meaning of this agreement, which includes this class of work mentioned in the third paragraph, because it is purely blacksmiths' work, and that unless the transfer of these and any other members coming under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers is made within thirty days from the adjournment of this convention the charter of the Tunnel and Subway Constructors' International Union stands revoked.

Your committee heard both parties to this controversy at length, and from the official records of the Federation it learns that since the last convention, by direction of the Executive Council, Organizer Hugh Frayne was instructed to call a conference of both parties to this dispute, in an effort to adjust the same, which resulted in an agreement being reached in New York City on July 26, 1921.

Since then there has been a dispute as to the meaning of a part of this agreement, and the Executive Council has further directed that Organizer Frayne define more clearly his decision, and that he continue his efforts to adjust the controversy.

Your committee, learning from the representatives of both organizations that they were agreeable to the continuance of this arrangement, in the hope that it might result in a settlement of their differences, recommends that this convention approve of same.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

**Resolution No. 121—By Delegates Fred. W. Baer and Jos. A. Kirby, of the International Association of Fire Fighters:**

**WHEREAS**, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers

has not complied with the mandates of Resolution No. 112 passed at the Denver convention of the American Federation of Labor in June, 1921; and,

WHEREAS, The instructions were as follows:

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor recommend that the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers revoke charter of Local No. 577, and turn over to the International Association of Fire Fighters the Chicago Fire Fighters known as Local 577; and, be it further

"RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms its declaration of Resolutions Nos. 17 and 106 at the Buffalo convention as regards jurisdiction of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

"Your committee recommends concurrence in the resolution.

"The recommendations of the committee was adopted unanimously."

WHEREAS, The failure on the part of the Steam and Operating Engineers to comply with this resolution has worked to the detriment of the International Association of Fire Fighters and caused a loss of membership and general dissatisfaction, also retarding our efforts to organize new locals throughout the country due to the continuation of this dual organization; and,

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters has made repeated efforts to have the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers carry out the intent of Resolution No. 112; and,

WHEREAS, The International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers has not complied with Resolution No. 112; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby suspend the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers until such time as they comply with the mandates of Resolution No. 112 unanimously adopted in convention, June 12-26, 1921, at Denver, Colo.

Your committee heard both parties to this controversy and recommends that the presidents of both international unions arrange to jointly address a meeting of the local union referred to in the resolution, for the purpose of arranging for a transfer of the membership of this union from the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to the International Association of Fire Fighters within sixty days.

Should the membership of this local refuse to transfer to the latter organization, it is the sense of your committee that it becomes the plain duty of the officers of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to revoke the charter of this particular local union and thereby comply with the mandates of previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

This concludes the work of your committee.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

THOMAS A. RICKERT,  
Chairman,  
EDWARD FLORE, Secretary,  
C. L. SHAMP,  
J. B. ETCHISON,  
W. E. BRYAN,  
D. A. CAREY,  
J. W. KLINE,  
H. B. PERHAM,  
PHILIP H. MURRAY,  
B. M. JEWELL,  
JOHN M. GILLESPIE,  
M. F. TIGHE,  
C. E. JAMES,  
C. C. SHAY,  
HENRY BIEHL,

#### COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Resolution No. 65—By Delegate Marcella Malone, Library Employees' Union, New York, No. 15,590:

WHEREAS, We believe that public libraries are public utilities, and should be owned, controlled and administered directly by the state or city financing such libraries; and, =

WHEREAS, We believe the present low and inadequate salaries and intolerable working conditions in our public libraries are due to the fact that most of the libraries are under the control of private corporations who are not responsible to the community at large, although they are spending the public's money; and,

WHEREAS, That since the right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively is recognized and affirmed by the United States Government, that this right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers of the library; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Cincinnati, June, 1922, that in the interests of the people and in order to secure good conditions for the worker, we declare ourselves in favor of civil service for librarians; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a member of a Library Union to be elected by the union be placed upon all committees having in charge library activities, in which union labor is asked to co-operate; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a member of union labor be represented on all Boards of Trustees for libraries; and, be it further

**RESOLVED**, That we earnestly urge all locals to give all assistance possible toward the organization of these workers; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to take action to remedy the situation.

Your committee having given the subject matter contained in this resolution serious consideration, due to the fact that public libraries, whether instituted by municipalities directly or through private funds or foundations, have an important and far-reaching effect upon the public mind, also upon public issues due to the volume and character of the reading matter distributed to, and read by the people.

We have considered the methods of selecting officials, their personnel, also employees, their salaries, wages, and working conditions; it is our judgment there should be a change effected to conform to a more democratic principle, especially as it relates to organized labor.

Your committee concurs in the principles set forth in the resolution and refers the subject matter to the Executive Council, recommending that they give this matter their early consideration and endeavor to accomplish the purposes as set forth in the resolution.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

Resolutions Nos. 87, 88, 89, 90 and 91, dealing with similar subjects, were considered together by the committee. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolution No. 87—By Delegates Frank Williams, Andrew Lewis, Joseph E. Hobbs, George Llopts and Simon St. Cyr, of Freight Handlers' Local No. 17,413:

**WHEREAS**, The time has come when organized labor must present a solid front, they must close up the ranks and fight a bitter fight against unjust doings as the labor movement of our land and country has fought so brave in the past and up to this present time that

each and every organized laborer shall enjoy what belongs to every human being, that is, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and,

**WHEREAS**, The Freight Handlers of Local No. 17,413, at Basin Street Terminal, Southern R. R., N. O. N. E. Division, have not been given a fair deal as organized labor, or treated just by our general foreman of our supervising clerks, who are union men, that is in power putting on the employees daily, and are also in power in cutting off the employees after they have worked certain hours of the day that the company is compelled to give these men, they will always call the non-union men in preference of our union men, and put them to work, and in cutting off the men the supervising clerks in the sheds will cut off the union men and hold the non-union men, who do not give any better satisfaction than the union men in working condition, and will let them accomplish a full eight-hour day's work when such privilege should be given the union men by union foreman and clerks; and,

**WHEREAS**, These non-union men have been spoken to day after day by the representative and also the members of the Freight Handlers' Union organization, trying to convert these non-union men to organize with us and be protected by the American Federation of Labor in the labor movement, but by receiving so much courtesy in being given such a fair deal by the foreman and clerks in getting the preference of the work in the face of union men that it makes the freight handlers fight a fight that is in vain to get these non-union men to become organized, because it looks as these men are protected right on without being organized; and,

**WHEREAS**, These employees should not be given any preference over the union men, but they will say boldly to the union men that as long as we are protected by the foreman and clerks, who are union men, in getting a fair deal, as we have been getting, we will never become organized, because we are protected the same as the union men, and still we are not organized; and,

**WHEREAS**, These non-union men receive this privilege and protection in wage and working conditions without paying one penny per year to the union or to help the American Federation of Labor in receiving this protection, or to help upbuild the labor movement of our country that organized labor may be able to fight and accomplish justice

against unfair treatment that is handed day by day to every bread earner by the employers of corporations and industries of our country; and,

**WHEREAS**, Such non-union employees who will not stand up for their rights and become organized under the labor movement are detrimental to organized labor and the labor movement of the land, and are sympathizers with the employers in unjust treatment that is given to organized labor by the employers; and,

**WHEREAS**, This matter has been submitted to the officials in conference at the Basin Street terminal by the committee of Local No. 17,413 at two different conferences, and it was adjusted by the committee of said local and officials that the union men should be given the preference and general foreman and the clerks were ordered to act accordingly in carrying out this decision, but since the year 1921 up to the present time, with all of our pleading to the foreman and clerks, we have failed to receive from them such action for the protection of organized labor; and,

**WHEREAS**, If this condition remains in existence with organized labor helping unorganized labor, who do not assist the labor movement, then I must say in the near future the freight handlers and all other organized labor will be treated likewise, and be crushed to the feet of the employers without any mercy to defend them against unfair treatment and cruelty; therefore be it

**RESOLVED**, That this, the forty-second annual convention, in session in the City of Cincinnati, Ohio, beginning June 12, 1922, will give this resolution your most hearty consideration in seeing that the freight handlers get a better decision from the general foreman and the clerks against unorganized labor in the future than what they have received in the past for the betterment of organized labor and also the freight handlers and their respective organizations; and be it further

**RESOLVED**, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the General Chairman of all the railroad clerks, with the request that it be given consideration.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegates Sandy Coleman, Local 17064, Cordele, Ga.; J. R. Rodgers, Local 16982, Freight Handlers, Union of Winston-Salem, N. C.; S. P. Dorn, Freight Handlers, 17175, of Greenville, S. C.; J. Dillard, Freight Handlers, 17230,

Richmond, Ind.; Lee A. Holloway, Baggage-men, No. 16834, Petersburg, Va.; H. Bryan, Freight Handlers, 16324, Charleston, S. C.; Robert Butler, Freight Handlers, 17451, Alexander, Va.; J. L. Anderson, Freight Handlers, 17316, Cincinnati, O.; R. E. Burford, Freight Handlers, 16220, Richmond, Va.; Jas. H. Herbert, Freight Handlers, 16413, St. Louis, Mo.; H. H. Hawkins, Freight Handlers, 17535, Tampa, Fla.; Frank Williams, Freight Handlers, 17413, New Orleans, La.; P. A. Stratton, Freight Handlers, 17025, Lynchburg, Va., and Ambrose Harris, Freight Handlers, 17555, Portsmouth, Va.

**WHEREAS**, Resolution No. 74 as presented to the forty-first annual convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Denver, Colo., in June, 1921, was received and adopted by the convention; and,

**WHEREAS**, In compliance with said resolution a conference was called in Washington, D. C., in the council chamber of the American Federation of Labor Building, July 19, 1921, between the representatives of the A. F. of L., the Brotherhood of Railway, Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers and Express and Station Employees, and a committee of colored freight handlers; and,

**WHEREAS**, At this conference an agreement was made and signed by a committee representing the above named organizations; and,

**WHEREAS**, It was agreed that a plan should be developed by the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks that would admit to the Brotherhood the Colored Railway Employees who belong under their jurisdiction; and,

**WHEREAS**, This plan has not been developed, so we have been informed; and,

**WHEREAS**, This leaves us with no protection from the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, and leaves us at the mercies of unscrupulous men who will exploit us for their personal gains; and,

**WHEREAS**, This agreement was in effect until the convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, which was held in Dallas, Texas, in May, 1922; and,

**WHEREAS**, We are informed that this agreement was turned down flatly by the clerks in convention; therefore, be it



**RESOLVED**, That the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. will arrange for a meeting and a conference at Washington, D. C., between the Executive Council and the colored freight and baggage handlers, express and station employees, for the purpose of working out some plan whereby these colored railway employees can have a general representative.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegate James Hubbard, of Freight Handlers, 16,413:

**WHEREAS**, There are about forty-two colored freight handlers on the cotton platform in St. Louis; and,

**WHEREAS**, We were informed by the General Chairman of the M. K. & T. that no brother would be admitted to the system board unless such belonged to the union; and,

**WHEREAS**, Of these forty-two brothers, only two of whom belong to the union, but on the contrary on the advice of the General Chairman mentioned above, forty of these brothers are permitted to pay system board tax and are given the same recognition and consideration as is given the brothers who belong to the union; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this forty-second annual convention consider and adjust this matter and the practice of accepting fees from brothers not members of this union be discontinued.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegate James Hubbard, of Freight Handlers' No. 16,413:

**WHEREAS**, Local No. 16,413, composed of the twenty-one freight houses in St. Louis and East St. Louis; and,

**WHEREAS**, Grievances can not be handled except through the adjustment system boards, thence the general chairman; and,

**WHEREAS**, The general chairman on several of the respective roads in St. Louis and East St. Louis have not and will not handle grievances for brothers not members of their respective system board; and,

**WHEREAS**, We have several times made application for membership to the adjustment boards to the following roads herein named: The B. and O. R. R., the L. and N. R. R., the Pennsylvania R. R., of East St. Louis, respectively, and the Wabash of St. Louis; and,

**WHEREAS**, The board of these

roads will not admit us as members; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention consider means that we may join and have representation on the system boards so that our grievances may be given the proper consideration and handled through the proper authorities.

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Lee A. Holloway, Local 16,834:

**WHEREAS**, The Railway Clerks' Adjustment Board of the Norfolk & Western Railroad has been collecting moneys from the freight and baggage handlers and station employes, telling them it was for adjustment board taxes and dues; and,

**WHEREAS**, No agreement has been made between the Clerks' Adjustment Board and the freight and baggage handlers and station employes on the Norfolk & Western Railroad, and nothing has been done for them by the said board; therefore, be it

**RESOLVED**, That this convention have this matter investigated at once and have this money returned to the employes in this system.

There are five resolutions dealing with alleged grievances, covering conditions of employment, giving preference of work to non-union men over union men, refusal to admit colored workers to membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, inability of colored workers to secure representation and protection through Adjustment Boards, on certain railway systems under jurisdiction of the above-named organization; the payment of assessments and dues to certain Adjustment Boards without receiving the services of such boards; inability to secure wage increases that were granted by Railway Wage Boards, and suffering reduction of wages below the amount determined by Wage Board decisions. Your committee held a number of hearings and had the representatives of the colored workers, and representative of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks appear, make statements covering this question. We have also referred to the action of the Denver convention upon Resolution No. 74, and

later the action of the Executive Council, as set forth in the Executive Council's Report, on pages 101 and 102, under the caption, "Colored Freight Handlers." In view of the fact, that the Executive Council and the President of the American Federation of Labor, the President of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and a committee of these colored freight handlers, have previously met and reached an understanding that provided for the handling of all such grievances for adjustments; your committee recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Executive Council and that they are hereby authorized to arrange an early meeting between President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, representing the colored workers' organizations, and President Fitzgerald, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, etc., to bring about a satisfactory adjustment of these grievances and working conditions complained of in Resolutions Nos. 87, 88, 89, 90 and 91, introduced by the Colored Freight and Baggage Handlers, Express and Station Employees employed on the several railroad systems named in the resolutions.

The Executive Council concurred in the report of the committee.

JACOB FISCHER,  
 JOS. OBERGFELL,  
 WALTER V. PRICE,  
 TIMOTHY HEALY,  
 RICHARD P. DEE,  
 JOSEPH H. DUTY,  
 CHAS. G. DUFFY,  
 R. M. WARE,  
 C. F. GROW,  
 ED. CROUGH,  
 MAX AMDUS,  
 R. H. STICKEL,  
 H. P. O'DELL,  
 WM. J. DOHERTY,  
 CLYDE P. FRATER,

#### CLOSING ADDRESS

President Gompers: It seems appropriate that the president of the American Federation of Labor should make some observation regarding our convention which will close in a few minutes. May I say this, that this convention, where the delegates have been working

hard, consistent and persistent, and where the discussion has been open and free, where no time has been called upon any delegate who had anything to say, whether on a resolution, a recommendation of the Executive Council in its report or any delegate present, not one has been smothered either in committee or by the convention. Every delegate to this convention has had full opportunity to express himself or herself. I am proud of the work of this convention. The convention has stood firm for right, for justice, for freedom, not only for labor, but for every man, woman and child in our own America, as well as for those who are struggling in any other part of the world.

We have done much. We have brought our faith and our hopes and our aspirations for peace and self-determination among the peoples of the world. We have made our contribution; we have expressed ourselves fundamentally and righteously upon the Russian situation, but for the people of Russia, that wonderful people, American labor has nothing but the sincerest friendship; it has given, and will continue to give, assistance, co-operation and sympathy toward the development of these people and aid them in their laudable effort for their own reconstruction, and for the expression and hope for self-government among the people of that government so unfortunately situated.

Nonetheless have we taken an introspective view of the situation of the United States of America. We are one hundred per cent loyal to the Republic of the United States. Were we disloyal or were we indifferent we might allow wrong to prevail without dissent or protest, but being Americans in all our hopes and ideals, it is the bounden duty of loyal, thinking and patriotic Americans to find the faults, to take cognizance of the wrongs, to have an understanding of the unjust tendencies which a group of people in our country aim to impose upon the people of our Republic.

In our actions and declarations respecting wrongs done, injustices imposed upon any group or individuals of the citizenship of the United States, were we not to take cognizance and take our stand for reformation, for right, for justice and the perpetuation of the democracy of our Republic, we would be untrue to the citizenship we have undertaken. The American Federation of Labor will respond to, aye, will anticipate, any demand made for the safety and the perpetuation of our Republic.

At the same time we shall exercise our judgment and our rights according to the laws and the Constitution of the United States of America and attempt to check the imposition of wrong and injustice, and to secure the right to the permanency of this beloved Republic of ours.

I want to thank personally as well as officially the delegates to this convention, despite some animadversions which have been made, perhaps without intent, no one can tell; but the great majority, I may say, nearly all, all, of the delegates to this convention have been prompted by the responsibility of service to the cause of labor, to the cause of justice, to the cause of freedom, to the cause of democracy and to the cause of humanity. I thank you most heartily for the co-operation which you

have given me during the convention so that work might be accomplished fairly and justly and intelligently in the interest of the great causes for which our movement and our country stand.

We now come to the motion that this forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor stand adjourned until the orderly time as provided by the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, and all in favor of the motion will signify the same by arising.

The motion was carried by unanimous rising vote, and at 1:00 o'clock p. m., June 24, 1922, the forty-second convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

*Frank Morrison.*

SECRETARY,  
American Federation of Labor.

*W. R. Voiles*

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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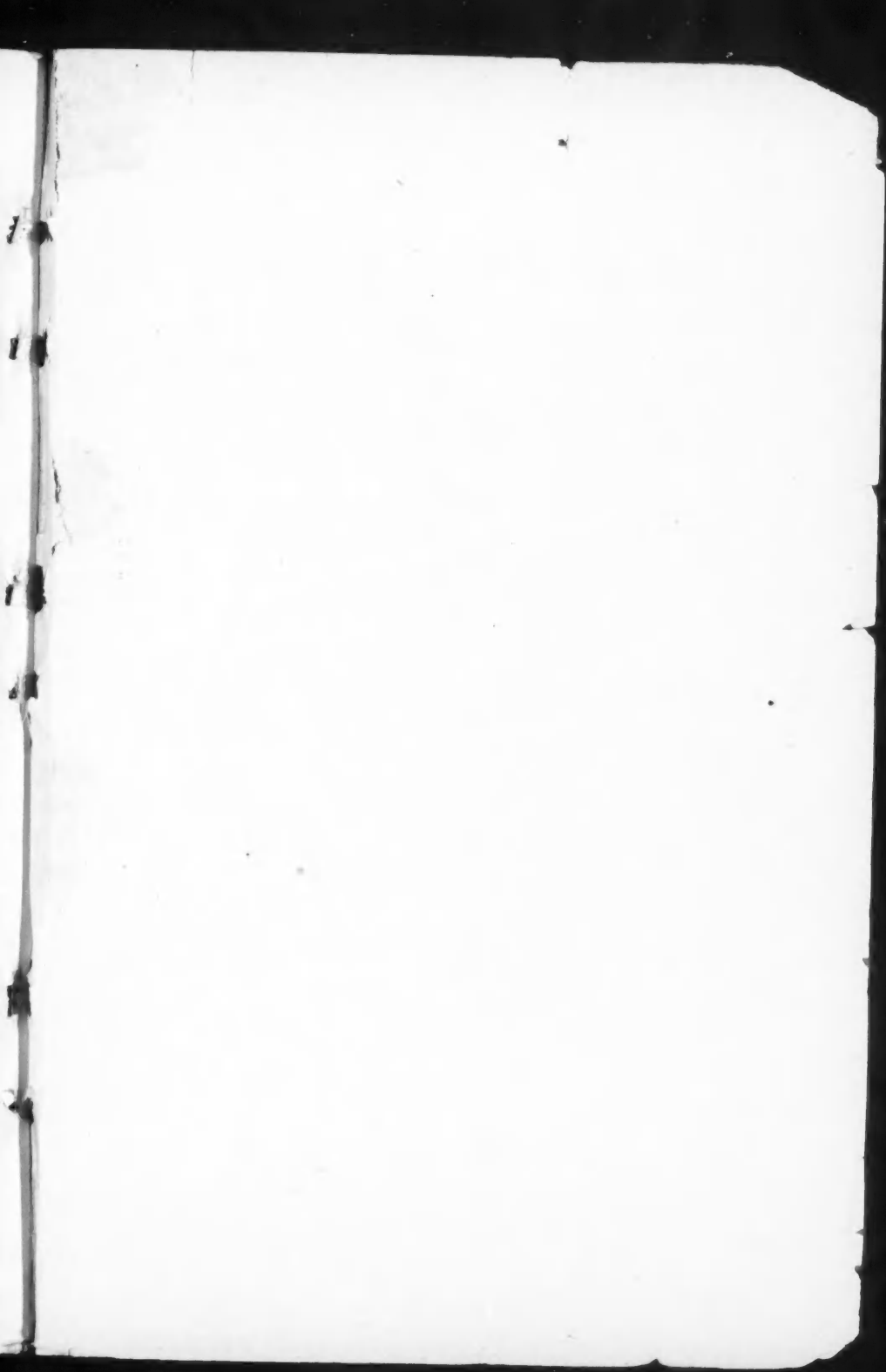
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